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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

THE DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE was commenced on a more restricted scale than was afterwards found to be consistent with the completion of the undertaking in a scholarlike and satisfactory manner. Accordingly, as the Work proceeded, it expanded into three volumes instead of two, as was originally intended, and an Appendix was added to supply the omissions and deficiencies of the earlier letters. The primary object of this new Edition was to insert these supplementary articles in their proper places in the first volume; but as this could only be done by re-setting the type, the opportunity was taken to revise the whole volume, and to re-write many of the more important articles. So large have been the additions that the new first volume exceeds the old, with the addition of the Appendix, by more than 550 pages; and it has therefore been found necessary to issue it in two parts. The second and third volumes, having been composed on a more extended and comprehensive scale than the earlier portion of the Dictionary, do not call for similar revision; and there is therefore no present intention of bringing out a new edition of them. Fortunately a large proportion of those articles on which recent research and criticism have thrown the strongest light, and concerning which the opinions of the best Biblical scholars have undergone the most noted change since the Dictionary was published, are contained in the first volume. We need only mention such subjects as Jerusalem, Assyria, Babylonia, Egypt, and the Hittites; the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles; the Books of Genesis and Deuteronomy; the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Gospel of St. John.

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It remains only to explain briefly the alterations and improvements which have been made in the present edition. First, the articles on the Books of the Bible have been for the most part re-written, on a much more extensive scale than before. For example, the article on the "Acts of the Apostles," re-written by the late Bishop Lightfoot, occupies eighteen pages, compared with a page and a half in the former edition; that on the "Gospel of St. John," re-written by Archdeacon Watkins, fills twenty-five pages, compared with three in the former edition; that on the "Epistle to

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the Galatians," re-written by Dr. Salmon, Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, comprises fourteen pages, compared with a page and a half in the former edition; the "Epistle to the Hebrews," re-written by Dr. Westcott, the present Bishop of Durham, fills fourteen pages, compared with five in the former edition; the article on "Deuteronomy," re-written by Professor Driver, occupies twenty-two pages, compared with five in the former edition; the article on the "Apocrypha," re-written by Professor Ryle of Cambridge, fills thirty-seven pages, compared with four in the former edition; to the article on the "Gospels" by the late Archbishop Thomson, a supplement by Professor Sanday, containing twenty-six pages, has been added. This list might easily be enlarged, but the instances named above will serve to show the pains and labour bestowed upon the new articles relating to the Books of the Bible.

Secondly, the revision of other articles has been entrusted to writers recognized as specialists in their respective departments. Thus, for example, the articles on Assyria and Babylonia have been re-written by Mr. Pinches, of the department of Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum; those on Egypt by the eminent Egyptologist, M. Naville; and those on Natural History by Canon Tristram. The geographical articles by Sir George Grove, which were justly considered one of the most valuable portions of the original edition, have been revised, at his request, by Sir Charles Wilson and, in a few instances, by Major Conder. Sir Charles Wilson has also re-written the article on the topography of Jerusalem, and has added separate maps of the Tribes and of other countries, with fresh illustrations of the sites of places.

It would be impossible within the limits of a Preface to specify more particularly the assistance obtained in other departments. As each writer is alone responsible for his own contributions, differences of opinion must naturally occur, and the Editors could not take the liberty of altering materially articles thus signed, nor would it have been desirable, if it had been possible to do so. In the present state of Biblical criticism, it is better that different schools should be represented in the Dictionary than that strict uniformity should be secured. In the case of articles which have been revised by other writers, the initials of the original authors have been appended with those of the revisers, but the latter are alone responsible for the articles in their present form.

Few articles of any importance have been reprinted without material alteration. The chief exceptions are, for obvious reasons, those by the late Dean Stanley, and the present Bishop of Durham; though some of the articles by the latter writer have, at his request, been revised by Professor Ryle of Cambridge.

The meanings of the names of persons and places have been mostly given in accordance with the best authorities, but often with a real sense of the precariousness of the explanation. In some cases words of the Authorized Version now obsolete have been explained, and the readings of the Revised Version appended.

The Editors wish to acknowledge cordially the generous help given them from various quarters. To Professor Driver and the Rev. C. J. Ball they owe a careful revision of the Hebrew and other Semitic words in a large number of the articles. They are also indebted to the courtesy of Dr. Swete for sending them the early sheets of his smaller edition of the Septuagint, from which the readings are given in the present Work; and to the Palestine Exploration Fund for permission to use the surveys and drawings from which Sir Charles Wilson has constructed many of the maps and illustrations.

LONDON, *March*, 1893.

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H. B.	The late Rev. Horatius Bonar, D.D.
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PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

THE present Work is designed to render the same service in the study of the Bible as the Dictionaries of Greek and Roman Antiquities, Biography, and Geography have done in the study of the classical writers of antiquity. Within the last few years Biblical studies have received a fresh impulse; and the researches of modern scholars, as well as the discoveries of modern travellers, have thrown new and unexpected light upon the history and geography of the East. It has, therefore, been thought that a new Dictionary of the Bible, founded on a fresh examination of the original documents, and embodying the results of the most recent researches and discoveries, would prove a valuable addition to the literature of the country. It has been the aim of the Editor and Contributors to present the information in such a form as to meet the wants not only of theological students, but also of that larger class of persons who, without pursuing theology as a profession, are anxious to study the Bible with the aid of the latest investigations of the best scholars. Accordingly, while the requirements of the learned have always been kept in view, quotations from the ancient languages have been sparingly introduced, and generally in parentheses, so as not to interrupt the continuous perusal of the Work. It is confidently believed that the articles will be found both intelligible and interesting even to those who have no knowledge of the learned languages; and that such persons will experience no difficulty in reading the book through from beginning to end.

The scope and object of the Work may be briefly defined. It is a Dictionary of the *Bible* and not of *Theology*. It is intended to elucidate the antiquities, biography, geography, and natural history of the Old Testament, New Testament, and Apocrypha; but not to explain systems of theology, or discuss points of controversial divinity. It has seemed, however, necessary in a "Dictionary of the Bible" to give a full account of the Book, both as a whole and in its separate parts. Accordingly, articles are inserted not only upon the general subject, such as "Bible," "Old Testament," "New Testament," "Apocrypha," and "Canon," and upon the ancient Versions, as "Septuagint" and "Vulgate;" but also upon each of the separate books. These articles are naturally some of the most important in the Work, and occupy

considerable space, as will be seen by referring to "Genesis," "Isaiah," "Job," "Nehemiah," "Pentateuch," "Proverbs," and the Books of "Samuel."

The Editor believes that the Work will be found, upon examination, to be far more complete in the subjects which it professes to treat than any of its predecessors. No other Dictionary has yet attempted to give a complete list of the proper names occurring in the Old and New Testaments, to say nothing of those in the Apocrypha. The present Work is intended to contain *every name*, and, in the case of minor names, references to every passage in the Bible in which each occurs. It is true that many of the names are those of comparatively obscure persons and places; but this is no reason for their omission. On the contrary, it is precisely for such articles that a Dictionary is most needed. An account of the more important persons and places occupies a prominent position in historical and geographical works; but of the less conspicuous names no information can be obtained in ordinary books of reference. Accordingly many names, which have been either entirely omitted or cursorily treated in other Dictionaries, have had considerable space devoted to them; the result being that much curious and sometimes important knowledge has been elicited respecting subjects, of which little or nothing was previously known. Instances may be seen by referring to the articles "Ishmael, son of Nethaniah," "Jareb," "Jedidiah," "Jehosheba."

In the alphabetical arrangement the orthography of the Authorized Version has been invariably followed. Indeed the Work might be described as a Dictionary of the Bible, *according to the Authorized Version*. But at the commencement of each article devoted to a proper name, the corresponding forms in the Hebrew, Greek, and Vulgate are given, together with the variations in the two great manuscripts of the Septuagint, which are often curious and well worthy of notice. All inaccuracies in the Authorized Version are likewise carefully noted.

In the composition and distribution of the articles three points have been especially kept in view—the insertion of copious references to the ancient writers and to the best modern authorities, as much brevity as was consistent with the proper elucidation of the subjects, and facility of reference. To attain the latter object an explanation is given, even at the risk of some repetition, under every word to which a reader is likely to refer, since it is one of the great drawbacks in the use of a Dictionary to be referred constantly from one heading to another, and frequently not to find at last the information that is wanted.

Many names in the Bible occur also in the classical writers, and

are therefore included in the Classical Dictionaries already published. But they have in all cases been written anew for this work, and from a Biblical point of view. No one would expect in a Dictionary of the Bible a complete history of Alexandria or a detailed life of Alexander the Great, simply because they are mentioned in a few passages of the Sacred Writers. Such subjects properly belong to Dictionaries of Classical Geography and Biography, and are only introduced here so far as they throw light upon Jewish history, and the Jewish character and faith. The same remark applies to all similar articles, which, far from being a repetition of those contained in the preceding Dictionaries, are supplementary to them, affording the Biblical information which they did not profess to give. In like manner it would obviously be out of place to present such an account of the plants and animals mentioned in the Scriptures, as would be appropriate in systematic treatises on Botany or Zoology. All that can be reasonably required, or indeed is of any real service, is to identify the plants and animals with known species or varieties, to discuss the difficulties which occur in each subject, and to explain all allusions to it by the aid of modern science.

In a Work written by various persons, each responsible for his own contributions, differences of opinion must naturally occur. Such differences, however, are both fewer and of less importance than might have been expected from the nature of the subject; and in some difficult questions—such, for instance, as that of the "Brethren of our Lord"—the Editor, instead of endeavouring to obtain uniformity, has considered it an advantage to the reader to have the arguments stated from different points of view.

An attempt has been made to ensure, as far as practicable, uniformity of reference to the most important books. In the case of two works of constant occurrence in the geographical articles, it may be convenient to mention that all references to Dr. Robinson's *Biblical Researches* and to Professor Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine* have been uniformly made to the second edition of the former work (London, 1856, 3 vols.), and to the fourth edition of the latter (London, 1857).

The Editor cannot conclude this brief explanation without expressing his obligations to the Writers of the various articles. Their names are a sufficient guarantee for the value of their contributions; but the warm interest they have taken in the book, and the unwearied pains they have bestowed upon their separate departments, demand from the Editor his grateful thanks. There is, however, one Writer to whom he owes a more special acknowledgment. Mr. George Grove of Sydenham, besides contributing the articles to which his initial is attached, has rendered the Editor

important assistance in writing the majority of the articles on the more obscure names in the First Volume, in the correction of the proofs, and in the revision of the whole book. The Editor has also to express his obligations to Mr. William Aldis Wright, Librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge, and to the Rev. Charles P. Phinn of Chichester, for their valuable assistance in the correction of the proofs, as well as to Mr. E. Stanley Poole for the revision of the Arabic words. Mr. Aldis Wright has likewise written in the Second and Third Volumes the more obscure names to which no initials are attached.

In consequence of the great importance of many of the subjects contained in the latter half of the alphabet,—of which "Miracles," "Noah," "Palestine," "Pentateuch," "Prophecy," "Versions," and "Vulgate" may be mentioned as specimens,—it has been found necessary to extend the work to three volumes, instead of comprising it in two, as originally intended. The usefulness of many Encyclopædias and Dictionaries has been sacrificed by compressing into narrow limits the later letters; and it is believed that the extension of the present work will add greatly to its value. It has also enabled the Editor to give, at the end of the Third Volume, an APPENDIX to Volume I., containing many important articles on Natural History as well as some subjects omitted in the First Volume, such as "Antichrist," "Baptism," and "Church."

It is intended to publish shortly an Atlas of Biblical Geography, which, it is hoped, will form a valuable supplement to the Dictionary.

WILLIAM SMITH.

LONDON, *November*, 1863.

SOME ABBREVIATIONS.

A. V. = Authorized Version; R. V. = Revised Version.

LXX. = Greek Version of the Old Testament.

A. = Codex Alexandrinus.

B. = Codex Vaticanus.

ℵ. = Codex Sinaiticus.

T.[7] = 7th edition of Tischendorf's LXX.

PF., or *PEF. Mem.* or *Qy. Stat.* = Palestine Exploration Fund, Memoir, or Quarterly Statement.

KAT.[2] = 2nd edition of Schrader's *Die Keilinschriften u. das Alte Testament.*

OS.[2] = 2nd edition of Lagarde's *Onomastica Sacra.*

RE. = Real-Encyclopädie.

KL. = Kirchen-Lexicon.

D. B. = Dictionary of the Bible.

MV.[10] or MV.[11] = 10th or 11th edition of Gesenius, *Hebräisches u. Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*, edited by Mühlau and Völck. The 11th edition has H. D. Müller's additions. The new edition now in course of publication at the Clarendon Press has come too late for use except in the last article of the volume.

REJ. = Revue des Études Juives (Paris).

PSBA. or *TSBA.* = Proceedings or Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology (London).

HWB. = Handwörterbuch.

ZDMG. = Zeitschrift d. Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft (Leipzig).

QPB.[2] = 2nd edition of the Variorum edition of the Authorized edition of the Bible published by the Queen's printers (Eyre & Spottiswoode).

ZATW. = Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft (Giessen).

ZA. = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie (Berlin).

ZKF. = Zeitschrift für Keilinschriftliche Forschung.

LOT. = Driver's Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament. This book was not available earlier than the letter E.

N. S. = New Series.

HI. = History of Israel.

A number attached to a name or book, *e.g.* Delitzsch[4], indicates the edition of the work referred to.

DICTIONARY

OF

BIBLICAL ANTIQUITIES, BIOGRAPHY, GEOGRAPHY, AND NATURAL HISTORY.

A

A and Ω. [Alpha.]

A'ALAR. [Addar.]

AARON (אַהֲרֹן; Ἀαρών; *Aaron*, [derivation unknown; connected fancifully by Rabbinic etymology with הָרָה, his mother having been pregnant with him at the time of Pharaoh's edict (Ex. i. 16); by Gesenius thought perhaps to mean *mountaineer*, as though connected with הָר; by Sayce connected with the Assyrian *aharu*, to send]). He was the son of Amram (Ex. vi. 20 [Amram]), the son of Kohath and Jochebed (Kohath's sister); he was three years older than Moses (Ex. vii. 7), but younger than his sister Miriam (Num. xxvi. 59). He was a Levite, and as the first-born would naturally be the priest of the household, even before any special appointment by God. Of his early history we know nothing, although, by the way in which he is first mentioned in Ex. iv. 14, as "Aaron the Levite," it would seem as if he had been already to some extent a leader in his tribe. All that is definitely recorded of him at this time is, that in the same passage he is described as one "who could speak well." Judging from the acts of his life, we should suppose him to have been, like many eloquent men, a man of impulsive and comparatively unstable character, leaning almost wholly on his brother; incapable of that endurance of loneliness and temptation which is an element of real greatness; but at the same time earnest in his devotion to God and man, and therefore capable of sacrifice and of discipline by trial.

His first office was to be the "Prophet," *i.e.* (according to the proper meaning of the word) the Interpreter and "Mouth" (Ex. iv. 16) of his brother, who was "slow of speech;" and accordingly he was not only the organ of communication with the Israelites and with Pharaoh (Ex. iv. 30, vii. 2), but also the actual instrument of working most of the miracles of the Exodus (see Ex. vii. 19, &c.). Thus also on the way to Mount Sinai, during the battle with Amalek, Aaron is mentioned with Hur, as staying up the weary hands of Moses, when they were lifted up for the victory of Israel (not in prayer, as is sometimes explained, but) to bear the rod

of God (see Ex. xvii. 9). Through all this period he is only mentioned as dependent upon his brother, and deriving all his authority from him. The contrast between them is even more strongly marked on the arrival at Sinai. Moses at once acts as the mediator (Gal. iii. 19) for the people, to come near to God for them, and to speak His words to them. Aaron only approaches, with Nadab and Abihu and the seventy elders of Israel, by special command, near enough to see God's glory, but not so as to enter His immediate presence. Left then, on Moses' departure, to guide the people, he is tried for a moment on his own responsibility, and he fails not from any direct unbelief on his own part, but from a weak inability to withstand the demand of the people for visible "gods to go before them." Possibly it seemed to him prudent to make an image of Jehovah, in the well-known form of Egyptian idolatry (Apis or Mnevis), rather than to risk the total alienation of the people to false gods; and his weakness was rewarded by seeing a "feast of the Lord" (Ex. xxxii. 5) degraded to the lowest form of heathenish sensuality, and knowing, from Moses' words and deeds, that the covenant with the Lord was utterly broken. There can hardly be a stronger contrast with this weakness, and the self-convicted shame of his excuse, than the burning indignation of Moses, and his stern decisive measures of vengeance; although beneath these there lay an ardent affection, which went almost to the verge of presumption in prayer for the people (Ex. xxxii. 19–34), and gained forgiveness for Aaron himself (Deut. ix. 20).

It is not a little remarkable, that immediately after this great sin, and almost as though it had not occurred, God's fore-ordained purposes were carried out in Aaron's consecration to the new office of the high-priesthood. Probably the fall and the repentance from it may have made him one "who could have compassion on the ignorant and them who are out of the way, as being himself also compassed with infirmity." The order of God for the consecration is found in Ex. xxix., and the record of its execution in Lev. viii.; and the delegated character of the Aaronic priesthood is clearly seen by the fact that, in this its inauguration, the priestly office is borne

by Moses, as God's truer representative (see Heb. vii.).

The form of consecration resembled other sacrificial ceremonies in containing, first, a sin-offering, the form of cleansing from sin and reconciliation [SIN-OFFERING]; a burnt-offering, the symbol of entire devotion to God of the nature so purified [BURNT-OFFERING]; and a meat-offering, the thankful acknowledgment and sanctifying of God's natural blessings [MEAT-OFFERING]. It had, however, besides these, the solemn assumption of the sacred robes (the garb of righteousness), the anointing (the symbol of God's grace), and the offering of the ram of consecration, the blood of which was sprinkled on Aaron and his sons, as upon the altar and vessels of the ministry, in order to sanctify them for the service of God. The former ceremonies represented the blessings and duties of the man; the latter the special consecration of the priest.[a]

The solemnity of the office, and its entire dependence for sanctity on the ordinance of God, were vindicated by the death of Nadab and Abihu, for "offering strange fire" on the altar, and apparently (see Lev. x. 9, 10) for doing so in drunken recklessness. The checking of his sorrow by Aaron, so as at least to refrain from all outward signs of it, would be a severe trial to an impulsive and weak character, and a proof of his being lifted above himself by the office which he held.

From this time the history of Aaron is almost entirely that of the priesthood, and its chief feature is the great rebellion of Korah and the Levites against his sacerdotal dignity, united with that of Dathan and Abiram and the Reubenites against the temporal authority of Moses [KORAH]. The true vindication of the reality of Aaron's priesthood was, not so much the death of Korah by the fire of the Lord, as the efficacy of his offering of incense to stay the plague, by which he was seen to be accepted as an Intercessor for the people. The blooming of his rod which followed was a miraculous sign, visible to all and capable of preservation, of God's choice of him and his house.

The only occasion on which his individual character is seen, is one of presumption, prompted as before chiefly by another; and, as before, speedily repented of. The murmuring of Aaron and Miriam against Moses, if partly directed against the marriage of Moses with an Ethiopian, clearly proceeded from their trust, the one in his own priesthood, the other in her prophetic inspiration, as equal commissions from God (Num. xii. 2). It seems to have vanished at once before the declaration of Moses' exaltation above all prophecy and priesthood, except that of One Who was to come; and, if we may judge from the direction of the punishment, to have originated mainly with Miriam. On all other occasions Aaron is spoken of as acting with Moses in the guidance of the people. Leaning, as he seems to have done, wholly on him, it is not strange that he should have shared his sin at Meribah, and its punishment [MOSES] (Num. xx. 10–12). As that punishment seems to have purged out from Moses the tendency to self-confidence which tainted his character, so in Aaron it may have destroyed that idolatry of a stronger mind, into which a weaker one, once conquered, is apt to fall. Aaron's death seems to have followed very speedily. It took place on Mount Hor, after the transference of his robes and office to Eleazar, who alone with Moses was present at his death, and performed his burial (Num. xx. 28). This mount is still called the "Mountain of Aaron." [HOR.]

The wife of Aaron was Elisheba (Ex. vi. 23). She bare him four sons. Nadab and Abihu predeceased him (see above). Two survived him, Eleazar and Ithamar. The high-priesthood descended to the former and to his descendants until the time of Eli, who, although of the house of Ithamar, received the high-priesthood (see Joseph. *Ant.* v. 11, viii. 1, § 3), and transmitted it to his children; with them it continued till the accession of Solomon, who took it from Abiathar, and restored it to Zadok (of the house of Eleazar), so fulfilling the prophecy of 1 Sam. ii. 30. [A. B.]

The Rabbinic view of Aaron is highly eulogistic. It will be found summed up in Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopädie f. Bibel u. Talmud*,[2] s. n. Rabbinic teaching finds depicted in Mal. ii. 6, the work and character of one who died "by the kiss of God." [F.]

AARONITES, THE (אַהֲרֹן; B. *δ* [A. *οἱ*] Ἀαρών; *stirps Aaron, Aaronitae*). Descendants of Aaron, and therefore priests, who, to the number of 3700 fighting men, with Jehoiada the father of Benaiah at their head, joined David at Hebron (1 Ch. xii. 27). Later on in the history (1 Ch. xxvii. 17) we find their chief was Zadok, who in the earlier narrative is distinguished as "a young man mighty of valour." They must have been an important family in the reign of David to be reckoned among the tribes of Israel. [W. A. W.]

AB (אָב, *father*), an element in the composition of many proper names, sometimes a title of God, sometimes not (see Nestle, *Die Israelit. Eigennamen*, p. 173, &c. Cp. ABIA.) Abba is the Chaldaic form, the syllable affixed giving the emphatic force of the definite article. The conception of God as Ab forms one of the principal doctrines common to Judaism and Christianity. [ABBA.] [F.]

AB. [MONTHS.]

AB'ACUC, 2 Esd. i. 40. [HABAKKUK.]

ABAD'DON (אֲבַדּוֹן, *destruction*) in the Hagiographa of the O. T. the poetical name for the place of the dead (in Job xxvi. 6 and in Prov. xv. 11 it is parallel with Sheol; in Ps. lxxxviii. 12 with the grave; in Job xxviii. 22 with death), and personified in Job xxviii. 22 (cp. a similar personification of a place in the personification of the "heavens" in Dan. iv. 23). In Rev. ix. 11 it is the name of "the angel of the abyss" (R. V.), and the Greek equivalent Ἀπολλύων (APOLLYON) is given in explanation of this "king of the locusts upon the earth" (Rev. ix. 3–11). The Rabbis gave the name Abaddon to the lowest chamber of hell (see Schöttgen, *Hor. Hebr.* in Rev. *l. c.*), and the

[a] It is noticeable that the ceremonies of the restoration of the leper to his place, as one of God's people, bear a strong resemblance to those of consecration. See Lev. xiv. 10–32.

Talmud personified "the angel of the abyss" under the title Dumah (Buxtorf, *Lex. Chald. et Talm.*; Hamburger, *RE.*[2] s. v.). [F.]

ABADI'AS (B. 'Αβαδίας; *Abdias* [*v.* 38]). OBADIAH, the son of Jehiel (1 Esd. viii. 35). [W. A. W.] [F.]

ABAG'THA (אֲבַגְתָא; *Abgatha*), one of the seven eunuchs in the Persian court of Ahasuerus (Esth. i. 10). In the LXX. the names of these eunuchs are different. The word contains the same root which we find in the Persian names *Bigtha* (Esth. i. 10), *Bigthan* (Esth. ii. 21), *Bigthana* (Esth. vi. 2), and *Bagoas*. The etymology of all these names is quite uncertain (Keil, and Oettli in Strack u. Zöckler's *Kgf. Komm.* in loco). Bohlen explains it by *bagadâta*, "given by fortune," from *baga*, fortune, the sun; Ryssel-Bertheau (*Kgf. Exeg. Hdb. z. A. T.*, 'Ester' p. 389)=god's gift. [W. A. W.] [F.]

ABA'NA (אֲבָנָה*; 'Αβανά; B[b] 'Αρβανά [superscr. B[b][2], 'Αναβανά, Ba[2mg]]; A. Ναεβανά; *Abana*; R. V. *Abanah*; R. V. marg. *Amanah*), one of the "rivers (נְהָרוֹת) of Damascus" (2 K. v. 12). Gesenius (*Thes.* 116) supposes Abana to be a commutation for AMANA by an interchange of the labials ב and מ: it may be a dialectic or a provincial difference. See also Keil's *Bb. der Könige*, p. 368. Amana might mean "constant" (comp. נָאֳמָן, as said of water in Is. xxxiii. 16 and Jer. xv. 18). The rivers of Damascus are its one great abiding charm, and every Damascene loves them passionately. Some distance above Damascus the *Barada* (*Χρυσορρόας* of the Greeks) is split up into several streams, which flow through the city under different names, and which are supposed to be of various degrees of excellence. The stream whose water is most prized is the *Nahr Abanias* (cp. the *Amanoh* of Schwarz, p. 54), and this is doubtless the Abana of the text (Dr. Wright, in *Leisure Hour*, 1874, p. 284). In the Arabic Version of the passage—the date of which has been fixed by Rödiger as the 11th cent.—Abana is rendered by *Barda*, بردى, and one of the streams flowing through the city is now called *Nahr Barada*. Another of the seven principal streams is the *Nahr Taûra*, a name which is found in the Arabic Version of the Bible instead of Pharpar. Benjamin of Tudela (*E. T.* 90) apparently identifies Pharpar with the same stream. Naaman's interrogation in 2 K. v. 12: "Are not Abana and Pharpar, rivers of Damascus, better than all the waters of Israel?" is something more than pride of country; for the waters of the Abana (*Nahr Abanias*) are clear and sparkling, whilst those of the Jordan and Kishon are tepid and turbid.

The *Barada* rises in the Antilibanus near *Zebdâny*, at about 23 miles from the city, and 1149 feet above it. In its course it passes the site of the ancient Abila, and receives the waters of *'Ain Fijeh*, one of the largest springs in Syria. This was long believed to be the real source of the Barada, according to the popular usage of the country, which regards the most copious fountain, not the most distant head, as the origin of a river. We meet with other instances of the same mistake in the case of the Jordan and the Orontes [AIN]; it is to Dr. Robinson that we are indebted for its discovery in the present case (Rob. iii. 477). After flowing through Damascus the Barada runs across the plain, leaving the remarkable Assyrian or perhaps Hittite ruin *Tell es-Salahiyeh* on its left bank, till it loses itself in the lake or marsh *Bahret el-Kibliyeh*. Mr. Porter calculates that 14 villages and 150,000 souls are dependent on this important river. For the course of the *Barada* see Porter, vol. i. ch. v.; *Journ. of S. Lit.*, N. S. viii.; Rob. iii. 446–7. Lightfoot (*Cent. Chor.* iv.) and Gesenius (*Thes.* 116) quote the name קַרְמִיוֹן as applied in the Lexicon *Arûch* to the Amana; it is also found in the *Baba Bathra*, 74 c; Schwarz, p. 54. [G.] [W.]

ABA'RIM (Milton accents Ab'arim), the "mount," or "mountains of" (always with the definite article, הַר הָעֲבָרִים, or הָרֵי הָעֲ׳, τὸ ὄρος τὸ Ἀβαρίμ, &c., or ἐν τῷ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, = the mountains of the further parts, or possibly, of the fords), a mountain or range of highlands on the east of the Jordan, in the land of Moab (Deut. xxxii. 49), facing Jericho, and forming the eastern wall of the Jordan valley at that part. Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 8, § 48) has ἐπὶ τῷ ὄρει τῷ Ἀβαρεῖ: Euseb. (*OS.*[2] p. 237, 4) Ἀβαρείμ. Its most elevated spot was "the Mount Nebo, 'head' of 'the' Pisgah," from which Moses viewed the Promised Land before his death. There is nothing to prove that the Abarim were a range or tract of any length, but the mention of Ije-Abarim ("heaps of A.") in Num. xxxiii. 44, on the south frontier of Moab, seems to indicate that the name was applied to the whole range of hills on the eastern side of the Dead Sea; it must, too, be remembered that a word derived from the same root as Abarim, viz. עֵבֶר, is the term commonly applied to the whole of the country on the east of Jordan.

These mountains are mentioned in Num. xxvii. 12, xxxiii. 47, 48, and Deut. xxxii. 49; also probably in Jer. xxii. 20, where the word is rendered in the A. V. "passages," in R. V. "Abarim."

The mountains of Abarim have recently been surveyed, and it is now possible to identify with considerable accuracy the places mentioned in connexion with them. Moses probably took his view of the Promised Land from some point on the ridge of *Jebel Neba*, which runs out west from the Moabite plateau, sinking gradually,—at first a broad brown field of arable land, then a flat top crowned by a ruined cairn, then a narrower ridge ending in the summit called *Siâghah*, whence the slopes fall steeply on all sides. The name *Neba* (Nebo) applies to the flat top with the cairn, which has an altitude of 2644 feet; and *Tal'at es-Sufa*, which may contain a reminiscence of the "field of Zophim" (Num. xxiii. 14), to the ascent leading up to the ridge from the north; the word *Siâghah*,* too, is possibly the modern form of "Seath," the burial-place of Moses, which is substituted for Nebo in the Targum of Onkelos (Num. xxxii. 3).

* The Keri, with the Targum Jonathan and the Syriac Version, has Amanah.

* Merrill, however (*East of Jordan*, p. 245), does not believe in the existence of the name *Siâghah*.

Ashdoth-pisgah is probably *'Ayún Músa*, "the springs of Moses" [ASHDOTH-PISGAH], and the camp of the Israelites "in the mountains of Abarim, before Nebo" (Num. xxxiii. 47); the top of Pisgah in Num. xxi. 20 may be placed close to *Jebel Neba* on the plain between Medeba and Heshbon. Capt. Conder (*Heth and Moab*, pp. 142–4) has identified "the top of Peor" (Num. xxiii. 28) with a narrow spur which runs out to *Minyeh*, north of the *Zerka M'ain*, and "the high places of Baal" (Num. xxii. 41) with the ridge of *Maslúbiyeh* (p. 141). A good account of this interesting district is given by Capt. Conder (*Heth and Moab*, pp. 128–145), who found some interesting groups of rude stone monuments, which he supposes to have been connected with the sacrifices of Balaam and the idolatrous worship of Moab. See also Merrill, *East of the Jordan*, 240–252; Tristram, *Land of Moab*, 325–330; Paine, *American Pal. Exp. Soc.*, 3rd Stat., January 1875. [G.] [W.]

AB'BA (אַבָּא, *stat. emph.*; Αββά: see AB). The West-Aramaic equivalent of the Greek ὁ πατήρ (Mk. xiv. 36; Rom. viii. 15; Gal. iv. 6); perhaps a liturgical formula originating among the Jews of Palestine after they had become acquainted with the Greek language, and expressing emphasis by repetition of the same idea. If so, it illustrates that fusion of Jew and Greek which prepared the way for the preaching of the Gospel to the heathen (Bp. Lightfoot on *Gal.* l. c.). [F.]

AB'DA (עֹבַדְיָא, *servant;* or, as in Phoenician, *servant of Him*: see Renan, *Des Noms théophores apocopés*, in 'Revue d. Études Juives,' v. p. 165. **1.** Father of Adoniram (1 K. iv. 6; B. Ἐφρά, A. Αβαώ; *Abda*). **2.** Son of Shammua (Neh. xi. 17; B. Ἰωβήδ; א.[3] Αβδάς), called Obadiah in 1 Ch. ix. 16 (B. Αβδεία, A. Ὀβδία; *Obda*). [W. A. W.] [F.]

AB-DEE'L (עַבְדְּאֵל; *Abdeel*), father of Shelemiah (Jer. xxxvi. 26; LXX. omits). [W. A. W.]

ABDI' (עַבְדִּי, *my servant;* or, *servant of Him*, Renan [ABDA]. Olshausen [*Lehrb.* p. 613] prefers = עֹבַדְיָה). **1.** A Merarite of the time of David and ancestor of Ethan the singer (1 Ch. vi. 44; B. Αβδεί, A. -ί; *Abdi*). **2.** The father of Kish. A Merarite of the time of Hezekiah (2 Ch. xxix. 12). From a comparison of **2** with **1**, it would seem that the Levitical families repeated ancestral names, or that such names became the names of families and not of individuals. **3.** One of the Bene-Elam in the time of Ezra, who had married a "strange" (*i.e.* foreign) wife (Ezra x. 26; BN. Αβδειά, A. -ια). [W. A. W.] [F.]

ABDIAS. The prophet Obadiah (2 Esd. i. 39). [W. A. W.]

ABDI-EL (עַבְדִּיאֵל, *servant of God*; A. Αβδιήλ, B. Αβδεήλ; *Abdiel*), son of Guni (1 Ch. v. 15). The name corresponds to the Arabic Abdallah. Milton (*Paradise Lost*, v. 805, 896) applies it to "the Seraph faithful found among the faithless, faithful only he." [W. A. W.] [F.]

AB'DON (עַבְדּוֹן, *servile*; B. Αβδών, A. Λαβδώμ; *Abdon*). **1.** The eleventh out of the twelve judges (Judg. xii. 13, 15). He judged Israel eight years, and had forty sons and thirty sons' sons, who rode, in token of their rank, upon asses. He is not to be confounded with BEDAN, in 1 Sam. xii. 11. **2.** Son of Shashak (1 Ch. viii. 23; B. Αβαδών, A. Αβδών). **3.** First-born son of Jeiel, father of Gibeon (1 Ch. viii. 30, B. Αβαλών; ix. 36, BN. Ζαβαδών, A. Ζαβδών), *i.e.* the head of the house of Gibeon. **4.** Son of Micah, a contemporary of Josiah (2 Ch. xxxiv. 20; A. Αβδών, B. Αβδοδόμ), called Achbor, son of Micaiah, in 2 K. xxii. 12. [W. A. W.] [F.]

AB'DON (עַבְדּוֹן; A. Αβδών, B. Δαββών in Josh. *l. c.*, Αβαρών in 1 Ch. *l. c.*; *Abdon*), i.e. *servile*, a city in the tribe of Asher, given to the Gershonites (Josh. xxi. 30; 1 Ch. vi. 74). No place of this name appears in the list of the towns of Asher (Josh. xix. 24–31); but instead we find (v. 28) עֶבְרֹן, "Hebron,"[a] which is the same word, with the change frequent in Hebrew of ר for ד. Indeed many MSS. have Abdon in Josh. xix. 28 (Ges. p. 980; Winer, *s. v.*); but, on the other hand, all the ancient Versions retain the *r* (*e.g.* Vulg. *Abran*) except B., which has Ελβών (A. Αχράν; 17 MSS. have Εβρών). Identified by Guérin (*Galilée*, ii. 35, 36) with *'Abdeh*, small ruins east of *ez-Zib* (Achzib), on a low hill overlooking the plain of Acre (*P. E. Mem.* i. 170). There are also ruins called *'Abdún*, close to Dor. The name occurs in Arabia Petraea, and is written in the older itineraries Εβδδα. [G.] [W.]

ABED-NEGO (עֲבֵד־נְגוֹ, or [once in Dan. iii. 29] עֲבֵד נְגוֹ; Αβδεναγώ; *Abdenago*), i.e. *servant of Nego*, a copyist's mistake for NEBO, the Babylonian name of the planet Mercury, worshipped as the scribe and interpreter of the gods (Gesen. *Thes.*; Duncker-Abbott, *Hist. of Antiq.* i. 268; Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 115). A statue of the god, found at Nimrud, is in the British Museum (see Hommel, *Geschichte Babyloniens-Assyriens*, p. 629). Abed-nebo occurs (B.C. 683) in a "registry" tablet from the record office of the Assyrian kings, as the name of a witness to a deed of sale (see *Speaker's Commentary* on Daniel [1881], p. 243.) Compounds with Abed are not infrequent in Babylonian names (see Schrader, *KAT.*[2], p. 430). Abednego (or -nebo) was the Babylonian name given to Azariah (Dan. i. 7), one of the three friends of Daniel, miraculously saved from the burning fiery furnace (Dan. iii.). [AZARIAH, No. 10.] [F.]

A'BEL (אָבֵל = meadow, according to Gesenius,[b] who derives it from a root signifying moisture like that of grass), the name of several places in Palestine:—

1. A'BEL-BETH-MA'ACHAH (אָבֵל בֵּית מַעֲכָה, see below and MAACHAH; 2 Sam. xx. 15, A. Αβὲλ ἐν Βηθμαχά, B. Αβὲλ τὴν Βαιθμαχά; *Abela et Bethmaacha:* 1 K. xv. 20, A. Αβὲλ ουκου [*sic*] Μααχά, B. Ἀδελμάθ; *Abel domum-Maacha:* 2 K. xv. 29, B. τὴν Αβὲλ καὶ τὴν Θαμααχά, A. τ. Καβὲλ κ. τ. Βερμααχά; *Abel domum-Maacha:* R. V. *Abel-beth-Maacah*), a town

[a] The *Ain* is here rendered by H. The H in the well-known Hebron represents Ch. Usually *Ain* is not expressed in the Authorized Version.

[b] The Chaldee Targum frequently renders Abel by *Mishor*, a level spot or plain generally. Cp Lazarde, *Uebersicht üb. d. im Aram., Arab., u. Hebr. übl. Bildung d. Nomina*, pp 45, 75.

of some importance (*πόλις καὶ μητρόπολις*, "a city and a mother in Israel," 2 Sam. xx. 19), in the extreme N. of Palestine; twice named with other places in the order from north to south; once Ijon, Dan, Abel, and all Cinneroth; and again Ijon, Abel, Janoah, Kedesh, Hazor; and as such falling an early prey to the invading kings of Syria (1 K. xv. 20) and Assyria (2 K. xv. 29). In the parallel passage, 2 Ch. xvi. 4, the name is changed to Abel Maim, אָבֵל מַיִם = "Abel on the waters." Here Sheba was overtaken and besieged by Joab (2 Sam. xx. 14, 15); and the city was saved by the exercise on the part of one of its inhabitants of that sagacity for which it was proverbial (*v.* 18). In *vv.* 14 and 18 it is simply Abel, and in *v.* 14 is apparently distinguished from Beth-maacha: the full name may possibly have been Abel near Beth-maacha. It was possibly a colony of, and derived its name from, the small Aramean kingdom of Maacha. Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 12, § 5) gives the form Ἀβελλάνη, and apparently places it near the northern boundary of Israel. It is probably the modern *Abl*, or *Abil el-Kamh*, a small Christian village on the left bank of the *Nahr Bareigit*, which flows from the *Merj 'Ayûn*. The village is situated on an isolated oval hill that rises above a plain of rich basaltic soil which produces fine wheat, whence the name *el-Kamh;* there are traces of old foundations and a spring (*P. F. Mem.* i. 85, 107). It possibly derives its name Abel Maim from the stream that rushes past the western slope of the mound, or from the neighbouring *Merj 'Ayûn*, which is rich in springs. Stanley (*S. and P.* p. 390, note) places it to the south in the marshy region of Lake Huleh; Eusebius and Jerome between Paneas and Damascus.

2. A'BEL-MA'IM (אָבֵל מַיִם; A. Ἀβελμαΐν, B. -μάν; *Abelmaim*). 2 Ch. xvi. 4. [ABEL, 1.]

3. A'BEL-MIZ'RAIM (*Mitzraim*), אָבֵל מִצְרַיִם, according to the etymology of the text, the mourning of Egypt, *πένθος Αἰγύπτου, Planctus Aegypti* (this meaning, however, requires a different pointing, אֵבֶל for אָבֵל): the name given by the Canaanites to the floor of Atad, at which Joseph, his brothers, and the Egyptians made their mourning for Jacob (Gen. l. 11). It was עֵבֶר, "beyond" Jordan, an expression used for either east or west of the river, according to the position of the speaker. Jerome identifies it with Beth-Hogla (now *'Ain Hajla*), near the river, on its *west* bank. No authority is given for this identification, which necessitates the carriage of Jacob's body by a long circuitous route through Moab and round the north end of the Dead Sea to Hebron. A more natural position would be some station on the direct caravan road from Egypt to Hebron, possibly near the territory of the Canaanite king Arad. [ATAD.]

4. A'BEL-SHIT'TIM (with the article הָאָבֵל הַשִּׁטִּים, "the meadow of the acacias" [the Sam. Cod. omits the article]; B. Βελσᾶ, A. Βελσαττίμ, F. -είν; *Abelsatim*); in the "plains" (עַרְבֹת = the deserts) of Moab by Jordan-Jericho, or in that portion of the Jordan valley which was opposite Jericho and belonged to Moab. Here—their last resting-place before crossing the Jordan—Israel "pitched from Beth-jesimoth unto Abel-shittim" (Num. xxxiii. 49). The place is most frequently mentioned by its shorter name of Shittim. [SHITTIM.] In the days of Josephus it was still known as Abila,—the town embosomed in palms[c] (*ὅπου νῦν πόλις ἐστὶν Ἀβιλή, φοινικόφυτον δ' ἐστὶ τὸ χωρίον, Ant.* iv. 8, § 1), 60 stadia from the river (v. 1, § 1). It was taken by Placidus, with Julias Besimoth and other villages near the Dead Sea (*B. J.* iv. 7, § 6). Jerome, in his commentary on the third chapter of Joel, places it six Roman miles from Livias. The Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds give twelve miles as the distance between Abel-shittim and Beth-jeshimoth. Now probably *Kefrein*, on a rocky slope east of Jordan, near the northern margin of the fertile plain called *Seisebân*. There is abundant water at *Kefrein* and some shapeless ruins, including those of a citadel on a small isolated rock. Near the western edge of the plain there are still many acacia trees, "shittim" (Tristram, *Land of Israel*, 523–525).

5. A'BEL-MEHO'LAH (*Mecholah*, אָבֵל מְחוֹלָה, "meadow of the dance."[d] In Judg. vii. 22 [Vulg. *v.* 23], B. Ἀβωμεουλά, A. Βασελμεουλά; in 1 K. iv. 12, B. Ἐβελμαωλά, A. Ἀβελμαουλά; in 1 K. xix. 16, B. Ἐβαλμαουλά, A. Ἀβελμαούλ; *Abel-Meula, Abelmehula*), named with Bethshean (Scythopolis) and Jokneam (1 K. iv. 12), and therefore in the N. part of the Jordan valley (Euseb. *ἐν τῷ Αὐλῶνι, OS.*[2] p. 243, 36). To "the border (the 'lip' or 'brink') of Abel-meholah," and to Beth-shittah (the "house of the acacia"), both places being evidently down in the Jordan valley, the routed Bedouin host fled from Gideon (Judg. vii. 22). Here Elisha was found at his plough by Elijah returning up the valley from Horeb (1 K. xix. 16–19). In Jerome's time the name had dwindled to Ἀβελμέα. Probably at *'Ain el-Helweh*, "sweet spring," at the southern end of the Bethshean plain, where the western hills approach the Jordan, and close to an ancient road. There are ruins near the spring, and the position agrees with that indicated by Eusebius and Jerome (cp. *P. F. Mem.* ii. 231).

6. A'BEL-CERA'MIM (אָבֵל כְּרָמִים; B. Ἐβελχαρμείμ, A. Ἀβὲλ ἀμπελωνῶν; *Abel quæ est vineis consita*), in the A. V. rendered "the plain (*marg.* 'Abel') of the vineyards;" R. V. *Abel-cheramim;* R. V. marg. *the meadow of vineyards:* a place eastward of Jordan, beyond Aroer; named as the point to which Jephthah's pursuit of the Bene-Ammon extended (Judg. xi. 33). A *κώμη ἀμπελοφόρος* Ἄβελ is mentioned by Eusebius as 6 (Jerome, 7) miles beyond Philadelphia (Rabbah); and another, *οἰνοφόρος καλουμένη*, more to the N. 12 miles E. from Gadara, below the Hieromax. The site of the former has not yet been identified; the latter, the modern *Abil*, is still found in the same position (Ritter, *Syria*, p. 1058). There is another *Kefr Abil* on the Roman road from Pella to Gerasa, between the former place and *Wâdy Yâbis*. The passage (Judg. xi. 33) possibly means that Jephthah drove the Ammonites out of Gilead (comp. *vv.* 13, 22), in which case Aroer

[c] It was amongst these palms, according to Josephus, that Deuteronomy was delivered by Moses. See the passage above cited.

[d] If Mecholah always implies a religious dance, Abel-Mecholah was probably a sanctuary.

on the Arnon and Abel-ceramim (*Abil*) on the Hieromax would be the limits of the district freed. The position of Abel-ceramim depends upon that of Minnith, which is still unknown; it is placed by Jerome (*OS.*² p. 171, 4) four miles from Heshbon on the road to Philadelphia. Oliphant (*Land of Gilead*, p. 420) identifies it with *Minch*, a station on the *Haj* road north of *Kal'at Zerka*. There is also a *Minieh* south of Mount Nebo. There were at least three places with the name of Aroer on the further side of the Jordan. [AROER.]

7. אָבֵל־הַכְּרוֹלָה. "The GREAT 'ABEL' (*mourning* 'stone;' *Abel Magnum*) in the field of Joshua the Bethshemite" (1 Sam. vi. 18). By comparison with vv. 14 and 15, it would seem that for אבל should be read אבן = stone. So the LXX., Targum, R. V., and most modern scholars. The translators of A. V., by the insertion of "stone of," seem to have taken a middle course. The view that Abel was the name subsequently given to the spot in reference to the "mourning" (יְהֹאבֵל) there (*v.* 19) has now no supporters. In the Jewish traditions it was an altar erected by Abraham. M. C. Ganneau (*P. F. Qy. St.*, 1877, pp. 154–6), reading *Eben* for Abel, connects the spot with Eben-ezer (1 Sam. iv. 1, where the Israelites encamped before the disastrous battle in which the ark was lost. This place he identifies with *Deir 'Abân*, two miles east of *'Ain Shems*, "Bethshemesh," and close to the Roman road to Jerusalem. Eusebius and Jerome (*OS.*² pp. 132, 20; 243, 15) place Abenezer (Ἀβενεζήρ) near Bethsames on the road from Ælia to Ascalon, a position which answers well to that of *Deir 'Abân*. [G.] [W.]

A'BEL (הֶבֶל; Ἄβελ; *Abel*; i.e. *breath, vapour, transitoriness*), a name expressive generally (*a*) of the transitoriness of man considered by himself apart from God and God's promises; or (*b*) of the mother's recognition of the brevity and frailty of human life after the fall; in the latter case the child would have been so named at his birth. Others consider Abel to have been so called from the shortness of his life (cp. Ps. xxxix. 6; Job vii. 16). He was the second son of Adam, and was murdered by his brother Cain (Gen. iv. 1–16). Jehovah showed respect for Abel's offering, but not for that of Cain; because, according to Hebrews xi. 4, Abel "by faith offered a more excellent sacrifice than Cain." The expression "sin" (taken in the sense of a sin-offering) "lieth at the door" (Gen. iv. 7), seems to imply that the need of sacrifices of blood to obtain forgiveness was already revealed. Others, questioning as anachronistic the interpretation "sin-offering," take the sentence to refer to the danger to which Cain was exposing himself by his wrath. Sin, like a crouching beast, was preparing to spring upon him (see *int. al.* Delitzsch [1887], Harold Browne [*Speaker's Commentary*], Payne Smith [*Ellicott's Commentary*], on Gen. iv. 7). On account of Abel's faith, St. Augustine makes Abel the type of the new regenerate man; Cain that of the natural man (*de Civ. Dei*, xv. 1). St. Chrysostom observes that Abel offered the *best* of his flock—Cain that which was most readily procured (*Hom. in Gen.* xviii. 5: cp. the Midrash Rabbah, Par. xxii. in Hamburger, *RE.* s. n. *Hebel*, or in Wünsche's *Sammlung Alter Midraschim*, 4te Lieferung, pp. 98, &c.). Jesus Christ spoke of him as the first "martyr" (Matt. xxiii. 35); so did the early Church subsequently. For Christian traditions, see Iren. v. 67; Chrysost. *Hom. in Gen.* xix.; Cedren. *Hist.* 8; Wetzer u. Welte's *KL.*² s. n.: for those of the Rabbins and Mahommedans, see Eisenmenger, *Entdeckt. Jud.* i. 462, 832; Hamburger, *op. cit.*; Hottinger, *Hist. Or.* 24; Ersch and Gruber, *Encykop.* s. v.; and the *Kur-án*, ch. v. The place of his murder and his grave are pointed out near Damascus (Pococke, b. ii. 168); and the neighbouring peasants tell a curious tradition respecting his burial (Stanley, *S. and P.* p. 413).

In modern times the interpretation of Abel has been traced to the Assyrian *habal*=son, a word not infrequent in proper names (*e.g.* Asur-nâṣir-habal; Nabû-habal-uṣur), and imported from the Sumerian-Accadian (Schrader, *KAT.*², p. 44); but such an interpretation, if suitable to the first-born son of the first man, does not seem appropriate to the younger brother (cp. Delitzsch). The fondness for the pastoral life, in which—as distinguished from the agricultural life—the Israelites delighted in the earlier days of their existence, has been traced with some probability to their attachment to the memory and calling of Abel. To Christians, Abel the shepherd became a type of Christ, "the just One," the "good Shepherd," "brought like a lamb to the slaughter," and offering the "blood of sprinkling that speaketh better than *that of* Abel" (Heb. xii. 24, R. V.). For the sect of the Abelonii (or Abelitæ) see *s. v.* in *Dictionary of Christian Biography*. [R. W. B.] [F.]

A'BEZ (אָבֵץ, in pause אָבֶץ; B. Θεβές, A. Ἀεμέ; *Abes*; R. V. *Ebez*), a town in the possession of Issachar, named between Kishion and Remeth, in Josh. xix. 20, only. Gesenius (*Thes.*) mentions as a possible derivation of the name, that the Chaldee for tin is אבצא. Some derive it and the name Ibzan from an unused root (= to shine, hence to be high) applied to high places and positions. Others connect it with an Arabic root, *to be white*. Possibly, however, if the boundary of Issachar may be carried so far to the south, the word is a corruption of תֶּבֶץ, Thebez, now *Tûbâs*, a town, 9 miles S.E. of Engannim, which otherwise has escaped mention in the list in Joshua. Conder (*Hdbk. to Bible*, 401) identifies it with *Kh. el-Beidha*, on the plain of Esdraelon, between *Tell Keimûn* (Jokneam) and *Beit Lahm* (Bethlehem), but this place must have been included within the border of Zebulun. [G.] [W.]

ABI' (אֲבִי, *father*=progenitor; Ἀβου; *Abi*), wife of Ahaz, and mother of king Hezekiah (2 K. xviii. 2). The name is written ABIJAH (No. 6, אֲבִיָּה) in 2 Ch. xxix. 1. Her father's name was Zechariah. He was perhaps the Zechariah mentioned by Isaiah (viii. 2). [R. W. B.] [F.]

ABI'A, ABI'AH, or ABI'JAH (אֲבִיָּה=אֲבִיָּהוּ, *my father* [or *a father*] *is Jah*; Ἀβιά; *Abiâ*). Many proper names are compounded of אבי (*father*, or *my father*). The sense in which this is to be understood is uncertain;

perhaps in some cases it may be a title of God (cp. Ewald, *Lehrb.* p. 615; Nestle, *Israelit. Eigennamen*, p. 182 *sq.*; Fr. Delitzsch, *Prolegg. z. Heb.-Aram. Wörterb.* p. 200 *sq.*). **1.** Son of Becher, the son of Benjamin (1 Ch. vii. 8, B. 'Αβιούδ, A. 'Αβιού). **2.** Wife of Hezron (1 Ch. ii. 24). **3.** Second son of Samuel, whom together with his eldest son Joel he made judges in Beersheba (1 Sam. viii. 2; 1 Ch. vi. 28). The corruptness of their administration was the reason alleged by the Israelites for their demanding a king. **4.** Mother of king Hezekiah [ABI]. **5.** Or Abijam, the son of Rehoboam (1 Ch. iii. 10, B. 'Αβεία; Matt. i. 7). **6.** Descendant of Eleazar, and chief of the eighth of the twenty-four courses of priests (Luke i. 5). Cp. ABIJAH (No. 4). For other persons of this name, see ABIJAH. [R. W. B.] [F.]

ABI-AL'BON. [ABIEL.]

ABI-A'SAPH, otherwise written EBI-ASAPH (אֲבִיאָסָף, Ex. vi. 24, B. 'Αβιασάρ, F. 'Αβιάσαφ; and אֶבְיָסָף in 1 Ch. vi. 8 [LXX. and Vulg. *v.* 23], B. 'Αβιαθάρ, A. 'Αβιασάφ; in 1 Ch. vi. 22 [LXX. and Vulg. *v.* 37], B. 'Αβιασάρ, A. 'Αβιασάφ; in 1 Ch. ix. 19, B. 'Αβιασάρ; *Abiasaph:* according to Simonis (but improbably), "*cujus patrem abstulit Deus*," with reference to the death of Korah, as related in Num. xvi.; but according to MV.[10] *my father hath gathered;* compare אָסָף, Asaph, 1 Ch. vi. 39). He was the head of one of the families of the Korhites (a house of the Kohathites), but his precise genealogy is somewhat uncertain. In Ex. vi. 24, he appears at first sight to be represented as one of the sons of Korah, and as the brother of Assir and Elkanah. But in 1 Ch. vi. he appears as the son of Elkanah, the son of Assir, the son of Korah. The natural inference from this would be that in Ex. vi. 24 the expression "the sons of Korah" merely means the families into which the house of the Korhites was subdivided. But if so, the verse in Exodus must be a later insertion than the time of Moses, as in Moses' lifetime the great-grandson of Korah could not have been the head of a family. And it is remarkable that the verse is quite out of its place, and appears improperly to separate ver. 25 and ver. 23, which both relate to the house of Aaron. If, however, this inference is not correct, then the Ebiasaph of 1 Ch. vi. is a different person from the Abiasaph of Ex. vi., viz. his great-nephew. But this does not seem probable. It appears from 1 Ch. ix. 19, that that branch of the descendants of Abiasaph of which Shallum was chief were porters, "keepers of the gates of the tabernacle;" and from ver. 31 that Mattithiah, "the first-born of Shallum the Korahite, had the set office over the things that were made in the pans," apparently in the time of David. From Neh. xii. 25 we learn that Abiasaph's family was not extinct in the days of Nehemiah; for the family of Meshullam (which is the same as Shallum), with Talmon and Akkub, still filled the office of porters, "keeping the ward at the threshold of the gate." Other remarkable descendants of Abiasaph, according to the text of 1 Ch. vi. 33–37, were Samuel the prophet and Elkanah his father (1 Sam. i. 1), and Heman the singer; but Ebiasaph seems to be improperly inserted in *v.* 37.[a] The possessions of those Kohathites who were not descended from Aaron, consisting of ten cities, lay in the tribe of Ephraim, the half-tribe of Manasseh, and the tribe of Dan (Josh. xxi. 20–26; 1 Ch. vi. 61). The family of Elkanah the Kohathite resided in Mount Ephraim (1 Sam. i. 1). [A. C. H.]

ABI-A'THAR (אֲבִיָתָר; 'Αβιαθάρ; *Abiathar;* but the version of Santes Pagninus has *Ebiathar*, according to the Hebrew points. In Mark ii. 26, it is 'Αβιάθαρ. According to Gesenius = *father of excellence*, or *abundance;* according to Olshausen [*Lehrb.* p. 620] = *my father excels.* The exact meaning is uncertain). Abiathar was that one of all the sons of Ahimelech the high-priest who escaped the slaughter inflicted upon his father's house by Saul, at the instigation of Doeg the Edomite (see title to Ps. lii. and the Psalm itself), in revenge for his having inquired of the Lord for David, and given him the *shew*bread to eat and the sword of Goliath the Philistine, as is related in 1 Sam. xxii. We are there told that when Doeg slew in Nob on that day fourscore and five persons that did wear a linen ephod, "one of the sons of Ahimelech the son of Ahitub, named Abiathar, escaped and fled after David;" and it is added in 1 Sam. xxiii. 6, that when he did so "he came down with an ephod in his hand," and was thus enabled to inquire of the Lord for David (1 Sam. xxiii. 9, xxx. 7; 2 Sam. ii. 1, v. 19, &c.). The fact of David having been the unwilling cause of the death of all Abiathar's kindred, coupled with his gratitude to his father Ahimelech for his kindness to him, made him a firm and stedfast friend to Abiathar all his life. Abiathar on his part was firmly attached to David. He adhered to him in his wanderings while pursued by Saul; he was with him while he reigned in Hebron (2 Sam. ii. 1–3), the city of the house of Aaron (Josh. xxi. 10–13); he carried the ark before him when David brought it up to Jerusalem (1 Ch. xv. 11; 1 K. ii. 26); he continued faithful to him in Absalom's rebellion (2 Sam. xv. 24, 29, 35, 36, xvii. 15–17, xix. 11); and "was afflicted in all wherein David was afflicted." He was also one of David's chief counsellors (1 Ch. xxvii. 34). When, however, Adonijah set himself up for David's successor on the throne in opposition to Solomon, Abiathar, either persuaded by Joab, or in rivalry to Zadok, or under some influence which cannot now be discovered, sided with him, and was one of his chief partisans, while Zadok was on Solomon's side. For this Abiathar was banished to his native village, Anathoth, in the tribe of Benjamin (Josh. xxi. 18), and narrowly escaped with his life, which was spared by Solomon only on the score of his long and faithful service to David his father. He was no longer permitted to perform the functions, or enjoy the prerogatives, of the high-priesthood. For we are distinctly told that "Solomon thrust out Abiathar from being priest to the Lord;" and that "Zadok the priest did the king put in the room of Abiathar" (1 K. ii. 27, 35). So that we must understand the assertion in 1 K. iv. 4, that in Solomon's reign "Zadok and Abiathar were the priests," as simply stating the historical fact that they were the priests at the

[a] See *The Genealogies of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*, by Lord Arthur Hervey, p. 210, and p. 214, note.

beginning of Solomon's reign. Ver. 2, which tells us that "Azarjah the son of Zadok" was "the priest,"—a declaration confirmed by 1 Ch. vi. 10,—refers to the eleventh year of his reign when the Temple was finished. It is probable that Abiathar did not long survive David. He is not mentioned again, and he must have been far advanced in years at Solomon's accession to the throne.

There are one or two other difficulties connected with Abiathar, to which a brief reference must be made before we conclude this article. (1.) In 2 Sam. viii. 17[a], and in the duplicate passage 1 Ch. xviii. 16 (א* Ἀβιεαθέρ), and in 1 Ch. xxiv. 3, 6, 31, we have *Ahimelech* substituted for *Abiathar*, and *Ahimelech the son of Abiathar* instead of *Abiathar the son of Ahimelech*. Whereas in 2 Sam. xx. 25, and in every other passage in the O. T., we are uniformly told that it was Abiathar who was priest with Zadok in David's reign, and that he was the son of Ahimelech, and that Ahimelech was the son of Ahitub. The difficulty is increased by finding Abiathar spoken of as the high-priest in whose time David ate the shewbread (see Mark ii. 26, and Alford *in loc.*). However, the evidence in favour of David's friend being *Abiathar the son of Ahimelech* preponderates so strongly, and the impossibility of any rational reconciliation is so clear, that one can only suppose, with Procopius of Gaza, an error here (cp. Wellhausen, *d. Text d. BB. Sam.* p. 177). The mention of *Abiathar* by our Lord, in Mark ii. 26, might perhaps be accounted for, if Abiathar was the person who persuaded his father to allow David to have the bread, and if, as is probable, the loaves were Abiathar's (Lev. xxiv. 9), and given by him with his own hand to David. The expression ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς is the equivalent of הַכֹּהֵן, "the priest," applied to Ahimelech throughout 1 Sam. xxi. and xxii., and equally applicable to Abiathar if he was the chief officiating priest under his father.

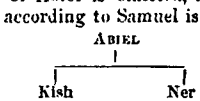
(2.) Another difficulty concerning Abiathar is to determine his position relatively to Zadok, and to account for the double high-priesthood, and for the advancement of the line of Ithamar over that of Eleazar. A theory has been invented that Abiathar was David's, and Zadok Saul's high-priest, but it seems to rest on no solid ground. The facts of the case are these:—Ahimelech, the son of Ahitub, the son of Phinehas, the son of Eli, was high-priest in the reign of Saul. On his death his son Abiathar became high-priest. The first mention of Zadok is in 1 Ch. xii. 28, where he is described as "a young man mighty of valour," and is said to have joined David while he reigned in Hebron, in company with Jehoiada, "the leader of the Aaronites." From this time we read, both in the books of Samuel and Chronicles, of "Zadok and Abiathar the priests," Zadok being always named first. And yet we are told that Solomon on his accession put Zadok in the room of Abiathar. Perhaps the true state of the case was, that Abiathar was the first and Zadok the second priest; but that from the superior strength of the house of Eleazar (of which Zadok was head), which enabled it to furnish sixteen out of the twenty-four courses (1 Ch. xxiv.), Zadok acquired considerable influence with David; and that this, added to his being the heir of the elder line, and perhaps also to some of the passages being written after the line of Zadok was established in the high-priesthood, led to the precedence given him over Abiathar. We have already suggested the possibility of jealousy of Zadok being one of the motives which inclined Abiathar to join Adonijah's faction. It is most remarkable how, first, Saul's cruel slaughter of the priests at Nob, and then the political error of the wise Abiathar, led to the fulfilment of God's denunciation against the house of Eli, as the writer of 1 K. ii. 27 leads us to observe when he says that "Solomon thrust out Abiathar from being priest unto the Lord, that he might fulfil the word of the Lord which He spake concerning the house of Eli in Shiloh." See also Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 1, §§ 3, 4. [A. C. H.]

A'BIB. [MONTHS.]

ABI-DAH and **ABI-DA** (אֲבִידָע, apparently = *my father knoweth*; B. Ἀβειδά, A. -ι- [in 1 Ch. *l. c.*]; *AD.* Ἀβιρά [in Gen. *l. c.*]; *Abida*), a son of Midian and grandson of Abraham by Keturah (Gen. xxv. 4; 1 Ch. i. 33). [E. S. P.]

ABI-DAN (אֲבִידָן, *my father is judge*; A. Ἀβιδάν, B. -ει-; *Abidan*), chief of the tribe of Benjamin at the time of the Exodus (Num. i. 11, ii. 22, vii. 60, 65, x. 24). [W. A. W.] [F.]

ABI-EL (אֲבִיאֵל, *my father* [or, *a father*] *is God* [or *El*]; A. Ἀβιήλ, B. -ει-; *Abiel*). **1.** The father of Kish, and consequently grandfather of Saul (1 Sam. ix. 1), as well as of Abner, Saul's commander-in-chief (1 Sam. xiv. 51, B. Ἀβειήρ). In the genealogy in 1 Ch. viii. 33, ix. 39, Ner is made the father of Kish, and the name of Abiel is omitted, but the correct genealogy according to Samuel is:—



2. Ἀβιήλ. One of David's thirty "mighty men" (1 Ch. xi. 32). The view that Abi-Albon (2 Sam. xxiii. 31) is an alternative for Abiel is very improbable (Driver). The reading Abiel in 2 Sam. is supported by B. (at end of ch. xxiii., ed. Swete, p. 666), Γαδ αβιηλ *vids* = געתי אביעלבן and the Luc. Recension Γαλσαβιήλ. Holmes and Parsons give twelve MSS. with Ἀβιήλ, and eleven with Ἀριήλ. Klostermann's suggestion here (note in loco in Strack u. Zöckler's *Kgf. Komm.*) is to some not unreasonable. בן in עלבון ('Albon) may be a corruption of בית, and he would read אֲבִיאֵל בֵּית הָעַרְבָתִי (instead of אֲבִיעַלְבוֹן הַשַּׁעְלְבֹנִי), Abiel of Betharaba (cp. Josh. xv. 6, 61), called Arabah in Josh. xviii. 18. [R. W. B.] [F.]

[a] Klostermann (*Kurzgef. Kommentar zu A. u. N. T.*, edd. Strack u. Zöckler, 1887) supposes in loco that such words as לִפְנֵי אֲבִיתָר (cp. 1 Sam. iii. 1, ii. 18) have fallen out of the text after כֹּהֲנִים. Hackett (*D. B.*, Amer. ed.) mentions the opinion that Abimelech and Abiathar were hereditary names in the family, and hence that the father and son could have borne these names respectively, and this view is accepted by most moderns. [F.]

ABI-E'ZER (אֲבִי עֶזֶר, *father of help*; in Josh. *l. c.* A. Ἀχιέζερ, B. Ἰέζεις in Num. *l. c.* [LXX. v. 34], Ἀχιέζερ; *Abiezer*). **1.** Eldest son of Gilead, and descendant of Machir and Manasseh, and apparently at one time the leading family of the tribe (Josh. xvii. 2; Num. xxvi. 30, where the name is given in the contracted form of אִיעֶזֶר, *Jeezer*). In the genealogies of Chronicles, Abiezer is, in the present state of the text, said to have sprung from the sister of Gilead (1 Ch. vii. 14). Originally, therefore, the family was with the rest of the house of Gilead on the east of Jordan; but when first met with in the history, some part at least of it had crossed the Jordan and established itself at Ophrah, now probably *Ferâta*, a village five miles W.S.W. of Shechem, and not far from the borders of Ephraim, the old name of which was Ophrah (*Sam. Chron.*). See *P. E. Mem.* ii. 162. Here, when the fortunes of his family were at the lowest—"my 'thousand' is 'the poor one' in Manasseh" (Judg. vi. 15)—was born the great judge Gideon, destined to raise his own house to almost royal dignity (Stanley, p. 229), and to achieve for his country one of the most signal deliverances recorded in their whole history. [GIDEON; OPHRAH.]

2. One of David's "mighty men" (2 Sam. xxiii. 27, B. Ἀβιεζέρ, AB^{b}. Ἀβιέζερ; 1 Ch. xi. 28, xxvii. 12, B. Ἀβιέζερ). [G.] [W.]

ABI-EZ'RITE (אֲבִי הָעֶזְרִי: B. *πατρὸς τοῦ* Ἐσδρεὶ in Judg. vi. 11 [A. *π.* Ἀβιεζρί], 24 [A. *π. τ.* Ἰεζρί]; B. Ἀβιεσδρεὶ in Judg. viii. 32, A. *πρς* Ἀβιεζρεί: *pater familiae Ezri* [vi. 11], *familia Ezri* [vi. 24, viii. 32]). The designation is given to Joash the father of Gideon, and is descriptive of a descendant of Abiezer, or Jeezer, the son of Gilead (Judg. vi. 11, 24; viii. 32), and thence also called JEEZERITE (Num. xxvi. 30; see ABIEZER, No. 1). In Judg. vi. 24, viii. 32, the A. V. and R. V. both use the plural "Abiezrites" for the collective Hebrew singular. The Peshito and Targum both regard the first part of the word "Abi" as an appellative, "father of," as also the LXX. and Vulgate. [W. A. W.] [F.]

ABI-GA'IL (אֲבִיגַיִל, or אֲבִיגָל [Kethib, אבנ], MV.^{10} = *father of joy*, Olshausen [*Lehrb.* p. 616] = *my father is joy*: Ἀβιγαία, B. -ει-; *Abigail*). **1.** The beautiful wife of Nabal, a wealthy owner of goats and sheep in Carmel. When David's messengers were slighted by Nabal, Abigail took the blame upon herself, supplied David and his followers with provisions, and succeeded in appeasing his anger. Ten days after this Nabal died, and David sent for Abigail and made her his wife (1 Sam. xxv. 14 *seq.*). By her he had a son, called Chileab in 2 Sam. iii. 3, but Daniel (B. Δαμιήλ; *Daniel*) in 1 Ch. iii. 1. He may well have borne both names (Keil).

2. A sister of David, married to Jether the *Ishmaelite*, and mother, by him, of Amasa (1 Ch. ii. 17). In 2 Sam. xvii. 25 she (*Abigal*) is described as the daughter of Nahash, sister to Zeruiah, Joab's mother, and as marrying Ithra (another form of Jether) an *Israelite*. A. has here Ἰσμαηλείτης (B. Ἰσρ-), a reading accepted by Thenius, Keil, and Wellhausen. There could, it is thought, be no reason for recording a marriage with an Israelite; but the circumstance of David's sister marrying a heathen Ishmaelite deserved mention (Thenius, *Exeg. Handb.* Sam. *l. c.*). Lucian has the reading ὁ Ἰεζραηλίτης (= הַיִּזְרְאֵלִי), but there is no place called יִזְרְאֵל. [R. W. B.] [F.]

ABIHA'IL (אֲבִיחַיִל, Ges. = *father of might*. **1.** A. Ἀβιχαίλ, B. -ει-, F. Ἀβιχαία; *Abihaiel*. Father of Zuriel, chief of the Levitical family of Merari, a contemporary of Moses (Num. iii. 35).

2. Wife of Abishur (1 Ch. ii. 29).

3. A. Ἀβιχαία, B. -ει-; *Abihail*. Son of Huri, of the tribe of Gad (1 Ch. v. 14).

4. Wife of Rehoboam (2 Ch. xi. 18; *Abihail*). She is called the daughter, *i.e.* a descendant of Eliab, the elder brother of David.

5. Ἀμιναδάβ; *Abihail*. Father of Esther and uncle of Mordecai (Esth. ii. 15, ix. 29).

The names of Nos. 2 and 4 are written in some MSS. אֲבִיחָיִל (B. Ἀβειχαία, A. Ἀβιγαία in 1 Ch. ii. 29; B. *Balav*, B.^{abvid} Ἀβαλαν, A. Ἀβιαὰλ in 2 Ch. xi. 18), which may be conjectured to be a mistake for or variation of אֲבִי חַיִל. [R. W. B.] [F.]

ABI'HU (אֲבִיהוּא, *my Father is He*[a]; Ἀβιούδ; *Abiu*), the second son (Num. iii. 2) of Aaron by Elisheba (Ex. vi. 23), who, with his father and his elder brother Nadab and seventy elders of Israel, accompanied Moses to the summit of Sinai (Ex. xxiv. 1). Being together with Nadab guilty of offering strange fire (Lev. x. 1) to the Lord, *i.e.* not the holy fire which burnt continually upon the altar of burnt-offering (Lev. vi. 9, 12), they were both consumed by fire from heaven, and Aaron and his surviving sons were forbidden to mourn for them. The name also occurs in Exod. xxiv. 9, xxviii. 1; Num. iii. 4, xxvi. 60, 61; 1 Ch. vi. 3, xxiv. 1, 2. [R. W. B.] [F.]

ABI'HUD (אֲבִיהוּד, *father of majesty*, or *my father is majesty*; Ἀβιούδ; *Abiud*), son of Bela and grandson of Benjamin (1 Ch. viii. 3). [W. A. W.] [F.]

ABI'JAH or **ABI'JAM.** **1.** אֲבִיָּה, אֲבִיָּהוּ, *my father* (or, *a father*) *is Jah*. אֲבִים according to Ges. = *father of the sea*, i.e. a maritime man; according to Nestle (*Die Isr. Eigenn.* p. 173 n.) = אֲבִיעַם, *father of the people*; Ἀβίας, Joseph.; *Abiam*, *Abia*, the son and successor of Rehoboam on the throne of Judah (1 K. xiv. 31; 2 Ch. xii. 16). He is called Abijah in Chronicles (אֲבִיָּה; Ἀβιά; *Abia*), Abijam in Kings (Ἀβιού; *Abiam*); the latter name being probably an error in the MSS., since the LXX.-form, Ἀβιού, seems taken from *Abijahu*, which occurs 2 Ch. xiii. 20, 21 (Ἀβιά; *Abia*). Indeed Gesenius says that some MSS. read *Abijah* in 1 K. xiv. 31. The supposition, therefore, of Lightfoot (*Harm. O. T.*, p. 209, Pitman's edition), that the writer in Kings, who takes a much worse view of Abijah's character than we find in Chronicles, altered the last syllable to avoid introducing the holy JAH into the name of a bad man, is unnecessary. But it is not fanciful or absurd, for changes of the kind were not unusual: for

[a] Cf. אֵלִיהוּא. הוּא, *He*, appears to have been used to denote God. Cp. Olshausen, *Lehrb.*, p. 615; Renan, *Des Noms théophores*, in *REJ.* v. 164. [F.]

example, after the Samaritan schism the Jews altered the name of Shechem into Sychar (*drunken*), as we have it in John iv. 5; and Hosea (iv. 15) changes Beth-el, *house of God*, into Beth-aven, *house of naught* (see Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 222).

From the First Book of Kings we learn that Abijah endeavoured to recover the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, and made war on Jeroboam. No details are given, but we are also informed that he walked in all the sins of Rehoboam (idolatry and its attendant immoralities, 1 K. xiv. 23, 24), and that his heart "was not perfect before God, as the heart of David his father." In the Second Book of Chronicles his war against Jeroboam is more minutely described, and he makes a speech to the men of Israel, reproaching them for breaking their allegiance to the house of David, for worshipping the golden calves, and substituting unauthorized priests for the sons of Aaron and the Levites. He was successful in battle against Jeroboam, and took the cities of Bethel, Jeshanah, and Ephrain, with their dependent villages. It is also said (2 Ch. xiii. 3, 17) that his army consisted of 400,000 men, and Jeroboam's of 800,000, of whom 500,000 fell in the action: numbers which, if in themselves almost incredibly high and possibly incorrect, are yet in keeping with the systematic use of high figures on the part of the Chronicler (see 1 Ch. xxi. 5; cp. 2 Sam. xxiv. 9: Rawlinson in the *Speaker's Commentary* on Ch. *l. c.*). Nothing is said by the writer in Chronicles of the sins of Abijah, but we are told that after his victory he "waxed mighty, and married fourteen wives," whence we may well infer that he was elated with prosperity, and, like his grandfather Solomon, fell during the last two years of his life into wickedness, as described in Kings. Both records inform us that he reigned but three years; and the Talmud accounts his early death a punishment for his non-fulfilment of the duties to which his own speech had summoned the children of Israel (2 Chron. xiii. 4–12). His mother was called Maachah. In some places (1 K. xv. 2; 2 Ch. xi. 20) she is said to be the daughter of Absalom or Abishalom (the same name); in one (2 Ch. xiii. 2; Heb. reads מִיכָיְהוּ, but the LXX. and Syr. read מַעֲכָה, which is certainly right, and is accepted by Bertheau and Keil) of Uriel of Gibeah. It is, however, so common for the word בַּת, *daughter*, to be used in the sense of *granddaughter* or *descendant*, that we need not hesitate to assume that Uriel married Tamar, Absalom's daughter, and that thus Maachah was daughter of Uriel and granddaughter of Absalom. Abijah therefore was descended from David, both on his father's and mother's side. According to the old chronology, the date of Abijah's accession was variously placed between B.C. 933 (Seyffarth) and B.C. 968 (Ewald); but, since the discovery of the Assyrian Eponymous Canon, between B.C. 912 (Brandes) and B.C. 921 (Riehm). See Rösch's useful table in Herzog, *RE.*[2] xvii. p. 477, s. n. *Zeitrechnung*. The 18th year of Jeroboam coincides with the 1st and 2nd of Abijah.

2. The second son of Samuel, called ABIAH in A. V., Abijah in R. V. [See ABIA, No. 3.]

3. Ἀβιά; *Abia*. The son of Jeroboam I. king of Israel, in whom alone, of all the house of Jeroboam, was found "some good thing toward the Lord God of Israel," and who was therefore the only one of his family who was suffered to go down to the grave in peace. He died in his childhood, just after Jeroboam's wife had been sent in disguise to seek help for him in his sickness from the prophet Ahijah, who gave her the above answer. (1 K. xiv.)

4. Ἀβιά; *Abia*. A descendant of Eleazar, who gave his name to the eighth of the twenty-four *courses* into which the priests were divided by David (1 Ch. xxiv. 10; 2 Ch. viii. 14). Only four of the courses returned from the Captivity, and that of Abijah was not one (Ezra ii. 36–39; Neh. vii. 39–42, xii. 1). But the four were divided into the original number of twenty-four, with the original names; and hence it happened that to the course of Abijah or Abia belonged Zacharias the father of John the Baptist (Luke i. 5).

5. Ἀβιά; *Abia*. A contemporary of Nehemiah (Neh. x. 7).

6. The daughter of Zechariah (2 Ch. xxix. 1, B. Ἀββᾶ, A. Ἀββαθώθ, *Abia*), also called ABI (B. Ἀβού, *Abi*, in 2 K. xviii. 2), wife of Ahaz, and mother of Hezekiah. [ABI.] [G. E. I. C.] [F.]

ABI'JAM. [ABIJAH, No. 1.]

A'BILA. [ABILENE.]

ABILE'NE (Ἀβιληνή, Luke iii. 1), a tetrarchy of which Abila was the capital. This Abila must not be confounded with Abila in Peraea, and other Syrian cities of the same name, but was situated on the eastern slope of Antilibanus, in a district fertilised by the river Barada. It is distinctly associated with Lebanon by Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 6, § 10, xix. 5, § 1, xx. 7, § 1; *B. J.* ii. 11, § 5). Its name probably arose from the green luxuriance of its situation, "Abel" perhaps denoting "a grassy meadow" [see *s. v.*]. The name, thus derived, is quite sufficient to account for the traditions of the death of Abel, which are associated with the spot, and which are localised by the tomb called *Neby Habil*, on a height above the ruins of the city. The position of the city is very clearly designated by the Itineraries as 18 miles from Damascus, and 38 (or 32) miles from Heliopolis or Baalbec (*Itin. Ant.* and *Tab. Peut.*).

It is impossible to fix the limits of the Abilene which is mentioned by St. Luke as the tetrarchy of Lysanias. [LYSANIAS.] Like other districts of the East, it doubtless underwent many changes both of masters and of extent, before it was finally absorbed in the province of Syria. Josephus associates this neighbourhood with the name of Lysanias both before and after the time referred to by the Evangelist. For the later notices see the passages just cited. We there find "Abila of Lysanias," and "the tetrarchy of Lysanias," distinctly mentioned in the reigns of Claudius and Caligula. We find also the phrase Ἀβίλα Λυσανίου in Ptolemy (v. 15, § 22). The natural conclusion appears to be that this was the Lysanias of St. Luke. It is true that a chieftain bearing the same name is mentioned by Josephus in the time of Antony and Cleopatra, as ruling in the same neighbourhood (*Ant.* xiv. 3, § 3, xv. 4, § 1; *B. J.* i. 13, § 1; also Dio Cass. xlix. 32): and from the close connexion of this man's father with Lebanon and Damascus (*Ant.* xiii. 16, § 3, xiv. 7, § 4; *B. J.* i. 9, § 2) it is probable that Abilene was part of his terri-

tory, and that the Lysanias of St. Luke was the son or grandson of the former. Even if we assume (as many writers too readily assume) that the tetrarch mentioned in the time of Claudius and Caligula is to be identified, not with the Lysanias of St. Luke, but with the earlier Lysanias (never called tetrarch and never positively connected with Abila) in the times of Antony and Cleopatra, there is no difficulty in believing that a prince bearing this name ruled over a tetrarchy having Abila for its capital, in the 15th year of Tiberius (see Wieseler, *Chronologische Synopse der vier Evangelien*, pp. 174–183).

The site of the chief city of Abilene has been undoubtedly identified where the Itineraries place it; and its remains have been described of late years by many travellers. It stood in a remarkable gorge called the *Sûk Wâdy Barada*, where the river breaks down through the mountain towards the plain of Damascus. Among the remains the inscriptions are most to our purpose. One containing the words Ανσανίου Τετράρχου is cited by Pococke, but has not been seen by any subsequent traveller. Two Latin inscriptions on the face of a rock above a fragment of Roman road (first noticed in the *Quarterly Review* for 1822, No. 52) were first published by Letronne (*Journal des Savants*, 1827), and afterwards by Orelli (*Inscr. Lat.* 4997, 4998). One relates to some repairs of the road at the expense of the *Abileni:* the other associates the 16th Legion with the place. See Hogg, *Trans. of the Roy. Geog. Soc.* for 1851; Porter, *Journ. of Sac. Lit.* for July 1853, and esp. his *Damascus*, i. 261–273; Robinson, *Later Bib. Res.* 478–484; *Dict. G. and R. Geogr.*, art. "Abilene;" and Schumacher, "Abila of the Decapolis" (*PEF.*, July 1889). [J. S. H.] [W.]

ABI-MA'EL (אֲבִימָאֵל; A. 'Αβιμεήλ, E. 'Αβιμελεήλ; *Abimaël*), named as a descendant of Joktan (Gen. x. 28; 1 Ch. i. 22), and thus as the progenitor of an Arab tribe. Bochart (*Phaleg*, ii. 24) conjectures that his name is preserved in that of Μάλι [Μαμάλι], a place in Arabia Aromatifera, mentioned by Theophrastus (*Hist. Plant.* ix. 4), and thinks (with scant probability) that the Malitae are the same as Ptolemy's Μαναῖται (vi. 7, § 23), and that they were a people of the Minaeans (for whom see ARABIA). D. H. Müller (in MV.[10] *s. n.*) compares the name with the South-Arabian proper name אבמעתתר, *Abmi 'Athtar = a father is Athtar* (the Hebrew Ashtoreth, but in S. Arabia a male divinity. See Baethgen, *Beiträge z. Semit. Religionsgesch.*, p. 117 *sq.*). [E. S. P.] [F.]

ABI-ME'LECH (אֲבִימֶלֶךְ; if compounded of the Phoenician deity *Milk* [or Moloch = king; see Baethgen, *op. cit.*, p. 37 n.] = *my father is* [the god] *Milk:* 'Αβιμέλεχ; *Abimelech*), the name of several Philistine kings. It is supposed by many to have been a common title of their kings, like that of Pharaoh among the Egyptians, and that of Caesar and Augustus among the Romans. The name Father of the King, or Father King, corresponds to *Padishah* (Father King), the title of the Persian kings, and *Atâlîh* (Father, pr. paternity), the title of the Khans of Bucharia (Gesen. *Thes.*).

1. A Philistine, king of Gerar (Gen. xx., xxi.), who, exercising the right claimed by Eastern princes of collecting all the beautiful women of their dominions into their harem (Gen. xii. 15; Esth. ii. 3), sent for and took Sarah. The account given of Abraham's conduct on this occasion is similar to that of his behaviour towards Pharaoh [ABRAHAM]. A few years later, Abimelech and Phicol, "the chief captain of his host," made an alliance of peace and friendship with Abraham; and the covenant was established by a present to the king of seven ewe lambs, made at "the well of the oath" [BEERSHEBA], which Abimelech's servants had "violently taken away," but which was then restored.

2. Another king of Gerar in the time of Isaac, of whom a similar narrative is recorded in relation to Rebekah (Gen. xxvi. 1 *seq.*). Once more there was a dispute about wells; and once more were these disputes allayed by peaceful alliances between the king and the patriarch.

3. B. 'Αβειμέλεχ. Son of the judge Gideon by his Shechemite concubine (Judg. viii. 31). Here the derivation of the name is not Phoenician. The latter part of the name is not to be connected with a heathen deity, but is another name for Jehovah, = (The) *King* (Jehovah) *is* (my) *father*, or father of him who bears the name (see Baethgen, p. 146 *sq.*). After his father's death he "hired vain and light fellows," and murdered all his brethren, seventy in number, with the exception of Jotham the youngest, who concealed himself; and he then persuaded the Shechemites, through the influence of his mother's brethren, to elect him king. It is evident from this narrative that Shechem then became an independent state, and threw off the yoke of the conquering Israelites (Ewald, *Gesch.* ii. 444). When Jotham heard that Abimelech was made king, he addressed to the Shechemites his fable of the trees choosing a king (Judg. ix. 1 *seq.*: cf. Joseph. *Ant.* v. 7, § 2), which may be compared with the well-known fable of Menenius Agrippa (Liv. ii. 32). After he had reigned three years, the citizens of Shechem rebelled under Gaal, son of Ebed. He was absent at the time, but he returned and quelled the insurrection. Gaal was expelled by Zebul, the governor friendly to Abimelech, and the city was taken by stratagem, utterly destroyed, and the ground strewn with salt. Those who had escaped for safety to "the hold of the house of El-Berith" were destroyed by the setting of the hold on fire. Shortly after he stormed and took Thebez, but was struck on the head by a woman with the fragment of a mill-stone (comp. 2 Sam. xi. 21); and lest it should be said to his disgrace that he had died by the hand of a woman (cp. Soph. *Trach.* 1064; Sen. *Herc. Oet.* 1176), he bade his armour-bearer slay him. Thus the murder of his brethren was avenged, and the curse of Jotham fulfilled.

4. Son of Abiathar, the high-priest in the time of David (1 Ch. xviii. 16); but this is evidently an error for the person called Ahimelech (אֲחִימֶלֶךְ; 'Αχιμέλεχ, B. 'Αχειμέλεχ; *Achimelech*) in 2 Sam. viii. 17 [AHIMELECH]. The reading Ahimelech is also adopted in 1 Ch. xviii. 16 by the LXX., Vulg., Syr., Targ., Arab., and by twelve Heb. MSS. (De Rossi, *Var. Lect.* iv. 182).

5. Ps. xxxiv., title. [AHIMELECH, 2.] [R. W. B.] [F.]

ABI-NADAB (אֲבִינָדָב, Ges. = *noble father*, MV.[10] = *my father is noble*; A. Ἀμιναδάβ, B. Ἀμειν-; *Abinadáb*). **1.** A native of Kirjath-jearim, in whose house "on a hill" the ark remained 20 years (1 Sam. vii. 1, 2; 2 Sam. vi. 3, 4; 1 Ch. xiii. 7, ℵ. Ἀμιν-). **2.** Second son of Jesse, who followed Saul to his war against the Philistines (1 Sam. xvi. 8, xvii. 13; 1 Ch. ii. 13). **3.** A son of Saul, who was slain with his brothers at the fatal battle on Mount Gilboa (1 Sam. xxxi. 2, B. Ἰωναδάβ; 1 Ch. viii. 33, ix. 39, x. 2, ℵA. Ἀμιναδάβ, B.[vid] Ἀμιρ-). **4.** Father of one of the twelve chief officers of Solomon (1 K. iv. 11, A. Ἀβιναδάβ, B. omits). [R. W. B.] [F.]

ABI-NER (אֲבִינֵר, Ges. = *father of a lamp*, MV.[10] = *my father is a lamp*; B. Ἀβεννήρ, A. Ἀβενήρ; *Abner*). Marginal form of the name Abner (1 Sam. xiv. 50). Cp. Lagarde, *Uebersicht üb. d. i. Arām., Arab., u. Hebr. Bildung d. Nomina*, p. 75 n. [W. A. W.] [F.]

ABI-NO'AM (אֲבִינֹעַם, Ges. = *father of pleasantness*, Olshausen and MV.[10] = *my father is pleasantness*; B. Ἀβεινέεμ, A. Ἀβιν-; *Abinoem*), father of Barak (Judg. iv. 6, 12, A. Ἰαβινέεμ; v. 1, 12). [R. W. B.] [F.]

ABI-RAM (אֲבִירָם, Ges. = *father of loftiness*, MV.[10] = *my father is lofty*; B. Ἀβειρών [A. once Ἀβαρών], F. Ἀβι-; *Abiron*). **1.** A Reubenite, son of Eliab, who with Dathan and On, men of the same tribe, and Korah a Levite, organized a conspiracy against Moses and Aaron (Num. xvi.). [For details, see KORAH.]

2. B. Ἀβειρών; *Abiram*. Eldest son of Hiel, the Bethelite, who died when his father laid the foundations of Jericho (1 K. xvi. 34), and thus accomplished the first part of the curse of Joshua (Josh. vi. 26). [R. W. B.] [F.]

ABI-RON (Ἀβειρών; *Abiron*). ABIRAM (Ecclus. xlv. 18; Vulg. *v.* 22). [W. A. W.]

ABI-SE'I (*Abisei*). ABISHUA, the son of Phinehas (2 Esd. i. 2). [W. A. W.]

ABI-SHAG (אֲבִישַׁג, Ges. = *father* [*i.e.* author] *of error*, and so used of man or woman. Olshausen, *Lehrb. d. Hebr. Sprache*, p. 620, notes that the real meaning is very obscure. B. Ἀβεισά, A. Ἀβισάγ; *Abisag*), a beautiful Shunammite, taken into David's harem to comfort him in his extreme old age (1 K. i. 1–4). After David's death Adonijah induced Bathsheba, the queen-mother, to ask Solomon to give him Abishag in marriage; but this imprudent petition cost Adonijah his life (1 K. ii. 13 *seq.*). [ADONIJAH.] [R. W. B.] [F.]

ABI-SHAI (אֲבִישַׁי; in 2 Sam. x. 10, אֲבִשַׁי, Ges. = *father of a gift*, MV.[10] *my father is a gift*: *Abisa*). The eldest son of Zeruiah, David's sister, and the brother of Joab and Asahel (1 Ch. ii. 16, B. Ἀβεισά [and usually], A. Ἀβισσά). A man of daring and devoted loyalty, he, more than his brothers, had won the confidence of David. He went with him to the sleeping camp of Saul (1 Sam. xxvi. 6, &c., A. Ἀβισαί [and usually]), and would have smitten the king with his spear, had not David's loyal respect for "the Lord's anointed" prevented him. They took the king's spear and the cruse of water which was at Saul's head; and David, presently denouncing the incompetency of the guard kept over their master by Abner and his soldiers, pointed to the king's preservation as an illustration of his own good will towards his person. A like indignation against the enemies of his uncle animated Abishai when he eagerly craved permission to slay Shimei, who cursed David while fleeing before Absalom (2 Sam. xvi. 9–14). In the successful battle which quelled the rebellion of Absalom (2 Sam. xviii. 2, A. Ἀβισαεί), Abishai was in command of one of the three divisions of the royal army, and in the absence of Amasa he headed the troops commanded to pursue the rebel Sheba (2 Sam. xx. 6, A. Ἀβισαεί). Abishai could forgive no wrong and brook no rival. Hence his name is inseparably connected with two deeds of blood wrought by, or in conjunction with, his brother Joab: the second was the slaughter of Amasa, whom David had appointed captain of his host in the place of Joab after the murder of Absalom (2 Sam. xix. 13, xx. 10, A. Ἀβισαεί); the first was the treacherous murder of Abner, who, when fleeing after the fight of "the pool of Gibeon," had slain Asahel (2 Sam. ii. 19, &c., iii. 30, B. Ἀβεσσά, A. Ἀσαήλ). His bravery and generalship were undisputed. In the war of retaliation against the Ammonites and Syrians, in consequence of Hanun's outrageous treatment of David's messengers, Joab assigned to Abishai the command against the former, and together they utterly discomfited the hosts united against them (2 Sam. x. 1, &c., B. Ἀβεισά, A. Ἀβισαί; 1 Ch. xix. 1, &c., B. v. 11, A. v. 15, Ἀβεσσά). Abishai took also his share in the memorable victories won over the Edomites in "the valley of salt" by David and Joab (2 Sam. viii. 13; 1 Ch. xviii. 12, B. Ἀβεσσά, A. Ἀβισά; Ps. lx., title). As acts of personal prowess, it is recorded of him that in a war with the Philistines he rescued his master David from his peril at the hands of Ishbi-benob the giant and slew him (2 Sam. xxi. 17, B. Ἀβεσσά, A. Ἀβισαεί); and in a single-handed contest with three hundred men, his valour secured him the title of Rosh ha-sheloshah (רֹאשׁ הַשְּׁלִשָׁה al. רֹאשׁ הַשְּׁלִשִׁים, "chief among the three" (al. "of the thirty"), or, as some prefer, "chief or captain of the warrior (or Shalish) class" (2 Sam. xxiii. 18; 1 Ch. xi. 20, A. Ἀβεσσά), the second grade in the famous catalogue of David's mighty men. There is much probability in the conjecture that these personal acts are to be referred to the period of David's wandering among the Philistines. There is no record of the end of Abishai's life. [F.]

ABI-SHA'LOM (אֲבִישָׁלוֹם; Ἀβεσσαλώμ; *Abessalom*, "father of peace"), father of Maachah, who was the wife of Rehoboam, and mother of Abijah (1 K. xv. 2, 10). He is called Absalom (אַבְשָׁלוֹם) in 2 Ch. xi. 20, 21. This person must be David's son (see B. [A. βασιλεί], 2 Sam. xiv. 27). The daughter of Absalom was doubtless called Maachah after her grandmother (2 Sam. iii. 3). [W. A. W.]

ABI-SHU'A (אֲבִישׁוּעַ, Ges. = *father of welfare*, Olshausen and MV.[10] = *my father is welfare*;

Abisue). **1.** Son of Bela, of the tribe of Benjamin (1 Ch. viii. 4, B. Ἀβεισδμας, A. Ἀβισουέ, T.[7] Ἀβεσσουέ). **2.** Son of Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, and father of Bukki, in the genealogy of the high-priests (1 Ch. vi. 4, 5, 50, B. Ἀβεισού, A. -ι-; Ezra vii. 5, T.[7] Ἀβισουέ). According to Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 1, § 3) he executed the office of high-priest after his father Phinehas, and was succeeded by Eli; his descendants, till Zadok, falling into the rank of private persons (ἰδιωτεύσαντες). His name is corrupted in Josephus into Ἰώσηπος. Nothing is known of him. [A. C. H.]

ABI-SHUR (אֲבִישׁוּר. The meaning is uncertain; Ges.=*father of a wall*, MV.[10]=*my father is a wall*; B. Ἀβεισούρ, A. -υ-; *Abisur*), son of Shammai (1 Ch. ii. 28). [W. A. W.] [F.]

ABI-SUM (B. Ἀβεισουέ, A. -ι-; *Abisue*). ABISHUA, the son of Phinehas (1 Esd. viii. 2 [LXX. and Vulg. vii. 5]), called also ABISEI; one of the ancestors of Ezra. [W. A. W.] [F.]

ABI-TAL (אֲבִיטַל, Ges.=*father of dew*, Olshausen and MV.[10]=*My father is the dew*; B. Ἀβιτάλει, A. -ι; *Abital*), one of David's wives (2 Sam. iii. 4; 1 Ch. iii. 3, B. Σαβειτάλ). [W. A. W.] [F.]

ABI-TUB (אֲבִיטוּב, Ges.=*father of goodness*, MV.[10]=*My father is goodness*; BA. Ἀβιτώβ, T.[7] Ἀβιτώλ; *Abitob*), son of Shaharaim by Hushim (1 Ch. viii. 11). [W. A. W.] [F.]

ABI'UD (Ἀβιούδ; *Abiud*). Descendant of Zorobabel, in the genealogy of Jesus Christ (Matt. i. 13). Lord A. Hervey identifies him with HODAIAH (1 Ch. iii. 24) and JUDA (Luke iii. 26), and supposes him to have been the grandson of Zerubbabel through his only daughter mentioned, Shelomith (1 Ch. iii. 19). Nösgen, with less probability, considers him to have been the husband of Shelomith. [W. A. W.] [F.]

ABLUTION. [PURIFICATION.]

AB'NER (אַבְנֵר, once אֲבִינֵר, where see the etymologies; B. Ἀβεννήρ, A. Ἀβενὴρ or Ἀβαινήρ; *Abner*). **1.** Son of Ner, who was the brother of Kish (1 Ch. ix. 36), the father of Saul. Abner, therefore, was Saul's first cousin, and was made by him commander-in-chief of his army (1 Sam. xiv. 50). He was the person who conducted David into Saul's presence after the death of Goliath (xvii. 57); and afterwards accompanied his master when he sought David's life at Hachilah (xxvi. 3–14). From this time we hear no more of him till after the death of Saul, when he rose into importance as the mainstay of his family. It would seem that, immediately after the disastrous battle of Mount Gilboa, David was proclaimed king of Judah in Hebron, the old capital of that tribe, but that the rest of the country was altogether in the hands of the Philistines, and that five years passed before any native prince ventured to oppose his claims to their supremacy. During that time the Israelites were gradually recovering their territory, and at length Abner proclaimed the weak and unfortunate Ishbosheth, Saul's son, as king of Israel in Mahanaim, beyond Jordan—at first no doubt as a place of security against the Philistines, though all serious apprehension of danger from them must have soon passed away—and Ishbosheth was generally recognised except by Judah. This view of the order of events is necessary to reconcile 2 Sam. ii. 10, where Ishbosheth is said to have reigned over Israel for two years, with *v.* 11, in which we read that David was king of Judah for seven;* and it is confirmed by *vv.* 5, 6, 7, in which David's message of thanks to the men of Jabesh-gilead for burying Saul and his sons implies that no prince of Saul's house had as yet claimed the throne, but that David hoped that his title would be soon acknowledged by all Israel; while the exhortation "to be valiant" probably refers to the struggle with the Philistines, who placed the only apparent impediment in the way of his recognition. War soon broke out between the two rival kings, and a "very sore battle" was fought at Gibeon between the men of Israel under Abner, and the men of Judah under Joab, son of Zeruiah, David's sister (1 Ch. ii. 16). When the army of Ishbosheth was defeated, Joab's youngest brother Asahel, who is said to have been "as light of foot as a wild roe," pursued Abner, and in spite of warning refused to leave him, so that Abner in self-defence was forced to kill him. After this the war continued, success inclining more and more to the side of David, till at last the imprudence of Ishbosheth deprived him of the counsels and generalship of the hero, who was in truth the only support of his tottering throne. Abner had married Rizpah, Saul's concubine, and this, according to the views of Oriental courts, might be interpreted to imply a design upon the throne. Thus we read of a certain Armais, who, while left viceroy of Egypt in the absence of the king his brother, "used violence to the queen and concubines, and put on the diadem, and set up to oppose his brother" (Manetho, quoted by Joseph. *c. Apion.* i. 15. Cp. also 2 Sam. xvi. 21, xx. 3, 1 K. ii. 13–25, and the case of the Pseudo-Smerdis, Herod. iii. 68). [ABSALOM; ADONIJAH.] Rightly or wrongly, Ishbosheth so understood it, though Abner might seem to have given sufficient proof of his loyalty, and he ventured to reproach him with it. Abner, incensed at his ingratitude, after an indignant reply, opened negotiations with David, who received him most favourably at Hebron, and promised him the chief command of the armies of the united kingdom. Abner then undertook to procure his recognition throughout Israel; but after leaving his court for the purpose was enticed back by Joab, and treacherously murdered by him and his brother Abishai at the gate of the city, partly no doubt, as Joab showed afterwards in the case of AMASA, from fear lest so distinguished a convert to their cause should gain too high a place in David's favour (Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 1, § 5), but ostensibly in retaliation for the death of Asahel. For this there was indeed some pretext, inasmuch as it was thought dishonourable even in battle to kill a mere stripling like Asahel, and Joab and Abishai were in this case the *revengers of blood*

* In the opinion of many, the numbers have been tampered with. Ishbosheth was more probably 24 or 14 years old than 40, and his reign lasted possibly six years. See *Speaker's Comm.* and Klostermann (*Kgf. Komm. z. A. u. N. T.*, edd. Strack u. Zöckler) in loco.

(Num. xxxv. 10), but it is also plain that Abner only killed the youth to save his own life. This murder caused the greatest sorrow and indignation (cp. 1 Kings ii. 5) to David; and as the assassins were too powerful to be punished, he contented himself with showing every public token of respect to Abner's memory, by following the bier and pouring forth a simple dirge over the slain, which is thus translated by the R. V.:—

> Should Abner die as a fool dieth?
> Thy hands were not bound, nor thy feet put into fetters:
> As a man falleth before the children of iniquity, so didst thou fall.

i.e. "Thou didst not fall as a prisoner taken in battle, with hands and feet fettered, but by secret assassination, such as one wicked man meets at the hands of other wicked men" (2 Sam. iii. 33, 34). What specially excited the indignation of David was the mode in which Abner had met his death. See also Lowth, *Lectures on Hebrew Poetry*, xxii. [G. E. L. C.] [F.]

2. Father of Jaasiel, chief of the Benjamites in David's reign (1 Ch. xxvii. 21); probably the same as ABNER No. 1. [W. A. W.]

ABOMINATION (תּוֹעֵבָה). The consideration of this term may be confined to two passages (see *Speaker's Commentary* and Delitzsch, *Genesis* [1887], notes in loco). (*a*) Gen. xliii. 32, "The Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews, for that is an abomination unto the Egyptians." The Egyptians would not eat with foreigners. National pride and superstition had combined in establishing such usage (Herod. ii. 41; Diod. Sic. i. 67). They treated the Hebrew, the Greek, and all outside themselves as foreigners. A primary reason for this exclusiveness may have consisted in the fact that the sacrifice of the cow, so common among Hebrew, Greek, and other nations, was forbidden among the Egyptians, the cow being their sacred animal; but, generally speaking, the land of the "foreigners" and its inhabitants belonged to Set (Typhon), "the almighty destroyer and blighter." The Jews themselves, at a later period of their existence, adopted the same habits of exclusiveness (cp. John iv. 9; Acts x. 28, xi. 3). (*b*) Gen. xlvi. 34: "Every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians." Joseph describes his brothers to Pharaoh as "shepherds, keepers of cattle"; and bids them describe themselves as "keepers of cattle from our youth even until now, both we and our fathers." Such description will, he intimates, secure their dwelling in the land of Goshen rather than in the heart of Egypt, because—he adds—"every shepherd," &c. If the advent of Joseph to Egypt be placed (with Ebers and Lepsius) at the end of the Hyksos period [EGYPT], the memory of the shepherd (*i.e.* nomad) dynasty and its oppressiveness would be still acute. "Foreigner" shepherds would all be termed by an indiscriminating hatred, "abomination." Otherwise the shepherd was not, as was the swineherd (Herod. ii. 47), especially abominable to the Egyptians, a people who were great breeders and rearers of cattle of all sorts (cp. Gen. xlvii. 6). They would only have stamped with an offensive epithet men of foreign nationality and religion (cp. ANAMIM; Dillmann, *Genesis*,[5] in loco; Duncker-Abbott, *Hist. of Antiquity*, i. p. 199). [F.]

ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION (*τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως*, Matt. xxiv. 15), mentioned by our Saviour as a sign of the approaching destruction of Jerusalem, and with reference to Dan. ix. 27, xi. 31, xii. 11. The Hebrew words in these passages are respectively, (*a*) הַשִּׁקּוּץ מְשֹׁמֵם (*b*), עַל כְּנַף שִׁקּוּצִים מְשֹׁמֵם. and (*c*) שִׁקּוּץ שֹׁמֵם: the LXX. translate the first word uniformly *βδέλυγμα*, and the second *ἐρημώσεων* (ix. 27) and *ἐρημώσεως* (xi. 31, xii. 11): BA. however have *ἠφανισμένον* in xi. 31, and AB.[23] *ἀπὸ ἀφανίσμου* in ix. 27. The meaning of the first of these words is clear: שִׁקּוּץ often expresses religious abominations, and in the singular (1 K. xi. 5, 7)—and especially in the plural—number, *idols* (2 K. xxiii. 24). Suidas defines *βδέλυγμα* as used by the Jews to express *πᾶν εἴδωλον καὶ πᾶν ἐκτύπωμα ἀνθρώπου*. It is important to observe that the expression is not used of idolatry in the abstract, but of idolatry adopted by the Jews themselves (2 K. xxi. 2–7, xxiii. 13). Hence we must look for the fulfilment of the prophecy in some act of apostasy on *their* part; and so the Jews themselves appear to have understood it, according to the traditional feeling referred to by Josephus (*B. J.* iv. 6, § 3), that the Temple would be destroyed *ἐὰν χεῖρες οἰκεῖαι προμιάνωσι τὸ τέμενος*. With regard to the words מְשֹׁמֵם and שֹׁמֵם, the former is translated in ix. 27 by the A. V. "he shall make it desolate," and by the R. V. "*shall come* one that maketh desolate;" in xi. 31 and xii. 11 by both A. V. and R. V., "that maketh desolate." The Saviour probably referred to the latter of these passages. What was the object referred to is a matter of doubt (see a summary of opinions in the *Speaker's Commentary*, Daniel,[2] pp. 364–5); it should be observed, however, that in the passages in Daniel the setting up of the abomination was to be consequent upon the cessation of the sacrifice. The Jews considered the prophecy to be fulfilled in the profanation of the Temple under Antiochus Epiphanes, when the Israelites themselves erected an idolatrous altar (*βωμός*, Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5, § 4) upon the sacred Altar, and offered sacrifice thereon: this altar is described as *βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως* (1 Macc. i. 54, vi. 7). The prophecy, however, referred ultimately (as Josephus himself perceived, *Ant.* x. 11, § 7) to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, and consequently the *βδέλυγμα* must describe some occurrence connected with that event. But it is not easy to find one which meets all the requirements of the case: the introduction of the Roman standards into the Temple would not be a *βδέλυγμα*, properly speaking, unless it could be shown that the Jews themselves participated in the worship undoubtedly paid to them by the Roman soldiers (Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* vi. 6, § 1; Tertullian, *Apol.* xvi.); moreover, this event, as well as several others which have been proposed, such as the erection of the statue of Hadrian (Nicephorus Callist. iii. 24), fails in regard to the time of their occurrence, being *subsequent to* the destruction of the city. It appears very probable that the profanities of the Zealots con-

stituted the abomination, which was the sign of impending ruin (Joseph. *B. J.* iv. 3, § 7. Cp. Mansel in *Speaker's Commentary*, Matt. xxiv. 15, note, and Nösgen on the same passage in Strack u. Zöckler's *Kgf. Komm. z. d. N. T.*). If so, St. Luke's paraphrase, explanatory for the Gentiles (xxi. 20), "when ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies," dwells only upon the latter part of the sign, the *desolation*, the nearness of which would be intimated by the Roman armies encircling Jerusalem. [W. L. B.] [F.]

AB-RAHAM (אַבְרָהָם. The significance of this name to the Hebrew is given in Gen. xvii. 5, אַבְרָהָם גּוֹיִם, R. V. "the father of a multitude of nations," but its etymology is still a matter of conjecture.[a] Dillmann and Delitzsch in loco take רָהָם as an older and dialectic form of רָם, the final syllable הָם reflecting the first syllable of הָמוֹן [see MV.[10], *s. n.*]; Ἀβραάμ; *Abraham:* originally **ABRAM**, אַבְרָם, *the father is lofty* or *lofty father*, Ἀβράμ; *Abram;* which name is similar in meaning to Abiram [1 K. xvi. 34], the *Aburamu* of the Assyrian inscriptions [Schrader, *KAT*.[2] i. l.]), the son of Terah, and brother of Nahor and Haran; and the progenitor, not only of the Hebrew nation, but of several cognate tribes. His history is recorded to us with much detail in Scripture, as the very type of a true patriarchal life; a life, that is, in which all authority is paternal, derived ultimately from God the Father of all, and religion, imperfect as yet in revelation and ritual, is based entirely on that same Fatherly relation of God to man. The natural tendency of such a religion is to the worship of tutelary gods of the family or of the tribe, traces of such a tendency on the part of the patriarchs being found in the Scriptural History itself; and the declaration of God to Moses (in Ex. vi. 3) plainly teaches that the full sense of the Unity and Eternity of Jehovah was not yet unfolded to them. But yet the revelation of the Lord as the "Almighty God" (Gen. xvii. 1, xxviii. 3, xxxv. 11) and "the Judge of all the earth" (Gen. xviii. 25), the knowledge of His intercourse with kings of other tribes (Gen. xx. 3–7), and His judgment on Sodom and Gomorrah (to say nothing of the promise which extended to "all nations") must have raised the patriarchal religion far above this narrow idea of God, and given it the germs, at least, of future exaltation. The character of Abraham is that which is formed by such a religion and by the influence of a nomad pastoral life; free, simple, and manly; full of hospitality and family affection; truthful towards all such as were bound to him by ties, though not untainted with Eastern craft towards those considered as aliens; ready for war, but not a professed warrior or one who lived by plunder; free and childlike in religion, and gradually educated by God to a continually deepening sense of its all-absorbing claims. His character stands remarkably contrasted with those of Isaac and Jacob.

The scriptural history of Abraham is mainly limited, as usual, to the evolution of the Great Covenant in his life; it is the history of the man himself rather than of the external events of his life; and, except in a few instances (Gen. xii. 10–20, xiv., xx., xxi. 22–34), it does not refer to his relation with the rest of the world. To them he may only have appeared a chief of the hardier Chaldaean race, disdaining the settled life of the more luxurious Canaanites, and fit to be hired by plunder as a protector against the invaders of the North (see Gen. xiv. 21–23). Nor is it unlikely, though we have no historical evidence of it, that his passage into Canaan may have been a sign or a cause of a greater migration from Haran, and that he may have been looked upon (*e.g.* by Abimelech, Gen. xxi. 22–32) as one who, from his position as well as his high character, would be able to guide such a migration for evil or for good.

The traditions which Josephus adds to the scriptural narrative, are merely such as, after his manner and in accordance with the aim of his writings, exalt the knowledge and wisdom of Abraham, making him the teacher of monotheism to the Chaldaeans, and of astronomy and mathematics to the Egyptians. He quotes, however, Nicolaus of Damascus,[b] as ascribing to him the conquest and government of Damascus on his way to Canaan, and stating that the tradition of his habitation was still preserved there (Joseph. *Ant.* i. c. 7, § 2; see Gen. xv. 2).

The Arab traditions are partly ante-Mohammedan, relating mainly to the Kaabah (or sacred house) of Mecca, which Abraham and his son "Ismail" are said to have rebuilt for the fourth time over the sacred black stone. But, in great measure, they are taken from the Koran (see Sale's *Koran*, index s. n.; Hughes, *Dict. of Islam*, s. n.), which has itself borrowed from the O. T. and from the Rabbinical traditions. Of the latter the most remarkable is the story of his having destroyed the idols (see Jud. v. 6–8) which Terah not only worshipped (as declared in Josh. xxiv. 2) but also manufactured, and of his having been cast by Nimrod into a fiery furnace (cp. Vulg. of Neh. [2 Esd.] ix. 7), which turned into a pleasant meadow. The legend is generally traced to the word *Ur* (אוּר), Abraham's birthplace, which has also the sense of "light" or "fire." The name of Abraham appears to be commonly remembered in tradition through a very large portion of Asia, and the title "el-Khalîl," "the Friend" (of God) (see 2 Ch. xx. 7; Is. xli. 8; Jas. ii. 23), is that by which he is usually spoken of by the Arabs.

The scriptural history of Abraham, derived mainly from three sources (Köhler and Delitzsch, *Genesis* [1887], p. 241 *sq.*=J, E, Q), is divided into various periods by the various and progressive revelations of God which he received:—

I. Gen. xii.–xiv. With his father Terah, his wife Sarai, and nephew Lot, Abram left Ur (i.e. *El-Mugheir*, on the W. side of the Euphrates). Thence he migrated to Haran (Charran), in the N. part of Mesopotamia, on the high road from Babylonia and Assyria to Syria and Palestine. Both cities were famous for the cult of the Moon-god. This step was in obedience to a call of God (cp. Acts vii. 2–4). Haran, apparently the eldest brother—since Nahor married his daughter, and Abram's position as first of the three brothers is that of merit and fame rather than of priority of birth—was dead already;

[a] Cp. also Lagarde, *Uebersicht üb. d. i. Aram., Arab., u. Hebr. Bildung d. Nomina*, p. 92, &c.

[b] Nicolaus was a contemporary and favourite of Herod the Great and Augustus. His Universal History is said to have contained 144 books.

and Nahor remained behind (Gen. xi. 31). In Haran Terah died: and Abram, now the head of the family, received a second call, and with it the promise.[c] The promise was twofold, containing both a temporal and spiritual blessing, the one of which was the type and earnest of the other. The temporal promise was, that he should become a great and prosperous "nation"; the spiritual was, that in him "should all families of the earth be blessed" (Gen. xii. 2).

Abram appears to have entered Canaan, as Jacob afterwards did, along the valley of the Jabbok; for he crossed at once into the rich plain of Moreh, near Sichem, and under Ebal and Gerizim. There, in one of the most fertile spots of the land, he received the first distinct promise of his future inheritance (Gen. xii. 7), and built his first altar to God. "The Canaanite" (it is noticed) "was then in the land," and probably would view the strangers of the warlike north with no friendly eyes. Accordingly Abram made his second resting-place in the strong mountain country, the key of the various passes, between Bethel and Ai. There he would dwell securely, till famine drove him into the richer and more cultivated land of Egypt. It is still a matter of dispute in what dynasty this took place. Cook (*Speaker's Commentary*, i. p. 446) and Rawlinson place Abram's entry into Egypt in the earlier part of the 12th dynasty; Ebers and Sayce place it in the later or Hyksos period.

That his history is no ideal, mythical, or heroic legend,[d] is very clearly shown, not merely by the record of his deceit as to Sarai, practised in Egypt and repeated afterwards, but much more by the clear description of its utter failure, and the humiliating position in which it placed him in comparison with Pharaoh, and still more with Abimelech. That he should have felt afraid of such a civilized and imposing power as Egypt even at that time evidently was, is consistent enough with the Arab nature as it is now: that he should have sought to guard himself by deceit, especially of that kind, which is true in word and false in effect, is unfortunately not at all incompatible with a generally religious character; but that such a story should have been framed in an ideal description of a saint or hero is inconceivable.

The period of his stay in Egypt is not recorded, but it is from this time that his wealth and power appear to have begun (Gen. xiii. 2). On his return, the very fact of this growing wealth and importance caused the separation of Lot and his portion of the tribe from Abram. Lot's departure to the rich country of Sodom implied a wish to quit the nomadic life, and settle at once; Abram, on the contrary, was content still to "dwell in tents" and wait for the promised time (Heb. xi. 9). Probably till now he had looked on Lot as his heir, and his separation from him was a providential preparation for the future. From this time he took up his third resting-place[e] at Mamre, or Hebron, the future capital of Judah, situated in the direct line of communication with Egypt, and opening down to the wilderness and pasture land of Beersheba. This very position, so different from the mountain-fastness of Ai, marks the change in the numbers and powers of his tribe.

The history of his attack on Chedorlaomer (see *s. n.*; on the genuineness of the history, cp. Delitzsch, pp. 262–3) which follows, gives us a specimen of the view which would be taken of him by the external world. By the way in which it speaks of him as "Abram the Hebrew" (Gen. xiv. 13),[e] it would seem to be an older document, a fragment of Canaanitish history (as Ewald calls it), preserved and sanctioned by Moses. The invasion was clearly another northern immigration or foray, for the chiefs or kings were of Shinar (? South Babylonia), Ellasar (Larsa), Elam (Persia), &c. That it was not the first, is evident from the vassalage of the kings of the cities of the plain; and it extended (see Gen. xiv. 5–7) far to the south over a wide tract of country. Abram appears here as the head of a small confederacy of chiefs, powerful enough to venture on a long pursuit to the head of the valley of the Jordan, to attack with success a large force, and not only to rescue Lot, but to roll back for a time the stream of northern invasion. His high position is seen in the gratitude of the people, and the dignity with which he refuses the character of a hireling. That it did not elate him above measure, is evident from his reverence to Melchizedek, in whom he recognised one whose call was equal, and consecrated rank superior, to his own [MELCHIZEDEK].

II. Gen. xv., xvi. The second period of Abram's life is marked by the fresh revelation which, without further unfolding the spiritual promise, completes the temporal one, already in course of fulfilment. It first announced to him that a child of his own should inherit the promise, and that his seed should be as the "stars of heaven." This promise, unlike the other, appeared at his age contrary to nature, and therefore it is on this occasion that his faith is specially noted, as accepted and "counted for righteousness." Accordingly, he now passed into a new position, for not only is a fuller revelation given as to the captivity of his seed in Egypt, the time of their deliverance, and their conquest of the land, "when the iniquity of the Amorites was full," but after his solemn burnt-offering the visible appearance of God in fire is vouchsafed to him as a sign, and he *enters into covenant* with the Lord (Gen. xv. 18). This

[c] It is expressly stated in the Acts (vii. 4) that Abram quitted Haran after his father's death. This is supposed to be inconsistent with the statements that Terah was 70 years old at the birth of Abram (Gen. xi. 26); that he died at the age of 205 (Gen. xi. 32; in Samar. text, 145); and that Abram was 75 years old when he left Haran: from which it would seem to follow that Abram migrated from Haran in his father's lifetime. Various explanations have been given of this difficulty; one being that the statement in Gen. xi. 26, that Terah was 70 years old when he begat his three children, applies only to the eldest, Haran, and that the births of his two younger children belonged to a subsequent period [CHRONOLOGY]. Many adopt the Samar. number.

[d] See some of these views from Goldziher to Stade stated in Delitzsch, *Genesis*, pp. 247, 248 (1887); Dillmann, *Genesis*,[5] p. 227, &c.

[e] 'Ο περάτης, LXX.; one who had come from the other side of the Euphrates. If this sense of the word be taken, it strengthens the supposition noticed. In any case the name is that applied to the Israelites by foreigners, or used by them of themselves only in speaking of foreigners: see HEBREW.

covenant, like the earlier one with Noah (Gen. ix. 9–17), is one of free promise from God, faith only in that promise being required from man.

The immediate consequence was the taking of Hagar, Sarai's maid, to be a concubine of Abram (as a means for the fulfilment of the promise of seed), and the conception of Ishmael.

III. Gen. xvii.–xxi. For fourteen years no more is recorded of Abram, who seems during all that period to have dwelt at Mamre. After that time, in Abram's 99th year, the last step in the revelation of the promise is made, by the declaration that it should be given to a son of Sarai, and at the same time the temporal and spiritual elements are distinguished; Ishmael can share only the one, Isaac is to enjoy the other. The covenant, which before was only for temporal inheritance (Gen. xv. 18), is now made "everlasting," and sealed by circumcision. This new state is marked by the change of Abram's name to "Abraham," and Sarai's to "Sarah,"[f] and it was one of far greater acquaintance and intercourse with God. For, immediately after, we read (xviii. 1) of the Lord's appearance to Abraham in human form, attended by two Angels, the ministers of His wrath against Sodom, of His announcement of the coming judgment to Abraham, and His acceptance of his intercession for the condemned cities.[g] The whole record stands alone in Scripture for the simple and familiar intercourse of God with him, contrasting strongly with the vaguer and more awful descriptions of previous appearances (see *e.g.* xv. 12), and of those of later times (Gen. xxviii. 17, xxxii. 30; Ex. iii. 6, &c.). And, corresponding with this, there is a perfect absence of all fear on Abraham's part, and a cordial and reverent joy, which, more than anything else, recalls the time past when "the voice of the Lord God was heard, walking in the garden in the cool of the day."

Strangely unworthy of this exalted position as the "friend" and intercessor with God, is the repetition of the falsehood as to Sarah in the land of the Philistines (Gen. xx.). It was the first time Abraham had come in contact with that tribe or collection of tribes which stretched along the coast almost to the borders of Egypt; a race apparently of lords ruling over a conquered population, and another example of that series of immigrations which appear to have taken place at this time. It seems, from Abraham's excuse for his deceit on this occasion, as if there had been the idea in his mind, that all arms might be used against unbelievers, who, it is assumed, have no "fear of God," or sense of right. If so, the rebuke of Abimelech, by its dignity and its clear recognition of a God of justice, must have put him to manifest shame, and taught him that others also were servants of the Lord.

This period again, like that of the sojourn in Egypt, was one of growth in power and wealth, as the respect of Abimelech and his alarm for the future, so natural in the chief of a race of conquering invaders, very clearly shows. Abraham's settlement at Beersheba, on the borders of the desert, near the Amalekite plunderers, shows both that he needed room and was able to protect himself and his flocks.

The birth of Isaac crowned his happiness, and fulfilled the first great promise of God: and the expulsion of Ishmael, painful as it was to him, and vindictive as it seems to have been on Sarah's part, was yet a step in the education which was to teach him to give up all for the one great object. The symbolical meaning of the act (drawn out in Gal. iv. 21–31) could not have been wholly unfelt by the patriarch himself, so far as it involved the sense of the spiritual nature of the promise, and carried out the fore-ordained will of God.

IV. Gen. xxii.–xxv. 11. Again for a long period (twenty-five years, Joseph. *Ant.* i. 13, § 2) the history is silent: then comes the final trial and perfection of the faith of Abraham in the command to offer up the child of his affections and of God's promise. The trial lay, first in the preciousness of the sacrifice, and the perplexity in which the command involved the fulfilment of the promise; secondly, in the strangeness of the command to violate the human life, of which the sacredness had been enforced by God's special command (Gen. ix. 5, 6), as well as by the feelings of a father. To these trials he rose superior by faith, that "God was able to raise Isaac even from the dead" (Heb. xi. 19), probably through the same faith to which our Lord refers, that God had promised to be the "God of Isaac" (Gen. xvii. 19), and that He was not "a God of the dead, but of the living."[h]

It is remarkable that, in the blessing given now to Abraham, the original spiritual promise is repeated for the first time since his earliest

[f] The original name שָׂרַי is uncertain in derivation and meaning. See the Lexicons of Gesenius, of MV.[10], and Dillmann on Gen. xvii. 15. Gesenius renders it "nobility," from the same root as "Sarah;" Ewald and Delitzsch by "quarrelsome" (from the root שָׂרָה, in sense of "to fight"). The name Sarah, שָׂרָה, is certainly "princess."

[g] Tradition still points out the supposed site of this appearance of the Lord to Abraham. About a mile from Hebron is a beautiful and massive oak, which still bears Abraham's name. The residence of the patriarch was called "the oaks of Mamre" (R. V.), erroneously translated in A. V. "the plain" of Mamre (Gen. xiii. 18, xviii. 1); but it is doubtful whether this is the exact spot, since the tradition in the time of Josephus (*B. J.* iv. 9, § 7) was attached to a terebinth (אֵלוֹנֵי מַמְרֵא is rendered "terebinths of M." in R. V. marg.). This tree no longer remains; but there is no doubt that it stood within the ancient enclosure, which is still called "Abraham's House." A fair was held beneath it in the time of Constantine; and it remained to the time of Theodosius. (Robinson, ii. 81, ed. 1856; Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 143.)

[h] The scene of the sacrifice is, according to our present text, and to Josephus, the land of "Moriah," or מֹרִיָּה, the meaning of which is unknown; in Gen. xxii. there seems to be a play upon it: comp. the name "Jehovah-Jireh," xxii. 14. The Samaritan Pentateuch has "Moreh," מֹרֶה; the LXX. renders the word here by τὴν ὑψηλήν, the phrase used for what is undoubtedly "Moreh" in xii. 6, whereas in 2 Ch. iii. 1 "Moriah" is rendered by B. Ἀμορεία, A. -ι-: they therefore probably read "Moreh" also. The distance—three days' journey from Beersheba — suits Moreh better (see Stanley's *S. & P.* p. 251); but other considerations seem in favour of Moriah, the place where the Temple was afterwards built. [MORIAH.]

call, and in the same words then used. But the promise that "in his seed all nations should be blessed" would also be now understood very differently, and felt to be far above the temporal promise, in which, perhaps, at first it seemed to be absorbed. It can hardly be wrong to refer pre-eminently to this epoch the declaration that Abraham "saw the day of Christ and was glad" (John viii. 56).

The history of Abraham is now all but over, though his life was prolonged for nearly fifty years. The only other incidents are the death and burial of Sarah, the marriage of Isaac with Rebekah, and that of Abraham with Keturah.

The death of Sarah took place at Kirjath-arba, *i.e.* Hebron, so that Abraham must have returned from Beersheba to his old and more peaceful home. In the history of her burial, the most notable points are the respect paid to the power and character of Abraham, as a mighty prince, and the exceeding modesty and courtesy of his demeanour. It is sufficiently striking that the only inheritance of his family in the land of promise should be a tomb. The sepulchral cave of Machpelah is now said to be concealed under the Mosque of HEBRON (see Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 101).

The marriage of Isaac, so far as Abraham is concerned, marks his utter refusal to ally his son with the polluted and condemned blood of the Canaanites.

The marriage with Keturah is the strangest and most unexpected event recorded in his life, Abraham having long ago been spoken of as an old man; but his youth having been restored before the birth of Isaac may have remained to him; and Isaac's marriage, having taken his son comparatively away, may have induced him to seek a wife to be the support of his old age. Keturah held a lower rank than Sarah, and her children were sent away, lest they should dispute the inheritance of Isaac, Abraham having learnt to do voluntarily in their case what had been forced upon him in the case of Ishmael.

Abraham died at the age of 175 years, and his sons, the heir Isaac, and the outcast Ishmael, united to lay him in the cave of Machpelah by the side of Sarah.

His descendants were (1) the Israelites; (2) a branch of the Arab tribes through Ishmael; (3) the "children of the East," of whom the Midianites were the chief; (4) perhaps (as cognate tribes) the nations of Ammon and Moab (see these names); and through their various branches his name is known all over Asia.

To English readers Stanley's *Lectures on the Jewish Church*, Lectures i. and ii. (1883); Milman's *History of the Jews*, i. ch. 1; H. G. Tomkins' *Abraham and his Times*; W. J. Deane's *Abraham, his Life and Times*, will give much interesting information. See also Vigouroux, *La Bible et les Découvertes Modernes*,[1] i. pp. 379–497. The Jewish legends concerning Abraham will be found in Beer, *Leben Abrahams n. Auffassung d. jüdischen Sage*, 1859; and summarized in Hamburger, *RE. für Bibel u. Talmud*,[2] s. n. Cp. Gaster, *The Apocalypse of Abraham*, from the Roumanian (Trans. of Soc. of Bibl. Arch. ix. p. 195 *sq.*). [A. B.] [F.]

ABRAHAM'S BOSOM. Cp. Luke xvi. 23. During the Roman occupation of Judaea at least the practice of reclining on couches at meals was customary among the Jews. As each guest leaned upon his left arm, his neighbour next below him would naturally be described as lying in his bosom; and such a position with respect to the master of the house was one of especial honour, and only occupied by his nearest friends (John i. 18, xiii. 23). To lie in Abraham's bosom, then, was a metaphor in use among the Jews (cp. 4 Macc. xiii. 16 and Grimm's note in Fritzsche's *Kgf. Handbuch zu d. Apokryphen d. A. T.* iv[te]. Lief. p. 347) to denote a condition after death of perfect happiness and rest, and a position of friendship and nearness to the great founder of their race, when they should lie down on his right hand at the banquet of Paradise, "with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. viii. 11). That the expression was in use among the Jews is shown by Lightfoot (*Hor. Hebr. in Luc.* xvi. 22), who quotes a passage from the Talmud (*Kiddushin*, fol. 72), which, according to his interpretation, represents Levi as saying in reference to the death of Rabbi Judah, "to-day he dwelleth in Abraham's bosom." The future blessedness of the just was represented under the figure of a banquet, "the banquet of the garden of Eden or Paradise." See Schoettgen, *Hor. Hebr. in Matt.* viii. 11; Hamburger, *RE. f. B. u. T.* s. n. "Abraham's Schooss." [W. A. W.] [F.]

ABRAM. [ABRAHAM.]

ABRECH. Gen. xli. 43 (A. V. and R. V.): "They cried before him (Joseph), Bow th[e] (אַבְרֵךְ)." Of the many conjectural explan[a]tions of this word, that which considers it E[gyptian] is the most usual and natural. The LXX. Vulg. give no direct translation of it; the Targum and Midrash make it a composite word = "tender father" (אַב רַךְ) or "father of the king" (רַךְ = rex! cp. Gen. xlv. 8). Fried. Delitzsch, adopting the last-named signification, identifies it with the Babylonian-Assyrian *abarakku*, the title of the principal minister (cp. *Heb. Language viewed in the Light of Assyrian Research*, 1883, pp. 25–7).[a] An Assyrian word in the mouth of the Egyptian was not, however, so likely as an Egyptian. Canon Cook's explanation "Rejoice thou" (*Speaker's Commentary*, i. note to Gen. xli. 43, and p. 482), if the most perfect as regards sound and grammatical form, hardly gives the real sense of the word *Ab*. Moreover, the transcription *ab-rek* does not accurately represent the Egyptian pronunciation of the original word, which would have been *abu-re-k*. If, however, אברך may be admitted as standing for *abu-re-k*, the word may be taken to signify "thy commandment is the object of our desire," *i.e.* "we are at thy service" (see Renouf, *PSBA.* xi. p. 5, &c.). [F.]

ABRO'NAH (עִבְרֹנָה = passage, from עָבַר, to cross over), one of the halting-places of the Israelites in the desert, immediately preceding Ezion-geber; and therefore, looking to the root,

[a] The intercourse between Egypt and Babylonia was so great that this identification cannot be called impossible; and the word may thus have been one which, with many other words of Semitic origin, found admission into the ancient Egyptian speech.

the name may possibly retain the trace of a ford across the head of the Elanitic Gulf. In the A. V. it is given as Ebronah (R. V. Abronah; AF. Ἐβρωνά; B. Σεβρωνά; *Hebronah;* Num. xxxiii. 34, 35). [EBRONAH.] If the wilderness of the wanderings was in Arabia proper, Abronah was possibly at *Hakl*, between which place and *'Akabah* the mountains approach the sea so closely that only one camel can pass at a time. [G.] [W.]

ABRO'NAS (Ἀβρωνᾶ; N. Χεβρών; *Mambre*), a torrent [χείμαῤῥος] apparently near Cilicia (Judith ii. 24, compared with 25); if so, it may possibly be the *Nahr Abraim*, or *Ibrahim*, the ancient Adonis, which rises in the Lebanon at *Afka*, and falls into the sea at *Jebeil* (Byblos). It has, however, been conjectured (Movers, *Bonner Zeits.* xiii. 38) that the word is a corruption of עֵבֶר הַנָּהָר = beyond the river (Euphrates), which has just before been mentioned; a corruption not more inconceivable than many which actually exist in the LXX. The A. V. has ARBONAI (Judith ii. 24. See *Speaker's Commentary*, note in loco). [G.] [W.]

AB'SALOM (אַבְשָׁלוֹם, *father of peace;* Ἀβεσσαλώμ; *Absalom*), third son of David by Maacah, daughter of Talmai king of Geshur, a Syrian district adjoining the N.E. frontier of the Holy Land near the Lake of Merom. He is scarcely mentioned till after David had committed the great crime which by its consequences embittered his old age; and then appears as the instrument by whom was fulfilled God's threat against the sinful king, that "evil should be raised up against him out of his own house, and that his neighbour should lie with his wives in the sight of the sun" (2 Sam. xii. 11). In the latter part of David's reign, polygamy bore its ordinary fruits. Not only is his sin in the case of Bathsheba traceable to it, since it naturally suggests the unlimited indulgence of the passions, but it also brought about the punishment of that sin, by raising up jealousies and conflicting claims between the sons of different mothers, each apparently living with a separate house and establishment (2 Sam. xiii. 8, xiv. 24; cf. 1 K. vii. 8, &c.). Absalom had a sister Tamar, who was violated by her half-brother Amnon, David's eldest son by Ahinoam, the Jezreelitess. The king, though indignant at so great a crime, would not punish Amnon because he was his first born (cp. the LXX. of 2 Sam. xiii. 21. The words are wanting in the Hebrew). The natural avenger of such an outrage would be Tamar's full brother Absalom, just as the sons of Jacob took bloody vengeance for their sister Dinah (Gen. xxxiv.). He brooded over the wrong for two years, and then invited all the princes to a sheep-shearing feast at his estate in BAAL-HAZOR, possibly an old Canaanitish sanctuary, on the borders of Ephraim and Benjamin. Here he ordered his servants to murder Amnon, and then fled for safety to his father-in-law's court at Geshur, where he remained for three years. David was overwhelmed by this accumulation of family sorrows, thus completed by separation from his favourite son, whom he thought it impossible to pardon or recall. But he was brought back by an artifice of Joab, who sent a woman of Tekoah (afterwards known as the birthplace of the Prophet Amos) to entreat the king's interference in a supposititious case similar to Absalom's. Having persuaded David to prevent the avenger of blood from pursuing a young man who, she said, had slain his brother, she adroitly applied his assent to the recall of Absalom, and urged him, as he had thus yielded the general principle, to "fetch home his banished." David did so, but would not see Absalom for two more years, though he allowed him to live in Jerusalem. At last, the impetuous young man—wearied with delay, perceiving that his triumph was only half complete and that his exclusion from court interfered with the ambitious schemes which he was forming, and fancying that sufficient exertions were not made in his favour—sent his servants to burn a field of corn near his own, belonging to Joab, thus doing as Samson had done (Judg. xv. 4, 5). Thereupon Joab, probably dreading some further outrage from his violence, brought him to his father, from whom he received the kiss of reconciliation. Absalom now began at once to prepare for rebellion, urged to it partly by his own restless wickedness, partly perhaps by the fear lest Bathsheba's child should supplant him in the succession, to which he would feel himself entitled as of royal birth on his mother's side as well as his father's, and as being now David's eldest surviving son, since we may infer that the second son Chileab was dead, from no mention being made of him after 2 Sam. iii. 3. It is hard to account for Absalom's temporary success, and the imminent danger which befel so powerful a government as his father's. The sin with Bathsheba had probably weakened David's moral and religious hold upon the people: and as he grew older he may have become less attentive to individual complaints and to that personal administration of justice which was one of an Eastern king's chief duties. For Absalom tried to supplant his father by courting popularity, standing in the "gate" (or place of justice), conversing with every suitor, lamenting the difficulty which he would find in getting a hearing, "putting forth *his* hand and kissing any man who came nigh to do him obeisance" (2 Sam. xv. 5). He also maintained a splendid retinue (2 Sam. xv. 1), and was admired for his personal beauty and the luxuriant growth of his hair, on grounds similar to those which had made Saul acceptable (1 Sam. x. 23). It is also probable that the great tribe of Judah had taken some offence at David's government, perhaps from finding themselves completely merged in one united Israel; and that they hoped secretly for pre-eminence under the less wise and liberal rule of his son. Thus Absalom selected Hebron, the old capital of Judah (then supplanted by Jerusalem), as the scene of the outbreak; Amasa, his chief captain, and Ahitophel of Giloh, his principal counsellor, were both of Judah, and after the rebellion was crushed we see signs of ill-feeling between Judah and the other tribes (2 Sam. xix. 41). But whatever the causes may have been, Absalom raised the standard of revolt at Hebron after *forty* years, as we read in 2 Sam. xv. 7, but which it seems better to consider a false reading (cp. Hervey, *Speaker's Com.*, in loco; Kleinert in Riehm's *HWB.* s. n. "Absalom")

for *four* (the number actually given by Josephus, Lucian's Recension, and accepted by nearly all modern critics—Ewald, Keil, Kirkpatrick, Wellhausen), than to interpret of the fortieth year of David's reign. The revolt was at first completely successful: David fled from his capital over the Jordan to Mahanaim in Gilead, where Jacob had seen the "two Hosts" of the Angelic vision, and where Abner had rallied the Israelites round Saul's dynasty in the person of the unfortunate Ishbosheth. Absalom occupied Jerusalem, and by the advice of Ahitophel, who saw that for such an unnatural rebellion war to the knife was the best security, took possession of David's harem, in which had been left ten concubines. This was considered to imply a formal assumption of all his father's royal rights (cp. the conduct of Adonijah, 1 K. ii. 13 ff., and of Smerdis the Magian, Herod. iii. 68), and was also a fulfilment of Nathan's prophecy (2 Sam. xii. 11). But David had left friends who watched over his interests. The vigorous counsels of Ahitophel were afterwards rejected through the crafty advice of Hushai, who insinuated himself into Absalom's confidence to work his ruin; and Ahitophel himself, seeing his ambitious hopes frustrated, and another preferred by the man for whose sake he had turned traitor, went home to Giloh and committed suicide. At last Absalom, after being solemnly anointed king at Jerusalem (xix. 10), and lingering there far longer than was expedient, crossed the Jordan to attack his father, who by this time had rallied round him a considerable force; whereas, had Ahitophel's advice been followed, he would probably have been crushed at once. A decisive battle was fought in Gilead, in the wood of Ephraim (Lucian's Recension is unsupported in its reading, "of Mahanaim:" EPHRAIM); so called, according to Gerlach (*Comm.* in loco), from the great defeat of the Ephraimites (Judg. xii. 4), or perhaps from the connexion of Ephraim with the trans-Jordanic half-tribe of Manasseh (Stanley, *S. and P.*, p. 323). Here Absalom's forces were totally defeated; and as he himself was escaping, his long hair was entangled in the branches of a terebinth, where he was left hanging while the mule on which he was riding ran away from under him. Here he was despatched by Joab in spite of the prohibition of David, who, loving him to the last, had desired that his life might be spared; and who, when he heard of his death, lamented over him in the pathetic words, *O my son Absalom! would God I had died for thee! O Absalom, my son, my son!* (2 Sam. xviii. 33). He was buried in a great pit in the forest, and the conquerors threw stones over his grave, in proof of bitter hostility (cp. Josh. vii. 26. The practice is still continued; see Thomson's *The Land and the Book*, ii. 234). The sacred historian contrasts this dishonoured burial with the tomb which Absalom had raised in the *King's dale* (cp. Gen. xiv. 17) for the three sons whom he had lost (cp. 2 Sam. xviii. 18 with xiv. 27), and where he probably had intended that his own remains should be laid. Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 10, § 3) mentions the pillar of Absalom as situate 2 stadia from Jerusalem. An existing monument in the valley of Jehoshaphat just outside Jerusalem bears the name of the Tomb of Absalom; but the Ionic pillars which surround its base show that, if a tomb at all, it belongs to a much later period. [G. E. L. C.] [F.]

The so-called Tomb of Absalom.

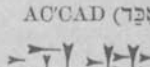
AB'SALOM (T.' 'Αβεσσάλωμος, A. 'Αψάλωμος [and א in 1 Macc. xiii. 11]; *Absalom*), the father of Mattathias (1 Macc. xi. 70; B. ψαλμωδῆς) and Jonathan (1 Macc. xiii. 11). [B. F. W.]

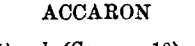
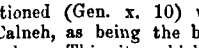
AB'SALON ('Αβεσσαλών; *Abesalom*), an ambassador with John from the Jews to Lysias, chief governor of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia (2 Macc. xi. 17). [W. A. W.]

ABU'BUS ('Αβουβός; *Abobus*), father of Ptolemaeus, the captain of the plain of Jericho, and son-in-law to Simon Maccabaeus (1 Macc. xvi. 11, 15). [W. A. W.]

ABYSS. The word is absent from the A. V., but is of frequent occurrence in the R. V. as a translation of ἡ ἄβυσσος: and the use of this Greek word, as a *substantive*, in the sense of the unfathomable depth (ἀ, βυθός), is confined to Biblical and Ecclesiastical Greek. The LXX. use ἄβυσσος (see Trommius, *Concord.* s. n.) to denote three Hebrew words: (*a*) תְּהוֹם in the Pentateuch, poetical, and historical Books; (*b*) מְצוּלָה in Job xli. 23 (A. V. and R. V. v. 32, "the deep"), and צוֹלָה in Is. xliv. 27 (A. V. and R. V. "the deep"); (*c*) רַחַב in Job xxxvi. 16 (A. V. and R. V. "a broad place"). In the N. T. the word is contrasted with heaven, as a synonym with Hades, the abode of the dead (Rom. x. 7), and with special application to the place of woe and of the devils (*e.g.* Luke viii. 31; Rev. xvii. 8, xx. 3). Cremer points out that the application of the term to Hades becomes less frequent in Ecclesiastical Greek (*Bibl.-theol. Wörterb. d. NTlichen Grücitat*, s. n.). [F.]

AC'ATAN ('Ακατάν; *Eccetan*). See HAKKATAN (1 Esd. viii. 38). [W. A. W.]

AC'CAD (אַכַּד; 'Αρχάδ; *Archad*; Babylonian  , *al Ak-kad*, "the city of Akkad"), one of the chief cities of the land of

Shinar, mentioned (Gen. x. 10) with Babel, Erech, and Calneh, as being the beginning of Nimrod's kingdom. This city, which is supposed to be the same as the Agade (an earlier form) of the inscriptions, lay near Sepharvaim (Sippara, now Abu-habbah), 16 miles west of Baghdad, and was probably the capital of the land of Akkad ( , *mât Akkadi*), nearly always mentioned with Šumer or Shinar. These two important nations, the pioneers of early civilisation, supposed to be of Turanian race, peopled a great part of Mesopotamia before the Semitic Babylonian and Assyrian supremacy. They spoke an agglutinative language, which seems to have died out about 1200 B.C., giving place to Semitic Babylonian, though Akkadian and Sumerian were used as sacred or literary tongues to a very late date. The boundaries of the country are unknown, but it probably lay between lat. 32″ and 35″, and long. 44″ and 46″. The native name of the country was Uri, and the Assyrian and Babylonian kings generally called themselves "king of Sumer and Akkad" (Assyr. or Bab., *šar Šumêri u Akkadi*; Akkadian, *Lugal Kingi-Uri(ki)*.) The group  was also used to designate the land of Armenia (Assyr. or Bab., *Urṭû* or *Urarṭu* (Ararat); Akkad., *Tilla*). The close connexion between the Semitic and Akkadian inhabitants of Mesopotamia is shown by the fact, that even in the earliest times the kings bore both an Akkadian and a Semitic name, the one being a translation of the other. The Akkadians probably merged into the Babylonians about 1500 B.C. [BABYLONIA.] [T. G. P.]

ACCARON. [EKRON.] Accaron is the form used by Saewulf for Acre (*E. T.* 48). [W.]

ACCHO (עַכּוֹ, Ges. derives the name from the Arabic, *hot sand*, a sense not contradicted by subsequent climatal or topographical changes; Ἄκχω, Ἄκη, Strabo; *Accho*; R. V. *Acco*; the PTOLEMAIS of the Maccabees and N. T.), now called *'Akka*, or more usually by Europeans, *Saint Jean d'Acre*, an important seaport town on the Syrian coast, about 30 miles S. of Tyre. *'Akka* is situated at the northern extremity of the Bay of Acre, which terminates southwards in the bold bluff of Carmel, and is the only inlet of importance on the Syrian coast south of St. George's Bay near *Beirût*. Inland the hills, which from Tyre southwards press closely upon the seashore, gradually recede, leaving in the immediate neighbourhood of 'Akka a fertile plain, watered by the small river *Nahr N'amein* (Belus), which discharges itself into the sea a short distance south of the town. Its military importance, which has led to its being called "the key of Palestine," is due to its position, which enables the Power that holds it to close the coast road from Syria to Egypt, and to operate, from a convenient base, against any hostile force attempting to cross the plain of Esdraelon; it also has near at hand, at *Haifa*, a safe anchorage for shipping, and its own harbour was sufficient to afford protection to the galleys and vessels used in the Middle Ages. The town itself is triangular in form, the base facing the north and the apex the south; it is surrounded on the land side by double ramparts, flanked by towers and bastions; and there are remains of an outer and inner port. Few traces of the old town are to be found; the original name has alone survived all the changes to which the place has been exposed.

In the division of Canaan among the tribes Accho was assigned to Asher, but it was never conquered by the Israelites (Judg. i. 31). No further mention is made of it in O. T. history, and it is always reckoned among the cities of Phoenicia (Strab. xvi. 2, § 25; Plin. v. 17; Ptol. v. 15). It is described by Josephus as a maritime city of Galilee, situated in the great plain (*B. J.* ii. 10, § 2). When Shalmaneser IV. advanced against Tyre, which had revolted against him, Accho, with Sidon, Palaetyrus, and other cities joined the Assyrians and assisted them with vessels and men (*Ant.* ix. 14, § 2). It afterwards revolted, but was recaptured by Sennacherib, and a little later was ceded by Esarhaddon to the king of Tyre, in return for services which that monarch had rendered to the Assyrians. It passed into the hands of the Babylonians, and afterwards into those of the Persians, who used it as a place of assembly for their troops during their expeditions against Egypt (Strab. xvi. 2, § 25). According to the first distribution of Alexander's kingdom, it was assigned, with Phoenicia and Syria, to Ptolemy Soter, from whom it probably derived its name Ptolemais. During the wars between Syria and Egypt it several times changed hands; and its importance, as commanding the road down the Syrian coast, probably dates from this period. In 218 B.C. it was surrendered to Antiochus the Great by the treachery of Philopator's lieutenant, but was recovered by the Egyptians in the following year, and remained in their hands until it was finally incorporated in the kingdom of Antiochus. In the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, Simon Maccabaeus defeated a confederation of the people of Ptolemais, Tyre, and Sidon, and drove his enemies back within the walls of Ptolemais, but did not take the city (1 Macc. v. 22; *Ant.* xii. 8, § 2). It was taken by Alexander Balas (*Ant.* xiii. 2, § 1), who was married within its walls to Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy Philometor (*Ant.* xiii. 4, §§ 1, 2). It afterwards came into the possession of Demetrius Nicator, who gave it, with its lands, to Jonathan for the expenses of the Temple at Jerusalem (1 Macc. x. 39); when, however, Jonathan went, at the invitation of Tryphon, to take possession of the city, he was treacherously seized and his escort put to death (*Ant.* xiii. 6, § 2). Ptolemais was besieged by Alexander Jannaeus, but the siege was raised on the approach of Ptolemy Lathyrus, who had landed from Cyprus with a large force to assist the besieged. The people having refused to admit Ptolemy, he, on his arrival, took the place by force (*Ant.* xiii. 12, §§ 2–6); but it was afterwards captured by Cleopatra, whom Alexander Jannaeus had summoned to his assistance (*Ant.* xiii. 13, §§ 1, 2). It was transferred by Cleopatra with her daughter Cleopatra (Selene) to the Syrian monarchy, and it was under her rule when attacked and taken by Tigranes during his expedition against Syria (*Ant.* xiii. 16, § 4; *B. J.* i. 5, § 3). It opened its gates to the Parthians under Pacorus, who was advancing along the coast to the assistance

of Antigonus (*Ant.* xiv. 13, § 3; *B. J.* i. 13, § 1), and ultimately passed into the hands of the Romans, who raised it to the rank of a colony under the title of Colonia Claudii Caesaris Ptolemais (Plin. v. 19, § 19). The only notice of it in the N. T. is in connexion with St. Paul's passage from Tyre to Caesarea (Acts xxi. 7). Herod built a gymnasium there (*B. J.* i. 21, § 11), but of this no trace has been found.

The post-biblical history of Accho will be found in *P. F. Mem.* i. 160–167, and Guérin, *Galilée*, i. 510–525. Accho is perhaps alluded to in Ocina (Jud. ii. 28); its mediaeval names were Accaron and Acon; and the last name survives, where one would little expect it, in Lombard-street, where the church of St. Nicholas Acons is the successor of the church of St. Thomas of Acon, or Acres Hospital, founded by a member of the order of Augustine monks after the capture of Acre, under the patronage of St. Thomas of Canterbury. Coins of Acre exist in which the city is represented as a figure on a rock surrounded by the sea. In the right hand she bears three ears of corn; at her feet is the image of a river with open hands. [W.]

Coin of Accho.

AC'COS (Ακκώς; A. Ακχώς; *Jacob*), father of John and grandfather of Eupolemus, the ambassador from Judas Maccabaeus to Rome (1 Macc. viii. 17). [W. A. W.]

AC'COZ. [Koz.]

ACEL'DAMA (Ακελδαμά; Lachmann and Tischendorf [ℵB.], Ακελδαμάχ; *Haceldama*; R. V. *Akeldama*; χωρίον αἵματος, "the field of blood;" Chald. חֲקַל דְּמָא), the name given by the Jews of Jerusalem to a "field" (χωρίον) near Jerusalem purchased by Judas with the money which he received for the betrayal of Christ, and so called from his violent death therein (Acts i. 19). This is, apparently, at variance with the account of St. Matthew (xxvii. 8), according to which the "field of blood" (ἀγρὸς αἵματος) was purchased by the priests with the thirty pieces of silver after they had been cast down by Judas, as a burial-place for strangers, the locality being well known at the time as "the field of the potter"[a] (τὸν ἀγρὸν τοῦ κεραμέως). See Alford's notes to Acts i. 19. And accordingly ecclesiastical tradition appears, from 600 A.D., to have pointed out two distinct (though not unvarying) spots as referred to in the two accounts.

Bp. Jacobson (*Speaker's Comm.*, note on Acts i. 19) has pointed out that the variance is imaginary. The money received by Judas as the "reward of iniquity" was invested by others. A similar use of language is to be noted when the Jews (and not the Romans) are said to have crucified Jesus Christ (Acts v. 30), Joseph of Arimathaea to have hewn out the new tomb, and Saul to have offered sacrifice (1 Sam. xiii. 9).

Aceldama, now called *Hakk el-Dumm*, is shown at the east end of a broad terrace on the southern slope of the modern valley of Hinnom, not far from the pool of Siloam; and the name is more particularly applied to a large vaulted chamber built against the thick bed (*malaki*) of limestone in which most of the large tombs on the right bank of the ravine have been excavated. The chamber is deep, and its floor is covered by a thick bed of bones and soil; in the face of the rock, within the building, there are two sepulchral chambers, with "loculi," and traces of the steps which led down to them are still visible. Against the face of the rock are buttresses of masonry which formed part of an earlier building than the existing one (see O. S. planof Jerusalem, notes, and photo.). The chamber is probably the same as that described by Maundrell as "a square fabric twelve yards high, built for a charnel-house;" the corpses were let down into it from the top, and apparently left uncovered.

The tradition which fixes Aceldama upon this spot reaches back to the time of Jerome, who describes it as being "ad australem[b] plagam montis Sion;" and it is mentioned by Antoninus Martyr, Arculfus, Saewulf, and almost every traveller to the present day. Arculfus distinguishes between Aceldama, then a small field covered with a heap of stones, and the spot, apparently, as at present, on the Hill of Evil Counsel, where Judas hanged himself on a fig-tree.[c] The latter site was afterwards transferred to the vicinity of Absalom's pillar in the Kedron valley, where Sir J. Maundeville found the "elder tree" of Judas, and Maundrell was shown "another Aceldama." In *La Citez de Ierusalem* (p. 16) a stone arch, which gave its name to a street within the city, is identified with the place of the suicide of Judas. At a later period the site was re-transferred to the Hill of Evil Counsel, where, according to tradition, stood the country-house of Caiaphas in which Judas made his bargain. In the 12th and also in the 14th centuries, Aceldama belonged to the Latins, and there was a small church there; but in the 17th century it was in the hands of the Armenians, who sold the right of interment at a high price. "Aceldama" was the name popularly given to the estate purchased by the infamous Judge Jeffries with the money extorted by him during the "bloody assize" (Macaulay).

It was believed in the Middle Ages that the soil of this place had the power of very rapidly consuming bodies buried in it (Sandys, p. 187), and, in consequence either of this or of the sanctity of the spot, great quantities of the earth were taken away; amongst others by the Pisan Crusaders in A.D. 1218 for their *Campo Santo* at Pisa, and by the Empress Helena for that at

[a] The prophecy referred to by St. Matthew, Zechariah (not Jeremiah) xi. 12, 13, does not in the present state of the Hebrew text agree with the quotation of the Evangelist. The Syriac Version omits the name altogether. See *Speaker's Comm.* on Matt. xxvii. 9, additional note.

[b] Eusebius, from whom Jerome translated, has here ἐν βορείοις. This may be a clerical error, or it may add another to the many instances existing of the change of a traditional site to meet circumstances.

[c] Antoninus Martyr however says, "De Gethsemane ascendimus ad portam Hierosolymae per gradus multos. In dextera parte portae est olivetum et ficuinea, in qua Judas laqueo se suspendit" (*Itin.* xvii.).

Rome (Rob. i. 355; Raumer, p. 270). Besides the charnel-house above mentioned, there are several large hollows in the ground in this immediate neighbourhood which may have been caused by such excavations. Krafft states (*Top. Jer.* 193) that he saw people digging clay at Aceldama. Schultz (*Jer.* 39) and Porter (*Giant Cities*, 147) speak of a bed of clay at that place. Clay is still obtained from the hill above the valley of Hinnom. [G.] [W.]

ACHA'IA (Ἀχαΐα) signifies in the N. T. a Roman province, which included the whole of the Peloponnesus and the greater part of Hellas proper with the adjacent islands. This province with that of Macedonia comprehended the whole of Greece: hence Achaia and Macedonia are frequently mentioned together in the N. T. to indicate all Greece (Acts xviii. 12, xix. 21; Rom. xv. 26, xvi. 5 [where *Asia* is the correct reading]; 1 Cor. xvi. 15; 2 Cor. ii. 1, ix. 2, xi. 10; 1 Thess. i. 7, 8). A narrow slip of country upon the northern coast of Peloponnesus was originally called Achaia, the cities of which were confederated in an ancient League, which was renewed in B.C. 280 for the purpose of resisting the Macedonians. This League subsequently included several of the other Grecian states, and became the most powerful political body in Greece; and hence it was natural for the Romans to apply the name of Achaia to the Peloponnesus and the south of Greece, when they took Corinth and destroyed the League in B.C. 146. (Καλοῦσι δὲ οὐκ Ἑλλάδος ἀλλ' Ἀχαΐας ἡγεμόνα οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, διότι ἐχειρώσαντο Ἕλληνας δι' Ἀχαιῶν τότε τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ προεστηκότων, Paus. vii. 16, § 10.) Whether the Roman province of Achaia was established immediately after the conquest of the League, or not till a later period, need not be discussed here (see *Dict. of Geogr.* i. p. 17). In the division of the provinces by Augustus between the emperor and the senate in B.C. 27, Achaia was one of the provinces assigned to the senate, and was governed by a proconsul (Strab. xvii. p. 840; Dio Cass. liii. 12). Tiberius in the second year of his reign (A.D. 16) took it away from the senate, and made it an imperial province governed by a procurator (Tac. *Ann.* i. 76); but Claudius restored it to the senate (Suet. *Claud.* 25). This was its condition when Paul was brought before Gallio, who is therefore (Acts xviii. 12) correctly called (R. V.) the "proconsul" (*ἀνθύπατος*) of Achaia, which is translated in the A. V. "deputy" of Achaia. [J. S. H.] [W.]

ACHA'ICUS (Ἀχαϊκός; *Achaicus*), name of a member of the Christian household of Stephanas (1 Cor. xvi. 17). [G.]

A'CHAN (עָכָן, written עָכָר [ACHAR] in 1 Ch. ii. 7; B. Ἀχάρ, A. Ἀχὰν in Josh.; *Achan*; BA. Ἀχὰρ in Chron.; *Achar*), the son of Carmi, an Israelite of the tribe of Judah, who, when Jericho and all that it contained were accursed and devoted to destruction (Josh. vi. 17–19), secreted a portion of the spoil in his tent (Josh. vii. 1–21). For this sin Jehovah punished Israel by their defeat in their attack upon Ai. When Achan confessed his guilt, and the booty was discovered, he was stoned to death with his whole family by the people in a valley situated between Ai and Jericho, and their remains, together with his property, were burnt (Josh. vii. 24, 25). From this event the valley received the name of Achor (i.e. *trouble*) [ACHOR]. From the similarity of the name Achan to Achar, Joshua said to Achan, "Why hast thou troubled us (עֲכַרְתָּנוּ)? the Lord shall trouble thee (יַעְכָּרְךָ) this day" (Josh. vii. 25). In order to account for the terrible punishment executed upon the family of Achan, it is quite unnecessary to resort to the hypothesis that they were his accomplices in an act of military insubordination. The sanguinary severity of Oriental nations, from which the Jewish people were by no means free, has in all ages involved the children in the punishment of the father; but, independently of such considerations, according to the Jewish apprehension of the second commandment, the sins of the father were visited upon the children by a distinctly judicial medium. Achan was guilty of a distinct breach of the covenant made by God with His people, and his family were treated as guilty of the father's sin (Josh. vii. 15; xxii. 20). They were punished upon the ground of being implicated in his sin (cp. Mozley's *Lectures on the Old Testament*, pp. 115, 116). This is also the view taken by the Talmud, which is prompt to recognise that Achan's confession of his sin (Josh. vii. 20) was accepted: 'He was punished in this life ("The Lord shall trouble thee this day," Josh. vii. 25); but he has part in the life to come' (Midr. *Wajikra Rabba*, § 9 [on Lev. vii. 11]. Hamburger, *RE.*[2] s. n. "Achan;" Wünsche, *Bibl. Rabb.* Lief. 22, p. 54). [R. W. B.] [F.]

ACHAR (see ACHAN), a variation of the name Achan, which seems to have arisen from the play upon it in 1 Ch. ii. 7: "Achar, the troubler (עוֹכֵר) of Israel, who committed a trespass in the devoted thing" (R. V.). [W. A. W.]

A'CHAZ (Ἀχαζ; *Achaz*). AHAZ, king of Judah (Matt. i. 9). [W. A. W.]

ACH'BOR (עַכְבּוֹר, *a mouse*; BA. [usually] Ἀχοβώρ; *Achobor*). **1.** Father of Baal-hanan, king of Edom (Gen. xxxvi. 38, *D.* Χοβώρ; 1 Ch. i. 49). **2.** Son of Micaiah, a contemporary of Josiah (2 K. xxii. 12, 14; Jer. xxvi. 22 [LXX. = xxxiii. omits], xxxvi. 12), called ABDON [No. 4] in 2 Ch. xxxiv. 20. [A. C. H.] [F.]

ACHIACH'ARUS (Heb. and Chald. [ed. Neubauer] אֲחִיקָר; Ἀχιάχαρος, ℵ. Ἀχείχαρος, ℵ.[3] Ἀχειάχαρος; Itala, *Achicharus*. On the fanciful reproduction of this name as = אֲחִי אֲהִרוֹן, see *Speaker's Comm.* on Tobit, add. note to i. 21. The supposition that the name = אֲחִי אֲחַרוֹן = Postremus is not less fanciful), the chief minister, "cupbearer, and keeper of the signet, and steward, and overseer of the accounts" at the court of Sarchedonus or Esarhaddon, king of Nineveh, in the Apocryphal story of Tobit (Tob. i. 21, 22; ii. 10; xiv. 10). He was nephew to Tobit, being the son of his brother Anael, and supported him in his blindness till he left Nineveh. From the occurrence of the name of Aman in xiv. 10, it has been conjectured that Achiacharus is but the Jewish name for Mordecai, whose history suggested some points which the author of the Book of Tobit worked up into his

narrative; but there is no reason to have recourse to such a supposition, as the discrepancies are much more strongly marked than the resemblances (see *Speaker's Comm.* note on Tob. xiv. 10). [W. A. W.] [F.]

ACHI'AS (*Achias*), son of Phinees; high-priest and progenitor of Esdras (2 Esd. i. 2), but omitted both in the genealogies of Ezra and 1 Esdras: perhaps confounded with Ahijah, the son of Ahitub and grandson of Eli. [W. A. W.]

A'CHIM (Ἀχείμ; *Achim*, Matt. i. 14), son of Sadoc, and father of Eliud, in our Lord's genealogy; the fifth in succession before Joseph the husband of Mary. The Hebrew form of the name would be יָכִין, Jachin (Gen. xlvi. 10, A. Ἰαχείμ, A.*vid Ἀχείμ, *D.* Ἰαχείν, *Jachin*; 1 Ch. xxiv. 17, A. Ἰαχείν, B. Γαμούλ, *Jachin*). It is a short form of Jehoiachin, *the Lord will establish*. The name, perhaps, indicates him as successor to Jehoiachin's throne, and expresses his parents' faith that God would, in due time, *establish* the kingdom of David, according to the promise in Is. ix. 7 (*v.* 6 Heb.) and elsewhere. [A. C. H.] [F.]

ACHI'OR (Ἀχιώρ, *i.e.* אֲחִיאוֹר, *the brother of light* [comp. אֲחִי הוֹד, Num. xxxiv. 27]; *Achior:* confounded with Ἀχιάχαρος, Tob. xi. 17, Gk.), a general of the Ammonites in the army of Holofernes, who is afterwards represented as becoming a proselyte to Judaism (Judith v. vii. xiii. xiv.). [B. F. W.]

A'CHISH (אָכִישׁ; Ἀγχούς; *Achis*), a Philistine king at Gath, son of Maoch (1 Sam. xxvii. 2), called in the 34th Psalm (title) ABIMELECH [No. 1], possibly the dynastic name of the Philistine kings (cp. Gen. xx. 2), Achish being his personal name. David twice found a refuge with him when he fled from Saul. On the first occasion, being recognised by the servants of Achish as one celebrated for his victories over the Philistines, he was alarmed for his safety, and feigned madness (1 Sam. xxi. 10–13). [DAVID.] From Achish he fled to the cave of Adullam. 2ndly, David fled to Achish with 600 men (1 Sam. xxvii. 2), and remained at Gath a year and four months.

Whether the Achish, to whom Shimei went in disobedience to the commands of Solomon (1 K. ii. 39, 40), be the same person is uncertain. Riehm (*HWB.* s. n.) thinks that he was. [R. W. B.] [F.]

ACHI'TOB (Ἀχιτώβ, B. Ἀχει-; *Achitob*). Ahitub, the high-priest in the genealogy of Esdras (1 Esd. viii. [*Vulg.* vii.] 2; 2 Esd. i. 1). [W. A. W.]

ACH'METHA. [ECBATANA.]

A'CHOR, VALLEY OF עֵמֶק עָכוֹר; φάραγξ Ἀχώρ; Ἐμεκαχώρ; Hos. κοιλὰς Ἀχώρ; *vallis Achor*) = "valley of trouble," according to the etymology of the text; the spot at which Achan, "the troubler of Israel," was stoned (Josh. vii. 24, 26). On the N. boundary of Judah (xv. 7; also Isa. lxv. 10; Hos. ii. 15, who alludes to the meaning of the name rather than to the place). Jerome (*OS.*[2] pp. 125, 31, 151, 14) describes it as north of Jericho; but this is at variance with the course of the boundary in Joshua (Keil's *Joshua*, 131). It is now the *Wâdy Kelt*, which runs into the Jordan valley to the south of Old Jericho and north of Roman Jericho. [G.] [W.]

ACH'SA (עַכְסָה; B. Ἀσχά, A. Ἀχσά; *Achsa*), daughter of Caleb, or Chelubai, the son of Hezron (1 Ch. ii. 49). [CALEB.] In the R. V. the name is more correctly given as ACHSAH. [W. A. W.] [F.]

ACH'SAH (עַכְסָה, Ges. *anklet;* Ἀσχά; *Axa*), daughter of Caleb, the son of Jephunneh, the Kenezite. Her father promised her in marriage to whoever should take Debir, the ancient name of which (according to the analogy of KIRJATH-ARBA, the ancient name of Hebron) was KIRJATH-SEPHER (or, as in Josh. xv. 49, KIRJATH-SANNA), *the city of the book*. Othniel, her father's younger brother, took the city, and accordingly received the hand of Achsah as his reward. Caleb, at his daughter's request, added to her dowry the upper and lower springs, which she had pleaded for as peculiarly suitable to her inheritance in a south country (Josh. xv. 15–19. See Stanley's *S. and P.* p. 161). [GULLOTH.] The story is given in Judg. i. 11–15. Achsah is mentioned again, as being the daughter of Caleb, in 1 Ch. ii. 49, which in the A. V. is incorrectly given as Achsa. [ACHSA.] But there is much confusion in the genealogy of Caleb there given. [CALEB.] [A. C. H.]

ACH'SHAPH (אַכְשָׁף, Ges. *enchantment; Achsaph* [Josh. xi. xii.], *Axaph* [Josh. xix.]), a city within the territory of Asher, named between Beten and Alammelech (Josh. xix. 25); originally the seat of a Canaanite king (Josh. xi. 1, xii. 20 [B., in both places, Ἀζείφ, but in xix. 25 Κεάφ; A. in xi. 1 Ἀχίφ (F. Ἀχείβ), in xii. 20 Ἀχσάφ]). It is not yet identified. The modern *Kefr Yâsif*, a small village, with an ancient well, north-east of Acre (*P. F. Mem.* i. 146, 153), does not suit (Dillmann on Josh. xi. 1). Others have suggested *Haifa*, a town which, from its situation, must always have been too important to have escaped mention in the history, as it otherwise would have done. The identification with either *Yâsif* or *Haifa* is, however, philologically most questionable. [G.] [W.]

ACH'ZIB (אַכְזִיב = *falsehood;* in Josh. *l. c.* B. Κεζείβ; A. omits; *Achzib*). **1.** A city of Judah, in the Shefelah, named with Keilah and Mareshah (Josh. xv. 44; Mic. i. 14). The latter passage contains a play on the name: "the houses of Achzib (אַכְזִיב) shall be a lie" (אַכְזָב; LXX. εἰς κενὸν ἐγένοντο; Vulg. *domus mendacii in deceptionem*). It is probably the same with CHEZIB and CHOZEBA, which see. The name may perhaps be retained in *'Ain Kezbeh*, at *Beit Nettif*, 2½ miles from *'Aid el-Mâ* (Adullam).

2. In Josh. *l. c.* B. Ἐχοζόβ; A. Ἀχζείφ [A.* Ἀζείφ, A.[1] superscr. χ]; *Achsziba:* in Judg. *l. c.* B. Ἀσχαζεί; A. Ἀσχενδεί; *Achazib.* A town belonging to Asher (Josh. xix. 29), from which the Canaanites were not expelled (Judg. i. 31); afterwards Ecdippa (Jos. *B. J.* i. 13, § 4, Ἐκδίππων). Josephus also (*Ant.* v. 1, § 22) gives the name as Ἀρκὴ . . . ἡ καὶ Ἀκτιπούς. In *Itin. Hierosolym.* Ecdippa is placed 8 Roman miles from

Ptolemais, on the road to Tyre; by Jerome (*Q.S.*[2] p. 130, 12) 9 Roman miles. Here was the *Casale Huberti* of the Crusaders (Schulz; Ritter, *Pal.* p. 782); and it is now *ez-Zîb*, on the sea-shore at the mouth of *Wâdy el-Kûrn*; a small village on an artificial mound, with unimportant ruins (*P. F. Mem.* i. 148, 155, 193; and cp. Maundrell, p. 427). Achzib is mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions, under the form Akzibi, as one of the towns dependent on Sidon, which were captured by Sennacherib during his third campaign (Schrader, *KAT.*[2] p. 170). After the return from Babylon it was considered by the Jews as the northernmost limit of the Holy Land; it possessed a synagogue and was fortified. See the quotations from the Gemara in Reland (p. 544). [G.] [W.]

ACIPHA (B. Ἀχειβά; A. Ἀχιφά; *Agista*). Hakupha (1 Esd. v. 31). [W. A. W.] [F.]

ACITHO ([T.[7] omits] A. Ἀκιθών, probably an error for Ἀχιτώβ, the reading of ℵ; *Achitob*, i.e. אֲחִיטוֹב, *brother of goodness*), one of the ancestors of Judith (Judith viii. 1; see *Speaker's Comm.*). [B. F. W.]

ACRABATTINE. [ARABATTINE; AKRABBIM.]

ACTS OF THE APOSTLES. 1. *The Title.*—The title of this Book, as given in the oldest authorities, is either "Acts" or "Acts of Apostles." The former (πράξεις) appears at the commencement and in the headings of the pages in ℵ; the latter (πράξεις ἀποστόλων) in B D (but with the itacism πράξις in D), and in the subscription of ℵ. Accordingly the Book is quoted indifferently by the early Fathers as "Acts," "The Acts" (Orig. *Op.* i. p. 434, iv. pp. 6, 25; comp. Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 25; Tertull. *c. Marc.* v. 3, *de Praescr.* 22, and elsewhere), or "Acts of Apostles," "The Acts of the Apostles" (Iren. iii. 13. 3; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 12, p. 696; Tertull. *c. Marc.* v. 1, 2, and elsewhere; Orig. *Op.* i. p. 22, ii. p. 538, &c.). Longer titles, such as "Acts of the Holy Apostles" (πράξεις τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων), found in the subscription of E G H, may be dismissed at once from our consideration. The author of the *Muratorian Canon* (c. A.D. 180?) refers to the Book as containing "acta omnium apostolorum" (p. 18, ed. Tregelles); but he does not give this definitely as a title, and by inserting "omnium," which however is not a correct description, he obviously desires to distinguish it from apocryphal histories of individual Apostles, such as the "Acta Petri," &c. Whether we should consider the larger title a later expansion of the shorter, or whether on the other hand "Acts" is an abridgement of "Acts of Apostles" for convenience, may be a matter of question. On the whole, perhaps the latter view is the more probable; since the long and short forms are found in the same writers, and moreover, whenever the title of the Book is distinctly recorded as such—for instance by Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 25), by Athanasius (*Op.* ii. p. 767), by Chrysostom (*Op.* iii. p. 54), by Euthalius, and by Photius (*Amphil.* Qu. 123)—the word ἀποστόλων is never wanting. We gather also from the evidence, that in the original form the definite articles were absent. Thus, for instance, Chrysostom (in the passage just referred to), having distinctly given the title without the articles (ταύτην ἔχει τὴν ἐπιγραφήν, Πράξεις ἀποστόλων), nevertheless in the same context writes, ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων τῶν ἀποστόλων. This example shows that no stress can be laid on the fact that elsewhere the Book is quoted in early writers as "*The* Acts of *the* Apostles." In Wicliffe's Version, which was translated from the Vulgate, it is headed "Deeds of Apostles"; but in the Authorised (1611) the heading is "The Actes of the Apostles," as also in the previous English Versions of the 16th century generally, which were made from the Greek. But, though it seems clear that the earlier title was "Acts of Apostles" (πράξεις ἀποστόλων) without the definite article, the value of the fact in its bearing on the contents is diminished by the consideration that in titles and headings the omission of the article was common in ancient times, as it is with ourselves. Thus in Matt. i. 1 the words are "Book of generation (or genealogy) of Jesus Christ" (Βίβλος γενέσεως κ. τ. λ.). Moreover, we have no ground for assuming that this title, whether πράξεις ἀποστόλων or πράξεις simply, was given to the Book by the writer himself. In other cases in the N. T. we find indications that the earliest existing headings are somewhat later than the writings themselves (Lightfoot, *Colossians*, p. 16). The later word πραξαπόστολος is not a title of this individual Book; but, being compounded of πράξεις and ἀπόστολος, designates lectionaries which contained lessons from the Acts and Apostolic Epistles (Scrivener's *Introduction*, pp. 71, 279, 301).

2. *The Scope and Contents.*—The Acts of the Apostles, like the Third Gospel, is addressed to one Theophilus. Was he an actual person, a disciple or friend of the writer? or have we here a fictitious name, a representative of the Christian reader generally? The former is the view commonly taken by modern writers. He has been made a native of Antioch, of Alexandria, of Rome, &c. by different critics, all without any shadow of authority which deserves consideration. If he were a real person, we might with greater probability place him at Philippi, for the writer of the Acts apparently had close relations with this place. Yet the other opinion is not to be hastily rejected; for it is at least consonant with the literary character of St. Luke's two treatises, and more especially of the prefaces. This view is thrown out as a suggestion by Epiphanius (*Haer.* li. 7, εἴτουν τινὶ Θεοφίλῳ τότε γράφων . . . ἢ παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ Θεὸν ἀγαπῶντι). It seems also to be present to the mind of Origen, though he does not express himself very clearly (*Hom. in Luc.* 1, *Op.* iii. p. 933, Delarue). So also St. Ambrose, "Scriptum est evangelium ad Theophilum, hoc est ad eum quem Deus diligit" (*Exp. Evang. Luc.* i. 12, *Op.* i. p. 1270, ed. Bened.). In modern times it has found some rather lukewarm supporters (*e.g.* Renan, *L'Église Chrétienne*, p. 256). As the Greek equivalent to the Hebrew Jedidiah, Theophilus is not uncommon as a Jewish name. Thus it is borne by the Jewish high-priest (A.D. 37–41) the son of Annas (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 5, § 3, xix. 6, § 2), who has been identified—an extremely improbable identification—with the person here addressed by St. Luke. Again, we find two persons so called in an inscription in a Jewish

cemetery at Rome (Schürer, *Gemeindeverf. der Juden in Rom*, p. 39). It was a frequent heathen name likewise (Pape, *Wörterb. Griech. Eigennamen*, s. v.; Fabric. *Bibl. Graec.* vii. p. 106 *sq.*, ed. Harles; comp. Tac. *Ann.* ii. 55). Naturally also it was common among the Christians, *e.g.* the apologist Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch (*c.* A.D. 180). A reminiscence of this later Theophilus, combined with the tradition that St. Luke himself was an Antiochene, may have given rise to the Clementine statement that Theophilus was a person of importance in Antioch (*Recogn.* x. 71, "Theophilus qui erat cunctis potentibus in civitate sublimior"), who consecrated his house as a basilica, where the chair of St. Peter was established. In *Apost. Const.* vii. 46, a Theophilus is represented as the third Bishop of Caesarea of Palestine, and appointed to the see by the Apostles themselves, his predecessors being Zacchaeus and Cornelius. Probably our Theophilus is meant, as it is the practice of this writer to find an episcopal see for every worthy whose name is mentioned in the N. T. In the Armenian *Epistle of the Corinthians* to St. Paul (Aucher, *Armen. Gramm.* p. 177) one Theophilus is represented as a joint writer of the letter.

The adoption of the name Theophilus or Philotheus, as a representative godly Christian, has parallels in both ancient and modern times. Thus the treatise of Hippolytus, *de Antichristo* (pp. 1, 36, Lagarde), is addressed to his "beloved brother Theophilus," evidently a fictitious name; and in the *Symposium* of Methodius (ii. 1, p. 14, Jahn) one of the divine maidens bears the name Theophila. So likewise Law's *Atonement* is a *Dialogue between Eusebius and Theophilus*, and Wordsworth's treatise on the Church is designated *Theophilus Anglicanus;* while in Ken's *Manual of Prayer* for the Winchester scholars he addresses his reader as Philotheus.

If this view be correct, this second treatise is drawn up, like the first, for the instruction of the godly reader who seeks information respecting the foundation of the Church (here addressed under the imaginary name Theophilus). It is no objection that he is designated κράτιστος (Luke i. 3), a title given to those in high position (Acts xxiii. 26, xxiv. 3, xxvi. 25); for there is no reason why the writer should not have wished to commend the faith of Christ to persons of this class.

Its aim, purport, and contents are set forth in the preface (i. 1–8). The first treatise is there described as an account of "all things which Jesus began both to do and to teach (ἤρξατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς ποιεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκειν), until the day on which, having given commandment through the Holy Ghost to the Apostles whom He had chosen, He was taken up (into heaven)." This language suggests (1) that, if the writer had given any title to the work, he might well have styled it "Second Treatise" (δεύτερος λόγος); and (2) that he regards it as strictly a continuation of the first, for this is implied in ἤρξατο, "began." But here a question arises. Is the "doer and teacher" the same person in the second part as in the first? In other words, is Jesus Himself here regarded as continuing in the history of the Church the work which He began in His personal ministry? This is Baumgarten's view, and it has been followed by some later critics. In its favour are the facts, (*α*) that the form of the sentence suggests the same agent, and (*β*) that our Lord is again and again represented as interposing in person in the course of the narrative. If so, the title πράξεις ἀποστόλων is misleading, and obscures the author's main conception. But this view is not altogether free from the charge of artificiality. At all events we might expect that, if this had been the writer's leading idea, he would have emphasised it more plainly. It seems on the whole therefore more probable that the Apostles are represented as *continuing* the work which Jesus inaugurated in person. If so, the common title of the Book is fairly adequate, and Photius (*Amphil.* 123, p. 716, Migne) is right when he speaks of the Gospel as "comprising the Acts of the Lord" (τὰς δεσποτικὰς περιέχουσα πράξεις). Similarly Irenaeus (iii. 15. 1) describes the second treatise as "sequens testificatio ejus (Lucae), quam habet de *actibus et doctrina apostolorum*," with an obvious reference to the "doing and teaching" of our Lord as contained in the first. In this case the ἤρξατο may be answered by ἄχρι ἧς ἡμέρας κ. τ. λ., i.e. "the whole history of the doings and teachings of Jesus from the *beginning* till the final day of the Ascension"; as it is taken by Chrysostom (*Op.* ix. p. 5, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μέχρι τέλους). This view also accords with the fact that special stress is laid on the selection of and charge to the Apostles, that their names are given again (though previously mentioned in the Gospel), and that the completion of their number is recorded. Bengel, following Chrysostom, describes the relation of the two treatises somewhat differently, "non tam Apostolorum quam Spiritus Sancti describens, sicut prior liber Acta Jesu Christi habet"; but this is not the antithesis present to the mind of the writer himself.

Thus the two treatises are regarded respectively as the ministry of Jesus and the ministry of the Apostles, or (if we take the other view) the ministry of Jesus in His own person and the ministry of Jesus through the Apostles. The first has been given in full by St. Luke (περὶ πάντων κ. τ. λ.); the second, not being yet concluded, could not be so given. The contents of the first have been directly described. This description is expressed in such language (τὸν μὲν πρῶτον κ. τ. λ.) as to lead the reader to expect an antithetical clause (ἐν δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ διηγήσομαι) describing the contents of the second. But this antithetical clause never appears, and in place of it the sentence runs off into a narrative of facts. In this narrative of facts therefore we look for the explanation; and we are not disappointed. The Lord is represented as conversing with the disciples after the Resurrection and preparing them for their mission. His words are prophetic of the future, and thus implicitly involve a table of contents:

"Ye shall receive power, when the Holy Ghost," &c. (i. 1–13).

"And ye shall be witnesses unto Me,

(i.) Both in Jerusalem (ii. 14–viii. 1),

(ii.) And in all Judaea and Samaria (viii. 2–xi. 18),

(iii.) And to the uttermost parts of the earth" (xi. 19–xxviii. 31).

The first two sections are complete; the fulfilment of the third is given not actually, but potentially. Such an earnest of it is afforded as to leave no doubt of its ultimate accomplishment. St. Paul travels to the far West; he preaches the faith in Rome without hindrance; and thus Christianity has obtained a firm footing in the metropolis of the human race, the stronghold of heathendom.

After this anticipatory abstract of the history of the Christian Church, our thoughts are led forward to the great and terrible day, the consummation of all things, when this history shall be wound up. But again this is effected, not by his own words, but by the narrative of the sayings and doings of others (i. 8–11). The departure of Jesus by the Ascension is thus linked with His return in the second Advent. The narrative of the Acts spans over this interval potentially.

These considerations will explain the close of the Book. Whatever apparent abruptness there may be in the ending, the writer was clearly not interrupted so as to leave his work unfinished. He closes with the event which his aim required. The occupation of Rome, the capital of the world, was the one eventful crisis which closed an epoch. Nor did he contemplate a "third treatise," as some have imagined. There is indeed no conceivable plea for any third treatise, if our view of his main design be correct. Nor again can any chronological argument be drawn from his stopping at this particular point; as for instance that he was unacquainted with St. Paul's visit to Spain or with the martyrdom of the two Apostles. He was not writing the biography of either Apostle.

It will be observed also that the close of the second treatise is strictly analogous to the close of the first:

Fulfilment of prophecies.	Luke xxiv. 44–49.	Acts xxviii. 23–29.
Joyful termination.	Luke xxiv. 50–53.	Acts xxviii. 30, 31.

The following then is the table of contents:—

INTRODUCTORY.

(i.) Connexion with the previous narrative . . . . i. 1, 2.
(ii.) Christ's final commands and prophecies respecting the Kingdom of God . . . i. 3–8.
(iii.) The resurrection, and announcement of the Second Advent . i. 9–11.
(iv.) The names and attitude of the Apostles . . . . i. 12–14.
(v.) The vacant place in the apostolate filled . . . . i. 15–26.

THE MAIN NARRATIVE.

A. *The Hebraic Period* (ii.–v.).
(i.) Consecration of the Apostles and first disciples by the outpouring of the Holy Ghost . ii. 1–13.
(ii.) The ingathering of the first-fruits on the day of Pentecost ii. 14–41.
(iii.) The inner life and the extension of the infant Church . . ii. 42–47.
(iv.) The first miracle (of mercy and restoration). The address of Peter and the conflict with the rulers consequent thereupon iii. 1–iv. 31.
(v.) The unity and communion of goods of the early Church . iv. 32–37.

(vi.) The sin of Ananias and Sapphira. The second miracle (of retribution and judgment) . . . . . v. 1–11.
(vii.) The miraculous working of the Apostles. Their imprisonment, their appearance before the priests and rulers, and their dismissal . . . v. 12–41.
This period closes with a notice of their energetic and incessant preaching of Jesus as the Christ . . . . v. 42.

B. *The Transitional Period* (vi.–xii.).
(i.) Appointment of a diaconate (chiefly or wholly Hellenist) to meet complaints of Hellenists as to the distribution of alms . . . . . vi. 1–7.
(ii.) The labours, apprehension, speech, and martyrdom of Stephen . . . . vi. 8–vii. 60.
(iii.) The consequences of the martyrdom:
(α) Scattering of the disciples in Judaea and Samaria;
(β) Antagonism of Saul . viii. 1–4.
(iv.) Samaria evangelized through Philip, whose work is confirmed by the Apostles Peter and John. First conflict with a false form of religion (outside Judaism) in the person of Simon Magus . . . viii. 5–25.
(v.) Conversion of the Ethiopian eunuch, a proselyte . . viii. 26–40.
(vi.) Conversion of Saul and vision of Ananias. Saul is healed and disputes with the Hellenists at Jerusalem . . ix. 1–30.
(vii.) Peace in the churches "throughout the whole of Judaea and Galilee and Samaria" . . ix. 31.
(viii.) Peter's miracles at Lydda (Aeneas) and at Joppa (Dorcas) . . . . . ix. 32–43.
(ix.) Visions of Cornelius and of Peter. Peter visits, converts, and baptizes Cornelius and his companions. Their Baptism is anticipated by an outpouring of the Holy Ghost . x. 1–48.
(x.) Peter reports the case to the Church at Jerusalem and obtains its approval . . xi. 1–18.
(xi.) Disciples scattered at the persecution of Stephen preach in Phoenicia, at Cyprus, and at Antioch, to the Greeks (v. l. Hellenists). Their action confirmed by the Apostles through Barnabas . . xi. 19–24.
(xii.) Saul preaches at Antioch, where the disciples are first called Christians . . . . xi. 25, 26.
(xiii.) The Christians of Jerusalem relieved by the Gentile churches . . . . xi. 27–30. xii. 25.
(xiv.) Herod's persecution of the Church. Martyrdom of James and imprisonment of Peter. Release of Peter, who goes *elsewhere*, and punishment of Herod . . . . xii. 1–23
At the close is a notice of the triumphant progress of the Word of God . . . xii. 24.

C. *The Gentile Period* (xiii.–xxviii.).

I. Consecration of Barnabas and Saul to the apostolate . . . . . xiii. 1–3.

II. First missionary journey of Paul (accompanied by Barnabas):
- (i.) Preaching in Cyprus and conversion of Sergius Paulus . xiii. 4–12.
- (ii.) Journey through Pamphylia (desertion of John Mark) . xiii. 13.
- (iii.) Paul in the synagogue at Antioch of Pisidia. Rejection by the Jews and acceptance by the Gentiles . . . xiii. 14–52.
- (iv.) Preaching at Iconium (stoning of Paul) . . . . . xiv. 1–7.
- (v.) Healing of the impotent man at Lystra . . . . . xiv. 8–18.
- (vi.) Subsequent preaching and return to Antioch . . . xiv. 19–28.
- (vii.) Apostolic Council at Jerusalem (liberation of the Gentile Christians from the obligations of the Law). . . xv. 1–35.

III. Second missionary journey of Paul (accompanied by Silas):
- (i.) Separation of Paul and Barnabas xv. 36–39.
- (ii.) Paul confirms the churches already founded on the previous journey, and, after visiting the district of Phrygia and Galatia, is summoned by a vision into Macedonia . xv. 40–xvi. 5.
- (iii.) Preaching at Philippi. Imprisonment and release . xvi. 12–40.
- (iv.) Preaching and persecution at Thessalonica and Berœa . xvii. 1–15.
- (v.) Paul at Athens preaches on the Areopagus . . . . xvii. 16–34.
- (vi.) His long residence at Corinth and appearance before Gallio xviii. 1–17.
- (vii.) He returns to Antioch, calling at Ephesus and visiting Jerusalem on the way . . xviii. 18–23.
- (viii.) Apollos at Ephesus and Corinth. xviii. 24–28.

IV. Third missionary journey of Paul:
- (i.) Three years' residence at Ephesus, ending with the tumult xix. 1–41.
- (ii.) Visit to Macedonia and to Greece, whence he returns to Palestine by way of Macedonia . . . . . xx. 1–16.
- (iii.) Address to the Ephesian elders at Miletus . . . . . xx. 17–38.
- (iv.) Subsequent voyage, sojourn at Cæsarea, and arrival at Jerusalem . . . . . xxi. 1–16.

V. Two years' sojourn in Palestine:
- (i.) Tumult in the Temple and defence of Paul . . . xxi. 17–xxii. 29.
- (ii.) Address to the Sanhedrin . xxii. 30–xxiii. 10.
- (iii.) Journey to Cæsarea . . xxiii. 11–35.
- (iv.) Accusation of Tertullus and defence of Paul before Felix. Subsequent conduct of Felix. xxiv. 1–27.
- (v.) Treatment of the prisoner by Festus. Speech of Paul before Festus and Agrippa . xxv. 1–xxvi. 32.

VI. Journey to and sojourn in Rome:
- (i.) Voyage and shipwreck . . xxvii. 1–44.
- (ii.) Sojourn at Melita . . . xxviii. 1–10.
- (iii.) Subsequent journey and arrival at Rome . . . . xxviii. 11–16.
- (iv.) Conference with the chief Jews ends unsatisfactorily, and he turns to the Gentiles . . xxviii. 17–29.
- (v.) Success of his preaching xxviii. 30, 31.

The Book had begun with the discourses of Christ relating to the career of "the Kingdom of God" (λέγων τὰ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Θεοῦ). These discourses elicit the question from the disciples, "Dost thou at this time restore the Kingdom (τὴν βασιλείαν) to Israel?" We are now told at the close that the chief Apostle of the Gentiles "proclaims the Kingdom of God" (κηρύσσων τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ) in the chief city of the Gentiles. Here is the indirect answer to the Apostles' question, so far as any answer could be given. The subject of the Book then is the history of the Kingdom of God, with more special reference to the relaxation of the terms of admission, the ingathering of the Gentiles, and the transference of the centre of gravity of Christendom from Jerusalem elsewhere.

This history comprises three periods. Of these the second, the epoch of transition, is the most instructive; and indeed the narrative of the Acts hinges on it. This period itself may be divided into two parts: *First* (i.–vii.), that which deals with Hellenists, Samaritans, and proselytes of the gate, persons of mixed nation or religion, neither wholly Hebraic nor wholly Gentile; and *secondly* (viii.–xiv.), that which treats of the extension of the Church among Gentiles proper. At the end of each of these two divisions, as if he had arrived at a fresh landing-place, the author after his manner inserts an encouraging notice of the progress of the Gospel. Obviously he has paid special attention to the transitional period, gathering together every notice which seemed to illustrate either the principles, the agents, or the recipients, in this gradual enlargement of the bounds of Christendom.

3. *External Testimony.*—The external authority in favour of this Book is full and unanimous. Only at a comparatively late date do we find any exception to the testimonies which assign it to St. Luke, and even then its canonical authority is not questioned. If we place ourselves in the later decades of the 2nd century, we are confronted with witnesses from all parts of the Church, and the evidence leaves nothing to be desired. (1) Irenæus, who represents three Churches — Asia Minor, Rome, and Gaul — quotes or refers to it between fifty and sixty times. The quotations range over nearly the whole Book. He gives St. Peter's speech at Pentecost (ii. 22–36), St. Peter's speech at the Beautiful Gate (iii. 12–26), St. Paul's speech on the Areopagus (xvii. 24–31), and the speeches of St. Peter and St. James at the apostolic council, together with the apostolic letter (xv. 7–11, 13–21, 23–29) in full or nearly so (iii. 12. 3, 9. 14). As this third book was published during the Roman episcopate of Eleutherus (A.D. 175–189), we know the latest possible date of the testimony. He several times distinctly ascribes it to St. Luke, and argues from this fact (i. 23. 1, iii. 13. 3, iii. 14. 1 *sq.*, iv. 15. 1). He attributes scriptural authority to it (*e.g.* iii. 12. 5, 9). He not only argues from its Lucan authorship himself, but assumes this as common ground with his adversaries. In fact he quotes it just as any strictly orthodox divine would do in the present day. It is difficult therefore to understand the statement that "it is undeniable that no distinct and unequivocal

reference to the Acts of the Apostles, and to Luke as their author, occurs in the writings of the Fathers before one by Irenaeus about the end of the 2nd century" (*Supernatural Religion*, iii. p. 2). (2) Clement of Alexandria (*c.* A.D. 190–200) represents more especially the Church whose name he bears; but he mentions obligations to six different teachers—in Greece, in Egypt, in Palestine, Assyria, and the East—who had received the "tradition handed down direct from father to son from the holy Apostles Peter and James, John and Paul" (*Strom.* i. 1, p. 322). He quotes the Acts repeatedly, and in one passage (*Strom.* v. 12, p. 696) gives the name of the writer Luke. (3) The *Muratorian Canon* probably represents Rome, and is generally placed about A.D. 170–180 (since the author speaks of the episcopate of Pius, *c.* A.D. 140–155, as "nuperrime temporibus nostris"), but may be a few years later. This writer (ed. Tregelles, p. 18), in a passage which is somewhat corrupt, but of which the general tenor seems clear, after the four Gospels mentions "Acta omnium apostolorum" as written by Luke and addressed to Theophilus, adding that he wrote down the events of which he had personal knowledge ("corprindit quia [l. quae] sub praesentia ejus singula gerebantur"), and that evidently he was not an eye-witness of the martyrdom of Peter and the journey of Paul to Spain. (4) Tertullian is the chief representative of the African Church. His literary activity covers the last years of the 2nd and the early years of the 3rd centuries. He quotes the Acts many times. About 150 references or quotations are given by Rönsch (*Das Neue Testament Tertullians*, p. 291 *sq.*), but a certain percentage of these may be doubtful. He quotes it generally as *Acta* or *Acta Apostolorum* and ascribes it to St. Luke (*de Jejun.* 10). He cites it too as Scripture (see e. g. *Praescr. Haer.* 22), and designates it *Apostolicum Instrumentum* (*Pudic.* 12) or *Scriptura Apostolicorum* (*Marc.* v. 2). (5) Polycrates of Ephesus (A.D. 189–198) represents Asia Minor at the close of this century. He lays great stress on the primitive tradition, which he had inherited through several relatives who were Bishops (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 24). He quotes Acts v. 29 *verbatim*, though not by name, in the words "They that are greater than I have said, *It is right to serve God rather than men*" (*πειθαρχεῖν δεῖ Θεῷ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώποις*), a saying ascribed in the Acts to "Peter and the Apostles."

We find then that in the last decades of the 2nd century the Book is quoted profusely and without any sign of misgiving as authoritative Scripture and as the work of St. Luke. The testimony comes from all quarters of the Church; and the witnesses are persons who were mixed up in various religious controversies and had alliances far and wide, striking (in some instances) deep into the past. There can be no doubt therefore about the universal verdict of the Church at this time. Thus at the earliest moment when we have sufficient materials for a judgment, the evidence in favour of the Book is overwhelming.

The earlier testimony is of the same kind as for most of those Canonical Books of which the authenticity has never been questioned. The apostolic Fathers do not directly quote Romans or 2 Corinthians or Galatians, nor are these Epistles named by any Church writer before Irenaeus. Of Acts xx. 35, "To remember (*μνημονεύειν*) the words of the Lord Jesus, how He said, It is blessed rather to give than to receive (*μᾶλλον διδόναι ἢ λαμβάνειν*)," we have reminiscences in CLEMENT OF ROME, § 13, "especially remembering (*μεμνημένοι*) the words of the Lord Jesus which He spake" (comp. § 46), and § 2, "more gladly giving than receiving" (*ἥδιον διδόντες ἢ λαμβάνοντες*), for in the context of this latter passage the Corinthians are praised for "giving heed to the words" of Christ. Again in § 18, "What shall we say of David, to whom witness is borne (*τῷ μεμαρτυρημένῳ*), unto whom God said, I have found a man after My heart, David the son of Jesse, with oil," &c., Clement is compounding the original passage in the Psalms, lxxxviii. (lxxxix.) 20, with the quotation in Acts xiii. 22, "To whom also He said, bearing witness (*μαρτυρήσας*), I have found David the son of Jesse a man after my heart, who will do," &c., where the features borrowed from the Acts are (1) the mention of the "witness"; (2) the addition of "a man after my heart" (comp. 1 Sam. xiii. 14); and (3) the further addition of "the son of Jesse"—none of these being found in the original passage of the Psalms. This threefold coincidence is not easily explained away. The coincidences in IGNATIUS are somewhat less close, but not insignificant. *Magn.* 5, "to go (*χωρεῖν*) to his own place," recals Acts i. 25, "to go (*πορευθῆναι*) to his own place." In *Philad.* 11 we have the phrase *ἀνὴρ μεμαρτυρημένος*, which occurs also in Acts vi. 3. In *Smyrn.* 3, "After His Resurrection He ate and drank with them (*συνέφαγεν αὐτοῖς καὶ συνέπιεν*)," there is an allusion to Acts x. 41, *συνεφάγομεν καὶ συνεπίομεν αὐτῷ μετὰ τὸ ἀναστῆναι κ. τ. λ.* In POLYCARP the coincidences are of the same kind, but stronger. § 1, "Whom God raised (*ἤγειρεν*), loosing the pangs of Hades (*λύσας τὰς ὠδῖνας τοῦ ᾅδου*)," closely follows Acts ii. 24, "whom God raised up (*ἀνέστησεν*), having loosed the pangs of death (*λύσας τὰς ὠδῖνας τοῦ θανάτου*)," where there is a v. l. *ᾅδου*, which is shown from the authorities (D, e, Vulg., Memph., Iren.) to have been current at least as early as the 2nd century. Though the individual expressions (e.g. *ὠδῖνες ᾅδου*) may be found elsewhere, there is nothing approaching to the parallelism throughout the sentence, so that it cannot be regarded as accidental. Again, in § 2 we have the expression "judge of quick and dead," as in Acts x. 42. There are also other coincidences (§ 2 to xx. 35, § 6 to vii. 52, § 12 to viii. 21), on which however no stress can be laid. Of PAPIAS (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 39) we can only say that his anecdotes deal with personages mentioned in the Acts, Judas Barsabbas and the daughters of Philip (if he be the same Philip), and that his story of Judas the traitor is used by Apollinaris of Laodicea in the 4th century to reconcile the accounts of his death in St. Matthew and in the Acts, and may have had some such reference as told by himself. In HERMAS, who gives not a single quotation (strictly speaking) either from the Old or from the New Testament, we stumble on coincidences with the Acts, which however would have no great value in themselves. Thus

Hermas (*Mand.* iv. 3) uses the word καρδιογνώστης, "heart-knower," of God, which occurs twice in the Acts (i. 24, xv. 8), but is found nowhere else in the LXX. or N. T. Again, he speaks of being thought "worthy of bearing the Name," and of being "healed" or "saved by the Name" (*Vis.* iv. 2, *Sim.* ix. 28), expressions which are close parallels to Acts iv. 12, v. 41.

In the Apologists there are similar coincidences. Thus in JUSTIN MARTYR we have in two several passages (*Dial.* 36, 76) a reference to prophecy as announcing παθητὸς [ὁ] Χριστός, "the Messiah would be passible," as in Acts xxvi. 23. Here the coincidence consists not in the idea, but in the manner of expressing it, the word παθητὸς not occurring elsewhere in the LXX. or N. T. So again the summary of events after the Crucifixion in *Apol.* i. 50 seems to be taken from Acts i. 8 *sq.* (comp. ii. 33), the expression "to receive power" (λαμβάνειν δύναμιν) being common to both, besides other coincidences. Again, *Dial.* 68, "How saith the Word unto David that God would take a son for Himself from his loins (ἀπὸ τῆς ὀσφύος αὐτοῦ) . . . and would seat (καθίσει) him on the throne of His glory," is best explained as a reminiscence of Acts ii. 30, "God sware unto him by an oath that he would set (καθίσαι) of the fruit of his loins (τῆς ὀσφύος αὐτοῦ) upon his throne;" for in both passages "loins" (ὀσφύος) is substituted for "body" (κοιλίας), and "set" (καθίζειν) for "place" (τίθεσθαι) of the LXX. of Psalm cxxxi. (cxxxii.) 11, though in neither case does the Hebrew suggest such a substitution. Again in *Dial.* 16 we read, "Ye slew the Just One and before Him the prophets," which has a close parallel in Acts vii. 52 (comp. Is. lvii. 1). Again, the connexion of "common or unclean things" with "refraining to eat" is matched by Acts x. 14, 28, xi. 8; and there are other coincidences likewise. It seems difficult, with these facts before us, to resist the inference that Justin was acquainted with the Acts. The coincidences in the other Apologists are much slighter. Thus TATIAN (*Orat. ad Graec.* 6) writes, "Though you consider us . . . babblers (σπερμολόγους)," the word used of St. Paul by the Athenians in Acts xvii. 18. In THEOPHILUS again (*ad Autol.* ii. 1) there is the same play on γινώσκειν, ἀναγινώσκειν, which appears in Acts viii. 30.

Of other writers in the 2nd century DIONYSIUS OF CORINTH is reported by Eusebius (*H. E.* iv. 23) as recording (δηλοῖ) that "Dionysius the Areopagite, when turned (προτραπείς) to the faith by the Apostle Paul in accordance with the records (τὰ δεδηλωμένα) in the Acts, was the first to be entrusted with the bishopric of the diocese (παροικίας) of Athens." From this passage indeed it does not necessarily follow that Dionysius actually mentioned the Acts; but, if the language of Eusebius may be interpreted strictly, Dionysius of Corinth must have said that his early namesake was converted by St. Paul (not ὁ προτραπείς, but προτραπείς), as therein stated. In the EPISTLE OF VIENNE AND LYONS (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1) the last prayer of "Stephen the perfect martyr" is given from Acts vii. 60, just as elsewhere in this same document the language used of Zacharias (the father of the Baptist) is taken from Luke i. 6. These obligations to the two treatises of St. Luke can only be evaded by postulating doubles of both writings (see *Supernatural Religion*, iii. p. 25), but this is an alternative which need not be seriously discussed.

It should be added also that in all the VERSIONS of the 2nd century (the Syriac, Latin, and Egyptian), so far as our information goes, this Book formed a part.

Moreover the early APOCRYPHAL ACTS and other historical romances show an acquaintance with this work, to which they are frequently indebted for their personal and geographical notices, where they cross the historical path of the canonical Acts. Such are the Acts of Peter and Paul, and those of Paul and Thecla. So too Cornelius (*Hom.* xx. 13) and others are mentioned in the Clementine *Homilies*, while Theophilus also appears in the *Recognitions*. The *Homilies* moreover contain several expressions found in the Acts, such as "heart-knower," *Hom.* x. 13, πρὸς καρδιογνώστην Θεόν (comp. Acts i. 24, xv. 8); "What purporteth this to be?" *Hom.* xiii. 6, xiv. 9, τί θέλει τοῦτο εἶναι (comp. Acts ii. 12, xvii. 20); "What hindereth me to be baptized?" *Hom.* xiii. 5 (see also xiii. 11; comp. Acts viii. 36). Similar resemblances also appear in the *Recognitions*.

It was indeed rejected by several HERETICS of the 2nd century, not however in a single instance (so far as we can discover) because they questioned its authorship, but in many cases obviously on this very account. Those who, like the EBIONITES, denied the apostleship of St. Paul, were forced to repudiate the authority of his disciple. Those on the other hand who, like the MARCIONITES, maintained a direct antagonism between St. Paul and the Apostles of the circumcision, could not do otherwise than reject a work which represented them as meeting each other on friendly terms. For the Ebionites see Iren. iii. 15. 1. Again, as regards the Marcionites, Irenaeus argues with them throughout on the hypothesis of its Lucan authorship, as if this were common ground (iii. 12. 12, iii. 14. 1 *sq.*). When dealing with the VALENTINIANS and other Gnostics, he distinctly states that they accept the Book as authoritative, but try to get round it by false interpretations, or by a distinction between an esoteric and exoteric doctrine (iii. 12. 12, iii. 14. 4, iii. 15. 1, 2). Thus these Valentinians are valuable witnesses—all the more valuable because the acceptance of the Book involved them in great difficulty.

It should be added also that, as the Third Gospel and the Acts were evidently the work of one man—and the admission of this fact may now be regarded as practically universal—all the evidence which testifies to the authorship of the former is available also for the latter, and conversely. But the testimony in favour of St. Luke as the author of the Third Gospel is absolutely unbroken, and no shadow of suspicion overclouds it for nearly eighteen centuries.

The unanimity and directness of testimony which we have observed at the close of the 2nd century continue in the succeeding ages. At the close of the 4th century however, we find Chrysostom saying that he is induced to explain the Book, because many are ignorant of its existence and its authorship (*Comm. in Act. Apost.* i. 1, *Op.* ix. p. 1). As it is freely quoted without any suspicion cast on its author-

ship by all the great fathers of his own generation, as well as before and after, this can only mean that it was more or less neglected by the general reader. This neglect may be accounted for by the fact that it would not be read regularly in churches like the Gospels or the Apostolic Epistles, and copies would not be multiplied to the same extent as in the case of these other Scriptures. As it did not bear its author's name in the title (in this respect differing from the other Books of the N. T.), ignorance on this point becomes the more explicable.

Still more perplexing, and still less reconcilable with the facts, is a notice in Photius (*Amphil.* Qu. 123) at the close of the 9th century: "Some say that the author of the Acts was Clement of Rome, others Barnabas, and others again Luke the Evangelist; but Luke himself settles the question (ἐπικρίνει)," &c. As there is not the faintest trace of any difference of opinion in all the preceding eight centuries, I am disposed to think that Photius is here guilty of a confusion with the Epistle to the Hebrews, these three persons being named by ancient Fathers as claimants for the authorship of this letter (Orig. in Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 25; Tertull. *de Pudic.* 20; Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 38; Hieron. *Vir. Ill.* 5).

4. *The Authorship.*—We have seen that the universal tradition of the first eight centuries ascribes the Book with no faltering voice to St. Luke; and that this evidence is further fortified by a still greater mass of testimony—equally unanimous—which independently ascribes the Third Gospel to this same person. How far is this assumption supported by internal evidence?

The first person plural "we" is used in certain parts of the narrative, where the writer is describing the journeys of St. Paul. He therefore professes to be a companion of St. Paul. This first person appears in the ordinary text for the first time at Troas (xvi. 10), during the second missionary journey (*c.* A.D. 51 or 52), and continues to Philippi, where it is dropped (xvi. 17) as suddenly as it had appeared. It is taken up again after several years (A.D. 58) during the third missionary journey at this same place Philippi (xx. 5), and continues till St. Paul arrives at Jerusalem and confers with James and the elders (xx. 18). When again he sets sail for Italy (xxvii. 1), it accompanies him and remains in his company during the voyage and shipwreck and until his arrival in Rome (xxviii. 15, 16, for in ver. 16 the best supported reading is εἰσήλθαμεν). But besides these occurrences in the ordinary text, it is found likewise in D at a much earlier point (xi. 28), where the prophecy of Agabus is mentioned, at Antioch. Though the variations in D seem in many passages to give contemporary traditions, yet the capriciousness of this MS. elsewhere forbids us to regard this as the original reading.

Who then is this writer who uses the first person? The obvious answer is that which identifies him with the traditional author of the work, St. Luke. This person was certainly a trusty companion of the apostle (Col. iv. 14; Philem. 24; 2 Tim. iv. 11); and though the notices in St. Paul's Epistles refer to a somewhat later date, he might very well have been with the apostle at this time. Not a single Epistle of St. Paul was written during the precise periods covered by "we" in the Acts, and therefore the absence of Luke's name in the Epistles prior to the Roman captivity is not even a *primâ facie* objection. Moreover, Luke is described as "the beloved physician" (Col. iv. 14), and a tendency to the use of medical terms has been observed both in the Third Gospel and the Acts. If many of the examples adduced must be set aside as proving nothing, the residuum is quite sufficient to establish the main point (see esp. Hobart's *Medical Language of St. Luke*, Dublin, 1882).

But though the natural inference from the use of the first person plural seems plain enough, it has given rise to various opinions. These may be divided into four classes:—

(i.) That which regards it as a mere literary fiction to give an air of credibility to the narrative. This view has been held by two or three critics, of whom Schrader (*Der Apostel Paulus*, 1836) may be taken as the type. As no one now upholds this view, I need not take the trouble to refute it.

(ii.) That which identifies it with St. Luke, who is regarded as also the ultimate author of the work. This is the vastly preponderating opinion even in the present day, and until quite recent times it was the sole possessor of the field. Its consistency and *verisimilitude* have been already shown.

(iii.) That which identifies it with St. Luke as the original authority for this portion of the narrative, but maintains that the Book, as a whole, was compiled by some later person. This is the view of Baur and Zeller, with several subsequent critics, of whom the latest is Holtzmann (*Zeitsch. f. Wiss. Theol.* 1881, p. 408 *sq.*; *Einl.* p. 385, 1885).

(iv.) That which identifies it with some one else besides St. Luke. The persons selected for this distinction are: (α) TIMOTHEUS. This is the view of Schleiermacher, De Wette, and others, notably Bleek (see esp. *Introd. to New Test.* i. p. 355 *sq.*, Engl. transl.). It appears to have been first suggested by Königsmann, *De Fontibus Comm. Sacr. qui Lucae nomen praeferunt*, &c., 1798. (β) SILAS. This hypothesis is vigorously maintained by Schwanbeck (*Ueber die Quellen der Schriften des Lukas*, i. p. 168 *sq.*, 265 *sq.*), though he was not the first to suggest it. It is sometimes connected with the identification of Silvanus (Silas) with Lucanus (Lucas), as *e.g.* by Hennell (*Untersuchung über den Ursprung des Christenthum*, 1840). This identification is put forward by Van Vloten (*Zeitschr. f. Wiss. Theol.* 1867, p. 223 *sq.*; comp. *ib.* 1871, p. 431 *sq.*), as if he were the originator of the theory. He is answered by Cropp (*ib.* 1868, p. 353 *sq.*). (γ) TITUS. This view seems to have been suggested first by Horst (*Sur les Sources de la deuxième partie des Actes*, &c., 1849; see Holtzmann, *Einl.* p. 385), and has been adopted by Krenkel, Jacobsen, and others, notably by Hooykaas (*Bible for Young People*, v. 33; see Salmon, *Introd.* p. 312 *sq.*). In connexion with this theory should be mentioned the identification of Titus with Silvanus (or Silas), maintained by Zimmer (*Zeitschr. f. kirchl. Wiss. u. kirchl. Leben*, 1881, 4, p. 169 *sq.*; *Jahrb. f. Protest. Theol.* 1881, p. 721 *sq.*), who supposes Silas the prophet of Antioch to be

a different person from Titus Silas the companion of St. Paul. His theory is discussed by Jülicher (*Jahrb. f. Protest. Theol.* 1882, p. 538 *sq.*).

The two solutions (β), (γ), may be quickly dismissed. The identification of Silvanus with Lucanus on the ground that *silva* and *lucus* are synonymes is about as reasonable as would be the identification of persons bearing the names Wood and Forest and Grove, or Lea and Field and Meadows, or Mountain and Hill, or Rock and Cliffe and Stone. The objection to the other identification is of a different kind. Everything points to the separation of Titus and Silvanus. Thus the two are mentioned by their respective names in one and the same Epistle by St. Paul (2 Cor. i. 19, ii. 13, vii. 6, &c.). Moreover, Titus was a Gentile (Gal. ii. 3), while Silas (Silvanus) was plainly a Jew (Acts xv. 22); for it is altogether arbitrary to distinguish the Silas of xv. 22, 27, 32 [34], from the Silas of xv. 40, &c.

Having thus cleared the way, we may deal generally with the hypotheses which belong to the third and fourth classes.

Of the third we may remark: (1) That the "we" sections are absolutely identical in style with the rest of the Acts, and indeed with the Third Gospel also, so that they can only have been written by the ultimate compiler of both narratives. (2) That accordingly these "we" sections contain numerous cross references to other parts of the narrative. (3) That the ultimate compiler (whoever he was) shows not only literary ability, but literary care. This point is strongly insisted upon (among others) by Renan, who speaks of the Third Gospel and Acts as forming one work excellently put together (*très bien rédigé*), composed with reflection and even with art, &c. (*Les Apôtres*, p. xi.). But it is incredible that an author evincing this literary capacity and aim should commit the school-boy blunder of inserting paragraphs written by another without even taking the trouble to alter the personal pronouns. It is not sufficient to point to such carelessness in mediæval chroniclers as Schwanbeck does. The examples are not parallel. We have in the Acts "not one of those low organisations which do not resent being pulled asunder," but "a highly organised structure, showing evident marks that the whole proceeded from a single author" (Salmon, *Introd.* p. 316). (4) Lastly: the hypotheses belonging to this class have not a shadow of evidence in their favour. On what grounds then should they claim to displace the traditional view? Is the strongest historical attestation to count for nothing?

It will be seen at once that some of these objections apply equally to the fourth class. But the individual hypotheses again, which belong to this class, present additional difficulties of their own. (α) The assignment to Timotheus is irreconcilable with Acts xx. 5, 6, where the writer, having mentioned him among others who accompanied St. Paul, adds, "But these (οὗτοι δὲ) had gone before and were waiting for us (προελθόντες ἔμενον ἡμᾶς) in Troas;" where οὗτοι naturally refers to all those previously mentioned, and the restriction to the two last, Tychicus and Trophimus, is not justified by the form of the sentence. (β) The attribution to Silas has nothing to recommend it. Silas or Silvanus is a prominent figure during the Apostle's second missionary journey in the Acts; and this prominence is borne out by the notices in St. Paul's Epistles relating to this period (1 Thess. i. 1; 2 Thess. i. 1; 2 Cor. i. 19). On the contrary, he nowhere appears during the third missionary journey, either in the history or in the letters, whereas the "we" occurs frequently during this period. (γ) The only ground for suggesting Titus is the negative fact that he is not mentioned by name in the narrative,[a] though he is known to have been with St. Paul during part of this period (2 Cor. ii. 13, vii. 6 *sq.*, xii. 18), and is a prominent person among the Apostle's companions. But what is the value of this negative fact? What advantage has the Titus guess over the Luke tradition? Unless indeed it be "thought a disadvantage to an hypothesis that it should have some amount of historical testimony" (Salmon, p. 313). Moreover, of these attributions generally we may remark that the propriety in the change from the first to the third person, and conversely, as pointed out above (p. 31), ceases, and the use of the pronouns, from being orderly and consistent, becomes a chaos.

Nor is it easy to understand how St. Luke's name should have thus been persistently assigned to the work, if he had had nothing to do with it. As Salmon has pointed out (p. 372), it is not attached to this second treatise in any uncial MS. But the Third Gospel had the name of St. Luke prefixed, and the Acts bore evidence on the face of it that it was written by the same author. Hence the attribution. Indeed the sequence of facts is a most powerful argument in favour of the genuineness of the work. These are as follows: (1) The Gospel bears the name of Luke; but Luke was a companion of St. Paul. (2) When we examine the Gospel, we find not only that it brings out into special prominence certain points in Christ's teaching which illustrate the cardinal doctrines of St. Paul, the universality and the freedom of the Gospel, justification not by works of law but by faith, and the like; but also that, where St. Paul refers to incidents in our Lord's life, as for instance to the Last Supper (1 Cor. xi. 23 *sq.*; comp. Luke xxii. 19 *sq.*) or to the appearances after the Resurrection (*e.g.* 1 Cor. xv. 5, ὤφθη Κηφᾷ: comp. Luke xxiv. 34, ὤφθη Σίμωνι), his references present striking resemblances to this Gospel rather than to the others. Yet there is not a word nor a hint of any connexion with or

[a] In Acts xviii. 7 the reading is most probably Τιτίου Ἰούστου, though some read Τίτου Ἰούστου, some Τίτου simply, and some Ἰούστου simply (the received reading). At all events the alternative lies between the first and the last, as the variation must have arisen from the addition or omission of the same recurring letters (ΟΝΟΜΑΤΙΤΙΤΙΟΥΙΟΥCΤΟΥ). But even if "Titus" were read here, he could hardly be the same person; for he is mentioned here as a Jewish proselyte, and his surname Justus implies that he was an observer of the Mosaic law; whereas the Apostle's companion Titus had been converted to Christianity before this (Gal. ii. 1) and is called a "Gentile" without any qualification. Moreover this Justus was a resident in Corinth, whereas St. Paul, writing to the Corinthians (2 Cor. *ll. cc.*), mentions Titus in such a way as to preclude the supposition that he was one of themselves.

any knowledge of the Apostle. (3) The Acts professes to be written by the same person as the Third Gospel, of which it is a later continuation; and this profession is fully borne out by its style and character. (4) We read over more than half this second treatise without any indication that the writer was a companion of St. Paul. (5) Then at length the token of companionship occurs. Yet even now it is not distinctly stated, but the fact is inferred from the incidental occurrence of the first person plural, which makes its first appearance quite unsuspiciously. And not only so, but in its subsequent disappearance and re-appearance it shows a congruity which cannot fail to strike the mind. Who will be bold enough to explain these harmonies as a fortuitous concourse of pseudo-historical atoms? Yet it would require greater hardihood still to ascribe them to a sustained and elaborate artifice.

Apart from the hypotheses which we have hitherto considered, stands the view propounded in H. H. Evans, *St. Paul the Author of the Acts of the Apostles and of the Third Gospel* (London, 1884). The Pauline authorship is maintained by this writer on the ground of certain resemblances of diction. He does not attempt to deal with the first person plural or to grapple with the difficulties which beset his theory on all sides.

5. *Authenticity and Genuineness.*—In discussing the authenticity of any work, two main divisions of the subject present themselves: (1) The internal characteristics, as indications of verisimilitude or the contrary; (2) The external tests, as evidences of veracity or the contrary.

(1.) In treating of the internal characteristics, I must satisfy myself with pointing out a few heads, giving here and there an example, but without any attempt to do more than indicate lines of investigation which the reader may carry out for himself.

(i.) There is first of all the *change of moral and spiritual atmosphere.* As we pass from the beginning to the end of the Book, we find that the religious climate, so to speak, is quite changed, and we are breathing a different air. In short we have passed from the Hebraic to the Hellenic. This change manifests itself throughout, in the speeches and in the actions, in the modes of feeling and in the local customs and institutions. Yet the transition is not sudden. It is a gradual growth, as the Church emancipates itself, both locally and morally, from the tutelage of its Hebrew infancy. Between the two extremes the intermediate Hellenistic territory is duly traversed. In short, the work, regarded from this point of view, betokens a writer who either had witnessed the progressive career himself, or made use of successive contemporary documents; but such a narrative would be quite impossible from one who some generations later attempted to furnish a story of the apostolic doings, trusting mainly or solely to his own faculty of invention.

(ii.) Not unconnected with this feature is the *sequence and connexion of events.* We may take as an example the incidents which prepared the way for the extension of the Church to the Gentiles. What could be more natural, and yet what more unlike the work of a forger than these fragmentary disconnected notices, which, as we see after the fact, must inevitably have led to the result, but which no one could have foreseen or devised, and which require careful piecing together before we can trace their bearing and direction. These are: (1) The murmuring of the Hellenist widows, vi. 1; (2) the creation of the diaconate, vi. 2 *sq.*; (3) the composition of this diaconate, comprising especially Stephen and Philip, vi. 5 *sq.*; (4) Stephen's disputations, speech, and martyrdom, vi. 8–vii. 60; (5) Saul's appearance on the scene, vii. 58, viii. 1; (6) the scattering abroad of the disciples as the consequence of this persecution, viii. 1; (7) the preaching of Philip in Samaria and elsewhere, as the result of this scattering, viii. 5–40; (8) the wider dissemination of the word and the first preaching to the Gentiles through the outlying members of this scattered band (xi. 19, 20). A little reflection will show that all this is inconceivable, except as an account of facts which actually occurred.

(iii.) Another point is the *disproportion and inequality* of the narrative. This argument is strongly insisted upon by Renan (p. xv.) among others: "Ce qui distingue l'histoire composée d'après des documents de l'histoire écrite en tout ou en partie d'original, *c'est justement la disproportion.*" A narrator who allows himself *carte blanche* to invent will take care that the different parts of his narrative bear some proportion to each other. On the other hand, a recorder of facts is limited by the historical knowledge at his disposal. At some points he has very ample information; at others it entirely fails him. Now nothing is more striking than the want of proportion in the Acts. In some parts the history of a few months occupies several chapters; in others the history of many years is disposed of in two or three verses. Sometimes we have a diary of a journey or voyage; elsewhere a bald statement of the main fact is given. But nowhere is this disproportion more striking than in some of the speeches, notably in that of St. Stephen. This is by far the longest record of a speech in the Book, extending over 52 verses. Having all this space at his disposal, a forger would have made it both pertinent and complete. He would have provided a well-reasoned defence against the twofold crime with which Stephen is charged. But here we have nothing of the kind. There is a long and at first sight irrelevant account of the early history of the Jewish people, which occupies 49 verses, and the last three are taken up in a denunciation of his accusers. Direct answer to the charges there is none. Only when we examine it more carefully, we discover two things: first, that the incidents in the long historical narrative illustrate the transitory character of the present dispensation and of the local sanctuary; and secondly, that the latter part of the speech (vii. 48–53) is interrupted and hurried. Thus the whole speech, as we have it, is a preamble, and the argumentative application which should have formed the main part of his defence does not appear at all, or at least is confined to two or three short sentences, doubtless because the clamours of the bystanders bring the speaker prematurely to a close. But until we discover the key to its meaning, this rambling discourse is quite unintelligible under the circumstances, and such as no forger would

or could have invented. It is only conceivable as a substantially true record of what was actually said. Another instance of similar disproportion is the speech on the Areopagus (xvii. 22–31), where there is no distinctive Christian teaching till the last verse, and here only one point is touched upon. In this case however the probable explanation is that it was not so much the speech itself, as the report of the speech accessible to the historian, which was fuller at the commencement and hurried at the end. But the bearing on the point at issue —the truthfulness of the narrator—is the same.

(iv.) We have also another indication of genuineness in the *minor discrepancies and errors*, or what appear to be such in the account. Thus we have three separate accounts of St. Paul's conversion (ix. 3 *sq.*, xxii. 6 *sq.*, xxvi. 12 *sq.*). The divergences may not be irreconcilable, but they do not reconcile themselves. The reasonable explanation is not that the writer himself invented the three accounts, but that he obtained them from different sources, and reproduced them as he found them. Again the inaccuracies in the references to Old Testament history in St. Stephen's speech are probably due to the strict reproduction of a report taken under necessarily unfavourable circumstances. In some cases at all events (*e.g.* vii. 43, the substitution of "Babylon" for "Damascus"), we seem to see that they are due to hurried condensation.

(*v.*) The *naturalness* of the language, as indicating direct knowledge of the facts, should also be noticed. The incidental appearance and disappearance of the "we," to which attention has been directed already, is a good illustration. Another example appears in the order of the names Barnabas and Paul (or Saul). Barnabas is the earlier disciple (iv. 36), and the mediator between Saul and the elder Apostles (ix. 27, xi. 22–26). Accordingly, in the earlier part of the history the order is always "Barnabas and Saul" (xi. 30, xiii. 2). But when their missionary journeys commence, and they stand on Gentile ground, St. Paul's supremacy of character asserts itself, and the order is tacitly changed to "Paul and Barnabas" (xiii. 43, 46, 50; xv. 2, 22, 35). There are indeed exceptions in this latter part, but they only "prove the rule." At the apostolic council and in the apostolic letter, the old sequence "Barnabas and Paul" is again resumed (xv. 12, 25); and so too at Lystra, where Barnabas is identified with Zeus and Paul with Hermes, the former naturally takes the precedence for the moment (xiv. 14). As instances of naturalness in the language represented to have been used by the speakers, we may allege the distortion of facts by Claudius Lysias (xxiii. 27) to save his own credit, or the exaggerated compliments paid to Felix by Tertullus (xxiv. 2 *sq.*), which are explained but not justified by his career as governor.

Altogether, it may be affirmed that if there had been no miraculous element in the narrative, and if it had had no bearing on religious controversy, the form and contents of this work would have placed it beyond all suspicion, as regards genuineness and authenticity.

(2.) From the consideration of the internal characteristics we turn to the *external tests*, as an evidence of truthfulness.

(i.) In the earlier part of the narrative we have rarely an opportunity of testing the incidents by reference to other Christian documents; but the latter portion, giving the history of St. Paul, may be compared with and checked by the Apostle's own letters. This work has been done admirably by Paley in his *Horae Paulinae*; and the main result is conclusive. He has elicited a mass of "undesigned coincidences," which renders the hypothesis of a fictitious history impossible. The comparison of the four greater Epistles, more especially (Romans, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, Galatians), belonging to the years 57, 58, elicits striking examples. Any reader, for instance, who will take the pains to go carefully over Paley's discussion of the passages relating to the contributions for the Christian poor at Jerusalem, observing how they dovetail into one another, may satisfy himself of the validity of the argument. Yet it is plain that the writer of the Acts was unacquainted with these Epistles, or at all events that, if he had ever seen them, he made no use of them in compiling his history. Otherwise, we are wholly unable to explain the omission of any reference to the incidents and persons mentioned: for example, in Rom. xv. 19, 28, xvi. 1 *sq.*, 23; 1 Cor. i. 11 *sq.*, xvi. 15 *sq.*; 2 Cor. ii. 12, vii. 5, xi. 24, xii. 3 *sq.*; Gal. i. 17, ii. 11 *sq.*; to say nothing of the absence of any allusion to Titus in connexion with Corinth or of the different aspects which the third visit to Jerusalem bears in the Acts (xv. 1 *sq.*) and in St. Paul's Epistle (Gal. ii. 1 *sq.*).

(ii.) Another point of comparison with external documents relates to the language ascribed to the different Apostles in the Acts. St. James, St. Peter, and St. Paul, all have speeches assigned to them. Is their language such as might be expected from the writers of the Epistles bearing their several names? The very few sentences ascribed to James do not afford much scope for comparison. Yet the sentiments attributed to him are what might have been expected from one who was the recognised head of the Church of Jerusalem, as well as from the writer of the Epistle which bears his name. It has been observed also that of the canonical writers James alone uses the common formula χαίρειν as the heading of his Epistle (James i. 1), which appears likewise at the beginning of the apostolic letter, evidently represented in the Acts as dictated by him. The speeches and sayings of St. Peter afford considerably more material for comparison. In the diction, and still more in the ideas, they exhibit such parallels with the Epistles bearing the name of this Apostle, as to suggest identity of authorship, notwithstanding the alterations in form which they have necessarily undergone by transmission. On this subject see Weiss, *Der Petrinische Lehrbegriff*, p. 6 *sq.* and *passim*; Kähler, *Die Reden des Petrus in der Apostelgeschichte, Stud. u. Krit.*, 1873, p. 492 *sq.*; Salmon, *Introd.* p. 335 *sq.*, ed. 2, as well as the commentaries on this Book, esp. Nösgen, p. 47 *sq.* For St. Paul the material is much more ample, and the result correspondingly more conclusive. The speech at Miletus (Acts xx. 18 *sq.*) more especially has been carefully analysed, and exhibits throughout both Pauline matter and Pauline diction. Moreover, it is not fanciful to

trace more special correspondences with the letters belonging to the several periods at which the speeches are represented as being delivered. Thus the one Christian doctrine which is mentioned in the speech on the Areopagus (xvii. 31)—the second Advent and the Judgment—is the one prominent topic of the Epistles to the Thessalonians, written at this time. Again, the speech at Miletus, already mentioned, exhibits resemblances to the Epistles of the third missionary journey which preceded this epoch, and with the Epistles to the Philippians and Ephesians which succeeded it.

(iii.) The geographical and historical tests which the subject-matter of the Acts invites us to apply, are exceptionally wide and various. If, for instance, we confine ourselves to geography, we accompany the Apostle by land and by sea; we follow him about in Jerusalem, in Palestine and Syria, in Asia Minor, in Greece, in Italy. The topographical details are scattered over this wide expanse of continent, island, and ocean; and they are both minute and incidental. Yet the writer is never betrayed into an error. The account of the Apostle's journey to Rome (for example) is so accurate and consistent, that a modern writer has been enabled almost to reproduce a log-book of the voyage (James Smith's *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*). The amount of geographical and topographical illustration which the narrative of the Acts admits may be seen from such books as Conybeare and Howson's *Life and Epistles of St. Paul* and Lewin's *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*; and these works will afford a measure of the strength of the argument to be derived from such considerations.

When we turn from geography to history, the tests are still more numerous, and lead to still more decisive results. The laws, the institutions, the manners, the religious rites, the magisterial records, of Syria and Palestine, of Asia Minor, of Macedonia and Greece, all live in the pages of this narrative. It will suffice to mention one or two of the more striking facts. When St. Paul first visits Europe, he sojourns at two important Macedonian cities in succession, Philippi and Thessalonica. In neither case does the political constitution follow the normal type of a Greek city; yet in both the local government is correctly and significantly indicated. Philippi was a Roman colony (xvi. 12). Accordingly here we find all the apparatus and colouring of a colony, which was a miniature reproduction of Rome herself (see *Philippians*, p. 51 *sq.*). There are the local magistrates, the duumvirs, who, after the wont of such colonial magnates, arrogate to themselves the title of praetors (*στρατηγοί*, xvi. 20, 22, 35, 36). There are the attendant lictors (*ῥαβδοῦχοι*, xvi. 35). The majesty of Rome is appealed to again and again (xvi. 21, 37, 38). But when we turn from Philippi to Thessalonica, all is changed. Thessalonica was a free city, with a magistracy of its own. A collision occurs here, as at Philippi, and the alleged offenders are again brought before the magistrates. These magistrates are mentioned, though quite incidentally, as politarchs (*πολιτάρχας*, xvii. 6, 8). It so happens that this word (*πολιτάρχης*) has not hitherto been found anywhere in extant Greek literature, though *πολίταρχος* appears, in a general sense, in an obscure passage of Aeneas Tacticus, c. 26 (p. 81, Schweigh.). From inscriptions however, found at Thessalonica itself (Boeckh, *C. I. G.*, No. 1967; see *Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, II. clxxi. p. 32, with the notes), we learn that this was the local name of the chief magistrates of Thessalonica, who were seven in number. It should be added also that at Thessalonica mention is made (xvii. 5) of a popular assembly (*δῆμος*), which is likewise in keeping. Again, at Corinth, the notice of the chief magistrate is in strict accordance with history, though the chances of error were very great. The province of Achaia at this epoch was bandied about between the senate and the emperor, being transferred and retransferred from one to the other, and was governed by a proconsul (*ἀνθύπατος*) or propraetor (*ἀντιστράτηγος*) accordingly. At this moment (A.D. 52 or 53) it was in the hands of the senate, and the designation of the chief magistrate as *ἀνθυπατεύων* in the Acts (xviii. 12) is therefore correct. But it had only been retransferred to the senate a few years earlier (A.D. 44) by Claudius (Suet. *Claud.* 25; Dio Cass. lx. 24), after being in the emperor's hands for some thirty years (since A.D. 15); and somewhat later under Nero (A.D. 67) it ceased to be a Roman province (Plin. *N. H.* iv. 6; Suet. *Nero*, 24, &c.: see Clinton, *Fast. Rom.* i. p. 50), and remained autonomous till Vespasian again restored the provincial government. Moreover, the person represented as holding the proconsulate at this time, Gallio, is mentioned by his brother Seneca (*Epist.* 104, § 1) as residing in Achaia, though his office is not named. In this passage however Seneca mentions an illness and consequent sea-voyage of Gallio during his residence in Achaia, and Pliny (*N. H.* xxxi. 33) refers to this same incident in Gallio's life as taking place *post consulatum*, but without any mention of Achaia. Thus the notice in the Acts links together the statements of the two profane writers, for the proconsulship of Achaia would be a natural sequel to the consulship. Moreover, the time harmonises; for as Seneca was not restored to favour till A.D. 49, after eight years' banishment, his brother's promotion to office would naturally take place after that year, and probably not long after. Gallio's character also, as here given, accords with the description of him by his brother Seneca (*Quaest. Nat.* iv. Praef.), and his friend Statius (*Silv.* ii. 7. 30 *sq.*), who both use the same epithet "dulcis." The easy-going magistrate was the amiable, sweet-tempered companion. Similarly, the description of Sergius Paulus, as *proconsul* of Crete, is confirmed by notices and inscriptions, though here again any one but a contemporary would be very liable to error, owing to the transference and retransference of the province (see *Contemporary Review*, May 1878, p. 290). Not only do the inscriptions show that at this time it was governed by proconsuls, but one discovered a few years ago by Cesnola (*Cyprus*, p. 425) mentions "the proconsulship of Paulus" (ΕΠΙ ΠΑΥΛΟΥ [ΑΝΘ]ΥΠΑΤΟΥ). On the probability that this is the Sergius Paulus mentioned by Pliny, see *Contemp. Rev.* l. c.

Among other Greek cities which St. Paul is represented as visiting, comparatively full accounts are given of his sojourns at two especially, Athens and Ephesus. It is instructive to

study the narratives of his residence at these two places, in themselves and in comparison one with another. Athens is the most Hellenic of all cities, the heart and citadel of Greece; whereas at Ephesus there is a very strong intermingling of the Oriental spirit and institutions with the main stream of Hellenism. The diverse tone of these two typical cities of heathendom appears to the life in the Apostle's conflicts with his audiences on either occasion. The one is inquisitive, philosophical, courteous, and refined; the other fanatical, superstitious, and impulsive. Nor does the truthfulness of the narrative manifest itself only in the moral and religious atmosphere of the two places. It descends even to the details. At Athens (Acts xvii. 16 *sq.*) we are confronted with some of the main topographical features of the city—the Areopagus and the agora. There are the representatives of the two dominant philosophical schools, the Stoics and Epicureans. There is the predominant attitude of inquiry in this metropolis of newsmongers, and here even the characteristic Athenian term of abuse (*σπερμολόγος*) finds its proper place. There is the large number of foreign residents, which was always a distinguishing feature of Athens. There is the reference to the numerous images and temples which thronged the city; to the boastful pride of the citizens in their religious devotion to the gods, consistent as it was with no small amount of theological scepticism; to their jealousy of the introduction of strange deities, as manifested in the case of Socrates and at various points in their history; to their practice of propitiating the offended powers after any plague or other infection, by erecting an altar to "an unknown god" or "unknown gods"; to their custom of deifying attributes of character, frames of mind, and conditions of body, so that "Resurrection" (Anastasis)[b] would seem to them to be only another addition to their pantheon, which already included "Pity," "Modesty," "Rumour," "Persuasion," "Impulse," &c. (Pausan. i. 17). Lastly, there is an appropriate allusion to *τὸ θεῖον*, an expression which would commend itself to his philosophical audience, but which occurs nowhere else in the New Testament; and an equally appropriate appeal to the sentiments of the Stoic poets Aratus and Cleanthes (*τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς ποιητῶν*), who had proclaimed the universal fatherhood of Zeus. The amount of illustration which has been gathered together from classical sources by such writers as Wetstein, Conybeare and Howson, and Renan (not to mention the numerous commentators on the Acts), is sufficient evidence how true to local colouring is this description of St. Paul's visit to Athens, even in the finest touches. When we turn from Athens to Ephesus (xix. 1 *sq.*), the indication of the truthfulness of the narrative is equally complete. Here however the verification is found more in ancient inscriptions than in extant literature. The recent excavations at Ephesus more especially have added largely to our stores of illustrations. On this subject see a paper by the writer of this article in the *Contemporary Review*, May 1878, p. 292 *sq.* We have mention, in St. Luke's account, of the magical books, of which we read elsewhere under the name *Ἐφέσια γράμματα*: of the chief buildings of the city, not only the Temple of Artemis but the Great Theatre, with which the recent excavations have made us familiar; of the great officials of the city and province—the proconsul as the chief imperial magistrate, the town-clerk as the chief municipal authority, and the Asiarchs as the principal religious functionaries; of the court days, by implication divided into two, the regular and the special, as we know to have been the case; above all, of the prevailing cultus of the place. "Artemis of the Ephesians" dominates everywhere. The characteristic religious phraseology of her worshippers is reproduced—the city is the "temple-sweeper," the verger, of the "great goddess;" the silver models of her shrine which were carried away as keepsakes by pilgrims to Ephesus, appear in the narrative; the image which "fell down from Zeus" has its place there; everything is strictly in keeping.

These instances of geographical and historical propriety are taken from Greece and Asia Minor, and the illustrations are drawn from classical writers and inscriptions. But the pictures relating to Jerusalem and Palestine are found to be drawn with equal fidelity, where we can test them. Of topographical accuracy an example will be given presently in the vivid description of a scene which takes place in the Temple area (p. 38). The historical fidelity of the narrative may be illustrated by the part assigned to the Sadducees. It is not among the high-priests and leaders of the hierarchy that we should have expected to find a Sadducean predominance. Yet the author of the Acts boldly represents the high-priestly circle as members of this sect (iv. 1, v. 17); and this representation is confirmed by the direct testimony of Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 9. 1). Moreover it has been more than once observed that, whereas the Pharisees are the chief opponents of Christ and His disciples in the Gospels, the Sadducees take the lead in the Acts, and that this change is explained from the fact of the Apostles making the Resurrection the foundation of their preaching, and thus striking at the root of Sadducean doctrine. From this point of view, it is noticeable that in the Fourth Gospel, though the sect of the Sadducees is not mentioned by name by St. John, the most virulent opposition of the high-priestly party led by Caiaphas begins first at the point where we should expect it to begin, after the miracle of the raising of Lazarus (John xi. 47 *sq.*), and that it was a main object with them to put Lazarus to death (John xii. 9–11) and thus get rid of this evidence for a resurrection. Accordingly the course of events as related on a subsequent occasion, when St. Paul pleads before the Sanhedrin at Jerusalem (Acts xxiii. 1 *sq.*), is perfectly consistent and evidently historical. The Apostle had offended the Sadducean high-priest Ananias, who presided; and he recovered his position with his audience by declaring that he and his forefathers were

[b] Compare the account of the Russian revolt in 1826 (Alison's *History of Europe*, ii. p. 239): "Meanwhile the leaders of the revolt, deeming their victory secure, began to hoist their real colours. Cries of 'Constantine *and the Constitution*' broke from their ranks. 'What is that?' said the men to each other. 'Do you not know?' said one; 'it is the Empress (Constitoutzia).' 'Not at all,' replied a third; 'it is the carriage in which the emperor is to drive at his coronation.' "

Pharisees, and that the main subject of his contention was the doctrine of the Resurrection, which the Pharisees held in common with him, thus dividing the assembly and securing (as it would appear) the support of the majority. Whether this declaration was strictly defensible (as it was certainly true), I need not stop to inquire; but it is what a sagacious man would naturally do under the circumstances, and the fact that it is frankly recorded is a token of the narrator's veracity.

The evidence then in favour of the authenticity of the narrative is far fuller and more varied than we had any right to expect. But certain *objections* have been taken, which it is necessary to remove.

(i.) Thus it is asserted that the *diction* is the same throughout, and that therefore the speeches ascribed to the principal characters are unhistorical. It is not Stephen or Peter or Paul who speaks, but Luke or pseudo-Luke himself. Long lists of words and modes of expression have been drawn up, which are regarded as characteristic of the writer's style. These extend over the whole of the Gospel as well as the Acts. There is frequently very great exaggeration in these lists (e.g. *Supernatural Religion*, iii. pp. 72 *sq.*, 146 *sq.*, &c.). Irrelevant expressions are included; Septuagint quotations are treated as if they were the narrator's own language; words used in wholly different senses (*e.g.* βῆμα, "footstep," and βῆμα, "tribunal") are treated as parallels; terms which are necessitated by the subject-matter are regarded as characteristic of the author; the commonest words in the language are invested with a special value. Thus an entirely false impression is conveyed. But, after all these spurious examples are set aside, there is a certain *residuum* of resemblance in the diction (see *e.g.* Lekebusch, p. 35 *sq.*). Characteristic words and phrases of the author appear in the speeches, as well as in the narrative portion. But this was inevitable. It was impossible that the speeches could be reported word for word. Sometimes they must have been spoken in Aramaic; in other cases only shorthand and fragmentary reports were in the author's hands; in others again he may have heard them by word of mouth; in all probably they were much abridged. A certain infusion of his own phraseology was a natural consequence, and it does not affect their substantial accuracy. It appears even in the example which I have already given of an evidently Pauline utterance—the speech to the Ephesian elders at Miletus. The measure of the *extent* to which it would affect the language is seen by the example of the Third Gospel. Here we are able to compare St. Luke's account with the parallel narratives of the two other Synoptists; and the historical character remains, notwithstanding the literary editing of the third Evangelist. There is no reason to suppose that he dealt more freely with his materials in the Acts, where we have no such means of testing them. Indeed, as he was nearer to the events and more familiar with the persons, we should expect, if anything, a closer adherence to the form in which he received the reports.

(ii.) A second objection, or rather a second class of objections, is based on the representation here given of the principal agents in the planting of the Church, more especially of the relations between St. Peter and St. Paul and their respective followers. These objections start from the assumption that there was an irreconcilable opposition between the Apostles of the Circumcision and the Apostle of the Gentiles; that their views of Christianity were diametrically opposed; and that the former never emancipated themselves from a strictly Judaic and national conception of Christ's Kingdom, whereas the idea of the latter was cosmopolitan and universal. The author of the Acts, it is assumed, living at a later date, was desirous of finding a meeting point for conflicting parties, and thus invented positions, words, and actions for the chief Apostles, so as to bring them into accord. His aim was *conciliation*, and he twisted or forged history accordingly. This is too wide a question for discussion here. The objection indicated involves a *petitio principii*. Our chief authority for the relations existing between the leading Apostles is this very Book itself. We can only say that to ourselves such passages as 1 Cor. i. 12 *sq.*, 23; Gal. i. 18, ii. 6 *sq.*, 14 *sq.*, seem to indicate a substantial harmony in principle between the two supposed antagonists;[c] that they are placed on the same level by the two earliest of the apostolic Fathers (Clem. Rom. 5; Ignat. *Rom.* 4), and are quoted as of equal authority by the third (Polyc. *Phil.* 2, 5, 6, &c.); that the main stream of Christian history betrays no evidence of this fundamental antagonism as the substratum of the Catholic Church; and that the first distinct mention of it occurs in an obviously fictitious narrative, which cannot date before the second half of the second century, though doubtless even from the apostolic times there were some extreme men who used the names of the two Apostles as party watchwords.

According to this conception of early Christianity, it would be impossible that St. Peter should have seen the vision obliterating the distinction of meats clean and unclean, which led to the conversion of Cornelius, or that St. Paul should have taken part in the Nazarite vows, and so have been guilty of complicity with Jewish customs, on his last visit to Jerusalem. Above all, the representation of the attitudes of the respective leaders at the so-called apostolic council is called in question, both as impossible in itself and as irreconcilable with the notices of what is apparently the same occasion in Gal. ii. 1–10.

As regards the apostolic council, I may perhaps be allowed to refer to a full consideration of the question in my *Galatians*, p. 123 *sq.* The subject is too long for discussion here. It has been treated from various points of view, not only in Introductions, Apostolic Histories, and Commentaries, but also in separate articles and monographs. Among the latter are Grimm, *Stud. u. Krit.* 1880, Hft. 3; Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschr.*

[c] So far as regards St. Peter's attitude towards the Pauline doctrine of faith and grace, we can only say that the Acts represents him as adopting it (xv. 9, 11), just as the Epistle bearing his name (1 Peter i. 5, 9, 13, &c.) adopts it, though not giving it the same special prominence, and as indeed it is distinctly implied that he adopted it in St. Paul's argument Gal. ii. 14.

f. Wiss. Theol. 1858, p. 74 *sq.*, p. 317 *sq.*; Holsten, *Zum Evangelium des Paulus u. des Petrus*, 1868; Holtzmann, *Zeitschr. f. Wiss. Theol.* 1882, p. 436 *sq.*, 1883, p. 129 *sq.*; Keim, *Aus dem Urchristenthum*, p. 64 *sq.*; Lipsius in Schenkel's *Bibellexikon*, i. p. 194 *sq.*; Pfleiderer, *Jahrb. f. Protest. Theol.* 1883, p. 78 *sq.*, p. 241 *sq.*; Reuss, *Revue de Théologie*, 1858, 1859; K. Schmidt in Herzog-Plitt, *Real Encykl.* i. p. 575, 1877; Schneckenburger, *Stud. u. Krit.* 1855, p. 554 *sq.*; Volkmar, *Theol. Zeitschr. aus d. Schweiz*, 1885, p. 33 *sq.*; Weizsäcker, *Jahrb. f. Deutsch. Theol.* 1873, p. 191 *sq.*; Wittichen, *Jahrb. f. Protest. Theol.* 1877, p. 653 *sq.* See also other references in Holtzmann, *l. c.* p. 436 *sq.* The opinions of Baur, Lechler, Neander, Ritschl, Schwegler, Zeller, and others, will be found in their several works mentioned at the end of this article; and the question is discussed at length in some of the Commentaries (*e.g.* Overbeck and Nösgen).

But it so happens that at the very two points in the narrative where St. Paul is represented as making the largest concessions to the Judaic Christians, and where therefore the author is supposed to diverge most widely from historical truth in order to gratify this assumed motive, we find in the character of the context indications which, in any other case, would be regarded as striking evidences of veracity in an ancient narrator. These are the account of the third visit to Jerusalem, including this apostolic council in the 15th chapter, and the conduct of the Apostle on his last visit to this same place in the 21st chapter.

(1.) The account of the apostolic council is preceded by one avowal of weakness in the factions and quarrels in the Church (xv. 1, 2 *sq.*), and succeeded by another in the contention and separation of Paul and Barnabas (xv. 36 *sq.*). These frank confessions at all events afford a strong presumption of truthfulness. The whole narrative is essentially simple, straightforward, and natural, as a record of events. The principal speakers, Peter and James, express opinions and use language, as we have seen, which at all events present resemblances to the Epistles extant in their names. The "apostolic decree" bears such manifest traces of genuineness, and would have been so impossible at a late date, that few even of those who impugn the representation of St. Paul's action have ventured to question it. The relative positions of Peter and James harmonise with the circumstances, the official superiority of James at Jerusalem being recognised. The relative positions of Paul and Barnabas show still more subtle traces of authenticity, as I have already pointed out. Where the author is narrating in his own person, the order "Paul and Barnabas," which would be natural to him, is adopted (xv. 2, 22, 35); but where the Church of Jerusalem is interested, as in the order of hearing accorded to the two (xv. 12), and again in the apostolic letter itself (xv. 25), the order is reversed—Barnabas being the older disciple, and better known to the Christians in Jerusalem. As a minor indication of truthfulness again, we may mention that Peter here, and here only in the Acts (in the speech of James), is called by his Hebraic name in its Hebraic form "Symeon" (comp. 2 Pet. i. 1). Indeed, the whole narrative is such that no one would have hesitated to accept it as a genuine record, if this prepossession as to the mutual relations of the Apostles at this crisis had not stood in the way.

(2.) The same is true of the later incident, the concession of the Apostle to the Jewish Christians in the matter of the Nazarite vows, on the occasion of his last visit to Jerusalem. The account is preceded by a diary of the voyage to Caesarea (xxi. 1–8) and the sojourn in Caesarea (xxi. 9–14), which is singularly plain, straightforward, and lifelike, which satisfies every test of truthfulness, and which in the purposelessness of the incidental touches is only explicable as a narrative of an eye-witness. This is especially true likewise of the verse immediately preceding the visit (xxi. 16), which records the journey from Caesarea to Jerusalem, "taking with us one Mnason of Cyprus, a primitive disciple, with whom we were to lodge." There is no reason for this mention of Mnason, of whom we never hear again, except that the fact struck the narrator. The whole account again belongs to the "we" sections, and manifests the life-like character which pervades these sections. Moreover, it is allusive. It omits to explain certain points to the reader, because they were obvious to the writer. Such, for instance, is the reference to "*the* seven days" (xxi. 27), which has puzzled the commentators. Again, the narrative of the tumult in the Temple, which follows, is not only full of life, but (what is more important) instinct with local colouring. The alarm that the Apostle had introduced the Gentile Trophimus, the Ephesian, into the Temple, is illustrated by M. Ganneau's discovery (*Palestine Exploration Fund*, 1871, pp. 132 *sq.*, 172 *sq.*) of the inscription on the stone barrier (δρύφακτος) which divided off the Court of the Israelites, forbidding any foreigner to pass it on pain of death, as correctly recorded by Josephus (*Ant.* xv. 11. 5; comp. *Bell. Jud.* v. 5. 2, vi. 2. 4); and hence doubtless St. Paul drew his illustration of the middle wall of partition (τὸ μεσότοιχον τοῦ φραγμοῦ) separating Jew and Gentile in Ephes. ii. 14, not without a remembrance (we may well suppose) of this incident of Trophimus the Ephesian, which was the beginning of his captivity. Again, in the tumult which follows, the same characteristics are still more prominent. The "tribune," the "cohort," the "descent" (v. 12), the "steps," the "fortress"—what is the meaning of all this? A minute topographical knowledge underlies the narrative. The tower of Antonia, dominating the Temple area and ascended thence by a long flight of stairs, with the armed cohort stationed there to keep order during the Festivals (Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 12. 1, τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς σπείρας ὑπὲρ τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ στοὰν ἐφεστώσης, ἔνοπλοι δὲ ἀεὶ τὰς ἑορτὰς παραφυλάττουσι κ.τ.λ.), are the facts familiar to the writer which explain and vivify the incidents. But they are assumed, not stated. Upon this follows immediately the reference to the Egyptian pretender, who, as we learn from Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 8. 6; *B. J.* ii. 13. 5), some three years before this time had threatened Jerusalem. He had disappeared, and nothing more was heard of him. What more likely than that the Roman captain should suppose that he had started up again to disturb the peace? The manner in which he is mentioned

here is altogether natural and unstudied. On the other hand, is it at all probable that a writer in the 2nd century would be capable of the very subtle and ingenious artifice which would be involved in this reference, if the narrative were not genuine? In fact the whole of this passage before and after the account of the Nazarite vows hangs together; and it is marked throughout with many and various tokens of authenticity.

Not unconnected with the objection based on the conciliatory tendency of the Book, is the supposed *parallelism* between the careers of the two Apostles in the former and latter parts of the narrative respectively. Paul is miraculously released from prison at Philippi (xvi. 26 *sq.*), as Peter was at Jerusalem (xii. 6 *sq.*). Paul strikes the sorcerer Elymas blind (xiii. 6 *sq.*), as Peter struck the liars Ananias and Sapphira dead (v. 1 *sq.*). Sick persons are healed by handkerchiefs and aprons brought from the body of Paul (xix. 11 *sq.*), as they are healed by the shadow of Peter falling upon them (v. 15). And so forth. When the incidents are extracted from their contexts and marshalled in pairs, they produce a great impression, and it is not surprising that many able critics of different schools have laid stress on this parallelism. On nearer examination, however, it is difficult to find any indication that this design was present to the mind of the writer, though he could hardly have concealed the fact, if he had entertained it. Nor, except in the miraculous release from prison, is there any close correspondence; and in this case the effect of the parallelism, as an indication of any such purpose, is destroyed by the fact that a third miraculous release from prison, earlier than either, is recorded (v. 19), in which "the Apostles" generally are involved. But in fact parallelisms far more close are common in history.

(iii.) But a wholly different objection has been urged to the genuineness of the Book. Several persons and incidents mentioned in the Acts have a place likewise in Josephus. As the two writers were treating of the history of the same country during the same period, we should hardly have expected it to be otherwise. But it is urged that the writer of the Acts borrowed from Josephus, and therefore cannot have been St. Luke. This objection was started by Holtzmann (*Zeitschr. f. Wiss. Theol.* xvi. [1873], p. 25 *sq.*), and followed up by Krenkel (*ib.* p. 441 *sq.*), by the author of *Supernatural Religion* (*Fortnightly Review*, 1877, p. 502 *sq.*), and by Keim (*Urchristenthum*, p. 1 *sq.*, 1878). Holtzmann was answered by Schürer (*Zeitschr. f. Wiss. Theol.* xix. [1876], p. 574 *sq.*), to whom he made a counter-reply (*ib.* xx. [1877], p. 535 *sq.*). As regards the narrative of facts, the divergences between the two are a sufficient answer to the charge of plagiarism. Indeed, the genuineness of the narrative in the Acts has been assailed on two wholly different and irreconcilable grounds. On the one hand, its coincidences with Josephus are taken to prove that it is the work of a late pretender; on the other hand, its divergences from this same historian are regarded as evidence that the narrative is inauthentic. The attempt to reconcile these two contradictory grounds of attack by the supposition that when the author followed Josephus, he trusted his memory and was betrayed by it, will hardly carry conviction to any one. We may remark in passing that it is an unproved assumption that, wherever there are divergences between the two, Josephus is right and St. Luke is wrong. Probabilities are often the other way. When, for instance, Josephus (*B. J.* ii. 13. 5) gives the number of the sicarii who followed the Egyptian as 30,000, and the author of the Acts as 4000, we can have no hesitation in preferring the smaller number to the larger. Moreover, Josephus is not always consistent with himself in his different works, and is full of inaccuracies when dealing with O. T. history (*Dict. of Christ. Biogr.* s. v. Josephus, iii. pp. 445, 455). As regards resemblances of diction, no coincidences have been alleged which make out even a *primâ facie* case of plagiarism. Thus, when Holtzmann compares *Ant.* xx. 5. 1 (*Φάδου τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπιτροπεύοντος*) with Luke iii. 1 (*ἡγεμονεύοντος Ποντίου Πιλάτου τῆς Ἰουδαίας*), or when Krenkel sets side by side Josephus' account of his own boyhood (*Vit.* 2) with St. Luke's account of Christ's childhood (ii. 42 *sq.*), laying stress on the occurrence of such words as "intelligence" (*σύνεσις*) and "progress" (*προκόπτειν*), and on the fact that the one was fourteen years old (*παῖς ὢν περὶ τεσσαρεσκαιδέκατον ἔτος*) and the other twelve (*ὅτε ἐγένετο ἐτῶν δώδεκα . . . ὑπέμεινεν Ἰησοῦς ὁ παῖς*), or when the author of *Supernatural Religion* calls attention to the dedication of Josephus' treatise *Against Apion* to Epaphroditus, whom he designates *κράτιστε ἀνδρῶν*, as Theophilus is designated *κράτιστε* by St. Luke, and then ransacks the preface of Josephus, which extends over several pages, to find words such as *παρακολουθεῖν, αὐτόπτης, ἀκριβῶς, ἐπιχειρεῖν*, we are able to measure the value of this objection. To take the last case. The epithet *κράτιστος* is very common as applied to persons in high position; it occurs many times, for instance, in the inscriptions in Wood's *Ephesus*. In one single inscription (*Great Theatre*, No. 17) it is found, twice within six lines, applied to two different persons (*Μόδεστος ὁ κράτιστος, Κορνηλίῳ Πρείσκῳ τῷ κρατίστῳ ἀνθυπάτῳ*); and in another (*City and Suburbs*, No. 5), twice within four lines, applied to four different persons, three of them being women (*Πειθιάδος τῆς κρατίστης ὑπατικῆς, Δράκοντος Σωσιπάτρας Θεωνίδος τῶν κρατίστων*). Again, in every case the words used by both these writers in common are the obvious words to express the things signified, as any lexicon will show; and where two authors are dwelling on similar topics (*e.g.* the authorities for contemporary or nearly contemporary history), they cannot fail to employ similar language; nor is it easy to explain how any one who could write the Third Gospel and the Acts should be driven to Josephus to replenish his vocabulary with such ordinary words as "attempt," "accurately," "eye-witness," "observe," and the like.

(iv.) Another objection to the genuineness and authenticity of the narrative is the alleged fact that it contains certain unhistorical statements. For the most part however the errors adduced do not affect the veracity of the historian himself. Thus, for instance, it is affirmed that St. Stephen's speech, as tested by the Old Testament, contains several inac-

curacies. These would doubtless require consideration, if we were discussing the nature and limits of inspiration; but for the question of the veracity of the author they have no value at all. We have no ground for supposing that he was in any degree responsible for them. Nearly all the alleged historical errors are of this kind. The speakers are to blame, not the author who records their speeches. One or two examples, however, do not belong to this class. The chief and most formidable of such historical difficulties is connected with Theudas, the religious insurgent or pretender, whose name is mentioned in the speech of Gamaliel (Acts v. 36) as having been put to death "aforetime" (*πρὸ τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν*), and his followers, about four hundred in number, dispersed. A person of this name appears likewise in Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 5. 1), where he is described as a wizard (*γόης*), who pretended that he was a prophet; undertook to divide the waters of the Jordan, so that it might be traversed dryshod; and was followed by the great mass of the common people (*τὸν πλεῖστον ὄχλον*). The procurator Fadus promptly sent a detachment of cavalry after him. The leader himself was beheaded, and of his followers some were slain and others captured alive. It is assumed that the Theudas of Josephus is the same with the Theudas of St. Luke; and if so, there is an insuperable chronological discrepancy. The procurator Fadus entered upon his office A.D. 44, but the Theudas of St. Luke must be placed long before this time: for (1) the speech of Gamaliel itself is supposed to be spoken some years earlier, and (2) Gamaliel describes the insurrection of Judas the Galilean, as subsequent to that of Theudas (ver. 37, *μετὰ τοῦτον*), and the insurrection of Judas certainly took place "in the days of the taxing," *i.e.* soon after the birth of Christ (see Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 1. 1, xx. 5. 2; *B. J.* ii. 17. 8). Though the narrative of Josephus is disfigured by demonstrable errors and inaccuracies, yet it is hardly possible that he can have been mistaken here. We must therefore suppose the Theudas of Gamaliel to be a different person, as Origen does (*c. Cels.* i. 57, *Θευδᾶς πρὸ τῆς γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ γέγονέ τις παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις*). Beyond the name there is no close resemblance; and Theudas contracted from Theodorus, Theodotus, Theodosius (frequently written Theudorus, Theudotus, Theudosius), as the Greek equivalent to several Hebrew names—Jonathan, Mattaniah, Matthias, Nathanael, &c.—would be commonly affected by the Jews (on these names, Theodorus, &c. among the Jews, see Zunz, *Gesamm. Schriften*, ii. pp. 6, 7, 10, 22). Josephus himself mentions four pretenders named Simon, and three named Judas—these last all within ten years (see Gloag, i. p. 197). The Theudas of Gamaliel, therefore, will probably have been one of the many pretenders of whom Josephus speaks as troubling the peace of the nation about this time (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 10. 8; *B. J.* ii. 4. 1), without however giving their names. There is something to be said for the solution of Wieseler (*Synopsis*, p. 90 *sq.*, Eng. trans.), who, on the ground of the name, would identify him with Matthias the son of Margalothus, an insurgent in the time of Herod; for this person has a prominent place in Josephus (*Ant.* xvii. 6. 2 *sq.*). In connexion with this charge of falsification the language respecting Judas of Galilee, attributed to Gamaliel in the context, deserves notice. He speaks of Judas' rebellion as coming to nothing. This was natural enough on the lips of Gamaliel before the sequel had revealed itself, but would be out of place at a later date; for two sons of this rebel leader, James and Simon, broke out in rebellion under Claudius, and were crucified by the procurator Tiberius Alexander (*Ant.* xx. 5. 2); while a third son, Menahem, headed a formidable rebellion shortly before the commencement of the Jewish war, and he too was put to death (*B. J.* ii. 17. 8 *sq.* See Nösgen, p. 146 *sq.*).

6. *The Time and Place of Writing.*—What was the date of the Acts? To this we can give no certain answer. It has been shown that the conclusion of the history is intentional, that there is no abruptness in it, and that therefore we cannot draw any inference from it, as though the book were written at the point of time where the narrative closes (p. 27). This indication of date having failed us, no clue remains. The fancy of Hug and others that *αὕτη ἐστὶν ἔρημος* ("this is desert") in viii. 26 refers to the destruction of Gaza immediately before the fall of Jerusalem (Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 18. 1), and therefore points to a date not earlier than about A.D. 80, is based on a misconception. The words are perhaps not the author's own, but the Angel's, and they certainly refer not to the city, but to the road. They would thus be an instruction to Philip to take this route, because it passed through an uninhabited and unfrequented country, where he would be unmolested in his interview with the Ethiopian. The Book itself contains no reference to any event later than the close of the narrative itself. It must however have been written later than the Gospel, and we are thus led to investigate the date of this "former treatise." Here it is confidently assumed that the turn given to our Lord's predictions of the coming troubles (Luke xxi. 20–24), as compared with the parallel passages in the other Evangelists, shows that this Gospel was written after the destruction of Jerusalem. I am unable to see the force of this argument. The destruction of Jerusalem seems clearly to be indicated in Christ's prophecies in the other Evangelists likewise, and the difference of language does not seriously affect the case. Yet, though the reason given may not be valid, the date so assigned is perhaps not far wrong. It would at all events be a probable date for a writer who was a younger disciple and a personal follower of St. Paul. Not a few of those who recognise St. Luke as the author of the work have accepted this date as approximately correct.

The *place* of writing is altogether indeterminable. Something may be said in favour of Philippi. At all events the writer seems to have spent some time there (see above, p. 35), and the use of the first person at this point, without any explanation, may suggest some corresponding local knowledge on the part of the recipient. Again Antioch is far from improbable, since St. Luke according to an old tradition was born at Antioch, and some details connected with this city are given with exceptional particularity (vi. 5, xi. 26, xiii. 1 *sq.*, xv. 22 *sq.*). Again Rome has a certain claim to be considered, since the writer accompanied

St. Paul on the visit with which the narrative closes. Other places which have been suggested, such as Alexandria or Ephesus, have nothing to recommend them.

7. *Sources of Information.*—The *authorities* of which the writer made use must remain a matter of speculation. It has been inferred from the preface to the Gospel, that St. Luke discarded all written sources of information, such as any memoirs of Christ's life and teaching which others before him may have published, and depended entirely on oral tradition, as received directly from eye-witnesses. It does not seem to me that his language suggests this strict limitation. The "tradition" of which he there speaks might be written as well as oral. Nor again, even supposing that he had confined himself to the oral communications of eye-witnesses in the first treatise, are we justified in assuming him to have acted in precisely the same way in composing the second. As a question of probability, the life and words of Christ, being the subject-matter of Christian teaching, would form a more or less definite body of oral tradition; but the doings of the Apostles had no such importance that they should assume this form. The question as regards the Acts resolves itself into one of internal evidence and probability. So regarding it, we are forced to the conclusion that, for some parts at least (the speech of Stephen will serve as an example), he must have used written notes taken down at the time; for this speech is inconceivable as a fiction, and almost equally so as an oral tradition. When we take into account the common use of shorthand among the ancients, there is no improbability in this supposition; since the gravity and interest of the defence on such a critical occasion must have impressed itself on all, more especially on the disciples.

The materials then would be partly oral, partly written. The written materials would be here and there a document, such as the letter of the apostolic council (xv. 23 *sq.*); here and there notes of speeches taken down at the time or immediately afterwards; and occasionally also diaries or memoranda of facts. Besides these, he would receive a large amount of oral information; and for some portions of his narrative he was himself an eye-witness. His chief authority would naturally be St. Paul, with whom at different epochs he spent large portions of time. But he likewise lodged a considerable time (ἡμέρας πλείους) with Philip the Evangelist (xxi. 10), and from him he may have received written or oral information respecting the earliest history of the Church, more especially the doings of the deacons, in which Philip himself "pars magna fuit" (viii. 5–40). From this source also he might have derived his information respecting the conversion of Cornelius, for Caesarea seems to have been Philip's permanent home before as well as after this event (viii. 40, xxi. 8). For portions of this earlier history also he may have been indebted to John Mark, in whose company we find him at a later date (Col. iv. 10, 14; Philem. 24; comp. 2 Tim. iv. 11). For all that related to Barnabas (Col. iv. 10) and to St. Peter (1 Pet. v. 13), Mark would be a competent authority. His intercourse with men like Timothy and Tychicus also must have been considerable; and they may have supplied information for the latter part of his narrative, where St. Paul failed him. How close may have been St. Luke's intimacy with any of the Twelve, we cannot say. To any such intimacy we find no reference within the compass of his own narrative; but an acquaintance with St. Peter afterwards, at Rome, is consistent with the notices.

8. *The Motive and Design of the Work.*—The motive and design of the work have been considered already, when its contents were under discussion. Addressing one Theophilus, either an actual person or an imaginary representative of the Christian student, St. Luke merely purposes to give for the edification of his readers a history of the Christian Church from its foundation to its establishment in the metropolis of the world. If there were sufficient grounds for postulating a theological principle as the basis of the narrative, it would be the continued working and presence of Jesus, no longer in the flesh, but in the Church.

But a large number of recent critics have seen in this work a motive of a wholly different kind. They have regarded it as written with an *apologetic* or *conciliatory* purpose. In the present case these two epithets come to the same thing. For, if *apologetic*, it was intended either to defend St. Paul from the charge of hostility to the Jews, or St. Peter from the charge of opposition to the free admission of the Gentiles; if *conciliatory*, its motive was to bring together and amalgamate two parties in the Christian Church—the Judaic, which clung to the name of St. Peter, and the Gentile, whose watchword was the liberalism of St. Paul.

It will be seen at once, that such a view of the purpose is consistent with a frank recognition of the genuineness of the work and of the truthfulness of the narrative. Its aim would then be the correction of prevailing misunderstandings. Such was the position of Schneckenburger (1841), who was the first to emphasise the real or supposed parallelism between St. Peter and St. Paul, as showing the apologetic design of the author;[a] but he himself herewith maintains the substantial credibility of the account. This same idea however was adopted by the critics of the Tübingen school, who occupied another platform, and to whom it was a convenient weapon for their destructive warfare. Baur (*Paulus*, p. 1 *sq.*, 1845), Schwegler (*Das Nachapostolische Zeitalter*, ii. p. 73 *sq.*, 1846), and Zeller (*Die Apostelgeschichte*, p. 316 *sq.*, 1854), all took this parallelism as the basis of their theories, and regarded the Book as the work of a Pauline Christian in the 2nd century, whose object was to reconcile parties, and who freely invented his story accordingly. Not very different is the position of Hilgenfeld (*Einleitung*, p. 576 *sq.*), who takes it to represent "Unionist Paulinism" not earlier than the close of the 1st century. Several other critics also, without going to these extremes, have regarded the narrative as coloured by this "conciliatory" motive. Thus Renan (*Les Apôtres*, pp. xiii. *sq.*, xxviii. *sq.*), though confidently ascribing the work to a companion of St. Paul,

[a] Baur had previously suggested the idea of this "tendency" in the *Tübing. Zeitschr. f. Theol.* iii. p. 38 *sq.*, 1836.

and therefore presumably to St. Luke, and employing its statements as generally credible, yet holds that the representations of the chief Apostles are highly coloured, so as to produce an impression of harmony which was not justified by the facts. In answer to such allegations it is sufficient to say that St. Paul's own practical maxim of "becoming all things to all men," and therefore of "becoming a Jew to the Jews," covers all the actions ascribed to him in St. Luke's narrative; that the very context, in which these particular actions are related, manifests, as I have already shown (p. 38), unmistakeable tokens of authenticity; that St. Paul's language and conduct in dealing with Gentile converts like the Galatians is no standard at all for measuring his intercourse with the Church of Jerusalem; and that generally the tone and character of the narrative ought to place it above the suspicion of any conscious distortion of facts. For the rest, if any false impressions were abroad about the relations of the two chief Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, it is not unnatural that the writer should wish to correct them.

9. *The Chronology.* — There are two fixed points in the chronology of the Acts, as determined by contact with secular history. The first of these is St. Paul's second visit to Jerusalem (xi. 30, xii. 25), which is obviously synchronous, or nearly so, with the death of Herod Agrippa (xii. 23); but this latter event is known to have happened A.D. 44 (Joseph. *Ant.* xix. 8. 2). The second is St. Paul's appearance before Festus and consequent voyage to Rome (xxvi. 32, xxvii. 1). This occurred immediately after Festus had arrived in the province. But from various considerations it appears that the deposition of Felix and the accession of Festus most probably happened in A.D. 60, and must certainly have happened close upon that year; see Wieseler, *Chronol.* p. 66 *sq.*

Besides these two fixed dates, there are other references to events in secular history of which the date indeed is not definitely determined, but which serve as rough verifications. Such are the great famine (xi. 28), the banishment of the Jews from Rome (xviii. 2), the reign of Aretas at Damascus (ix. 25, 2 Cor. xi. 32), the proconsulship of Gallio in Achaia (xviii. 12).

Of the two fixed dates, the first—the death of Herod Agrippa—is isolated, and renders no assistance in the general scheme of chronology. But the second is of the highest value. The notices of the intervals of time in the Acts are fairly continuous from the apostolic council (c. xv) to the end of the Book. Thus by working backwards from the accession of Festus and the journey to Rome (A.D. 60), we are able to frame a skeleton of the chronology for the latter half of the Book, and we arrive at about A.D. 51 for the apostolic council. From this point, still working backwards, the chronological notices in Gal. i. 18. ii. 1, enable us to fix some of the early dates. The whole system is worked out most thoroughly by Wieseler. The results will be found in any of the common books relating to the apostolic history or the life of St. Paul. The special books on the chronology of St. Paul and of the Acts are Anger, *De temporum in Act. Apost. ratione* (Lipsiae, 1833), and Wieseler, *Chronologie des apostolischen Zeitalters* (Göttingen, 1848). Lewin's *Fasti Sacri* (London, 1865) is a useful work, and is not as well known as it deserves to be.

10. *The Text.*—Accounts will be found of the authorities for the text of the Acts in their proper place in the well-known Introductions and Prolegomena of Tregelles (1856), Scrivener (ed. 3, 1883), Tischendorf (ed. Gregory, 1884), and Westcott and Hort. Special works relating to this particular book are J. D. Michaelis, *Curae in Versionem Syriacam Actuum Apostolicorum* (Goettingae, 1755); Belsheim, *Die Apostelgeschichte u. die Offenbarung Johannis in einer alten lateinischen Uebersetzung* (Christiania, 1879); and F. A. Bornemann, *Acta Apostolorum ad Cod. Cantabrigiensis fidem recensuit* (Grossenhainae, 1848). In the last, as its title suggests, the MS. D is taken as the standard of the text —a conclusion which is not adopted by any sound textual critic. But the text of D and of a few other authorities which coincide with it in greater or less degrees, presents a difficult problem. The variations from the normal text are greater than are found in any other portion of the New Testament. They are of two kinds —partly paraphrases and amplifications, and partly insertions of additional incidents or particulars. As examples of this latter class may be mentioned such passages as xii. 10, where the number of steps is given in the account of St. Peter's release from prison, or xxviii. 16, where the delivering of Paul and his fellow-prisoners to the prefect of the praetorium is mentioned. In this latter passage, however, D is wanting. Such additions belong to the same class of which the pericope relating to the women taken in adultery (John viii. 3 *sq.*) is the most prominent example. The editor or transcriber seems to have had access to some very early and genuine tradition; and the fact that the incident in the pericope in St. John was related likewise by Papias (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 39) suggests that the source of these traditions is to be sought ultimately in the disciples who gathered about St. John and his successors in Asia Minor.

11. *The Literature.*—The literature which has accumulated about the Acts is so vast that an exhaustive catalogue is quite impracticable. In the following list all works which are directly homiletic or are intended for school purposes are omitted; nor have I for the most part included monographs and articles which treat of special points. Many of these have been noticed already in their respective places. After these deductions, the following books may be mentioned:—

A. *General Commentaries*, including the whole or a great part of the New Testament. Of the older commentaries those of Calvin, Grotius, and Bengel deserve to be specially named. Among recent works Alford, Wordsworth, the *Speaker's Commentary* (Cook and Jacobson), Ellicott's *New Testament Commentary for English Readers* (Plumptre), in England; and Olshausen (ed. 4, 1862, re-edited by Ebrard), De Wette (ed. 4, 1870, re-edited by Overbeck), Meyer (ed. 5, 1880, re-edited by Wendt), Lechler (in Lange's *Bibelwerk*, ed. 4, 1881), in Germany, may be mentioned.

B. *General Introductions to the New Testament.* —Bleek (Eng. trans.), 1869; Davidson, vol. ii.,

1842; Guericke, 1868 (ed. 3); Hilgenfeld, 1875; Holtzmann, 1885; Hug (Eng. trans.), 1827; Marsh's Michaelis, 1802 (ed. 2); Reuss, 1860; Salmon, 1886 (ed. 2); Weiss, 1886.

C. *Special Commentaries on the Acts.*—The Homilies of St. Chrysostom are the only patristic commentary of real importance on this Book. Passing to recent times, we have Baumgarten, Braunschweig, 1852, 1854 (Eng. trans.); Gloag, Edinburgh, 1870; Hackett, Boston, 1863 (new ed.); Humphry, London, 1854 (ed. 2); Nösgen, Leipzig, 1882. A complete list of commentaries, special and general, up to the date (1859), will be found in Darling's *Cycl. Bibl.* p. 1167 *sq.*

D. *Special Works on the Acts.*—Biscoe, *Hist. of the Acts, &c. confirmed from other Authors*, &c. 1742, reprinted, 1840; Klostermann, *Vindiciae Lucanae sive de Itinerarii in libro Actorum asservati auctore*, 1866; Klostermann, *Probleme im Apostelteexte*, 1883; König, *Die Echtheit der Apostelgeschichte*, 1867; Lekebusch, *Composition u. Enstehung der A.-G.*, 1854; Lightfoot, *Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations on the Acts of the Apostles*; Oertel, *Paulus in der A.-G.*, 1868; Paley, *Horae Paulinae* (edited by J. Tate, 1840; by Birks, 1850); Schmidt, K., *Die Apostelgeschichte*, Band i., 1882; Schneckenburger, *Ueber den Zweck der A.-G.*, 1841; Schwanbeck, *Ueber die Quellen der A.-G.*, 1847; *Supernatural Religion*, vol. iii., 1877; Stier, *Die Reden der Apostel* (ed. 2), 1861; S. P. C. K., *The Heathen World and St. Paul* (no date), Rawlinson, Plumptre, Davies, Merivale; Zeller, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 1854.

E. *Apostolic Histories, Lives of St. Paul, &c.*—Baur, *Paulus*, 1845; Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, 1856 (2nd ed.); Ewald, *Geschichte des apostolischen Zeitalter*, 1858 (2nd ed.), being vol. vi. of *Geschichte des Volkes Israel;* Farrar, *Early Days of Christianity*, 1882 (1st ed.); Farrar, *Life and Work of St. Paul*, 1879 (1st ed.); Lechler, *Das Apostolische u. das Nachapostolische Zeitalter* (1st ed., 1857; 2nd ed., 1885); Lewin, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, 1872; Neander, *Pflanzung und Leitung*, 1862 (5th ed.); Pfleiderer, *Urchristenthum*, 1887; Renan, *Les Apôtres*, 1866 (1st ed.); *Saint Paul*, 1869 (1st ed.); Ritschl, *Die Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche*, 1857 (1st ed.); Schaff, *Hist. of the Christian Church—Apostolic Christianity*, 1882; Schwegler, *Das Nachapostolische Zeitalter*, 1846; Thiersch, *Die Kirche im apostolischen Zeitalter*, 1879 (3rd ed.); Weizsäcker, *Das apostolische Zeitalter*, 1886.

This list might be considerably increased, if there were any object in increasing it. [J. B. L.]

ACU'A (Ἀκούδ; *Accub*) or **AKKUB** (1 Esd. v. 30; cp. Ezra ii. 45), who with

A'CUB (B. Ἀκούφ, A. Ἀκούμ; *Accusu*) or **BAKBUK** (1 Esd. v. 31; cp. Ezra ii. 51), servants of the Temple, returned to Jerusalem. [W. A. W.]

ADA'DAH (עַרְעָרָה, according to Ges. from the Syr., *festival;* A. Ἀδαδά, B. Ἀρουήλ; *Adada*), one of the cities in the extreme south of Judah named with Dimonah and Kedesh (Josh. xv. 22). Wellhausen and Dillmann[2] think that the reading was probably עֲרֹעֵרָה (*Arara*), and that the place is the same as עֲרֹעֵר (1 Sam. xxx. 28). Ruins bearing the name of *'Ar'ára* are found S.E. of Beersheba (Rob. iii. 14, 180 *sq.*). [S. R. D.]

A'DAH (עָדָה, *ornament, beauty*. See Baethgen, *Beiträge z. Sem. Religionsgesch.*, p. 149. Cp. Dillmann [*Gen.*[5] l. c.] for other derivations; Ἀδά; *Ada*).

1. The first of the two wives of Lamech, fifth in descent from Cain, by whom were born to him Jabal and Jubal (Gen. iv. 19–23).

2. A Hittitess, daughter of Elon, one (probably the first) of the three wives of Esau, mother of his first-born son Eliphaz, and so the ancestress of six (or seven) of the tribes of the Edomites (Gen. xxxvi. 2, 4, 10 ff. 15 ff.). In Gen. xxvi. 34 she is called BASHEMATH. [F. W. G.]

ADA'IAH (עֲדָיָה, Ges. = *Jah hath adorned;* B. Ἰεδειά, A. Ἰεδιδά; *Hadaia*). **1.** The maternal grandfather of king Josiah, and native of Boscath in the lowlands of Judah (2 K. xxii. 1).

2. B. Ἀζειά; *Adaia.* A Levite, of the Gershonite branch, and ancestor of Asaph (1 Ch. vi. 41). In *v.* 21 he is called IDDO.

3. B. Ἀβιά, A. Ἀλαία; *Adaia.* A Benjamite, son of Shimhi (1 Ch. viii. 21), who is apparently the same as Shema in *v.* 13.

4. B. Ἀδαιά, A. Σαδίας in 1 Ch. *l. c.*; *Adaias, Adaia.* A priest, son of Jeroham (1 Ch. ix. 12; Neh. xi. 12, B^{ab}. omits), who returned with 242 of his brethren from Babylon.

5. Ἀδαίας; *Adaia.* One of the descendants of Bani, who had married a foreign wife after the return from Babylon (Ezra x. 29). He is called JEDEUS in 1 Esd. ix. 30.

6. Ἀδαία; A. Ἀδαΐας; ℵ. Ἀδειάμ; *Adaias.* The descendant of another Bani, who had also taken a foreign wife (Ezra x. 39).

7. A. Ἀχαία; B. Δαλεά; *Adaia.* A man of Judah of the line of Pharez (Neh. xi. 5).

8. עֲדָיָהוּ: A. Ἀδαία; B. Ἀζειά, B^{ab}. Ἀδειά; *Adaias.* Ancestor of Maaseiah, one of the captains who supported Jehoiada (2 Ch. xxiii. 1). [W. A. W.] [F.]

ADAL'IA (אַדַלְיָא. The name in the Greek texts corresponding to this is ℵ. Βαρεά, B. Βαρσά, A. Βαρέλ; *Adalia*), one of the sons of Haman, massacred by the Jews at Shushan (Esth. ix. 7–10). Gesenius and Cassel (*d. B. Esther*, p. 228) consider the name Persian, but are not agreed as to its etymology. [F.]

ADAM (אָדָם; Ἀδάμ; *Adam*), the name which is given in Scripture to the first man. The term apparently has reference to the ground from which he was formed, which is called *Adamah* (אֲדָמָה, Gen. ii. 7). The idea of *redness of colour* seems to be inherent in either word (cf. אֲדֻמִּים, Lam. iv. 7; אָדֹם, *red, Edom*, Gen. xxv. 30; אֹדֶם, *a ruby:* Arab. أدم, *colore fusco praeditus fuit, rubrum tinxit*, &c.). The conjecture of Fried. Delitzsch which associates the term with the Assyr. *admu* and renders it "geschaffener" (*Prolegg. eines neuen Heb.-Aram. Wörterb. z. A. T.* pp. 103–4) is not universally accepted (see Franz Delitzsch, *Genesis* [1887], p. 77); equally conjectural is the identification of Adam with the Egyptian Atum (see *Transactions of the Soc. of Biblical Archæology*, ix. 176). The generic term Adam, *man*, becomes, in the case of the first man, a denominative. Supposing the Hebrew language to

represent accurately the primary ideas connected with the formation of man, it would seem that the appellation bestowed by God was given to keep alive in Adam the memory of his earthly and mortal nature; whereas the name by which he preferred to designate himself was *Ish* (אִישׁ, *a man of substance* or *worth*, Gen. ii. 23) The creation of man was the work of the sixth day. His formation was the ultimate object of the Creator. It was with reference to him that all things were designed. He was to be the "roof and crown" of the whole fabric of the world. In the first nine chapters of Genesis there appear to be three distinct histories relating more or less to the life of Adam. The first extends from Gen. i. 1 to ii. 3, the second from ii. 4 to iv. 26, the third from v. 1 to the end of ix. (see Riehm, *HWB.* s. n.). The word at the commencement of the two latter narratives, which is rendered there and elsewhere *generations*, may also be rendered *history*. The style of the second of these records differs very considerably from that of the first. In the first the Deity is designated by the word *Elohim*; in the second He is generally spoken of as *Jehovah Elohim*. The object of the first of these narratives is to record the creation; that of the second to give an account of Paradise, the original sin of man, and the immediate posterity of Adam; the third contains mainly the history of Noah, referring it would seem to Adam and his descendants, principally in relation to that patriarch.

We should, however, not fail to observe that the interdependence of these sections is complete, notwithstanding their marked individuality. For example, ii. 4 presupposes the previous section, because it is a summary of what has gone before and not of what follows, inasmuch as there is no mention in that of the creation of the *heavens* and the earth. "These are the generations" can, therefore, refer only to Gen. i. 1—ii. 3. In like manner v. 1 implies i. 27, and v. 29 implies iii. 17; whereas on the other hand it is impossible to conceive any consecutive narrative which can have run on continuously from ii. 3 to v. 1 or elsewhere, without the intermediate record. The essential unity of the composition involves the unity of the narrative. The work of the compiler is conspicuous from whatever source he may have gathered his materials, and these materials can never have formed an independent whole. We can only treat the narrative as one, however composite it may be.

The Mosaic accounts furnish us with very few materials from which to form any adequate conception of the first man. He is said to have been created in the image and likeness of God, and this is commonly interpreted to mean some superexcellent and divine condition which was lost at the Fall: apparently however without sufficient reason, as the continuance of this condition is implied in the time of Noah, subsequent to the Flood (Gen. ix. 6), and is asserted as a fact by St. James (iii. 9) and by St. Paul (1 Cor. xi. 7). It more probably points to the Divine pattern and archetype after which man's intelligent nature was fashioned; reason, understanding, imagination, volition, &c. being attributes of God; and man alone of the animals of the earth being possessed of a spiritual nature which resembled God's nature. Man in short was a spirit, created to reflect God's righteousness and truth and love, and capable of holding direct intercourse and communion with Him. As long as his will moved in harmony with God's will, he fulfilled the purpose of his Creator. When he refused submission to God, he broke the law of his existence and fell, introducing confusion and disorder into the economy of his nature. As much as this we may learn from what St. Paul says of "the new man being renewed in knowledge after the image of Him that created him" (Col. iii. 10), the restoration to such a condition being the very work of the Holy Spirit of God. The name Adam was not confined to the father of the human race, but like *homo* was applicable to *woman* as well as *man*, so that we find it said in Gen. v. 1, 2, "This is the book of the 'history' [A. V. and R. V. 'generations'] of Adam. In the day that God created 'Adam,' in the likeness of God made He him; male and female created He them, and called *their* name Adam in the day when they were created."

The man Adam was placed in a garden which the Lord God had planted "eastward in Eden" (Gen. ii. 8), for the purpose of dressing it and keeping it. It is perhaps hopeless to attempt to identify the situation of EDEN with that of any district familiar to modern geography. There seems good ground for supposing it to have been an actual locality, and modern investigations have tended to show that this locality was not improbably between the Mediterranean and the Caspian seas. Two of the rivers which are described as watering the Garden of Eden can still be identified unmistakably with the Euphrates and the Tigris. Thus the LXX. call the Hiddekel, both in Gen. ii. 14 and in Dan. x. 4, the Tigris. [HIDDEKEL.] The Pison and the Gihon may likewise be traced in existing rivers of Mesopotamia, though it is difficult to understand how they should have been united unless indeed the historian contemplates them as flowing together like the Tigris and Euphrates as they approach the sea, and then traces them backwards towards their source when they became four distinct *head* streams.

Adam was permitted to eat of the fruit of every tree in the garden but one, which was called the "tree of the knowledge of good and evil." What this was, it is also impossible to say [see *Speaker's Comm.* and Delitzsch (1887) in loco]. Its name would seem to indicate that it had the power of bestowing the consciousness of the difference between good and evil; in the ignorance of which man's innocence and happiness consisted. The prohibition to taste the fruit of this tree was enforced by the menace of death. There was also another tree which was called "the tree of life." Some have supposed it to have acted as a kind of medicine, and that by the continual use of it our first parents, not created immortal, were preserved from death. (Abp. Whately.) While Adam was in the garden of Eden the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air were brought to him to be named, and whatsoever he called every living creature that was the name thereof. Thus the power of fitly designating objects of sense was possessed by the first man, a faculty which is generally considered as indicating mature and extensive intellectual resources. Upon the

failure of a companion suitable for Adam among the creatures thus brought to him to be named, the Lord God caused a deep sleep to fall upon him, and took one of his ribs from him, which He fashioned into a woman and brought her to the man. Prof. S. Lee supposed the narrative of the creation of Eve to have been revealed to Adam in his deep sleep (Lee's *Job*, Introd., p. 16). This is agreeable with the analogy of similar passages, as Acts x. 10, xi. 5, xxii. 17. At this time they are both described as being naked without the consciousness of shame.

Such is the Scripture account of Adam prior to the Fall: there is no narrative of any condition superhuman, or contrary to the ordinary laws of humanity. The first man is a true man, with the powers of a man and the innocence of a child. He is *moreover* spoken of by St. Paul as being "the figure (*τύπος*) of Him Who was to come," the second Adam, Christ Jesus (Rom. v. 14). His human excellence therefore cannot have been superior to that of the Son of Mary, who was Himself the Pattern and Perfect Man. By the subtlety of the serpent, the woman who was given to be with Adam was beguiled into a violation of the one command which had been imposed upon them. She took of the fruit of the forbidden tree and gave it to her husband. The propriety of its name was immediately shown in the results which followed: self-consciousness was the first-fruits of sin; their eyes were opened and they knew that they were naked. The subsequent conduct of Adam would seem to militate against the notion that he was in himself the perfection of moral excellence. His cowardly attempt to clear himself by the inculpation of his helpless wife bears no marks of a high moral nature, even though fallen; it was conduct unworthy of his sons, and such as many of them would have scorned to adopt. Though the curse of Adam's rebellion of necessity fell upon him, yet the very prohibition to eat of the tree of life after his trangression was probably a manifestation of Divine mercy, because the greatest malediction of all would have been to have the gift of indestructible life superadded to a state of wretchedness and sin. When moreover we find in Prov. iii. 18, that wisdom is declared to be a tree of life to them that lay hold upon her, and in Rev. ii. 7, xxii. 2, 14, that the same expression is applied to the grace of Christ, we are led to conclude that this was merely a temporary prohibition imposed till the Gospel dispensation should be brought in. Upon this supposition the condition of Christians now is as favourable as that of Adam before the Fall, and their spiritual state the same, with the single exception of the consciousness of sin and the knowledge of good and evil.

Till a recent period it has been generally believed that the Scriptural narrative supposes the whole human race to have sprung from one pair. It is maintained that the O. T. assumes it in the reason assigned for the name which Adam gave his wife after the Fall, viz. Eve, or Chavvah, i.e. *a living* woman, "because she was the mother of all living;" and that St. Paul assumes it in his sermon at Athens when he declares that God hath made of *one* blood *all* nations of men; and in the Epistle to the Romans and First Epistle to the Corinthians, when he opposes Christ as the representative of redeemed humanity to Adam as the representative of natural, fallen, and sinful humanity. But the full consideration of this important subject will come more appropriately under the article MAN.

In the Middle Ages discussions were raised as to the period which Adam remained in Paradise in a sinless state. Dante (*Paradiso*, xxvi. 139–142) did not suppose him to have been *more* than seven hours in the earthly Paradise.

Adam is stated to have lived 930 years: so it would seem that the death which resulted from his sin was the spiritual death of alienation from God. "In the *day* that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die" (Gen. ii. 17): and accordingly we find that this spiritual death began to work immediately. The sons of Adam mentioned in Scripture are Cain, Abel, and Seth: *it* is implied however that he had others.[a] [S. L.]

ADAM (אָדָם; *Adom*), a city on the Jordan "beside (מִצַּד) Zarthan," in the time of Joshua (Josh. iii. 16. See Dillmann[2] in loco). It is not elsewhere mentioned, nor is there any reference to it in Josephus. The name is thought by some to be preserved in the bridge and ford of *ed-Dâmieh*, directly east of *Kurn Surtabeh*; but the identification of *Surtabeh* and Zarthan involves an improbable change of letters (Dillmann[2]).

The A. V. in Josh. *l. c.* follows the *Keri*, which, in the place of בְּאָדָם = "by Adam," the reading in the Hebrew text or Chethib, has מֵאָדָם = "from Adam," an alteration which is a questionable improvement (Keil, *i. l.*). The R. V. has "at Adam." A more accurate rendering of the text is "rose up upon a heap, very far off, by Adam, the city that is beside Zarthan" (Stanley, *S. & P.* 304, note). The LXX. (B.) rendering, *σφόδρα σφοδρῶς ἕως μέρους Καθαιρεῖν*, arose from the Keri with a different signification and omission of part of the text; *e.g.* מאד מאד מצד צרתן (cp. Hollenberg, p. 17). [G.] [W.]

ADA'MAH (אֲדָמָה; B. 'Αρμαίθ, A. 'Αδαμί; *Edema*), one of the "fenced cities" of Naphtali, named between Chinnereth and ha-Ramah (Josh. xix. 36). It is now probably the village *ed-Dâmieh*, west of the Sea of Galilee (*P. F. Mem.* i. 384). [G.] [W.]

ADAMANT (שָׁמִיר, *shâmîr*[b]; *ἀδαμάντινος*; *adamas*). The word *shâmîr* occurs as a common noun eleven times in the O. T. In eight of these passages, all of them in Isaiah, it stands for a thorny tree, and is rendered "briers" in A. V. In some instances it is coupled with שַׁיִת, "thorns," and in one with קוֹץ, also "thorns" in A. V. and R. V. Its Arabic equivalent سامور, *samur*, is applied to this day by the Arabs of the district to the *Paliurus aculeatus*, or "Christ's thorn,"

[a] The comparison of the Biblical narrative relative to Adam with parallel traditions (Assyrian, Egyptian, &c.) will be found in Lenormant, *Les Origines de l'Histoire*[2] (ed. 1880), i. 37 *sq.*, and Vigouroux, *La Bible et les Découvertes Modernes*,[4] i. p. 191 *sq.*

[b] Arab. سامور and شمور. Cp. the Chaldee שְׁמִירָא.

which grows in the Jordan valley and the warmer parts of Palestine. In Galilee it is given to *Rhamnus palaestina*, the Palestine buckthorn; and in Arabia to various species of *Zizyphus* or *Sidra*. In the three remaining passages (Jer. xvii. 1; Ezek. iii. 9; Zech. vii. 12), it is the representative of some stone of excessive hardness, and is used in each of these last instances metaphorically. In Jer. xvii. 1, *shâmîr* = "diamond" in A. V. and R. V. "The sin of Judah is written with a pen of iron and with the point of a diamond," *i.e.* the people's idolatry is indelibly fixed in their affections, *engraved* as it were on the tablets of their hearts. In Ezek. iii. 9, *shâmîr* = "adamant" (A. V. and R. V.): "As an adamant harder than flint have I made thy forehead: fear them not." Here the word is intended to signify that firmness of purpose with which the prophet should resist the sin of the rebellious house of Israel. In Zech. vii. 12, the Hebrew word = "adamant-stone" (A. V. and R. V.): "Yea, they made their hearts as an adamant-stone, lest they should hear the law," and is used to express the hardness of the hearts of the Jews in resisting truth.

The LXX. affords us but little clue whereby to identify the mineral here spoken of, for in Ezek. iii. 9 and in Zech. vii. 12 they have not rendered the Hebrew word at all, while the whole passage in Jer. xvii. 1–5 is altogether omitted in the Vatican MS.; the Alexandrine MS., however, has the passage, and reads, with the Versions of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus, "with a nail of adamant."[b] "Adamant" occurs in the Apocrypha, in Ecclus. xvi. 16 (a verse omitted in most Greek copies, but found in the Syriac and Arabic).

Our English "adamant" is derived from the Greek,[c] and signifies "the unconquerable," in allusion perhaps to the hard nature of the substance, or, according to Pliny (xxxvii. 15), because it was supposed to be indestructible by fire.[d] The Greek writers[e] generally apply the word to some very hard metal, perhaps *steel*, though they do also use it for a mineral. Pliny, in the chapter referred to above, enumerates six varieties of *Adamas*. Dana (*Syst. Mineral.* art. *Diamond*) says that the word "Adamas was applied by the ancients to several minerals, differing much in their physical properties. A few of these are *quartz*, *specular iron ore*, *emery*, and other substances of rather high degrees of hardness, which cannot now be identified." Nor does the English language attach any one definite meaning to *adamant*; sometimes indeed we understand the *diamond*[f] by it, but it is often used vaguely to express any substance of impenetrable hardness. Chaucer, Bacon, Shakspeare, use it in some instances for the *lode stone*.[g] In modern mineralogy the simple term *adamant* has no technical signification, but *adamantine spar* is a mineral well known, and is closely allied to that which we have good reason for identifying with the *shâmîr* or *adamant* of the Bible.

That some hard cutting stone is intended can be shown from the passage in Jeremiah quoted above. In Arabic and Aramaic there is a word corresponding to the Hebrew *shâmîr*,[h] but in all three languages the derivation is not apparent. A sense of sharpness is implied by the application of the original word to a *brier* or *thorn*. Now since, in the opinion of those who have given much attention to the subject, the Hebrews appear to have been unacquainted with the true diamond,[i] it is very probable, from the expression in Ezek. iii. 9, of "adamant *harder than flint*,"[k] that by *shâmîr* is intended some variety of *corundum*, a mineral inferior only to the diamond in hardness. Of this mineral there are two principal groups: one is crystalline, the other granular; to the crystalline varieties belong the indigo-blue sapphire, the red oriental ruby, the yellow oriental topaz, the green oriental emerald, the violet oriental amethyst, the brown adamantine spar. But it is to the granular or massive variety that the *shâmîr* may with most probability be assigned. This is the modern *emery*, extensively used in the arts for polishing and cutting gems and other hard substances; it is found in Saxony, Italy, Asia Minor, the East Indies, &c., and "occurs in boulders or nodules in mica slate, in talcose rock, or in granular limestone, associated with oxide of iron; the colour is smoke-grey or bluish grey; fracture imperfect. The best kinds are those which have a blue tint; but many substances now sold under the name of emery contain no corundum."[l] The Greek name for the emery is *smyris* or *smiris*,[m] and

[b] ἐν ὄνυχι ἀδαμαντίνῳ, LXX. A.; "in ungue adamantino," Vulg.

[c] ἀ, δαμάω.

[d] It is incorrect to suppose that even the *diamond*, which is only pure carbon crystallized, is "invincible" by fire. It will burn; and at a temperature of 14° Wedgwood will be wholly consumed, producing carbonic acid gas.

[e] Comp. also Senec. *Hercul. Fur.* 807: "Adamante texto vincire."

[f] Our English *diamond* is merely a corruption of *adamant*. Comp. the French *diamant*.

[g] Chaucer, *Romaunt of the Rose*, 1182; Shakspeare, *Mid. Night Dr.* Act ii. sc. 2, and *Troil. and Cress.* Act iii. sc. 2; Bacon's *Essay on Travel*.

[h] Roediger in Gesenius, *Thes.* sub. voc. שָׁמַר, *i. q.* שָׁמִר, סָמַר, *horruit, riguit.* Gés. (*Lex.*) connects it with סָמַר, the root (unused in Bibl. Heb.) of מַסְמֵר, *a nail*, whence *a point*, but the change of sibilant is opposed to both these views. [S. R. D.] In Arab. سمر, *samur*, is "an Egyptian thorn" (see Forskâl, *Fl. Æg. Ar.* cxxiii. 176), and سامور, *adamas*. See Freytag, *Lex. Arab.* s. v.

[i] Dana says that the method of polishing diamonds was first discovered in 1456 by Louis Bergnen, a citizen of Bruges, previous to which time the diamond was only known in its native uncut state. It is quite clear that *shâmîr* cannot mean *diamond*, for if it did the word would be mentioned with precious stones; but this is not the case.

[k] חֲזָק מִצֹּר. That צֹר, though it may sometimes be applied to "rock" generally, yet sometimes = *flint*, or some other variety of *quartz*, seems clear from Ex. iv. 25: "Then Zipporah took a sharp *stone*" (צֹר, *Tsôr*). That flint knives were in common use amongst Eastern nations is well known. Compare that very interesting verse of the LXX., Josh. xxiv. 31.

[l] Ansted's *Mineralogy*, § 394.

[m] σμύρις, or σμίρις, σμίρις est ἄμμου εἶδος (Hesychius); σμίρις λίθος ἐστὶ (Dioscor. v. 165).

the Hebrew lexicographers derive this word from the Hebrew *shâmîr*. There seems to be no doubt whatever that the two words are identical, and that by *adamant* we are to understand the *emery-stone*,[n] or the uncrystalline variety of the *corundum*.

The word SHAMIR occurs in the O. T. three times as a proper name—once as the name of a man[o] (1 Ch. xxiv. 24), and twice as the name of a town. The name of the town may have reference to the rocky nature of the situation, or to *briers* and thorns abundant in the neighbourhood.[p] [W. H.] [H. B. T.]

ADA'MI (אֲדָמִי; B. Ἀρμέ, A. Ἀρμαί; *Adami*), a place on the border of Naphtali, named after Allon bezaanannim (Josh. xix. 33). By some it is taken in connexion with the next name, han-Nekeb (cp. R. V. Adami-nekeb), but see Reland, p. 545. In the post-biblical times Adami bore the name of Damin, probably *Kh. Admah*, south-west of the Sea of Galilee, and immediately north of *W. el-Bireh*; so named from the purple basaltic soil (Heb. אֹדֶם, "red"). (*P. F. Mem.* ii. 89, 121.) [G.] [W.]

A'DAR (accurately, as in R. V., Addar, אַדָּר; B. Σαράδα, A. Ἀδδαρά; *Addar*), a place on the south boundary of Palestine and of Judah (Josh. xv. 3), which in the parallel list is called HAZAR-ADDAR. Probably some place in *Jebel Magrâh*, which forms the natural boundary of the *Negeb* or south country. [G.] [W.]

A'DAR. [MONTHS.]

AD'ASA (Ἀδασά, LXX.; τὰ Ἀδασά, Jos.; *Adarsa*, *Adazer*), a place in Judaea, a day's journey from Gazera, and 30 stadia from Beth-horon (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 10, § 5). Here Judas Maccabaeus encamped before the battle in which Nicanor was killed, Nicanor having pitched at Beth-horon (1 Macc. vii. 40, 45). Eusebius (*OS.*[2] p. 240, 6) mentions it as near Guphna, and it is now possibly *Kh. 'Adaseh*, 6½ miles from Upper Beth-horon on the road to Jerusalem (*P. F. Mem.* iii. 30, 105). The site is still connected with a tradition of some great slaughter; for the ruin stands above a valley called *Wâdy ed-Dumm*, "the valley of blood" (Conder, *Handbook to Bible*, p. 294). [G.] [W.]

AD'BEEL (אַדְבְּאֵל; A. Ναβδεήλ, *D.* -αι-; *Adbeel*; Ἀβδέηλος, Joseph. *Ant.* i. 12, § 4; "perhaps '*miracle of God*,' from אֵל, *miracle*," Ges. *Thes.* s. v.), named as the third of the twelve sons of Ishmael (Gen. xxv. 13; 1 Ch. i. 29), and thus presumably as the progenitor of an Arab tribe. No satisfactory identification of this name with that of any people or place mentioned by the Greek geographers, or by the Arabs themselves, has yet been discovered. The latter have lost most of the names of Ishmael's reputed descendants between that patriarch and 'Adnân (said to be of the twenty-first generation before Mohammad), and this could scarcely have been the case if tribes, or places named after them, existed in the times of Arabian historians or relaters of traditions: it is therefore unlikely that these names are to be recovered from native authors. But some they have taken, and apparently corrupted, from the Bible; and among these is Adbeel, written (in the *Mir-ât ez-Zemân*) ازبل. [E. S. P.]

Cuneiform inscriptions mention an Arab tribe, *Idiba'il*, *Idibi'âl*, as located S.W. of the Dead Sea towards the borders of Egypt (Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies*, p. 301; Schrader, *KAT.*[2], p. 148); and D. H. Müller has pointed out the name אדבל in an inscription from Medaïn Sâlih (*MV.*[10] *s. n.*). [F.]

AD'DAN (אַדָּן; Ἠδάν; *Adon*), one of the places from which some of the Captivity who could not show their pedigree as Israelites returned with Zerubbabel to Judaea (Ezra ii. 59). In the parallel list of Nehemiah (vii. 61) the name is ADDON. In 1 Esd. v. 36 the names Cherub, Addan, and Immer appear as "CHARAATHALAR leading them, and Aalar." [G.] [W.]

AD'DAR (אַדָּר; B. Ἀλεί, A. Ἀρέδ; *Addar*), son of Bela (1 Ch. viii. 3), called ARD in Num. xxvi. 40. [W. A. W.] [F.]

ADDER. This word in the text of the A. V. is the representative of four distinct Hebrew names, and in R. V. of three, mentioned below. It occurs in Gen. xlix. 17 (margin, A. V. *arrow-snake*, R. V. *horned snake*); Ps. lviii. 4 (margin, A. V. *asp*), xci. 13 (margin, A. V. *asp*); Prov. xxiii. 32 (margin, A.V. *cockatrice*, R.V. *basilisk*); and in Is. xi. 8, xiv. 29, lix.5, the A. V. has *cockatrice*, the R. V. *basilisk*, and the margin of both has *adder*. Our English word *adder* is used for any poisonous snake, and is applied in this general sense by the translators of the A. V. and R. V.[s] They use in a similar way the synonymous term *asp*.

1. '*Acshûb* (עַכְשׁוּב; ἀσπίς; *aspis*) is found only in Ps. cxl. 3, "They have sharpened their tongues like a serpent; adders' poison is under their lips." The latter half of this verse is quoted by St. Paul from the LXX. in Rom. iii. 13. The poison of venomous serpents is often employed by the sacred writers in a figurative sense, to express the evil tempers of ungodly men; that malignity which, as Bishop Horne says, is "the venom and poison of the intellectual world" (comp. Deut. xxxii. 33; Job xx. 14, 16).

It is not possible to say with any degree of certainty what particular species of serpent is intended by the Hebrew word; the ancient

Both statements are correct; the one refers to the *powder*, the other to the *stone*. The German *Smirgel*, or *Schmergel*, is evidently allied to the Hebrew and Greek words. Bohlen considers the Hebrew word to be of Indian origin, comparing *asmira*, a stone which eats away iron. Doubtless all these words have a common origin.

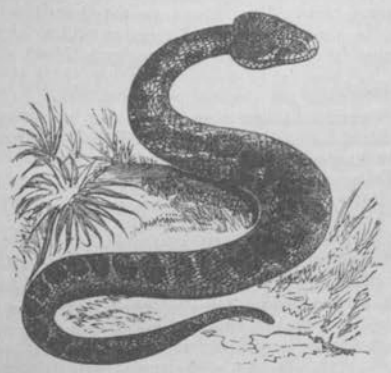
[n] This is probably the same stone which Herodotus (vii. 69) says the Aethiopians in the army of Xerxes used instead of iron to point their arrows with, and by means of which they engraved seals.

[o] In the Keri. The Chethîb has שָׁמוּר, *shamur*.

[p] It will be enough merely to allude to the Rabbinical fable about Solomon, the Hoopoe (*al.* the moorcock or the eagle), and the *worm Shamir*. See Bochart's *Hierozoicon*, vol. iii. p. 842, ed. Rosenmüller, and Buxtorf, *Lex. Talmud.* col. 2455.

[s] *Adder*, in systematic zoology, is generally applied to those genera which form the family *Viperidae*—*Asp*, to the *Vipera Aspis* of the Alps.

Versions do not help us at all, although nearly all agree in some kind of serpent, with the exception of the Chaldee paraphrase, which understands a *spider* by *'acshûb*, interpreting this Hebrew word by one of somewhat similar form.[b] The etymology of the term is not ascertained with sufficient precision to enable us to refer the animal to any determinate species, and no Arabic equivalent of the word has been found. Gesenius derives it from two Hebrew roots,[c] the combined meaning of which is "rolled in a spire, and lying in ambush;" a description which would apply to almost any kind of serpent.



Vipera euphratica. (British Museum.)

Thirty-three species of *Ophidia*, the Serpent tribe, are known from Palestine, but only six of these, belonging to five genera, are poisonous: *Naja haje*, two vipers, *Daboia xanthina*, *Cerastes Hasselquisti*, and *Echis arenicola*. Seven Hebrew words are employed to designate serpents, but one of them, נָחָשׁ (*nachash*), is undoubtedly generic. While it is unlikely that the two vipers, which occur in different parts of the country, were discriminated by the Jews, we may reasonably presume that the Jews distinguished five species, which are very different in appearance and habits. The prejudice against all the serpent tribe was probably as strong among the Jews as among the Arabs at the present day, who kill all snakes when they have the opportunity, and believe many of the harmless species to be poisonous, especially if they happen not to be brightly coloured. But for none of the harmless snakes have the Arabs any distinctive name, nor do we find any in the Hebrew. As there seems to be some reason for assigning *pethen*, *shephiphôn*, and *tsiphônî* to other species, we may fairly presume that the common poisonous snake of the country, in the plains *Vipera euphratica*, in the higher grounds *Vipera ammodytes*, is intended by *'acshûb*. The former species, a native of Mesopotamia, Persia, Armenia, and the Caucasus, is very common both in the Jordan valley and in the plains and lower hills. The latter species is chiefly confined to Lebanon. Both of them are plainly coloured, very dark brown, with broad flat heads and prominent jaws, and with suddenly contracting tails.

2. *Pethen* (פֶּתֶן). -[ASP.]

3. *Tsepha'* or *Tsiph'ônî* (צֶפַע, צִפְעֹנִי; ἔκγονα ἀσπίδων, κεράστης; *regulus*) occurs five times in the Hebrew Bible. In Prov. xxiii. 32 it is translated *adder* in A. V. and R. V.; and in the three passages of Isaiah quoted above, as well as in Jer. viii. 17, it is rendered *cockatrice* in A. V. and *basilisk* in R. V. The derivation of the word from a root which means "to hiss" does not help us at all to identify the animal. From Jeremiah we learn that it was of a hostile nature, and from the parallelism of Is. xi. 8 it appears that the *tsiph'ônî* was considered even more dreadful than the *pethen*. Bochart, in his *Hierozoicon* (iii. 182, ed. Rosenmüller), has endeavoured to prove that the *tsiph'ônî* is the *basilisk* of the Greeks (whence Jerome in Vulg. reads *regulus*), which was then supposed to destroy life, burn up grass, and break stones by the pernicious influence of its breath (comp. Plin. *H. N.* viii. c. 33), but this is explaining an "ignotum per ignotius."

The whole story of the basilisk is involved in fable, and it is vain to attempt to discover the animal to which the ancients attributed such terrible power. It is curious to observe, however, that Forskâl (*Descr. Animal.* p. 15) speaks of a kind of serpent (*Coluber Hôlleik* is the name he gives it) which, he says, produces irritation on the spot touched by its breath: he is quoting no doubt the opinion of the Arabs. Is this a relic of the *basiliskan* fable? This creature was so called from a mark on its head, supposed to resemble a kingly crown. Several serpents, however, have peculiar markings on the head—the varieties of the Spectacle-Cobras of India, for example—so that identification is impossible. As the LXX. make use of the word basilisk (Ps. xc. 13 = xci. 13, A. V.) it was thought desirable to say this much on the subject.[d]

The *tsiph'ônî* may probably be the great yellow viper, *Daboia xanthina*, a very beautifully marked serpent, and the largest poisonous species found in the Holy Land, as well as one of the most dangerous, on account not only of its size, but of its nocturnal habits, in which it differs from the Cobra and the Cerastes. I once killed a *Daboia* having in its stomach a leveret which it had swallowed whole. On another occasion I saw one spring on a quail which was feeding; it missed its prey, the bird fluttered on a few yards, and then fell in the agonies of death. On taking it up, I found the viper had made the slightest possible puncture in the tip of one wing as it snapped at it. The *Daboia* is remarkable as belonging to an exclusively Indian family of serpents, and which has no representatives in Africa, to which region or to Europe all the other poisonous snakes of Palestine belong. Dr. Harris, in his *Natural History of the Bible*, erroneously supposes the *tsiph'ônî* to be identical with the *Rajah zephen* of Forskâl.

[b] עַכְבִישׁ. *'accâbish.*

[c] *Thes.* sub voc.:—עָכַשׁ, *retrorsum se flexit*, and עָקַב, *insidiatus est*; but in *Lex.* it is taken as formed apparently from an Arab. root, to bend backward, by the addition of ב. Cp. Delitzsch on Ps. cxl. 4.

[d] The *basilisk* of naturalists is a most forbidding-looking yet harmless *lizard* of the family *Iguanidae*, order *Sauria*. In using the term, therefore, care must be taken not to confound the mythical serpent with the veritable Saurian.

which, however, is a fish (*Trigon zephen*, Cuv.), and not a serpent.

Echis arenicola.

4. *Shephîphôn* (שְׁפִיפֹן; ἐγκαθήμενος; *cerastes*) occurs only in Gen. xlix. 17, where it is used to characterise the tribe of Dan: "Dan shall be a serpent in the way, an adder (marg. or, *horned snake*) in the path, that biteth the horse's heels, so that his rider falleth backward" (R. V.). Various are the readings of the old Versions in the passage: the Samaritan interprets *shephîphôn* by "lying in wait;" the Targums of Onkelos, of Jerusalem, and of Ps.-Jonathan, with the Syriac, "a basilisk."[e] Saadias and the Arabic edited by Erpenius have "the horned snake;"[f] and so the Vulg. *Cerastes*. The LXX., like the Samaritan, must have connected the Hebrew term with a word which expresses the idea of "sitting in ambush." The original word, according to Gesenius and Rödiger, comes from a root preserved in Syriac, and signifying "to glide."[g]

The Hebrew word *shephîphôn* is no doubt identical with the Arabic *siff-un*. If the translation of this Arabic word by Golius be compared with the description of the Cerastes, there will appear good reason for identifying the *shephîphôn* of Genesis with the *Cerastes* of naturalists. "*Siffun*, serpentis genus leve, punctis maculisque distinctum"—"a small kind of serpent marked with dots and spots" (Golius, *Arab. Lex.* s. v.). The *Cerastes* (*Cerastes Hasselquisti*), the well-known Horned Snake, is a small serpent of a sandy colour, varying from reddish to whitish buff, according to the character of the soil where it is found, with pale brown or sometimes blackish irregular spots, very roughly scaled, with broad flattened jaws and suddenly tapering tail, seldom exceeding a foot, or at most eighteen inches in length, well known in the sandy and rocky deserts of Egypt, Abyssinia, the Sahara, Arabia, and Syria. It extends through Southern Judaea and Philistia. It can be recognised at a glance by the peculiar horn-like appendages just above the eyes, covered with small scales, which are always developed in the male, and sometimes, though to a less extent, in the female.[h]

Another peculiarity of the Cerastes assists us in identifying it with the *shephîphôn*, viz. its lying in ambush in the path, and biting the horses' heels. Its habit is usually to coil itself on the sand, where it basks in the impress of a camel's footprint, and thence suddenly to dart out on any passing animal. So great is the terror which its sight inspires in horses, that I have known mine suddenly start and rear, trembling and perspiring in every limb, and no persuasion could induce him to proceed. I was quite unable to account for his terror, till I noticed a Cerastes coiled up in a depression two or three paces in front of us, with its basilisk eyes steadily fixed on us, and no doubt preparing for a spring as the horse should pass. This species is said to have been the Asp with which Cleopatra killed herself. It is extremely venomous, causing the certain death of a man in half an hour, and is considered more vicious even than the Cobra, as it will attack when unprovoked. Its ordinary food consists of jerboas and desert marmots. By comparing the tribe of Dan to this wily serpent, the Patriarch intimated that by stratagem, more than by open bravery, they should avenge themselves of their enemies and extend their conquests. This was illustrated by the wily manner in which Samson, a Danite, destroyed his Philistian foes. Bruce, in his *Travels in Abyssinia*, has given a very accurate and detailed account of these animals. He observes that he found them in greatest numbers in those parts which were frequented by the jerboa, and that in the stomach of a Cerastes he discovered the remains of a jerboa. He kept two of these snakes in a glass vessel for two years without any food. Another circumstance mentioned by Bruce throws some light on the assertions of ancient authors as to the movement of this snake. Aelian,[i] Isidorus, Aëtius, have all recorded of the Cerastes that, whereas other serpents creep along in a straight direction, this one and the *Haemorrhous*[k] (no

[e] חורמן (*Hûrman*), derived by the Rabbis from חרם, "ban," metaph. "destruction." Rashi on Gen. xlix. 17 explains ח׳ as *species serpentis, ad cujus morsum nulla est medicina ... Omnia quae morsu suo laedit, prodat et excindat* (Buxtorf. *Lex. Chald.* s. n. ח׳). ܚܪܡܢܐ in this sense is common (see Payne Smith, *Thes. Syr.* col. 1375).

[f] حيّة قرناء.

[g] ܦܦ. The word is derived by Schultens from an Arabic root to which he assigns the questionable meaning of "to prick" or "bite."

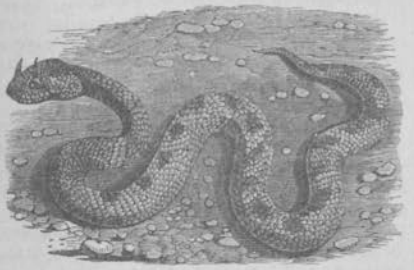
[h] Hasselquist (*Itiner.* pp. 241, 365) has thus described them:—"Tentacula duo, utrinque unum ad latera verticis, in margine superiori orbitae oculi, erecta, parte aversa parum arcuata, eademque parte parum canaliculata, sub-dura, membrana tenaci vestita, basi squamis minimis, una serie erectis, cincta, brevia, orbitae oculorum dimidia longitudine."

With this description that of Geoffroy St. Hilaire may be compared:—"Au-dessus des yeux naît de chaque côté une petite éminence, ou comme on a coûtume de la dire une petite corne, longue de deux ou trois lignes, présentant dans le sens de sa longueur des sillons et dirigée en haut et un peu en arrière, d'où le nom de *Céraste*. La nature des cornes du Céraste est très peu connue, et leurs usages, si toutefois elles peuvent être de quelque utilité pour l'animal, sont entièrement ignorés."

[i] Λοξὸν δὲ οἶμον πρόεισιν (Aelian, *de Anim.* xv. 13).

[k] Δοχμὰ δ' ἐπισκάζων ὀλίγον δέμας, οἷα κεράστης (Nicander, *Theriac.* 294).

doubt the same animal under another name) move sideways, stumbling as it were on either side (and comp. Bochart). Let this be compared with what Bruce says: "The Cerastes moves with great rapidity and in all directions, for-



The Horned Cerastes. (British Museum.)

wards, backwards, *sideways;* when he inclines to surprise any one who is too far from him, he *creeps with his side towards the person*," &c. &c. The words of Ibn Sina, or Avicenna, are to the same effect. I have noticed it move, when not alarmed, with a peculiar sidelong wriggle. So soon as it perceived itself observed, it glided along in a straight line. But this sidelong movement is not peculiar to the Cerastes. It belongs to the family *Viperidae*, order *Ophidia*.[1] [SERPENT.]

From the root *Shaphaph* are possibly derived the proper names of SHUPHAM, whence the family of the SHUPHAMITES, SHEPHUPHAN, and SHUPPIM.[m] [W. Hi.] [H. B. T.]

AD'DI ('Αδδί, 'Αδδεί [Westcott and Hort], Luke iii. 28), son of Cosam, and father of Melchi, in our Lord's genealogy; the third above Salathiel. The etymology and Hebrew form of the name are doubtful, as it does not occur in the LXX., but it probably represents the Hebrew עֲדָי, an *ornament*, and is a short form of Adiel, or Adaiah. The latter name in 1 Ch. vi. 41 (26 in Heb. Bib.) is rendered in the LXX. A. 'Αδαιά [B. 'Αζειά; *Adaia*], which is very close to Addi. [A. C. H.]

AD'DO (A. 'Αδδώ, B. 'Εδδείν; *Addin*), IDDO, the grandfather of the prophet Zechariah (1 Esd. vi. 1). [W. A. W.] [F.]

AD'DON (Neh. vii. 61; 'Ηρών; *Addon*), a variation in the orthography of ADDAN (אַדּוֹן and אַדָּן or אַדָּן). [F.]

AD'DUS ('Αδδούς; *Addus*). **1.** The sons of Addus are enumerated among the children of Solomon's servants who returned with Zorobabel (1 Esd. v. 34); but the name does not occur in the parallel lists of Ezra or Nehemiah.

2. A. 'Ιοδδούς, B. 'Ιαδδούς; *Addin*. A priest, whose descendants were unable to establish their genealogy in the time of Ezra, and were removed from their priesthood (1 Esd. v. 38). He is said to have married Augia, the daughter of Berzelus or Barzillai. In Ezra ii. 61 and Nehemiah vii. 63 he is called by his adopted name Barzillai: it is not clear whether Addus represents his original name or is a corruption. [W. A. W.] [F.]

A'DER (עָדֶר; *in pause* עֶדֶר, *a flock;* B. Ὦδηδ; A. Ὦδερ; *Heder;* R. V. EDER), a Benjamite, son of Beriah, chief of the inhabitants of Aijalon (1 Ch. viii. 15). [W. A. W.] [F.]

AD'IDA ('Αδιδά, א -ει-; Joseph. Ἀδδιδα; *Addus* [1 Macc. xiii.], *Adiada* [1 Macc. xii.]), a town on an eminence (*Ant.* xiii. 6, § 4) overlooking the low country of Judah ('Α. ἐν τῇ Σεφήλᾳ), fortified by Simon Maccabaeus in his wars with Tryphon (1 Macc. xii. 38, xiii. 13). Alexander was here defeated by Aretas (*Ant.* xiii. 15, § 2); and Vespasian used it as one of his outposts in the siege of Jerusalem (*B. J.* iv. 9, § 1). In the *OS.*[2] (p. 128, 1) it is called Aditha, and placed east of Diospolis (Lydda). Now *Haditheh*, a village with the remains of a considerable town near the foot of the hills eastward of Lydda (*P. F. Mem.* ii. 297, 322). Probably identical with HADID. [G.] [W.]

ADI'EL (עֲדִיאֵל, Fürst = *El is ornament*, MV.[10] = *ornament of God:* A. 'Εδιήλ; B. has a different reading: *Adiel*). **1.** A prince of the tribe of Simeon, descended from the prosperous family of Shimei (1 Ch. iv. 36). He took part in the murderous raid made by his tribe upon the peaceable Hamite shepherds in the valley of Gedor, in the reign of Hezekiah. **2.** 'Αδιήλ; *Adiel.* A priest, ancestor of Maasai (1 Ch. ix. 12, R. V.). **3.** BA. 'Ωδιήλ; *Adiel.* Ancestor of Azmaveth, David's treasurer (1 Ch. xxvii. 25). [W. A. W.] [F.]

A'DIN (עָדִין, *luxurious* or *delicate;* B. 'Αδείν, A. -ίν [in Ezra viii. 6 (LXX. v. 32), B. 'Αδίν, A. 'Αδδὶν in Ezra ii. 15]; 'Ηδίν [in Neh.]; *Adin* in Ezra ii. 15, *Adan* in Ezra viii. 6). Ancestor of a family who returned with Zerubbabel to the number of 454 (Ezra ii. 15, 1 Esd. v. 14 [B. 'Αδειλίος, A. 'Αδινός]), or 655, according to the parallel list in Neh. vii. 20. Fifty-one more (or 251, according to A. V. of 1 Esd. viii. 32) accompanied Ezra in the second caravan from Babylon (Ezra viii. 6). They joined with Nehemiah in a covenant to separate themselves from the heathen (Neh. x. 16). [W. A. W.] [F.]

ADI'NA (עֲדִינָא, *luxurious, soft;* 'Αδινά, B. -ει-; *Adina*). The son of Shiza, one of David's captains beyond the Jordan, and chief of the Reubenites (1 Ch. xi. 42). The A. V., R. V., and the Syriac read respecting him, "and thirty with him." The expression is obscure (Keil).[a] [W. A. W.] [F.]

ADI'NO (עָדִינוֹ; B. 'Αδεινών, A. 'Αδείν; Vulg. paraphrases), the Eznite (2 Sam. xxiii. 8). See JASHOBEAM. The clause in Samuel (*l. c.*) is corrupt (see R. V. marg.). The true reading is preserved in the parallel passage (1 Ch. xi. 11), from which it is apparent that עדינו is a corruption of עורר. [W. A. W.] [S. R. D.]

[1] The celebrated John Ellis seems to have been the first Englishman who gave an accurate description of the Cerastes (see *Philosoph. Transact.* 1760).

[m] Bochart (*Hieroz.* iii. 209, Rosenm.) says that the Rabbins derive שְׁפִיפֹן from שפף, *claudicare*, wherefore שפוף is *claudus*. See, however, Levy, *Chald. Wörterb.* s. v.

[a] It does not necessarily mean that he was in command of these thirty, Reubenite chiefs or not; nor does the interpretation given to the LXX. (ed. Swete), καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τριάκοντα, "and over him were thirty," *i.e.* superiors (those enumerated in vv. 26–41), appear justified. Cp. the LXX-tal usage in xii. 4, xxvii. 6.

AD'INUS (A. 'Ιαδινός, B. -ει-; *Jaddimus*). JAMIN the Levite (1 Esd. ix. 48; cp. Neh. viii. 7; *Jamin*). [W. A. W.] [F.]

ADITHA'IM (עֲדִיתַיִם, Ges. = *double booty*; A. 'Αδιαθαείμ; *Adithaim*), a town belonging to Judah, lying in the low country (*Shefelah*), and named, between Sharaim and hag-Gederah, in Josh. xv. 36 only. It is entirely omitted by the Vat. MS. of the LXX., and the site has not yet been identified (see Dillmann, *l. c.*). For the dual termination, comp. the two names occurring in the same verse; also Eglaim, Horonaim, &c. [ADIDA.] [G.] [W.]

ADJURATION. [EXORCIST.]

AD'LAI (עַדְלַי = עַדְלִיָּה, Ges. = *the righteousness of Jehovah*; BA. 'Αδαί; *Adli*). Ancestor of Shaphat, the overseer of David's herds which fed in the broad valleys (1 Ch. xxvii. 29). [W. A. W.] [F.]

AD'MAH (אַדְמָה; 'Αδαμά; *Adama*), one of "the cities of the plain," always coupled with Zeboiim (R. V.), and destroyed with Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen. x. 19, xiv. 2, 8; Deut. xxix. 23; Hos. xi. 8). It had a king of its own. [G.]

ADMA'THA (אַרְמָתָא, MV.[10] = *untamed*; LXX. omits; *Admatha*), one of the seven princes of Persia (Esth. i. 14). Rawlinson (*Speaker's Comm.*, add. n. *in loco*), by manipulation of the letters, makes the name = Artabanus, the uncle of Xerxes; and Cassel (*Das Buch Esther*, p. 33) identifies him with Aspathines. The etymology is quite uncertain (see Bertheau-Ryssel, *l. c.*). [F.]

AD'NA (עַדְנָא, *pleasure* or *softness*; B. Αἰδανέ [B[ab] Εἰδ-], א. 'Εδενέχ; *Edna*). **1.** One of the family of Pahath-Moab who returned with Ezra, and married a foreign wife (Ezra x. 30).

2. T.[7] Μανναδ, א[c.a mg inf] 'Αδανάδ; BA*. omit. A priest, descendant of Harim, in the days of Joiakim, son of Jeshua (Neh. xii. 15). [W. A. W.] [F.]

AD'NAH (עַדְנָה; 'Εδνά; *Ednas*). **1.** A Manassite, who deserted from Saul and joined the fortunes of David on his road to Ziklag from the camp of the Philistines (1 Ch. xii. 20 [Heb. 21]).

2. עַדְנָה, *pleasure* or *softness*; BA. 'Εδνάας; *Ednas*. The commander-in-chief of 300,000 men of Judah, who were in Jehoshaphat's army (2 Ch. xvii. 14). [W. A. W.] [F.]

ADONI-BE'ZEK (אֲדֹנִי־בֶזֶק, *lord of Bezek*; 'Αδωνιβεζέκ; *Adonibezec*), king of Bezek, a city of the Canaanites. [BEZEK.] This chieftain was vanquished by the tribe of Judah (Judg. i. 3–7), who cut off his thumbs and great toes, and brought him prisoner to Jerusalem, where he died. He confessed that he had inflicted the same cruelty upon 70 petty kings whom he had conquered. Dr. Hackett (*D. B.*, Amer. ed.), quoting Cassel in his note on Judg. (*l. c.*), remarks that this form of mutilation was not uncommon in ancient times, and was chosen in order to unfit men for warlike service (such as the use of the bow) and for active and rapid movements. It is told of the Athenians that they cut off the thumbs of the Aeginetans whom they conquered (B.C. 456), in order to prevent their handling the spear. Adoni-bezek not only mutilated but humbled his captives; they "gathered their meat under his table." A somewhat similar treatment of prisoners is recorded of the Parthian kings (Athen. *Deipn.* iv. p. 152 d). [R. W. B.] [F.]

ADONI'CAM, ADONI'CAN. [ADONIKAM.]

ADONI'JAH (אֲדֹנִיָּה, אֲדֹנִיָּהוּ, *my Lord is Jehovah*; 'Αδωνίας, B. -ει-; *Adonias*). **1.** The fourth son of David by Haggith, born at Hebron, while his father was king of Judah (2 Sam. iii. 4. The Greek text here, and the Lucianic Recension in 1 K. i. ii., reading ד as ר, have B. 'Ορνείλ, A. 'Ορνίας, Luc. -ια). After the death of his three brothers,—Amnon, Chileab, and Absalom,—he became eldest son; and when his father's strength was visibly declining, put forward his pretensions to the crown, by equipping himself in royal state, with chariots and horsemen, and fifty men to run before him, in imitation of Absalom (2 Sam. xv. 1), whom he also resembled in personal beauty, and apparently also in character, as indeed Josephus says (*Ant.* vii. 14, § 4). For this reason he was plainly unfit to be king, and David promised Bathsheba that her son Solomon should inherit the crown (1 K. i. 30), for there was no absolute claim of primogeniture in these Eastern monarchies. Solomon's cause was espoused by the best of David's counsellors: the illustrious prophet Nathan; Zadok, the descendant of Eleazar, and representative of the elder line of the priesthood; Benaiah, the captain of the king's body-guard; together with Shimei and Rei, whom Ewald (*Geschichte*, iii. 266) conjectures to be David's two surviving brothers, comparing 1 Ch. ii. 13, and identifying שִׁמְעִי with שִׁמְעָה (*Shimma* in A. V., *Shimea* in R. V.), and רֵעִי with רַדַּי (A. V. *Raddai*).* From 1 K. ii. 8, it is unlikely that the Shimei of 2 Sam. xvi. 5 could have actively espoused Solomon's cause. On the side of Adonijah, who—when he made his attempt on the kingdom—was about 35 years old (2 Sam. v. 5), were Abiathar, the representative of Eli's (*i.e.* the junior) line of the priesthood (descended from Ithamar, Aaron's fourth son), and Joab, the famous commander of David's army; the latter of whom, always audacious and self-willed, probably expected to find more congenial elements in Adonijah's court than in Solomon's. Adonijah's name and influence secured a large number of followers among the captains of the royal army belonging to the tribe of Judah (cp. 1 K. i. 9, 25); and these, together with all the princes except Solomon, were entertained by Adonijah at a great sacrificial feast held "by the stone Zoheleth, which is by En-rogel." The meaning of the stone Zoheleth is very doubtful, being translated *rock of the watch tower* in the Chaldee; *great rock*, Syr. and Arab.; and explained (but improbably) *rock of the stream of water* by R. Kimchi, and by Ges. = *the stone of the serpent* [cp. Deut. xxxii. 24 Heb.], *i.e.* the rock with its image of the serpent. The rock upon which the village of *Silwân* [Siloam] is built bears the name Zahweile (see Ganneau in MV.[10] s. *n.* זוחלת). En-

* This seems preferable to the unsupported conjectures that the reading of 1 K. i. 8 was שִׁמְעִי הַגִּבֹּרִי or גִּלְמָה וְרֵעִי.

rogel is mentioned in Josh. xv. 7, as a spring on the border of Judah and Benjamin, S. of Jerusalem, and may be the same as that afterwards called the Well of Job or Joab (*'Ain Ayûb*. Conder identifies it with the spring now called *'Ain Umm ed-Deraj*, and known to Christians as the Virgin's Well). It is explained *spring of the fuller* by the Chaldee Paraphrast, perhaps because he trod the clothes with his feet (רָגַל, see Gesen. *s. v.*); but cp. Deut. xi. 10, where "watering with the feet" refers to machines trodden with the foot, and such as were possibly fed by the spring of Rogel. [EN-ROGEL.] A meeting for a religious purpose would be held near a spring, just as in later times *sites for προσευχαί* were chosen by the waterside (Acts xvi. 13).

Nathan and Bathsheba, now thoroughly alarmed, apprised David of these proceedings, who immediately gave orders that Solomon should be conducted on the royal mule in solemn procession to Gihon, a spring on the W. of Jerusalem (2 Ch. xxxii. 30). [GIHON.] Here he was anointed and proclaimed king by Zadok, and joyfully recognised by the people. This decisive measure struck terror into the opposite party, and Adonijah fled to the sanctuary. He was pardoned by Solomon on condition that he should "shew himself a worthy man," and with the threat that "if wickedness were found in him he should die" (1 Kings i. 52).

The death of David quickly followed these events; and Adonijah begged Bathsheba, who as "king's mother" would now have special dignity and influence [ASA], to procure Solomon's consent to his marriage with Abishag, who had been the wife of David in his old age (1 K. i. 3). This was regarded as equivalent to a fresh attempt on the throne [ABSALOM; ABNER]; and therefore Solomon ordered him to be put to death by Benaiah, in accordance with the terms of his previous pardon. Far from looking upon this as "the most flagrant act of despotism since Doeg massacred the priests at Saul's command" (Newman, *Hebrew Monarchy*, ch. iv.), we must consider that the clemency of Solomon in sparing Adonijah, till he thus again revealed a treasonable purpose, stands in remarkable contrast with the almost universal practice of Eastern sovereigns. Any one of these, situated like Solomon, would probably have secured his throne by putting all his brothers to death, whereas we have no reason to think that any of David's sons suffered except the open pretender Adonijah, though all seem to have opposed Solomon's claims; and if his execution be thought an act of severity, we must remember that we cannot expect to find the principles of the Gospel acted upon a thousand years before Christ came, and that it is hard for us, in this nineteenth century, altogether to realize the position of an Oriental king in that remote age. The *Midrash Rabba* (§ 20 on Gen. iii. 15) applied to Adonijah (and to others, *e.g.* Cain, Korah, Balaam, Absalom, and Haman) the proverb, "He that seeks what is not his, loses that which is" (cp. Hambürger, *RE.*[2] s. n.).

2. B. Ἀδωνίας. A Levite in the reign of Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. xvii. 8).

3. Ἀδανία, A. Ααναά, ℵ. Εδανία; *Adonia*. One of the Jewish chiefs in the time of Nehemiah (x. 16). He is called ADONIKAM (אֲדֹנִיקָם; Ἀδωνικάμ, B. -καν; *Adonicam*) in Ezra ii. 13. Cp. Ezra viii. 13; Neh. vii. 18. [G. E. L. C.] [F.]

ADONI'KAM (אֲדֹנִיקָם, MV.[10] = *my Lord uplifts himself* [cp. Olshausen, *Lehrb.* p. 620]; BA. Ἀδωνικάμ [in 1 Esd. v. 14], B. -καν [in Ezra ii. 13]; *Adonicam*). The sons of Adonikam, 666 in number, were among those who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii. 13; Neh. vii. 18 [B. Ἀδεικάμ, ℵ. Ἀδενικάμ]; 1 Esd. v. 14, *Cham*). In the last two passages the number is 667. The remainder of the family returned with Ezra (Ezra viii. 13 [B. Ἀδανεικάμ]; 1 Esd. viii. 39 [B. Ἀδωνιακάμ]). The name is given as ADONIJAH in Neh. x. 16.
[W. A. W.] [F.]

ADONI'RAM (אֲדֹנִירָם, MV.[10] = *my Lord is exalted*, 1 K. iv. 6, v. 14; by an unusual contraction, ADORAM, אֲדֹרָם, 2 Sam. xx. 24 [*Aduram*], and 1 K. xii. 18 [B. Ἀράμ; *Aduram*]; also HADORAM, הֲדֹרָם, 2 Ch. x. 18, A. Ἀδωράμ, *Aduram*; usually Ἀδωνιράμ, B. -νει-; *Adoniram*). Chief receiver of the tribute during the reigns of David (2 Sam. xx. 24), Solomon (1 K. iv. 6), and Rehoboam (1 K. xii. 18). This last monarch sent him to collect the tribute from the rebellious Israelites, by whom he was stoned to death. [R. W. B.] [F.]

ADONI-ZE'DEC (אֲדֹנִיצֶדֶק, Ges. and MV.[10] = *lord of righteousness*; Ἀδωνιβέζεκ; *Adonisedec*), by some thought to be the official title of the Jebusite king of Jerusalem who organized a league with four other Amorite princes against Joshua. The confederate kings having laid siege to Gibeon, Joshua marched to the relief of his new allies and put the besiegers to flight. The five kings took refuge in a cave at Makkedah, whence they were taken and slain, their bodies hung on trees, and then buried in the place of their concealment (Josh. x. 1–27). [JOSHUA.] [R. W. B.] [F.]

ADOPTION (*υἱοθεσία*), an expression metaphorically used by St. Paul in reference to the present and prospective privileges of Christians (Rom. viii. 15, 23; Gal. iv. 5; Eph. i. 5). He probably alludes to the Roman custom of adoption, by which a person, not having children of his own, might adopt as his son one born of other parents. It was a formal act, effected either by the process named *adrogatio*, when the person to be adopted was independent of his parent, or by *adoptio*, specifically so called, when in the power of his parent. (See *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Ant.*, art. ADOPTIO.) The effect of it was that the adopted child was entitled to the name and *sacra privata* of his new father, and ranked as his heir-at-law: while the father on his part was entitled to the property of the son, and exercised towards him all the rights and privileges of a father. In short the relationship was to all intents and purposes the same as existed between a natural father and son. The selection of a person to be adopted implied a decided preference and love on the part of the adopter: and St. Paul aptly transfers the well-known feelings and customs connected with the act to illustrate the position of the Christianized Jew or Gentile. The Jews themselves were unacquainted with the process of adoption: indeed it would have

been inconsistent with the regulations of the Mosaic law affecting the inheritance of property: the instances occasionally adduced as referring to the custom (Gen. xv. 3, xvi. 2, xxx. 5–9) are evidently not cases of adoption proper. Our "adoption as sons through Jesus Christ" is the key-note of St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians (see *Speaker's Comm.*, Introd. to the Ep. to the Ephes. § 5; and on the whole subject Giffard's note on Rom. viii. 15 in the same work). [W. L. B.] [F.]

ADO'RA or ADOR. [ADORAIM.]

ADORA'IM (אֲדוֹרַיִם; B. Ἀδωραί; A. Ἀδωραίμ; *Aduram*), a fortified city built by Rehoboam (2 Ch. xi. 9), in Judah (Jos.[a] *Ant.* viii. 10, § 1), apparently in or near the *Shefelah*, since, although omitted from the lists in Josh. xv., it is by Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 9, § 1, 15, § 4; *B. J.* i. 2, § 6, i. 8, § 4) almost uniformly coupled with Mareshah, which was certainly situated there. For the dual termination compare Adithaim, Gederothaim, &c. By Josephus it is given as Ἄδωρα, Ἀδώρεος; and in *Ant.* xiii. 9, § 5, he calls it a "city of Idumaea," under which name was included, in the later times of Jewish history, the southern part of Judaea itself (Reland, 48; Robinson, ii. 69). Adoraim is probably the same place as Ἄδωρα (1 Macc. xiii. 20, *Ador*), unless that be Dor, on the sea-coast below Carmel. It is generally identified with *Dûra*, a large village on the flat slope of a hill, west of Hebron. Near it is the celebrated tomb of *Neby Nûh* (Noah). The village occupies an important position guarding an ancient main line of communication with Philistia, which runs through it (*P. F. Mem.* iii. 304, 328; see Robinson, ii. 215). [G.] [W.]

ADO'RAM. [ADONIRAM.]

ADORATION. The acts and postures by which the Hebrews expressed adoration, bear a

Adoration. Ancient Egyptian. (Wilkinson.)

great similarity to those still in use among Oriental nations. To rise up and suddenly prostrate the body, was the most simple method; but, generally speaking, the prostration was conducted in a more formal manner, the person falling upon the knee and then gradually inclining the body, until the forehead touched the ground. The various expressions in Hebrew referring to this custom appear to have their specific meaning: thus נָפַל (πίπτω, LXX.) describes the sudden fall; כָּרַע (κάμπτω, LXX.) bending the knee; קָדַד (κύπτω, LXX.) the inclination of the head and body; and lastly שָׁחָה (προσκυνεῖν, LXX.) complete prostration. The term סָגַד (Is. xliv. 15, 17, 19; xlvi. 6) was introduced at a late period as appropriate to the worship paid to idols by the Babylonians and other Eastern nations (Dan. iii. 5, 6). Such

Adoration. Modern Egyptian. (Lane.)

prostration was usual in the worship of Jehovah (Gen. xvii. 3; Ps. xcv. 6); but it was by no means exclusively used for that purpose; it was the formal mode of receiving visitors (Gen. xviii. 2), of doing obeisance to one of superior station (2 Sam. xiv. 4), and of showing respect to equals (1 K. ii. 19). Occasionally it was repeated three times (1 Sam. xx. 41), and even seven times (Gen. xxxiii. 3). It was accompanied by such acts as a kiss (Ex. xviii. 7), laying hold of the knees or feet of the person to whom the adoration was paid (Matt. xxviii. 9), and kissing the ground on which he stood (Ps. lxxii. 9; Mic. vii. 17). Similar adoration was paid to idols (1 K. xix. 18); sometimes however prostration was omitted, and the act consisted simply in kissing the hand to the object of reverence (Job xxxi. 27) in the manner practised by the Romans (Plin. xxviii. 5: see *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Ant.*, art. ADORATIO), in kissing the statue itself (Hos. xiii. 2). The same customs prevailed at the time of our Saviour's ministry, as appears not only from the numerous occasions on which they were put in practice towards Himself, but also from the parable of the unmerciful servant (Matt. xviii. 26), and from the reverence of Cornelius to St. Peter (Acts x. 25), in which case the Apostle objected to it, as implying a higher degree of superiority than he was entitled to, especially as coming from a Roman, to whom prostration was not usual. [W. L. B.]

ADRAMME'LECH (אַדְרַמֶּלֶךְ; B. Ἀδραμέλεχ, A. -εκ; *Adramelech*). **1.** A deity (2 K. xvii. 31) worshipped by the colonists brought into Samaria by Shalmaneser II., king of Assyria, from Sepharvaim (Sipar or Sippara, now Abu-habbah). Both Adrammelech and Anammelech were worshipped with rites similar to those of Moloch, children being sacrificed to them. This

[a] Even without this statement of Josephus, it is plain that "Judah and Benjamin," in 2 Ch. xi. 10, is a form of expression for the new kingdom, and that none of the towns named are necessarily in the limits of Benjamin proper.

name, according to Schrader, is equivalent to the Assyrian Adarmalik, "Adar (or Ninip) is prince." The reading of "Adar" for "Ninip" is, however, very doubtful; and as the word Adara is found as a by-name of Hea, god of the sea and of wisdom, it is very likely that the Assyrian form of the name is Adaramilk, "Adar (lord of) counsel." [ANAMMELECH.]

2. One of the sons of Sennacherib, king of Assyria, who, with his brother Shareser, killed their father whilst he was worshipping in the temple of Nisroch (2 K. xix. 37, B. -εκ, A. -εχ; Is. xxxvii. 38, ℵ. 'Ανδραμελέχ). According to the Babylonian chronicle, this happened in the eighth year of the reign of Sennacherib in Babylon (B.C. 688). This text differs from the account in the Bible, in that it states that Sennacherib was killed by only one son, and that it happened in a revolt. This is probably to be understood in this way: that both sons took part in the revolt, but that only one actually committed the crime, entering the temple where the king his father was worshipping, whilst his brother, in command of the rebel troops, surrounded the building to prevent the escape of the king. Adrammelech may probably be identified with the Aššur-munik of the Assyrians. He seems to have been the eldest son of SENNACHERIB, who built a small palace for him at Nineveh. [T. G. P.]

ADRAMYTTIUM (occasionally ATRAMYTTIUM. Some cursive MSS. have 'Ατραμυτήνῳ, instead of 'Αδραμυτήνῳ in Acts xxvii. 2), a seaport in the province of Asia [ASIA], situated in the district anciently called Aeolis, and also Mysia (see Acts xvi. 7). Adramyttium gave and still gives its name to a deep gulf on this coast, opposite to the opening of which is the island of Lesbos [MITYLENE]. St. Paul was never at Adramyttium, except perhaps during his second missionary journey, on his way from Galatia to Troas (Acts xvi.), and it has no biblical interest, except as illustrating his voyage from Caesarea in a ship belonging to this place (Acts xxvii. 2). The reason is given in what follows, viz. that the centurion and his prisoners would thus be brought to the coasts of Asia, and therefore some distance on their way towards Rome, to places where some other ship bound for the west would probably be found. Ships of Adramyttium must have been frequent on this coast, for it was a place of considerable traffic. It lay on the great Roman road between Assos, Troas, and the Hellespont on one side, and Pergamus, Ephesus, and Miletus on the other, and was connected by similar roads with the interior of the country. According to tradition, Adramyttium was a settlement of the Lydians in the time of Croesus; it was afterwards an Athenian colony: under the kingdom of Pergamus it became a seaport of some consequence; and in the time of St. Paul Pliny mentions it as a Roman assize-town. The modern *Edremid* or *Adramyti* is a poor village, but there is still some trade, more especially in timber. It is described in the travels of Pococke, Turner, and Fellows. See *Dict. Gr. and Rom. Geog.*, art. "Adramyttium." [J. S. H.] [W.]

A'DRIA, more properly **A'DRIAS** (ὁ 'Αδρίας; *Adria*). It is important to fix the meaning of this word as used in Acts xxvii. 27. The word seems to have been derived from the town of Adria, near the Po; and at first it denoted that part of the Gulf of Venice which is in that neighbourhood. Afterwards the signification of the name was extended, so as to embrace the whole of that gulf. Subsequently it obtained a much wider extension, and in the apostolic age denoted that natural division of the Mediterranean which Humboldt names the Syrtic basin (see Acts xxvii. 17), and which had the coasts of Sicily, Italy, Greece, and Africa for its boundaries. This definition is explicitly given by almost a contemporary of St. Paul, the geographer Ptolemy, who also says that Crete is bounded on the west by Adrias. Later writers state that Malta divides the Adriatic sea from the Tyrrhenian sea; and the isthmus of Corinth, the Aegean from the Adriatic. Thus the ship in which Josephus started for Italy about the time of St. Paul's voyage foundered in Adrias (*Life*, 3), and there he was picked up by a ship from Cyrene and taken to Puteoli (see Acts xxviii. 13). It is through ignorance of these facts, or through the want of attending to them, that writers have drawn an argument from this geographical term in favour of the false view which places the Apostle's shipwreck in the Gulf of Venice. [MELITA.] Cp. Smith's *Voy. and Shipwreck of St. Paul: Diss. on the Island Melita.* See *Dict. Gr. and Rom. Geog.*, art. "Adriaticum Mare." [J. S. H.] [W.]

ADRI'EL (עַדְרִיאֵל, Ges. = *flock of God*; 'Αδριήλ; *Hadriel*), a son of Barzillai the Meholathite, to whom Saul gave his daughter Merab, although he had previously promised her to David (1 Sam. xviii. 19; *vv.* 17–19 are wanting in B, and the name in A. is Ιηλ, the usual abbreviation for 'Ισραήλ). His five sons were amongst the seven descendants of Saul whom David surrendered to the Gibeonites (2 Sam. xxi. 8; where in B. the name appears as Σερεί, in A. as 'Εσδρί) in satisfaction for the endeavours of Saul to extirpate them, although the Israelites had originally made a league with them (Josh. ix. 15). In 2 Sam. xxi. 8 they are called the sons of Michal; but as Michal had no children (2 Sam. vi. 23), the A. V., in order to surmount the difficulty, translates יָלְדָה "brought up" instead of "bare," in accordance with the opinion of the Targum and Jewish authorities. The margin also gives "the sister of Michal" for "Michal." The R. V. translates "bare," and against the name Michal attaches a marginal note: "In 1 Sam. xviii. 19 *Merab*," the reading here of LXX.-Luc., the Peshito, and certain codd. of Vulg.; and a reading also adopted by most modern scholars. [R. W. B.] [F.]

ADU'EL ('Αδουήλ, *i.e.* עַדְרִיאֵל, MV.[10] = *the ornament of God*, Fürst = *El is ornament*, 1 Ch. iv. 36; 'Ιεδιήλ (abs. from B., A. 'Εδιήλ); ix. 12 ('Αδιήλ). A Naphtalite, ancestor of Tobit (Tob. i. 1; ℵ. reads Ναῦη). [B. F. W.] [F.]

ADUL'LAM (עֲדֻלָּם. The meaning is uncertain. Lagarde [*Uebersicht üb. die im Aram., Arab., u. Hebr. übliche Bildung der Nomina*, p. 54, 1889] explains it plausibly as *a retreat*, from the Arab. عدل ['adula], "to turn aside;" 'Οδολλάμ; *Odollam, Odullam, Adullam*), a city of

Judah in the lowland of the Shefelah, Josh. xv. 35 (cp. Gen. xxxviii. 1, "Judah *went down*," and Micah i. 15, where it is named with Mareshah and Achzib); the seat of a Canaanite king (Josh. xii. 15), and evidently a place of great antiquity (Gen. xxxviii. 1, 12, 20). It was fortified by Rehoboam (2 Ch. xi. 7), was one of the towns re-occupied by the Jews after their return from Babylon (Neh. xi. 30), and was still a city ('O. πόλις) in the times of the Maccabees (2 Macc. xii. 38). Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 12, § 3) gives the forms πόλις Ἀδουλλάμη and Ὀδολλάμ (*Ant.* viii. 10, § 1), where it is named between Socho and Ipan. In Josh. xv. 35 it forms with Jarmuth, Socoh, and Azekah a group apart amongst the fourteen cities placed in the Shefelah, and the narratives of Samuel and Chronicles imply that it was a place of strategic importance. David took refuge in the cave of Adullam when no longer able to rest at *Gath*, and his father and brethren *went down* to him there from Bethlehem (1 Sam. xxii. 1); thence too three of the bravest of the *Gibborim* passed through the lines of the Philistines and brought to David from Bethlehem the water for which he longed (2 Sam. xxiii. 13; 1 Ch. xi. 15). Judas Maccabaeus and his army kept the Sabbath at Adullam after the defeat of Gorgias (2 Macc. xii. 38). In the *OS.*[2] (p. 128, 29) Jerome describes it as a *vicus non parvus* ten miles E. of Eleutheropolis; in another passage Eusebius and Jerome, following apparently the reading of the LXX. in Josh. x., confound Adullam with EGLON: see that name. It has been identified by M. Clermont-Ganneau with the ruins of *'Aîd el-Miych*, "feast of one hundred," or *'Aîd el-Mâ*, "feast of water." This place, where there are two ancient wells and several caves, is seven miles north-east of *Beit Jibrîn*, and not far from *Shuweikeh* (Socoh) and *Kh. el-Yarmûk* (Jarmuth). A very clear statement of the arguments in favour of the above site is given in *PFQy. Stat.* 1875, pp. 160–177; see also *P. F. Mem.* iii. pp. 311, 347, 361–7; Geikie, *The Land and the Bible*, p. 108. Van de Velde and Stanley place it, doubtfully, at *Deir Dubbân*, 5 or 6 miles from Eleutheropolis. Monastic tradition places the cave at *Khŭreitûn*, at the south end of the *Wâdy Urtâs*, between Bethlehem and the Dead Sea (Robinson, i. 481). William of Tyre speaks of the inhabitants of *Tekûa* flying for refuge to the cave of Odolla in A.D. 1138. [G.] [W.]

ADUL'LAMITE (עֲדֻלָּמִי: A. [usually] Ὀδολλαμείτης, E. [in *v.* 12] Ὀδολλαμίτης, [in *v.* 20] Ὀδολλαμήτης; *Odollamites*). A native of Adullam: applied to Hirah, the friend (or "*shepherd*" as the Vulgate has it, reading רֹעֵהוּ for רֵעֵהוּ) of Judah (Gen. xxxviii. 1, 12, 20). See ADULLAM. [W. A. W.] [F.]

ADULTERY (נָאַף, נֹאֲפִים, LXX. μοιχεία). The parties to this crime were a married woman and a man who was not her husband; the toleration of polygamy rendering it nearly impossible to make criminal a similar offence committed by a married man with a woman not his wife. In the patriarchal period the sanctity of marriage is noticeable from the history of Abraham, who fears, not that his wife will be seduced from him, but that he may be killed for her sake, and especially from the scruples ascribed to Pharaoh and Abimelech (Gen. xii. xx.). The woman's punishment was, as commonly amongst Eastern nations, no doubt capital, and probably, as in the case of Tamar's unchastity, death by fire (xxxviii. 24). The Mosaic penalty was that both the guilty parties should be stoned, and it applied as well to the betrothed as to the married woman, provided she were free (Deut. xxii. 22–24). A bondwoman so offending was to be scourged, and the man was to make a trespass offering (Lev. xix. 20–22).

The system of inheritances, on which the polity of Moses was based, was threatened with confusion by the doubtful offspring caused by this crime, and this secured popular sympathy on the side of morality until a far advanced stage of corruption was reached. Yet from stoning being made the penalty we may suppose that the exclusion of private revenge was intended. It is probable that, when that territorial basis of polity passed away—as it did after the Captivity—and when, owing to Gentile example, the marriage tie became a looser bond of union, public feeling in regard to adultery changed, and the penalty of death was seldom or never inflicted. Thus in the case of the woman brought under our Lord's notice (John viii.), it is likely that no one then thought of stoning her in fact, but there remained the written law ready for the purpose of the caviller. It is likely also that a divorce in which the adulteress lost her dower and rights of maintenance, &c. (Gemara *Chethuboth*, cap. vii. 6), was the usual remedy suggested by a wish to avoid scandal and the excitement of commiseration for crime. The word παραδειγματίσαι (Matt. i. 19) probably means to bring the case before the local Sanhedrin, which was the usual course, but which Joseph did *not* propose to take, preferring repudiation (Buxtorf, *de Spons. et Divort.* iii. 1–4), because that could be managed privately (λάθρα).

Concerning the famous trial by the water of jealousy (Num. v. 11–29), it has been questioned whether a husband was in certain cases bound to adopt it. The more likely view is, that it was meant as a relief to the vehemence of implacable jealousy to which Orientals appear prone. The ancient strictness of that tie gave room for a more intense feeling than was consistent with the laxity which had set in, to a great extent under Gentile influences, in the period of the N. T. In that intensity probably arose this strange custom, which no doubt Moses found prevailing and deeply seated; and which is said to be paralleled by a form of ordeal called the "red water" in Western Africa (Kitto, *Cyclop.* s. v.). The forms of Hebrew justice all tended to limit the application of this test. 1. By prescribing certain facts presumptive of guilt, to be established on oath by two witnesses, or a preponderating but not conclusive testimony to the fact of the woman's adultery. 2. By technical rules of evidence which made proof of those presumptive facts difficult (*Sotah*, vi. 2–5). 3. By exempting certain large classes of women (all indeed except a pure Israelitess married to a pure Israelite, and some even of them) from the liability. 4. By providing that the trial could only be before the great Sanhedrin (*Sotah*,

i. 4). 5. By investing it with a ceremonial at once humiliating and intimidating, yet which still harmonised with the spirit of the whole ordeal as recorded in Num. v. But it was above all discouraged by the conventional and even mercenary light in which the nuptial contract was latterly regarded.

When adultery ceased to be capital, as no doubt it did, and divorce became a matter of mere convenience, it would be absurd to suppose that this trial was continued. And when adultery became common, as the Jews themselves confess, it would have been impious to expect the miracle which the trial implied. If ever the Sanhedrin were driven by force of circumstances to adopt this trial, no doubt every effort was used, nay was prescribed (*Sotah*, i. 5, 6), to overawe the culprit and induce confession. Even if she submitted to the trial and was really guilty, some Rabbis held that the effect on her might be suspended for years through the merit of some good deed (*Sotah*, iii. 4–6). Besides, however, the intimidation of the woman, the husband was likely to feel the public exposure of his suspicions odious and repulsive. Divorce was a ready and quiet remedy; and the only question was, whether the divorce should carry the dowry, and the property which she had brought; which was decided by the slight or grave character of the suspicions against her (*Sotah*, vi. 1; Gemara *Chethuboth*, vii. 6; Ugol. *Uxor Heb.* c. vii.). If the husband were incapable through derangement, imprisonment, &c., of acting on his own behalf in the matter, the Sanhedrin proceeded in his name as concerned the dowry, but not as concerned the trial by the water of jealousy (*Sotah*, iv. 6).

As regards the N. T. teaching on the subject of adultery, the chief passages are those which contemplate it in reference to divorce or separation, viz. Matt. v. 31, 32; xix. 6 foll.; Mark x. 11, 12; Luke xvi. 18; Rom. vii. 2, 3; 1 Cor. vii. 10, 11, 39, 40. These open some grave questions, on which great divines have differed (see Dean Alford's note and *Speaker's Comment.* on the first of them), and even Augustine saw reason in his *Retractationes* to doubt whether he had satisfactorily solved them. The principal one is, what is intended by λόγος πορνείας in Matt. v. 32, corresponding apparently to ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ in xix. 9? Most authorities seem to take it of unchastity after marriage on the part of the wife, *i.e.* adultery. Hereupon various difficult questions open to which the context gives no solution. The first (i.) is, Must we in Matt. v. 32 carry on the exception, "saving for the cause of fornication" (*i.e.* of adultery), to the latter clause, and make the sense, "whoever shall marry a woman divorced for any other cause than adultery, committeth adultery." The next is (ii.), What would be the case of him who marries a woman divorced for adultery? If this be judged an adulterous union, the reading the condition aforesaid into the clause is nugatory; if a lawful union, a further question arises (iii.), Does this then sanction the union of the paramours? If yes, this seems to open a wide door to collusive, as well as other, infidelity. If no, we arrive at a *privilegium* excluding one person only, and leaving the woman open to the same temptation still which led her astray before. Then comes (iv.), May the injured husband, rid of the adulteress wife, marry anew? If he may, then the adultery of the wife has the same effect on their union as her natural death; and a bar is placed in the way of forgiveness and reconciliation on repentance. These conclusions seem opposed to the words of St. Paul in Rom. vii. 2, 3, and 1 Cor. vii. 10, 11, 39, 40.

An interpretation which gives rise to such questions may suggest doubts of its own soundness, besides another question as grave as any of the former, how to reconcile it with the general principle that God has made man and wife "one flesh," and that "whom He has joined together" man, *i.e.* human law, is not to "put asunder." Besides, if adultery had been, in such a context as Matt. v. 32, xix. 9, intended, we cannot doubt that μοιχεία, the special word, and not πορνεία, the general one, would have been used. Assume, on the contrary, that the λόγος πορνείας and ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ refer to unchastity before marriage, and that marriage once made is, save for that cause, indissoluble, and we harmonize the statements of all the passages above referred to. Such unchastity implies, besides incontinence, a fraud to which Oriental races are specially sensitive, and which may be held to vitiate that consent on the part of the man which is of the essence of the marriage contract. Thus the true view would be, that such a marriage, being defective in this vital point, never existed from the first, but was an union founded on fraud, which the innocent party is entitled to disclaim. This is illustrated by the suspicions of Joseph in Matt. i. 19. The weight of authority seems against retaining μοιχεία, as heading St. Paul's catalogue of the "works of the flesh" in Gal. v. 19. [H. H.]

ADUM'MIM, "THE GOING UP TO" or "OF" (מַעֲלֵה אֲדֻמִּים; B. πρόσβασις Ἀδαμμείν, A. προσανάβασις Ἀδομμί; *ascensio* or *ascensus Adommim*) = the "pass of the red;" one of the landmarks of the boundary of Benjamin, a rising ground or pass "over against Gilgal," and "on the south side of the 'torrent'" (Josh. xv. 7; xviii. 17), which is the position still occupied by the road leading up from Jericho and the Jordan valley to Jerusalem (Rob. i. p. 558[a]), on the south face of the gorge of the *Wâdy Kelt*. Jerome (*OS.*[2] p. 127, 9, s. n. *Adommin*) ascribes the name to the blood shed there by the robbers who infested the pass in his day, as they still (Stanley, pp. 314, 424; Martineau, p. 481; Stewart) continue to infest it, as they did in the Middle Ages when the order of Knights Templars arose out of an association for the guarding of this road, and as they did in the days of our Lord, of whose parable of the Good Samaritan this is the scene. But the name is possibly of a date and significance far more remote, and is perhaps derived from some tribe of "red men" of the earliest inhabitants of the country (Stanley, p. 424, note). It is most probably *Tal'at ed-Dumm*, "the ascent of blood," a mediaeval fortress, surrounded by a rock-hewn ditch, which stands above *Khân*

[a] Robinson's words, "On the south side . . . . above," are the more remarkable, because the identity of the place with the Maaleh-Adummim does not seem to have occurred to him.

Hathrûrah, and commands the road from Jericho to Jerusalem. There is a steady ascent from Jericho to this point, but the road onwards to Jerusalem passes over undulating ground; hence the "going up to Adummim" would be that part of the road which lies between the *Ghor* and *Tal'at ed-Dumm*, a name applied more particularly to the hill on which the fortress was built. The limestone and marl are here of a ruddy colour, like burnt brick: hence the name. The fortress is probably the *Castellum Militum* mentioned in the *Onomasticon* as being on the road from Jerusalem to Jericho, and the *Tour Rouge* built by the Templars to protect pilgrims going down to Jericho and the Jordan (*P. F. Mem.* iii. 172, 207–9). [G.] [W.]

ADVENT. [COMING.]

ADVOCATE. The rendering (A. V. and R. V.) in 1 John ii. 4 of παράκλητος. In other passages of the writings of St. John (*e.g.* Gospel, xiv. 16, 26, xv. 26, xvi. 7) παράκλητος is translated "Comforter" (R. V. inserting in the marg. *Advocate* or *Helper*). This double rendering of one and the same Greek word dates from Wiclif, and is due to the influence of the Vulgate, which has *advocatus* in the Epistle and *paracletus* in the Gospel. Dr. Westcott has pointed out that the word "can properly mean only 'one called to the side of another,' and that with the secondary notion of counselling, supporting, or aiding him." In 1 John ii. 1 this sense of the word is alone applicable. The argument is that "Jesus Christ the righteous" as Advocate pleads the cause of the Christian who has sought His help against the accuser. See Westcott's notes in *Speaker's Commentary* on Gospel according to St. John (*ll. c.*) and on 1 John ii. 1. [F.]

AEDI'AS (B. Αηδείας [A. -δι-]; *Helias*), 1 Esd. ix. 27. Perh. a corruption of ELIAH. [G.]

AE'GYPT. [EGYPT.]

AE'NEAS (Αἰνέας; *Aeneas*), a Greek or Hellenistic Jew of Lydda, healed of his palsy by St. Peter (Acts ix. 33, 34). [G.]

AE'NON (Αἰνών; *Aennon*), a place "near to Salim." John baptized "in Aenon (the springs) near to Salim, because there were many waters (ὕδατα πολλά) there" (John iii. 23). This is indicated by the name, which is merely a Greek version of the Chaldee עֵינוֹן = "springs." It was evidently west of the Jordan (cp. John iii. 22 with 26, and with i. 28), and apparently one day's journey from Nazareth and two from Bethany (Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 311). Three different sites have been proposed for Aenon: 1. Eusebius and Jerome (*OS.*[2] pp. 134, 25; 245, 91) place it 8 miles south of Scythopolis, "juxta Salim et Jordanem," and the latter states that the ruins of Melchizedek's palace existed, in his day, at Salem. These statements are so positive that they cannot lightly be set aside. In the Jordan valley, about 7½ miles from *Beisân* (Scythopolis), there is a remarkable group of seven springs, all lying within a radius of a quarter of a mile, which answers well to the description "many waters." Close to the springs are the considerable ruins of *Umm el-'Amdân*, and about three-quarters of a mile to the north is *Tell Ridhghah*, an artificial mound, on the top of which is the tomb of *Shcikh Sâlim*. This is almost certainly the spot indicated by Eusebius and Jerome, and there is nothing remarkable in the disappearance of the ruins when it is considered that such important towns as Jericho and Antipatris have entirely disappeared. 2. Major Conder (*Tent Work in Pal.* i. 91–3) identifies Aenon with the springs in *Wâdy Fâr'ah*, which lie between *Sâlim* and *'Ainûn*: but these two places are 7 miles apart, and the springs themselves are situated in a deep valley 4 miles from *Sâlim*, and separated from that village by the hills of *Neby Belân*, 2,500 feet high. Such a place could not possibly be described as being "near to Salim," and the springs are in fact quite as near to *Nablûs* (Shechem), with which they are connected by the Roman road to Scythopolis. There are no important springs at *Sâlim* or *'Ainûn*. 3. Dr. Barclay (*City of the Great King*, pp. 558–570) and Mr. Hepworth Dixon place Aenon at the springs in *Wâdy Far'ah*, one of the heads of *Wâdy Kelt*, some miles from Jerusalem, but the only ground for this identification is the presence of copious springs and pools. See the curious speculations of Lightfoot (*Cent. Chorog.* 1–4). [G.] [W.]

AERA. [CHRONOLOGY.]

AETHIO'PIA. [ETHIOPIA.]

AETHIOPIC VERSION. [VERSIONS.]

AFFINITY. [MARRIAGE.]

AG'ABA (Ακκαβά, A. Γαβά; *Aggab*), 1 Esd. v. 30. [HAGAB.] [G.]

AG'ABUS (Αγαβος or Ἄγαβος; *Agabus*. חָגָב, "a locust;" cp. Hagab, Ezra ii. 46. But the Syriac favours the derivation from חָגַב, "to love"). A Christian prophet mentioned in Acts xi. 28 (notice the remarkable addition to the text made by D.) and xxi. 10, 11. In the first passage he is described as having come from Jerusalem to Antioch; in the second, from Judaea to Caesarea. His prediction of a great famine over all the world was delivered at Antioch, probably A.D. 44, during the twelve months which St. Paul then spent there. No universal famine is recorded in the reign of Claudius, but frequently recurring local famines [CLAUDIUS] justify the terms of the prophecy. The accuracy of his prediction respecting St. Paul (Acts xxi. 10) is also open to criticism if pedantically examined. The "whole world" cannot mean Judaea only, but the speedy fulfilment of the prediction there was what concerned the Christians most. This famine is that mentioned by Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 2 § 6, and 5 § 2), in which Helena of Adiabene gave generous assistance. It is dated by Josephus in the time of the Roman procurators Cuspius Fadus and Tiberius Alexander, *i.e.* after the death of Herod Agrippa I. An incidental notice of the same famine (*Ant.* iii. 15, § 3) shows that it prevailed in severity at the time of the Passover. That there was no famine before Agrippa's death is proved by the dependence of Tyre and Sidon at that time for food supplies on the king's country (Acts xii. 20). Wieseler on these grounds fixes the famine in A.D. 45, with the conjecture that it may have gone on for some time afterwards (see Wieseler, *Chron. Ap. Zeit*, pp. 156 ff.). The other mention of Agabus (Acts xxi. 10, 11) belongs to the last journey of St. Paul to Jeru-

salem (probably A.D. 58). He prophesies St. Paul's arrest and deliverance into the hands of the Gentiles, therein repeating more circumstantially an inspired warning already given by some of the brethren at Tyre (xxi. 4). The points to notice in Agabus are that in his case the gift of Christian prophecy was not limited to its usual function, the exposition of divine truth [PROPHET, PROPHETS OF THE N. T.], but extended to foreknowledge of events; and, secondly, that being a Jewish prophet he not unnaturally used the symbolic method of delivery habitual to Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and others (cp. Jer. xiii. 1–13). [E. R. B.]

A'GAG (אֲגַג, meaning quite uncertain, according to Ges., from an Arabic root "to burn;" Ἀγάγ [in Sam. *l. c.*] and Γώγ [in Num.]; *Agag*), possibly the title of the kings of Amalek, like Pharaoh of Egypt. The view of Michaelis (see Ges. *Thes.* s. n. אגג) that the name Ogyges was identical with this name has been accepted by Fürst, but is rejected by the best modern authorities. One king of this name is mentioned in Num. xxiv. 7, and another in 1 Sam. xv. 8, 9, 20, 32. The latter was the king of the Amalekites, whom Saul spared together with the best of the spoil, although it was the well-known will of Jehovah that the Amalekites should be extirpated (Ex. xvii. 14; Deut. xxv. 17). For this act of disobedience Samuel was commissioned to declare to Saul his rejection, and he himself sent for Agag and cut him in pieces. [SAMUEL.]

Haman is called the AGAGITE in Esther (Βουγαῖος, iii. 1, 10, viii. 3, 5). The Jews consider Haman a descendant of Agag, the Amalekite, and hence account for the hatred with which he pursued their race (Jos. *Ant.* xi. 6, § 5. See *Speaker's Comm. on the Apocrypha*, notes on "Additions to Esther" xii. 6, xiii. 12). [R. W. B.] [F.]

AGAGI'TE. [AGAG.]

AG'APE. [LORD'S SUPPER.]

A'GAR. [HAGAR.]

AGARE'NES (*υἱοὶ Ἀγαρ*; *filii Agar*), Bar. iii. 23. [HAGAR.]

AGATE (שְׁבוֹ, *shebô*; כְּדְכֹד, *cadcôd*; ἀχάτης; *achates*) is mentioned four times in the text of the A. V.: viz. in Ex. xxviii. 19, xxxix. 12 (similarly rendered in R. V.); Is. liv. 12; Ezek. xxvii. 16. In the two former passages, where it is represented by the Hebrew word *she'bô*, it is spoken of as forming the second stone in the third row of the high-priest's breast-plate; in each of the two latter places the original word is *cadcôd*, by which no doubt is intended a different stone ("rubies," R.V.). [RUBY.] In Ezek. xxvii. 16, where the text has *agate*, the margin has *chrysoprase*, whereas in the very next chapter, Ezek. xxviii. 13, *chrysoprase* occurs in the margin instead of *emerald*, which is in the text, as the translation of an entirely different Hebrew word, *nôphec* (נֹפֶךְ): this will show how much our translators were perplexed as to the meanings of the minerals and precious stones mentioned in the sacred volume;[a] and this uncertainty which belongs to the mineralogy of the Bible, and indeed in numerous instances to its botany and zoology, is by no means a matter of surprise when we consider how often there is no collateral evidence of any kind that might possibly help us, and that the derivations of the Hebrew words have generally and necessarily a very extensive signification; identification therefore in many cases becomes a difficult and uncertain matter.

Various definitions of the Hebrew word *shebô* have been given by the learned, but nothing definite can be deduced from any one of them. Gesenius places the word under the root *shâbâh*,[b] "to take prisoner," but allows that nothing at all can be learned from such an etymology.[c] Fried. Delitzsch (*Prolegg. eines neuen Hebr.-Aram. Wörterbuch z. A. T.* p. 85) identifies it with the Assyrian precious stone called *šubû*. The *šubû* appears to have been *the* precious stone (*par excellence*), and *the* ornament of Istar, and evidently of singular brilliancy; probably, therefore, the diamond.

Again, we find curiously enough an interpretation which derives it from another Arabic root, which has precisely the opposite meaning, viz. "to be dull and obscure."[d] Another derivation traces the word to the proper name *Sheba*, whence precious stones were exported for the Tyrian merchants. Of these derivations it is difficult to see any meaning at all in the first,[e] while a contrary one to what we should expect is given to the third, for a dull-looking stone is surely out of place amongst the glittering gems which adorned the sacerdotal breastplate. The derivation adopted by Fried. Delitzsch is perhaps the most plausible, even if his identification of it with the diamond be held in reserve. That *shebô*, however, does stand for some variety of *agate* seems generally agreed upon by commentators, for, as Rosenmüller has observed (*Schol. in Exod.* xxviii. 19), there is a wonderful agreement amongst interpreters,[f] who all understand an *agate* by the term.

Our English *agate*, or *achat*, derives its name from the Achates, the modern Dirillo, in the Val di Noto, in Sicily, on the banks of which, according to Theophrastus and Pliny, it was first found;[g] but as *agates* are met with in almost every country, this stone was doubtless from the earliest times known to the Orientals. It is a silicious stone of the quartz family, and is met with generally in rounded nodules, or in veins in trap-rocks; specimens are often found on the sea-shore, and in the beds of streams, the rocks in which they had been imbedded having been

[a] See "Translators' Preface to the Reader," which, if found in Eyre and Spottiswoode's "Variorum" Bible, is not printed in all editions of the English Bible—a fact much to be regretted.

[b] שָׁבָה, *captivum fecit*, Gesen. *Thesaur.* s. v.

[c] Comp. Golius, *Arab. Lex.* شب, *exarsit.*

[d] שבו; cf. Freytag, *Arab. Lex.* أشْبَه (viii. conj. of شَبَهٌ), *obscura, ambigua fuit res alicui.*

[e] "Sed haec nihil faciunt ad detegendam ejus naturam."—Braun. *de Vest. Sacerd. Hebraeor.* II. c. xv. § i.

[f] שְׁבוֹ, "esse *achatem*, satis probabile est, quum mirus in hoc lapide interpretum sit consensus." Vid. Braun. *V. S.* II. c. xv. § iii.

[g] Καλὸς δὲ λίθος καὶ ὁ Ἀχάτης ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀχάτου ποταμοῦ τοῦ ἐν Σικελίᾳ καὶ πωλεῖται τίμιος.—Theoph. *Fr.* ii. 31, ed. Schneider, and Plin. xxxvii. 54; *Lithographie Sicilienne*, Naples, 1777, p. 16.

decomposed by the elements, when the agates have dropped out. Some of the principal varieties are called *chalcedony*, from Chalcedon in Asia Minor, where it is found; *carnelian*, *chrysoprase*, an apple-green variety coloured by oxide of nickel; *Mocha-stones*, or *moss agate*, which owe their dendritic or tree-like markings to the imperfect crystallization of the colouring salts of manganese or iron, *onyx-stones*, *blood-stones*, &c. Specimens of the art of engraving on *chalcedony* are found in the tombs of Egypt, Assyria, Etruria, &c.[h] [W. H.] [H. W. T.]

AGE, OLD. In early stages of civilization, when experience is the only source of practical knowledge, old age has its special value, and consequently its special honours. The Spartans, the Athenians, and the Romans were particular in showing respect to the aged, and the Egyptians had a regulation which has its exact parallel in the Bible (Herod. ii. 80; Lev. xix. 32). Under a patriarchal form of government such a feeling was still more deeply implanted. A further motive was superadded in the case of the Jew, who was taught to consider old age as a reward for piety, and a signal token of God's favour (Gen. xv. 15). For these reasons the aged occupied a prominent place in the social and political system of the Jews. In *private* life they were looked up to as the depositaries of knowledge (Job xv. 10): by the law of Moses the young were ordered to rise up in their presence (Lev. xix. 32; cp. Is. iii. 5): they allowed them to give their opinion first (Job xxxii. 4): they were taught to regard grey hairs as a "crown of glory" and as the "beauty of old men" (Prov. xvi. 31, xx. 29). The wise old man was the representative on earth of "the ancient of days" (Dan. vii. 9, 22); his company and counsel were to be sought and his example followed (Prov. xvi. 31, xxiii. 20; Deut. xxxii. 7; 1 K. xii. 13–19; Ecclus. ii. 10, iii. 15, vi. 33). The attainment of old age was regarded as a special blessing (Job v. 26), not only on account of the prolonged enjoyment of life to the individual, but also because it indicated peaceful and prosperous times (Zech. viii. 4; 1 Mac. xiv. 9; Is. lxv. 20). In *public* affairs age carried weight with it, especially in the infancy of the state: it formed under Moses the main qualification of those who acted as the representatives of the people in all matters of difficulty and deliberation. The old men or Elders thus became a class, and the title gradually ceased to convey the notion of age, and was used in an official sense, like Patres, Senatores, and other similar terms. [ELDERS.] Still it would be but natural that such an office was generally held by men of advanced age (1 K. xii. 8). [W. L. B.]

In the American edition of this work, some stress is laid upon the distinction between πρεσβύτης and πρεσβύτερος. The former is always applied to age (cp., in the case of Zecharias, Luke i. 18), the latter generally to rank or office, if also office usually dependent upon age (Cremer, *Bibl.-Theol. Wörterb.* s. v.). But the distinction can hardly be pressed into the question of determining the age of St. Paul (Philemon, v. 9 = πρεσβύτης) so long as able critics (*e.g.* Bp. Lightfoot) translate "ambassador" instead of "the aged" (A. V. and R. V. text). In the O. T. the Patriarch Jacob's reflections upon life as he looked back upon it in his old age (Gen. xlvii. 9), and in the N. T. the Saviour's description of what should mark the old age of St. Peter (John xxi. 18), have always been recognised as passages truthful and pathetic. The honour paid by Pharaoh to Jacob is illustrated by the Agadistic saying, "He who receives a greyhaired man and seeks out the aged, has at the same time sought out and received God" (Hambürger, *RE.*[z] s. v. "Alter," who gives many Talmudical expansions of the Biblical texts referred to above); while the refusal of this honour intimated in the words of Christ is deepened in pathos by that saying which affirms that one of the marks of the last days would be found in the despising the authority of the elders, in the mockery of the greyhaired by children, and in the standing up of the aged before the young (see Riehm, *HWB.*, s. n. "Alter"). [F.]

A'GEE (אָגֵא, Ges. from the Arabic, *fugitive*. Fürst compares the name Φύγελος [2 Tim. i. 15]: B. Ἀσά; A. Ἀγοά: *Age*). A Hararite, father of Shammah, one of David's three mightiest heroes (2 Sam. xxiii. 11). In the Peshito he is called "Ago of the king's mountain," the epithet being given as explaining הָרָרִי, *mountaineer*. Cp. Targ. "of the mountain." [W. A. W.] [F.]

AGGAE'US (Ἀγγαῖος; *Aggaeus*), 1 Esd. vi. 1, vii. 3; 2 Esd. i. 40. [HAGGAI.] [F.]

AGRICULTURE. This, though prominent in the scriptural narrative concerning Adam, Cain, and Noah, was little cared for by the Patriarchs; more so, however, by Isaac and Jacob than by Abraham (Gen. xxvi. 12; xxxvii. 7), in whose time, probably, if we except the lower Jordan valley (xiii. 10), there was little regular culture in Canaan. Thus Gerar and Shechem seem to have been cities where pastoral wealth predominated. The herdmen strove with Isaac about his wells; about his crop there was no contention (xxvi. 14–22; cf. xxi. 25). In Joshua's time, as shown by the story of the "Eshcol" (Num. xiii. 23–4), Canaan was found in a much more advanced agricultural state than Jacob had left it (Deut. viii. 8), resulting probably from the severe experience of famines, and the example of Egypt, to which its people were thus led. The pastoral life was the means of keeping the sacred race, whilst yet a family, distinct from mixture and locally unattached, especially whilst in Egypt. When, grown into a nation, they conquered their future seats, agriculture supplied a similar check on the foreign intercourse and speedy demoralization, especially as regards idolatry, which commerce would have caused. Thus agriculture became the basis of the Mosaic commonwealth (Michaelis, xxxvii.–xli.). It tended to check also the freebooting and nomad life, and made a numerous offspring profitable, as it was already honourable by natural sentiment and by law. Thus, too, it indirectly discouraged slavery, or, where it existed, made the slave somewhat like a son, though it made the son also somewhat of a slave. Taken in connexion with the inalienable character of inheritances, it gave each man and each family a

[h] Compare with this Ex. xxxviii. 23: "And with him was Aholiab, son of Ahisamach, of the tribe of Dan, an engraver and a cunning workman;" and ch. xxxix. 8, "And he made the breastplate of cunning work."

stake in the soil and nurtured a hardy patriotism. "The land is Mine" (Lev. xxv. 23) was a dictum which made agriculture likewise the basis of the theocratic relation; so that it becomes a charge against the apostate people, "Ye defiled My land" (Jer. ii. 7). Thus every family felt its own life with intense keenness, and had its divine tenure which it was to guard from alienation. The prohibition of culture in the sabbatical year formed, under this aspect, a kind of rent reserved by the Divine owner; or rather perhaps the soil reverted then to Him and to the poor as His representatives. Landmarks were deemed sacred (Deut. xix. 14), and the inalienability of the heritage was ensured by its reversion to the owner in the year of jubilee; so that only so many years of occupancy could be sold (Lev. xxv. 8–16, 23–35). The prophet Isaiah (v. 8) denounces the contempt of such restrictions by wealthy grandees who sought to "add field to field," erasing families and depopulating districts.

A change in the climate of Palestine, caused by increase of population and the clearance of trees, must have taken place before the period of the N. T. A further change caused by the decrease of skilled agricultural labour, *e.g.* in irrigation and terrace-making, has since ensued. Not only this, but the great variety of elevation and local character in so small a compass of country necessitates a partial and guarded application of general remarks (Robinson, i. 507, 553, 554, iii. 595; Stanley, *S. & P.* 119, 124–6). Yet wherever industry is secure, the soil still asserts its old fertility. The *Haurân* (Peraea) is as fertile as Damascus, and its bread enjoys the highest reputation. The black and fat, but light, soil about Gaza is said to hold so much moisture as to be very fertile with little rain. Here, as in the neighbourhood of *Beyrût*, is a vast olive-ground, and the very sand of the shore is said to be fertile if watered. Thus the "land of corn and wine, of bread and vineyards," is its description (Is. xxxvi. 17). The Israelites probably found in Canaan a fair proportion of woodland, which their necessities, owing to the discouragement of commerce, must have led them to reduce (Josh. xvii. 18). But even in early times timber seems to have been far less used for building material than among Western nations; such parts as beams, rafters, doors, &c. were, however, indispensably of timber (Cant. i. 17; viii. 9). In Solomon's time the Israelites were not skilful hewers, and imported both the timber and the workmen (1 K. v. 6, 8). No store of wood-fuel seems to have been kept; ovens were heated with such things as dung and hay (Ezek. iv. 12, 15; Mal. iv. 1, 3) [DUNG]; thorns and stubble fully dry are often spoken of as fuel, unless, as is possible, the allusion may sometimes be to burning them to ashes to use as manure (Is. xxxiii. 11; Joel ii. 5; Obad. 18; Nah. i. 10); and in any case of sacrifice on an emergency, some, as we should think, unusual source of supply is constantly mentioned for the wood (1 Sam. vi. 14; 2 Sam. xxiv. 22; 1 K. xix. 21; comp. Gen. xxii. 3, 6, 7). All this indicates a non-abundance of timber. Against this may be set the poetical pictures derived from nature in which magnificent timber-trees supply the imagery, as to Ezekiel (xxxi. 14), for nations flourishing in their pride. Such are called "trees by the waters." Such a cedar is the Assyrian with "rivers running round about his plants," meaning perhaps mountain torrents of the Lebanon (*ib.* 4); an elevated sylvan region which, with Carmel, &c., furnished prophetic types alike of national glory and of its decline (Is. xxxv. 2; xxxiii. 9). Again, "the trees of the wood moved by the wind" is the image used to describe unanimous popular feeling (Is. vii. 2). The felling of timber, especially of the choicer kinds, finds a leading place amidst hostile ravages (Is. vii. 24, xiv. 8, xxxvii. 24; Jer. xxii. 7); while the culture of such trees, assisted by special irrigation, is represented as a pursuit of the royal voluptuary in Eccles. ii. 6. So "the forest and every tree" is called on for acclamations of joy (Is. xliv. 23; lv. 12). Forests on fire, perhaps by lightning or spontaneous combustion in excessive drought, are also spoken of (Is. ix. 18; Jer. xxi. 14; Ezek. xix. 14, xx. 47; Joel i. 18–20). More especially the olive-groves were liable to such accidents (Jer. xi. 16; cf. the well-known passage, Virg. *Georg.* ii. 303 foll.). It seems likely also that the prevalence of idolatry may have given encouragement to the planting and cherishing of timber, especially the nobler sorts, both as a material for the idol, when felled, and a canopy for the altar while standing (Is. xliv. 14, by xl. 20; Jer. x. 3). Yet on the whole the allusions suggest that trees were scarce and deemed a valuable property, and even catalogued as such: see Is. x. 19, and compare the mention of the "trees" in Abraham's purchase (Gen. xxiii. 17). The spontaneous outburst of the choicest vegetation in the desert, and the displacement of its rude and stunted growths by that means, is a vivid image of spiritual revival (Is. xli. 19; lv. 13). The contrary process, viz. the land once tilled left to "briers and thorns" (Is. vii. 23–25), or reverting to pasturage of cattle (21, 22), marks the result of hostile ravages. To such a thorny state the soil speedily relapsed when neglected (Jer. iv. 3; Hos. x. 4) or left fallow. Thus "thorns" imply by their presence slovenly husbandry, or total failure of hopeful produce (Jer. xii. 13). The word which mostly occurs in such contrasts is קֹצִים. The thorn used for fences is צִנִּים or מְסוּכָה (*Job* v. 5; Prov. xv. 19; Mic. vii. 4); and this, or the occasional arming of a rude harrow, seems (besides fuel, Eccles. vii. 6) the only use for them [THORNS and THISTLES]. The three grades of Is. xxxii. 15, the wilderness, the fruitful field, and the forest, rising from sparse to thick vegetation, are noteworthy; also the gradual return to culture after desolation by the enemy in xxxvii. 30. The image of exuberant fertility from barrenness (Is. xxxv. 1), "the desert...shall blossom as the *rose*," is certainly a mistranslation, though what plant the word חֲבַצֶּלֶת (like its Assyrian equivalent *ḫab(a)ṣillatu* [cp. Fried. Delitzsch, *Prolegg. eines neuen Hebr.-Aram. Wörterbuchs z. A. T.*, p. 81, &c.]) actually represents seems at present uncertain. Cp. R. V. marg. in Is. xxxv. 1; Cant. ii. 1, *autumn crocus*.

Productiveness seems nearly measured by abundance of moisture, the exuberance of which as streams in the desert is a lively image of prophecy, whereas that of destructive floods is

comparatively rare. The precariousness of the surface brooks from mountain snow is noticed (Job vi. 15–18). Marshes and swamps were however known in the land of Uz, drier probably than Palestine (Job viii. 11: cf. Is. xxxv. 7; Ezek. xlvii. 11). "Sowing by the brooks" occurs both as characteristic of Egypt (Is. xix. 7) and generally, and is perhaps alluded to in the figurative exhortation, "Cast thy bread upon the waters" (Eccles. xi. 1). Its plenty of water from natural sources made Canaan a contrast to rainless Egypt (Deut. viii. 7; xi. 10–12). Nor was the peculiar Egyptian method alluded to in Deut. xi. 10 unknown, though less prevalent in Palestine. That peculiarity seems to have consisted in making in the fields square shallow beds, like our salt-pans, surrounded by a raised border of earth to keep in the water, which was then turned from one square to another by pushing aside the mud to open one and close the next with the foot. A very similar method is apparently described by Robinson as used, especially for garden vegetables, in Palestine. Trees, especially fruit trees, planted by the water-side, but also willows (grown perhaps to protect the stream itself by their shade, as well as for other uses), are a common image. Irrigation (including under the term all appliances for making the water available) was as essential as drainage in this land; and for this the large extent of rocky surface, easily excavated for cisterns and ducts, was most useful. The spring-water supply varies greatly in different districts. In some it abounds. Thus the Beisan (Bashan) plain has over thirty good springs, and the region of Nablous (Samaria) about seventy. The Negeb extends round Beersheba, and both in its extent and in the meaning of the term ("dry land") is nearly equivalent to the district of Daroma. Its "upper and nether springs" (Judg. i. 15) arise from the hard limestone formation in the N.W. corner of the region; throughout the rest of the Negeb area the water is from cisterns. The number of these in the drier regions of Palestine shows the dependence then as now to have been on storing the rainfall, while the geological structure forbids the supposition that springs once existing are now dried up (Survey of Western Palestine, Special Papers, p. 198). Even the plain of Jericho is watered, not by canals from the Jordan, since the river lies below the land, but by rills converging from the mountains. In these features of the country lay its expansive resources to meet the wants of a multiplying population. The lightness of agricultural labour in the plains set free an abundance of hands for the task of terracing and watering; and the result gave the highest stimulus to industry. The ruins of the great tank at Ziza still remain to illustrate the whole system of irrigation (cp. Tristram, *Land of Moab*, p. 185). Dew is also to be set to the amount of water-supply [DEW]. It is sometimes a figure for bright young foliage, *e.g.* "Thy dew is as the dew of herbs" (Is. xxvi. 19).

The cereal crops of constant mention are wheat and barley, and more rarely spelt and millet. "Rye" appears to be an error of the A. V. [RYE and FITCHES]. Of wheat and barley mention is made in the Book of Job, together with the vine, olive, and fig, the use of irrigation, the plough and the harrow (xv. 33; xxiv. 6; xxix. 6; xxxi. 40; xxxix. 10). The "fitches" of Is. xxviii. 25, 27, appears to be the black poppy; that of Ezek. iv. 9 to be spelt. This poppy, with cummin and such podded plants as beans and lentiles, may be named among the staple produce. To these, later writers add a great variety of garden plants, *e.g.* kidney-beans, peas, lettuce, endive, leek, garlic, onion, melon, cucumber, cabbage, &c. (Mishna, *Celaim.* 1, 2). The term "garden of herbs," *lit.* of verdure (Deut. xi. 10, &c., and so "dinner of herbs," Prov. xv. 17), probably means a kitchen garden [GARDEN]. The word for herbs regularly domesticated for man's use is עֵשֶׂב (Ps. civ. 14). Wild esculents analogous to them are rather אֹרֶת (2 K. iv. 39; Is. xxvi. 19). But the former stands for "herbs of the mountains" in Prov. xxvii. 25. For the "bitter herbs" eaten with the Paschal Lamb, see PASSOVER, ii. 3 (*c*). All such growths depended on a ready and copious water-supply (Deut. xi. 10; Is. lviii. 11). The produce which formed Jacob's present was of such kinds as would keep, and had kept during the famine (Gen. xliii. 11).

The Jewish calendar, as fixed by the three great festivals, turned on the seasons of green, ripe, and fully-gathered produce. Thus we see traces of a natural calendar in Is. xviii. 5, "Afore the harvest, when the bud is perfect and the sour grape is ripening in the flower;" the processes of growth marking the seasons which develop them. Hence, if the season was backward, or, owing to the imperfections of a non-astronomical reckoning, seemed to be so, a month was intercalated. This rude system was fondly retained long after mental progress and foreign intercourse placed a correct calendar within their power; so that notice of a *Ve-adar*, i.e. second or intercalated Adar, on account of the lambs being not yet of paschal size, and the barley not forward enough for the *Abib* (green sheaf), was sent to the Jews of Babylon and Egypt (Ugol. *de Re Rust.* v. 22) early in the season [YEAR].

The year, ordinarily consisting of twelve months, was divided into six agricultural periods as follows (*Tosaphta Taanith*, ch. 1):—

I. SOWING TIME.

Tisri, latter half — beginning about autumnal equinox
Marchesvan
Kasleu, former half
→ Early rain due.

II. UNRIPE TIME.

Kasleu, latter half.
Tebeth.
Shebath, former half.

III. COLD SEASON.

Shebath, latter half.
Adar
[Ve-adar]
Nisan, former half
→ Latter rain due.

IV. HARVEST TIME.

Nisan, latter half — Beginning about vernal equinox. Barley green. Passover.
Ijar.
Sivan, former half — Wheat ripe. Pentecost.

V. SUMMER.

Sivan, latter half.
Tamuz.
Ab, former half.

VI. Sultry Season.

Ab, latter half.
Elul.
Tisri, former half .. ..Ingathering of fruits.

Thus the six months from mid Tisri to mid Nisan were mainly occupied with the process of cultivation, and the rest with the gathering of the fruits. Rain was commonly expected soon after the autumnal equinox or mid Tisri; and if by the first of Kasleu none had fallen, a fast was proclaimed (Mishna, *Taanith*, ch. 1). The common scriptural expressions of the "early" and the "latter rain" (Deut. xi. 14; Jer. v. 24; Hos. vi. 3; Zech. x. 1; James v. 7) are scarcely confirmed by modern experience, the season of rains being unbroken (Robinson, i. 41, 429; iii. 96), nor did the Jews probably regard these as separate rainy seasons. From the Mishna (*ubi sup.*) the seasons at the date of its being compiled (about 200 A.D.) seem to have not perceptibly differed from their course at the present time; when "rain, in an ordinarily good year, falls first at the autumnal equinox, during November frequent thunderstorms occur, and about Christmas the weather is generally stormy. In January the heaviest rains fall, and in February sometimes none at all, but the weather is never settled until after the vernal equinox, and the early April showers are past. From May to September no rain falls except generally one heavy shower in June or July" (Survey of Western Palestine, Special Papers, p. 196). "As a rule the seasons occur in a cycle, becoming yearly wetter and wetter for a certain period, then growing drier and drier till a year of drought arrives" (*ib.* p. 197). The average rainfall may now be put at "about 25 in. a year" (*ib.*). The consternation caused by the failure of the former rain is depicted in Joel i. ii.; and that Prophet seems to promise that and the latter rain together "in the first month," *i.e.* Nisan (ii. 23). Thus the failure of rain "when there were yet three months to the harvest" (Amos iv. 7) would be equivalent to destroying the hopes of the crop. The same Prophet, echoing Lev. xxvi. 5, says (ix. 13), "The plowman shall overtake the reaper, and the treader of grapes him that soweth seed." The last clause suggests that extremes shall meet, but the LXX. has the first clause otherwise,[a] yet not so as to reconcile it with the second. Exuberant produce leaving a balance over on the year is probably intended; cp. "Ye shall eat old store and bring forth the old because of the new" (Lev. xxvi. 10). The ancient Hebrews had little notion of green or root-crops grown for fodder, nor was the long summer drought suitable for them. Barley supplied food both to man and beast, although less esteemed for the former [Barley]; and the plant, called in Ezek. iv. 9 "millet," דֹּחַן, *Holcus dochna*, Linn. (Gesenius), but by some identified with the *Sorghum*[a] *vulgare*, modern *dourrha* [Millet], was grazed while green, and its ripe grain made into bread. In the later period of more advanced irrigation the תִּלְתָן, "Fenugreek," occurs, also the שַׂחַת, a clover, apparently, given cut (*Peah*, v. 5). Mowing (גֵּז, Amos vii. 1; Ps. lxxii. 6) and gathering hay [Hay] were familiar processes, but the latter had no express word, unless חֲשַׁשׁ ("chaff" in A. V.) be such; חָצִיר, rendered "hay" in A. V. (*e.g.* Is. xv. 6), being properly grass (R. V.). The absence of any haymaking process is a token of a hot climate, where the grass may become hay as it stands.

The produce of the land, besides fruit from trees, was technically distinguished as תְּבוּאָה, including apparently all cereal plants, קְטָנִיּוֹת (*quicquid in siliquis nascitur*, Buxt. *Lex.*), nearly equivalent to the Latin *legumen*, and זֵרְעוֹנִים or זֶרַע גִּנָּה, *semina hortensia* (since the former word alone was used also generically for all seed, including all else which was liable to tithe, for which purpose the distinction seems to have existed). The plough was probably like the Egyptian (see fig. 2), and the process of ploughing mostly very light, like that called *scarificatio* by the Romans ("Syria tenui sulco arat," Plin. xviii. 47), one yoke of oxen mostly sufficing to draw it. Such is still used in Asia Minor, and its parts are shown in the accompanying drawing: *a* is the pole to which the

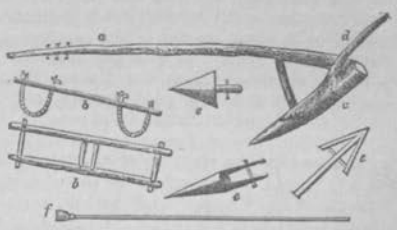


Fig. 1.—Plough, &c., as still used in Asia Minor. (From Fellows's *Asia Minor*.)

cross beam with yokes (*b*) is attached; *c*, the share; *d*, the handle; *e* represents three modes of arming the share, and *f* is a goad with a scraper at the other end, probably for cleansing the share. The following terms denote the tools of Hebrew husbandry:—Plough-share, אֵת; the verb to plough is חָרַשׁ,[b] but there is no word for the entire plough; yoke, מוֹטָה, מוֹט and עֹל [Yoke]; mattock,[c] כַּעֲדֵר, מַחֲרֵשֶׁת מַחֲרֵשָׁה; the last two akin to the above verb, and one, perhaps, meaning "plough-share," or more probably the metallic beak which armed it, of which three forms are given (fig. 1, *e*) above:—sickle, חֶרְמֵשׁ in Deut., and מַגָּל in Jer. and

[a] καταλήψεται ὁ ἀμητὸς τὸν τρυγητόν, καὶ περκάσει ἡ σταφυλὴ ἐν τῷ σπόρῳ, is the LXX. (T.[2]) here. "The cluster shall turn purple in the sowing-time" is the strict sense of the last clause; which approximately accords with the above, but yet suggests a variation in the Hebrew from which it came.

[b] Also, יָגַב, but rare, found only in its participle יוֹגְבִים, ploughmen (2 K. xxv. 12; Jer. lii. 16).

[c] In 2 Chron. xxxiv. 6, Josiah is said to have destroyed all false altars, &c., in various places, "with their mattocks round about." The Hebrew text is doubtful. The Keri is בחרבתיהם, which may possibly denote some sharp instruments akin to חֶרֶב, sword, or, if otherwise pointed (Bertheau, Keil, R. V.), "in their ruins;" but the LXX. has ἐν τοῖς τόποις αὐτῶν κύκλῳ, following possibly a different original from our Hebrew, but also possibly rendering the same loosely.

Joel; goad, דָּרְבָּן;[d] three-pronged fork, שְׁלֹשׁ קַלְשׁוֹן;[e] axe, קַרְדֹּם; threshing sledge, מוֹרָג, as above; also חָרוּץ (Is. xli. 15), which is properly an epithet of מוֹרָג (Gesen.), and appears as חָרִיץ (2 Sam. xii. 31; 1 Ch. xx. 3; "harrow," A. V., Amos i. 3) as a cruel instrument of execution. To harrow[f] is שָׂדַד, but no corresponding noun occurs; for vine-dressers the pruning hook, מַזְמֵרָה; for the shovel and fan, see fig. 15 and paragraph above it. Mountains and steep places were worked with the mattock (Is. vii. 25; Maimon. *ad Mishn.* vi. 2; Robinson, iii. 595, 602–3). The breaking up of new land was performed, as with the Romans, *vere novo*. Such new ground and fallows, the use of which latter was familiar to the Jews (Jer. iv. 3; Hos. x. 12), were cleared of stones and of thorns (Is. v. 2; *Gemara Hierosol.* ad loc.) early in the year, sowing or gathering from "among thorns" being a proverb for slovenly husbandry (Job v. 5; Prov. xxiv. 30, 31; Robinson, ii. 127). Virgin land was ploughed a second time. The proper words are נִיר, פָּתַח, *aperire, proscindere*, and שָׂדַד, *offringere*, i.e. *iterare ut frangantur glebae* (by cross ploughing, used also of harrowing), Varr. *de R. R.* i. 32; both the latter are distinctively used Is. xxviii. 24. We find in 1 K. xix. 19, twelve ploughs, apparently going on the same ground, some of which may have repeated the process of others and reduced the ground to a finer tilth, a result especially needed where the agency of frost in pulverizing the soil cannot, by reason of climate, be relied upon. The importance of the operation, on which all

Fig. 2.—Egyptian ploughing and sowing. (Wilkinson, *Tombs of the Kings—Thebes.*)

subsequent ones depend, called for the presence of the master. Thus Elisha is actually present "with the twelfth" plough, and so Saul comes from the field after the plough-cattle (1 Sam. xi. 5). Land already tilled was ploughed before the rains, that the moisture might the better penetrate (Maimon. *ap.* Ugol. *de Re Rust.* v. 11). Rain, however, or irrigation (Is. xxxii. 20), pre-

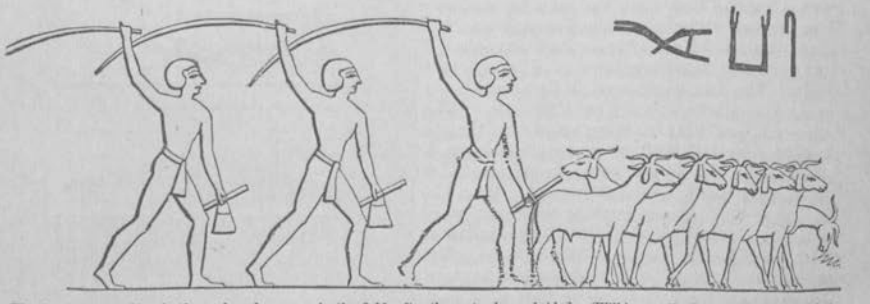


Fig. 3.—Goats treading in the grain, when sown in the field, after the water has subsided. (Wilkinson, *Tombs*, near the Pyramids.) The hieroglyphic word above, *sk* or *shat*, signifies "tillage," and is followed by the demonstrative sign, a plough.

pared the soil for the sowing (Ps. lxv. 10, 11), as may be inferred from the prohibition to irrigate till the gleaning was over, lest the poor should suffer (*Peah*, v. 3); and such sowing often took place *without* previous ploughing, the seed, as in the parable of the sower, being scattered broadcast, and ploughed in *afterwards*, the roots of the late crop being so far decayed as to serve for manure (Fellows, *Asia Minor*, p. 72). The regulation declaring "any sowing seed which is to be sown" clean, although a carcase came in contact with it, refers to the dryness of seed kept for that purpose; as is plain from the context, declaring seed which has been wetted to be, under the same circumstances, "unclean" (Lev. xi. 37, 38). There may be a reference here to the fact that wheat was sown in wetted furrows (Jahn, *Archaeol.* i. p. 361; cf. Ps. lxv. 10). The soil was then brushed over with a light harrow, often of thorn bushes. In highly irrigated spots the seed was trampled in by cattle (Is. xxxii. 20), as in Egypt by goats (see fig. 3). Sometimes, however, the

[d] Also מַלְמָד, Judges iii. 31, the weapon of Shamgar. We may conjecture this to have been longer as having a further function in guiding (לָמַד) the cattle (cf. Wisd. xxxviii. 25), and therefore analogous to a spear. But דָּרְבָּן is the more common word (1 Sam. xiii. 21; Eccles. xii. 11 plur.; cp. Acts ix. 5, xxvi. 14).

[e] The text here is suspicious.

[f] In Hos. x. 11 is a figurative passage, "I will put Ephraim in the wain, Judah shall plough, Jacob shall harrow for himself," where A. V. has wrongly, "I will make Ephraim to ride" [R. V. "I will set a rider on Ephraim"]. The reference is clearly to a beast fastened to the plough.

sowing was by patches only in well-manured spots, a field so treated being called מְנֻמָּר, der. נָמֵר, *pardus*, from its spotted appearance, as shown in the accompanying drawing by Surenhusius to illustrate the Mishna. Where the soil was heavier, the ploughing was best done dry ("dum sicca tellure licet," Virg. *Georg.* i. 214); and there, though not generally, the *sarritio* (עִדּוּר, der. עָדַר, to cleanse), and even the *linatio* of Roman husbandry, performed with *tabulae* affixed to the sides of the share, might be useful. But the more formal routine of heavy Western soils must not be made the standard of such a naturally fine tilth as that of Palestine generally. "Sunt enim regionum propria munera, sicut Aegypti et Africae, in quibus agricola post sementem ante messem segetem non attingit . . . in iis autem locis ubi *desideratur sarritio*," &c. (Columella, ii. 2.) The phrases "furrows of her plantation . . . furrows where it grew" (Ezek. xvii. 7, 10) are misleading. עֲרֻגוֹת, rendered here by A. V. "furrows," means either "raised beds," or, more probably (Gesen. *s. v.*), "espaliers." During the rains, if not too heavy, or between their showers, would be the best time for these operations; thus seventy days before the Passover was the time prescribed for sowing for the "wave-sheaf," and probably, therefore, for that of barley generally. The oxen were urged on by a goad like a spear (see above, fig. 1 *f*, and note [d]). The custom of watching ripening crops and threshing-floors against theft or damage (Robinson, i. 490; ii. 18, 83, 99) is certainly ancient (Job xxvii. 18; Is. i. 8) [CUCUMBERS]. Thus the besieging host are compared to the "keepers of a field . . . round about" the city to watch it (Jer. iv. 17). The "cottage," the "removal" of which is a type of rapid effacement in Is. xxiv. 20, is probably a field-bed or hammock for such a keeper (Delitzsch, in loco). Thus Boaz slept in the floor "at the end of the heap of corn," עֲרֵמָה, made by depositing thereon the sheaves or shocks from the harvest field (Ruth iii. 4, 7). Barley ripened a week or two before wheat, and as fine harvest weather was certain (Prov. xxvi. 1; 1 Sam. xii. 17; Amos iv. 7), the crop chiefly varied with the quantity of timely rain. The period of harvest must always have differed according to elevation, aspect, &c. (Robinson, i. 430, 551). The proportion of harvest gathered to seed sown was often vast: a hundred-fold is mentioned, but in such a way as to signify that it was a limit rarely attained (Gen. xxvi. 12; Matt. xiii. 8). These natural tendencies were counteracted by seasons of drought which utterly prostrated for a while the energies of the people [FAMINE]. These, with their results, are often described in pathetic passages by the prophets (Jer. xiv. 2–6, *et al.*). A withering effect is also ascribed to the wind from the desert, or east wind (Gen. xli. 6; Is. xxi. 1; Ezek. xix. 12; Hos. xiii. 15). A variety of insect plagues, some threatened in Deut. xxviii. 38, 39, and fully realised in the descriptions of subsequent prophets, caused at times such fearful ravages as to paralyse agriculture for a time [CATERPILLAR; LOCUST; PALMERWORM]. Amos iv. 9 briefly touches this, but the *locus classicus* is Joel i. ii. The fig-tree white and bare of bark, the field wasted, the land mourning, the beasts groaning, the thick cloud of insect swarms darkening the sky, are some of his details. Besides these, some more occult agency rots the seed in the barns, withers the corn, and sears the pastures with flame, thus completing the picture of destruction from the Almighty, and of human misery in consequence.

Fig. 4.—Corn-growing in patches. (Surenhusius.)

The rotation of crops, familiar to the Egyptians, can hardly have been unknown to the Hebrews. Sowing a field with divers seeds was forbidden (Deut. xxii. 9), and minute directions are given by the Rabbis for arranging a seeded surface with great variety, yet avoiding juxtaposition of *heterogenea*. Such arrangements are shown in the annexed drawings. Three furrows' interval was the prescribed margin (*Celaim*, ii. 6). The blank spaces in fig. 5, *a* and *b*, represent such margins, tapering to save ground. In a vine-

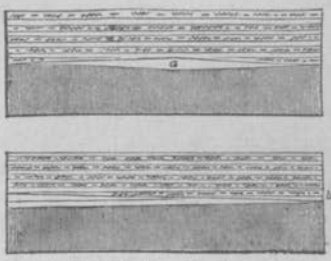


Fig. 5.—Sowing. (Surenhusius.)

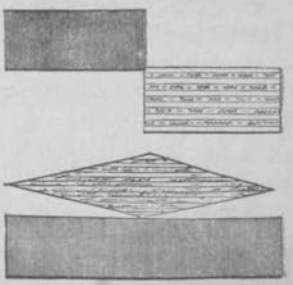


Fig. 6.—Sowing. (Surenhusius.)

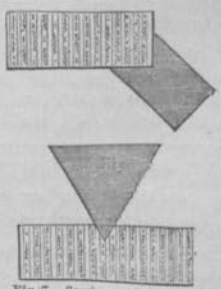


Fig. 7.—Sowing. (Surenhusius.)

yard wide spaces were often left between the vines, for whose roots a radius of four cubits was allowed, and the rest of the space cropped: so herb-gardens stood in the midst of vineyards

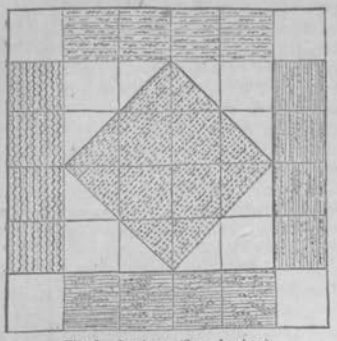


Fig. 8.—Sowing. (Surenhusius.)

(*Peah*, v. 5). Fig. 9 shows a corn-field with olives about and amidst it. Such an arrangement was probably that of the Philistine field, into which Samson sent his "foxes," which "burnt up both

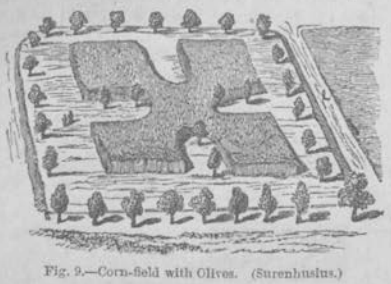


Fig. 9.—Corn-field with Olives. (Surenhusius.)

the shocks and also the standing corn with the vineyards and olives" (Judg. xv. 5).[g]

The wheat, &c., was reaped by the sickle, or the ears merely were gathered by hand (so

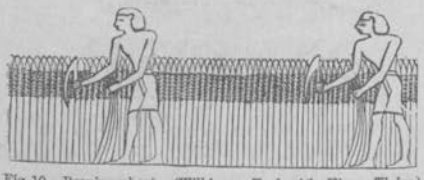


Fig. 10.—Reaping wheat. (Wilkinson, *Tombs of the Kings—Thebes.*)

"reapeth the ears with *his arm*," Is. xvii. 5) in the "Picenian" method (Job xxiv. 24; Varr. *de Re Rust.* i. 50); or the stalk was cut in our

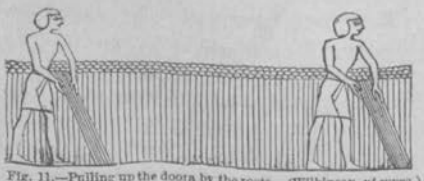


Fig. 11.—Pulling up the doora by the roots. (Wilkinson, *ut supra.*)

[g] The expression "as a torch of fire in a sheaf" (Zech. xii. 6) is perhaps an allusion to this, as an image of wholesale havoc; see Exod. xxii. 6, where damages against such mischief are decreed.

method, or the plant was pulled from the roots (*Peah*, v. 10). Unless the first method was followed, it was bound in sheaves—a process prominent in Scripture, and described by peculiar words, אֻלֵּם and עֳמֶר, the sheaf itself being אֲלֻמָּה (Ps. cxxvi. 6) or עֹמֶר (Lev. xxiii. 10), and a shock or pile of such גָּדִישׁ (Job v. 26),

Fig. 12.—Reaping. (Surenhusius.)

whereas the standing corn is קָמָה (Ex. xxii. 5) —or heaped, לקובעות, in the form of a helmet, or לכומסאות of a turban (of which, however, see another explanation, Buxt. *Lex.* s. v. כומסות), or לחררה of a cake. Thus the "heap" of "harvest" is a familiar image (Is. xvii. 11). But the "heaps in the furrows of the field" to which "altars" are compared (Hos. xii. 11) are wholly different, being heaps of *stones*, and the point of the comparison their frequency—they stand as thick about the country as the stone-heaps, when stones are gathered from the furrows. The sheaves or heaps were carted (Amos ii. 13) to the floor—a

Fig. 13.—Threshing-floor. The oxen driven round the heap contrary to the usual custom. (Wilkinson, *Thebes.*)

circular spot of hard ground, probably, as now, from 50 to 80 or 100 feet in diameter. Such floors were probably permanent, and became well-known spots (Gen. l. 10, 11; 2 Sam. xxiv. 16, 18). On these the oxen, &c., forbidden to be muzzled (Deut. xxv. 4), trampled out the grain, as we find represented in the Egyptian monuments. Lighter grains were threshed[h] with a flail or switch (Is. xxviii. 27), and so Gideon treated his wheat, being unable to resort to the floor as usual for fear of hostile violence (Judg. vi. 11); and so Ruth treated her barley (Ruth ii. 17). At a later time, perhaps in the agricultural progress under king Uzziah, who loved husbandry (2 Ch. xxvi. 10), the Jews used a threshing sledge called *Morag* (Is. xli. 15; 2 Sam. xxiv. 22; 1 Ch. xxi. 23), probably re-

[h] The same word, חָבַט, is used for knocking fruit off a tree (Deut. xxiv. 20; Is. xxvii. 12).

sembling the *nôreg*, still employed in Egypt (Wilkinson, i. 408, ii. 421, 423)—a stage with

Fig. 14.—Threshing Instrument. (From Fellows's *Asia Minor*.)

three rollers ridged with iron, which, aided by the driver's weight, crushed out, often injuring,

Fig. 15.—The *Noreg*, a machine used by the modern Egyptians for threshing Corn.

the grain, as well as cut or tore the straw, which thus became fit for fodder. It appears to have been similar to the Roman *tribulum* and the *plostellum Poenicum* (Varr. *de R. R.* i. 52). The passage Is. xxviii. 24 *sq.* is worth noting. The Prophet's parable is couched in imagery so precise as to instruct us in the facts. Intelligence working with a purpose, following a method and avoiding excess, is the lesson taught, and ascribed to a divine source. Thus sowing is the end of ploughing, which opens the soil and breaks its clods. The surface is levelled, and each seed comes in order, the finer first, the heavier after, wheat in rows, barley in the appointed spot, spelt in the border.[i] In threshing a like discretion prevails. The heavy-armed sledge and waggon wheel[k] and horses would crush the lighter grains, and, if applied too long, would be fatal to corn also. This is the only instance of the scriptural mention of "horses" ("horsemen," A. V.; "horses," R. V.) in a purely agricultural process. The wheeled carriage as used for threshing supplies an image in Prov. xx. 26, "He bringeth the wheel over them." Barley was sometimes soaked and then parched before treading out, which got rid of the pellicle of the grain (see further the *Antiquitates Triturae*, Ugolini, vol. 29). The culture of flax for linen garments, &c., was already familiar to the Israelites in Egypt before the Exodus, and was a staple of Palestine at the time of their invading it. The working the yarn, &c., was a point of housewifery (Ex. ix. 31; Jos. ii. 6; Prov. xxxi. 13).

The use of animal manure is proved frequent by such recurring expressions as "dung on the face of the earth, field," &c. (Ps. lxxxiii. 10; 2 K. ix. 37; Jer. viii. 2, &c.). [DUNG.] A rabbi limits the quantity to three heaps of ten hall-cors, or about 380 gallons to each סְאָה of grain (= ⅓ of ephah, Gesen.), and wishes the quantity in each heap, rather than their num-

3. 2. 1.

Fig. 16.—Treading out the grain by oxen, and winnowing. 1. Raking up the ears to the centre. 2. The driver. 3. Winnowing with wooden shovels. (Wilkinson, *Thebes*.)

ber, to be increased if the field be large (*Schevioth*, cap. iii. 2). We learn also from Is. xxv. 10, 11, the existence of a midden with a tank for liquid manure. Nor was the great usefulness of sheep to the soil unrecognised (*Schev.* iii. 4), though, owing to the general distinctness of the pastoral life, there was less scope for it. Vegetable ashes, burnt stubble, &c. were also used; and the regulation for compensation in case of fire destroying a neighbour's produce (Ex. xxii. 6) probably has in view the firing a surface, to burn thorns and similar refuse.

The "shovel" and "fan" (רַחַת and מִזְרֶה, Is. xxx. 24, the difference between which is pre-

[i] For the obscure words יְשׁוּרָה, here applied to wheat, and גִּסְמִין to barley, see Gesen. *s. vv.* The latter cannot grammatically be an epithet. Some have taken it for "millet"; but it is perhaps best taken in adverbial apposition, "as appointed," with reference to the space allotted. See Cheyne, *l. c.*

[k] The proper word for a chariot wheel, as in Exod. xiv. 25, is used here in v. 27; in v. 28 the more general word, used also for water-wheels, &c.

served to the present day) indicate the process of winnowing—a conspicuous part of ancient husbandry (Ps. xxxv. 5; Job xxi. 18; Is. xvii. 13), and important owing to the slovenly threshing. Evening was the favourite time (Ruth iii. 2) when there was mostly a breeze. The "wind from the wilderness," *i.e.* dry, was favourable to the same purpose[1] (Jer. iv. 11). The מִזְרֶה (זָרָה, to scatter) = *πτύον* (Matt. iii. 12; Hom. *Iliad*, xviii. 588), was the midrâ or fork with six prongs; while the רַחַת (akin to רוּחַ?) was the shovel which threw the grain up against the wind (see Wetzstein in Delitzsch, *Jesaia*,[2] p. 707 ff. Cp. however on רחת Delitzsch, *Jes.*[4] p. 337, *note*). The heap of produce rendered in rent was sometimes customarily so large as to cover the רַחַת (*Bava Metzia*, ix. 2). So the *πτύον* was a corn-measure in Cyprus, and the *δίπτυον* = ½ a *μέδιμνος* (Liddell and Scott, *Lex.* s. v. *πτύον*). The last process was the shaking in a sieve, בְּבָרָה, *cribrum*, to separate dirt and refuse (Is. xxx. 28; Amos ix. 9; cf. Luke xxii. 31).

The words rendered "barn," "storehouse," "garner" in A. V., sometimes denote structures raised on the surface (Luke xii. 18), but very often subterranean repositories excavated in the rock, &c. This gives great profundity to the image of Ps. xxxiii. 7, "He layeth up the depth in storehouses." Such is probably the explanation of Jer. xli. 8, where Ishmael's prisoners were, "We have treasures in the field, of wheat, &c." The same word occurs in Job iii. 21, "who dig for it more than for hid treasures." They were so hidden that without guidance no stranger could find them; in short, a *cache* is intended. Hence the prisoners virtually offer to show them, and thus to ransom themselves. In the *Speaker's Commentary*, "O my mountain *in* the field" is supposed to refer to Jerusalem. Thus it is said of Babylon, "Open her storehouses, cast her up *as heaps*," the "heaps" of corn (Hag. ii. 16) flung forth of such receptacles supplying the image (Jer. l. 26). Such were made in abundance by Hezekiah (2 Ch. xxxii. 28). Seed corn was so stored; cp. "Is the seed yet in the barn?" (Hag. ii. 19), *i.e.* unsown. In Joel i. 17, "The barns are broken down," probably in the husbandman's despair at the complete havoc described. Fields and floors were not commonly enclosed; vineyards mostly were, with a tower and other buildings (Num. xxii. 24; Ps. lxxx. 12; Is. v. 5; Matt. xxi. 33; comp. Judg. vi. 11). Banks of mud from ditches were also used.

Fruit gardens, fruit trees, and orchards are often mentioned, but few kinds of fruits are named. Besides the fig, olive, and vine, there occur apple-trees (so called, but see APPLES), pomegranates, palms (*i.e.* date palms; cf. Bethany, "House of dates"), mulberries (2 Sam. v. 23, 24; 1 Mac. vi. 34), pistachio-nut, walnut (Gen. xliii. 11; Cant. vi. 11), and almond; also melons in Egypt (Num. xi. 5), and various kinds of spices (Cant. iv. 13, 14). "Gardens and orchards" are mentioned specially among royal delights (Eccles. ii. 5). We have also summer fruits spoken of (Is. xvi. 9; *Amos* viii. 2; Mic. vii. 1); but the precise kinds intended by this general term are uncertain [GARDEN]. In Is. xvii. 10 "plantations of delights" (A. V. "pleasant plants;" R. V. marg. "plantings of Adonis") seem to correspond to old English "pleasaunces," and propagation by slips seems intended by the context. There is no mention of grafting in the O. T., and the reference to it in Rom. xi. 17 *sq.* is perhaps due to later influences.

With regard to occupancy, a tenant might pay a fixed moneyed rent (Cant. viii. 11), in which case he was called שׂוֹכֵר, and was compellable to keep the ground in good order; or a stipulated share of the fruits (2 Sam. ix. 10; Matt. xxi. 34), often a *half or a third*: Joseph in Egypt appointed a fifth (Gen. xlvii. 24, 26): but local custom was the only rule: in this case he was called מְקַבֵּל, and was more protected, the owner sharing the loss of a short or spoilt crop; so, in case of locusts, blight, &c., the year's rent was to be abated; or he might receive such share as a salary—an inferior position—when the term which described him was חוֹכֵר. It was forbidden to sow flax during a short occupancy (hence leases for terms of years would seem to have been common), lest the soil should be unduly exhausted (comp. Virg. *Georg.* i. 77). A passer-by might eat any quantity of corn or grapes, but not reap or carry off fruit (Deut. xxiii. 24, 25; Matt. xii. 1). The "burdens of wheat," taken from the poor (Amos v. 11), should be rendered "the tax of wheat." Tyre was a large customer of Judah for wheat (Ezek. xxvii. 17; Acts xii. 20) [MINNITH]. There was a corn market of course in Jerusalem, and most important cities, &c. (Amos viii. 5), and its tradesmen's misdeeds are denounced; see also Neh. xiii. 15.

The rights of the corner to be left, and of gleaning [CORNER; GLEANING], formed the poor man's claim on the soil for support. For his benefit, too, a sheaf forgotten in carrying to the floor was to be left; so also with regard to the vineyard and the olive-grove (Lev. xix. 9, 10; Deut. xxiv. 19). Besides, there seems a probability that every third year a second tithe, besides the priests', was paid for the poor (Deut. xiv. 28, xxvi. 12; Amos iv. 4; Tob. i. 7; Joseph. *Ant.* iv. 8). On this doubtful point of the poor man's tithe (מעשר עני) see a learned note by Surenhusius, *ad Peah*, viii. 2. These rights, in case two poor men were partners in occupancy, might be conveyed by each to the other for half the field, and thus be retained between them (Maimon. *ad Peah*, v. 5). Sometimes a charitable owner declared his ground common, when its fruits, as those of the sabbatical year, went to the poor [SABBATH]. For three years the fruit of newly-planted trees was deemed uncircumcised and forbidden; in the fourth it was holy, as first-fruits; in the fifth it might be ordinarily eaten (Mishna, *Arlah*, passim). Probably three years would mostly be needed for the maturation of the tree to the fruit-bearing point. The planter of a vineyard would thus, according to Deut. xx. 6, be for four years exempt from military service [VINEYARD]. For the various classical analogies, see *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq.* s. v. [H. H.]

[1] Thus the residuum of empty husks and chaff becomes an image of vacant desolation; and "fanners which shall fan" are threatened against Babylon (Jer. li. 2.)

AGRIPPA. [HEROD.]

A'GUR (אָגוּר, MV.[10] = *collector*: LXX. om.; *Congregans*). The son of Jakeh, an unknown Hebrew sage, who uttered or collected the sayings of wisdom recorded in Prov. xxx. Ewald attributes to him the authorship of Prov. xxx. 1–xxxi. 9, in consequence of the similarity of style exhibited in the three sections therein contained; and assigns as his date a period not earlier than the end of the 7th or beginning of the 6th cent. B.C. Delitzsch assigns Prov. xxx., xxxi. to the same person who made the great Hezekian collection. The Rabbis, according to Rashi, and Jerome after them, interpreted the name symbolically of Solomon, who "collected understanding" (from אָגַר, *ágar*, he gathered), and is elsewhere called "Koheleth." Others render Prov. xxx. 1 as follows:—"The words of Agur, the son of Jakeh, of (the country of) Massa" (Delitzsch = Mesha, see Gen. x. 30). Hence Bunsen (*Bibelwerk*, i. p. clxxviii.) contended that Agur was an inhabitant of Massa, and probably a descendant of one of the 500 Simeonites, who, in the reign of Hezekiah, drove out the Amalekites from Mount Seir. Hitzig goes further, and makes him the son of the queen of Massa (which he places in N. Arabia, Mühlau in the Hauran) and brother of Lemuel (*Die Sprüche Sal.* p. 311, ed. 1858). The names Agur and Jakeh do not occur elsewhere, and some have thought them pseudonyms. In Castellus's *Lex. Heptag.* we find the Syriac word ܐܓܘܪܐ, *ágúró*, defined as signifying "one who applies himself to the studies of wisdom," which may be better rendered "the hireling of wisdom" (Payne Smith, *Thes. Syr.* col. 25), from the Syriac sense of ܐܓܪܐ, "a reward." Hence may have been derived a traditional interpretation of the proper name Agur. Much discussion on the questions connected with this verse and section of the Proverbs will be found in Mühlau, *De prorv. Aguri et Lem. origine* (1869); Delitzsch, art. "Sprüche Salomos," in Herzog, *RE.*[2], and Cheyne, *Job and Solomon*, pp. 149, 170. [W. A. W.] [F.]

A'HAB (אַחְאָב, MV.[10] = *father's brother*, comparison being made with a similar juxtaposition in Syriac names, *e.g.* ܐܚܝܨܒ, which Bar-Hebr. explains as due to great likeness to his father; cp. Nestle, *Die Israelitischen Eigennamen*, p. 187, n. 1: Ἀχαάβ; *Achab*), son of Omri, seventh king of the separate kingdom of Israel, and second of his dynasty. The great lesson which we learn from his life is the depth of wickedness into which a weak man may fall, even though not devoid of good feelings and amiable impulses, when he abandons himself to the guidance of another person, resolute, unscrupulous, and depraved. The cause of his ruin was his marriage with Jezebel, daughter of Ethbaal, or Ithobaal, king of Tyre, who had been priest of Astarte, but had usurped the throne of his brother Phalles (compare Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 13, 2, with *c. Apion.* i. 18). If she resembles the Lady Macbeth of our great dramatist, Ahab has hardly Macbeth's energy and determination, though he was probably by nature a better man. We have a comparatively full account of Ahab's reign, because it was distinguished by the ministry of the great prophet Elijah, who was brought into direct collision with Jezebel, when she ventured to introduce into Israel the impure worship of Baal and her father's goddess Astarte. In obedience to her wishes, Ahab caused temples to be built to Baal and "the Asherah" in Samaria itself (1 K. xvi. 32, 33, R. V.). With a fixed determination to extirpate the true religion, Jezebel hunted down and put to death God's prophets, some of whom were concealed in caves by Obadiah, the governor of Ahab's house; while the Phoenician rites were carried on with such splendour, that we read of 450 prophets of Baal and 400 of Asherah (see 1 K. xviii. 19, where the A. V. follows the LXX. in erroneously substituting "the groves" for the proper name "the Asherah" [R. V.], as again in 2 K. xxi. 7, xxiii. 6; where R. V. has in both places Asherah). [ASHERAH.] How the worship of God was restored, and the idolatrous priests slain, in consequence of "a sore famine in Samaria," will be more properly related under the article ELIJAH. But heathenism and persecution were not the only crimes into which Jezebel led her yielding husband. One of his chief tastes was for splendid architecture, which he showed by building an ivory house and several cities, and also by ordering the restoration and fortification of Jericho, which seems to have belonged to Israel, and not to Judah, as it is said to have been rebuilt in the days of *Ahab*, rather than in those of the contemporary king of Judah, Jehoshaphat (1 K. xvi. 34). But the place in which he chiefly indulged this passion was the beautiful city of Jezreel (now *Zerin*), in the plain of Esdraelon, which he adorned with a palace and park for his own residence, though Samaria remained the capital of his kingdom, Jezreel standing in the same relation to it as the Versailles of the old French monarchy to Paris (Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 244). Desiring to add to his pleasure-grounds there the vineyard of his neighbour Naboth, he proposed to buy it or give land in exchange for it; and when this was refused by Naboth, in accordance with the Mosaic law, on the ground that the vineyard was "the inheritance of his fathers" (Lev. xxv. 23), a false accusation of blasphemy was brought against him, and not only was he himself stoned to death, but his sons also, as we learn from 2 K. ix. 26. Elijah, already the great vindicator of religion, now appeared as the assertor of morality, and declared that the entire extirpation of Ahab's house was the penalty appointed for his long course of wickedness, now crowned by this atrocious crime. The execution, however, of this sentence was delayed in consequence of Ahab's deep repentance. The remaining part of the First Book of Kings is occupied by an account of the Syrian wars, which some think was originally contained in the last two chapters. It is thought more natural to place the 20th chapter after the 21st, and so bring the whole history of these wars together, than to interrupt the narrative by interposing the story of Naboth between the 20th and 22nd, especially as the beginning of the 22nd seems to follow naturally from the end of the 20th. And this arrangement is found in the LXX. [B.; A. follows the order of the Heb.] and is confirmed by the narrative of Josephus.

We read of three campaigns which Ahab undertook against Benhadad II., king of Damascus, two defensive and one offensive. In the first, Benhadad laid siege to Samaria, and Ahab, encouraged by the patriotic counsels of God's prophets, who, next to the true religion, valued most deeply the independence of His chosen people, made a sudden attack on him whilst in the plenitude of arrogant confidence he was banqueting in his tent with his thirty-two vassal kings. The Syrians were totally routed, and fled to Damascus. Next year Benhadad, believing that his failure was owing to some peculiar power which the God of Israel exercised over the hills, invaded Israel by way of Aphek, on the E. of Jordan (Stanley, *S. & P.* App. § 6. See APHEK, 5). Ahab's fresh victory was so complete that Benhadad himself fell into his hands; but was released (contrary to the will of God as announced by a prophet) on condition of restoring all the cities of Israel which he held, and making "streets" for Ahab in Damascus (confirmed by the inscriptions; see Schrader, *KAT.*[2] p. 199); that is, admitting into his capital permanent Hebrew commissioners, in an independent position, with special dwellings for themselves and their retinues, to watch over the commercial and political interests of Ahab and his subjects. This was apparently in retaliation for a similar privilege exacted by Benhadad's predecessor from Omri in respect to Samaria (1 K. xx. 34). After this great success Ahab enjoyed peace for three years, and it is difficult to account exactly for the third outbreak of hostilities, which in Kings is briefly attributed to an attack made by Ahab on Ramoth in Gilead on the east of Jordan, in conjunction with Jehoshaphat king of Judah, which town he claimed as belonging to Israel. But if Ramoth was one of the cities which Benhadad agreed to restore, why did Ahab wait for three years to enforce the fulfilment of the treaty? From this difficulty, and the extreme bitterness shown by Benhadad against Ahab personally (1 K. xxii. 31), it seems probable that this was not the case (or at all events that the Syrians did not so understand the treaty), but that Ahab, now strengthened by Jehoshaphat, who must have felt keenly the paramount importance of crippling the power of Syria, originated the war by assaulting Ramoth without any immediate provocation. In any case, God's blessing did not rest on the expedition, and Ahab was told by the prophet Micaiah that it would fail, and that the prophets who advised it were hurrying him to his ruin. For giving this warning Micaiah was imprisoned; but Ahab was so far roused by it as to take the precaution of disguising himself, so as not to offer a conspicuous mark to the archers of Benhadad. But he was slain by a "certain man who drew a bow at a venture;" and, though stayed up in his chariot for a time, he died towards evening, and his army dispersed. When he was brought to be buried in Samaria, the dogs licked up his blood as a servant was washing his chariot (1 K. xxii. 37, 38: see R. V.); a partial fulfilment of Elijah's prediction (1 K. xxi. 19), which was more literally accomplished in the case of his son (2 K. ix. 26). Josephus, however, substitutes Jezreel for Samaria in the former passage (*Ant.* viii. 15, 6). The date of Ahab's accession is, according to the old chronology, 919 B.C.; of his death, B.C. 897. Schrader, Wellhausen, and others, correcting the dates by the Assyrian monuments, place his reign between B.C. 874–854. These monuments supplement the Biblical narrative by recording one very important event. From an inscription engraved by Shalmaneser (II.) on the rocks of Armenia, it would seem that in the campaign of the sixth year (B.C. 854) of this Assyrian monarch, a battle was fought at Karkar against twelve (? eleven) allied kings. Amongst the allies were Ahab of Israel and Hadadezer (Benhadad) of Damascus. Such an alliance was a natural result of the covenant between Syria and Israel, followed by the three years' peace (1 K. xx. 34, xxii. 1). The inscription records a complete defeat of the allies; and, if the numbers can be trusted, Benhadad's loss in men and material was greater than Ahab's. Perhaps this may not have been without its influence in inducing Ahab to put an end to the alliance and "entice" (2 Ch. xviii. 2; R. V. "move") Jehoshaphat to join forces with him and make an united attack on Ramoth-gilead. See Schrader, *KAT.*[2] pp. 193–200; *Zeitschr. f. Keilschriften*, ii. 365–384; Sayce, *Fresh Light from the Ancient Monuments*, p. 101, &c.; *Records of the Past*, iii. 99; Tiele, *Bab.-Assyr. Geschichte*, p. 200; Hommel, *Gesch. Bab.-Assyr.* p. 608; *Hebraica*, iii. 2014. Klostermann (in Strack u. Zöckler's *Kgf. Komm.*—'Chronologie d. Königsbücher,' p. 496) appears to be alone in denying that the 'Ahabbu mentioned in the Inscriptions as defeated at Karkar is the Ahab of Israel, and places his reign in B.C. 910–889.

Some critics allow but little merit to some of the Biblical records of Ahab's life, and by no means accept the usual estimate of his character or of Elijah's work (cp. Bleek-Wellhausen, *Einleitung*[4] in *d. A. T.* pp. 245, &c.; Wellhausen, *Geschichte Israels*, i. pp. 302–6; Stade, *Gesch. d. Volkes Israel*, i. p. 522, &c.). Thus, the sections dealing with Elijah and Naboth (chaps. xvii.–xix. xxi.) are considered to be largely affected by legends circulating about the prophet, to be marked by strong partisanship against Ahab, and to be reputed unhistorical on account of the miracles which they record. Further, the sections dealing with Ahab and Benhadad (ch. xx.), and with Ahab's death (ch. xxii.), are said to be marked by interpolations; though these are not of a character to discredit the general trustworthiness of the narrative. Many of these criticisms are met by Edersheim, *History of Judah and Israel*, v. 176, vi. 1–58.

The Rabbinical conceptions of Ahab, often very curious, will be found summed up in Hamburger, *RE.*[2] s. n.

2. אַחְאָב and אַחְאָב; Ἀχιάβ; *Achab.* The son of Kolaiah, and a lying prophet, who deceived the Israelites in Babylon, and was burnt to death by Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. xxix. 21). [G. E. L. C.] [F.]

AH'ARAH (אַחֲרַח, Ges. suggests אַחֲרֵאת, *post fratrem*; MV.[16] an abbreviation of AHARHEL; etym. is uncertain: A. Ἀαρά, B. Ἰαφαήλ: *Ahara*). The third son of Benjamin (1 Ch. viii. 1). See AHER, AHIRAM. [W. A. W.] [F.]

AHAR'HEL (אַחַרְחֵל, Ges. = *behind a fortress-wall* [cp. Olshausen, *Lehrb.* p. 164]; ἀδελφὸς Ῥηχάβ; *Aharghel*). A name occurring in an

obscure fragment of the genealogies of Judah (1 Ch. iv. 8). "The families of Aharhel" apparently traced their descent through Coz to Ashur, the posthumous son of Hezron. The Targum of R. Joseph on Chronicles (*l. c.*) identifies him with "Hur the firstborn of Miriam." The LXX. (ἀδελφοῦ Ῥηχάβ) appear to have read אחי רחב, "brother of Rechab." [W. A. W.] [F.]

AHASA'I (אֲחַזַי, MV.[10] an abbreviation for אֲחַזְיָה; om. in LXX., א.[3] Ἀζαχιός; *Ahazi*). A priest, ancestor of Amashai (Neh. xi. 13), called JAHZERAH in 1 Ch. ix. 12. [W. A. W.] [F.]

AHASBAI (אַחַסְבַּי, of uncertain etym.; MV.[10] = contr. from אֶחֱסֶה בְיָהּ, *I will take refuge in Jah*: B. ὁ Ἀσβείης, A. ὁ Αἰτουέ: *Aasbai*), the father of Eliphelet, one of David's thirty-seven captains (2 Sam. xxiii. 34). The name is suspicious, perhaps corrupt; cp. Driver, *Notes on Samuel* in loco; and cp. the very different names in 1 Ch. xi. 35. The LXX. regarded the name Ahasbai as denoting not the father but the family of Eliphelet. [W. A. W.] [F.]

AHASHVE'ROSH, mentioned in the margin of Ezra iv. 6 (A. V. and R. V.) as the Hebrew form of AHASUERUS. [F.]

AHASUE'RUS (אֲחַשְׁוֵרוֹשׁ; Ἀσσούηρος, LXX., but Ἀσύηρος, Tob. xiv. 15, A. V.; *Assuerus*, Vulg.), the name of one Median and two Persian kings mentioned in the Old Testament. It may be desirable to prefix to this article a chronological table of the Medo-Persian kings from Cyaxares to Artaxerxes Longimanus, according to their ordinary classical names. The Scriptural names conjectured to correspond to them and ARTAXERXES are in some cases added in italics.

1. Cyaxares, king of Media, son of Phraortes, grandson of Deioces and conqueror of Nineveh, began to reign B.C. 634. *Ahasuerus.*

2. Astyages his son, last king of Media, B.C. 594.

3. Cyrus, son of his daughter Mandane and Cambyses, a Persian noble, first king of Persia, 559. *Cyrus.*

4. Cambyses his son, 529. *Ahasuerus.*

5. A Magian usurper, who personates Smerdis, the younger son of Cyrus, 521. *Artaxerxes.*

6. Darius Hystaspis, raised to the throne on the overthrow of the Magi, 521. *Darius.*

7. Xerxes, his son, 485. *Ahasuerus.*

8. Artaxerxes Longimanus (Macrocheir), his son, 465–495. *Artaxerxes.*

The name Ahasuerus or Achashverosh is, according to Schrader (*KAT.*[2] p. 375), written on the Persian inscriptions *Khšajâršâ*,—a name, according to MV.[10], compounded from *kshaja*= kingdom and *ârshâ*=eye (Burnouf). Schrader and MV.[10] take A. to be the Hebrew form of the name Xerxes. It is written in Aramaic חשיארש (without א prosthetic, Schrader, *KAT.*[2] p. 615), on the beautiful stele of Sakḳarah from Egypt, in his 4th year (see *Facsimiles of MSS. and Inscriptions*, Pl. lxiii. Palæographical Soc., Oriental Series). Herod. (vi. 98) explains Xerxes to mean ἀρηΐος, a signification sufficiently near that of *king*.

1. In Dan. ix. 1, Ahasuerus is said to be the father of Darius the Mede. With many Cyaxares is a form of Ahasuerus, grecised into Axares with the prefix Cy- or Kai-, common to the Kaianian dynasty of kings (Malcolm's *Persia*, ch. iii.), with which may be compared Kai Khosroo, the Persian name of Cyrus. The son of this Cyaxares was Astyages, and it has been conjectured that Darius the Mede was Astyages, set over Babylon as viceroy by his grandson Cyrus, and allowed to live there in royal state (see Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. i. Essay iii. § 11). [DARIUS.] On this supposition Ahasuerus is Cyaxares, the conqueror of Nineveh. And in accordance with this view, we read in Tobit, xiv. 15, that Nineveh was taken by Nabuchodonosor (*i.e.* as crown-prince; see *Speaker's Commentary* on Tob. xiv. 4) and Assuerus, *i.e.* Cyaxares. This identification of Ahasuerus is not, however, universally admitted either in the passage of Dan. or of Tobit (see Schrader in Riehm's *HWB.* and Schultz in Herzog's *RE.*[2] s. n.), and in the opinion of many it is wisest to wait for further discovery or information.

2. In Ezra iv. 6, the enemies of the Jews, after the death of Cyrus, desirous to frustrate the building of Jerusalem, send accusations against them to Ahasuerus, king of Persia. Ewald thought that this king was Cambyses, arguing from *v.* 5 that the opposition to the Jews continued from the time of Cyrus to that of Darius, and that the Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes mentioned in *vv.* 6, 7 were names of Cambyses and the Pseudo-Smerdis, who reigned between them. This identification is also generally surrendered. Further, it is not necessary to consider the section Ezra iv. 6–23 episodical, or to preserve historical continuity by reading *v.* 24 immediately after *v.* 5 (see Sayce, *Introduction to Ezra*, &c., p. 22). The existing arrangement may very well stand, if *vv.* 6–23 be considered a summary statement of the principal relations between the enemies of the Jews and the Persian kings during the period extending beyond the days of Darius Hystaspis (cp. Bertheau-Ryssel,[2] *Esra, Nehemia, u. Ester*, p. 62; Oettli in Strack u. Zöckler's *Kgf. Komm.* on *Esra*, p. 161). Ahasuerus is then identified with Xerxes (No. 7. Cp. Schrader and Schultz, *ll. c.*), and with the Ahasuerus next to be considered.

3. The third is the Ahasuerus of the Book of Esther. It is needless to give more than the heads of the well-known story. Having divorced his queen Vashti for refusing to appear in public at a banquet, he married four years afterwards the Jewess Esther, cousin and ward of Mordecai. Five years after this, Haman, one of his counsellors, having been slighted by Mordecai, prevailed upon the king to order the destruction of all the Jews in the empire. But before the day appointed for the massacre, Esther and Mordecai overthrew the influence which Haman had exercised, and so completely changed the king's feelings in the matter, that they induced him to put Haman to death, and to give the Jews the right of self-defence. This they used so vigorously that they killed several thousands of their opponents. Now from the extent assigned to the Persian empire (Esth. i. 1), "from India even unto Ethiopia," it is proved that Darius Hystaspis is the earliest possible king to whom this history can apply, and it is hardly worth while to consider the claims of any after Artaxerxes Longimanus. But Ahasuerus cannot be identical

with Darius, whose wives were the daughters of Cyrus and Otanes, and who alike in name and character differs from that foolish tyrant. Neither can he be Artaxerxes Longimanus, although, as Artaxerxes is a compound of Xerxes, there is less difficulty here as to the name. But in the first place the character of Artaxerxes, as given by Plutarch and by Diodorus (xi. 71), is also very unlike that of Ahasuerus. Besides this, in Ezra vii. 1–7, 11–26, Artaxerxes, in the *seventh* year of his reign, issues a decree very favourable to the Jews, and it is therefore unlikely that in the *twelfth* (Esth. iii. 7) Haman could speak to him of them as if he knew nothing about them, and persuade him to sentence them to an indiscriminate massacre. We are therefore led to the belief, now generally accepted, that Ahasuerus is Xerxes (the names being, as we have seen, identical): and this conclusion is fortified by the resemblance of character (cp. Herod. vii. 35, 37, ix. 107; Justin, ii. 12; Spiegel, *Eranische Alterthumskunde*, ii. 577, &c.), and by certain chronological indications. As Xerxes scourged the sea, and put to death the engineers of his bridge, because their work was injured by a storm, so Ahasuerus repudiated his queen Vashti because she would not violate the decorum of her sex, and ordered the massacre of the whole Jewish people to gratify the malice of Haman. In the third year of the reign of Xerxes was held an assembly to arrange the Grecian war (Herod. vii. 7 ff.); in the third year of Ahasuerus was held a great feast and assembly in Shushan the palace (Esth. i. 3). In the seventh year of his reign Xerxes returned defeated from Greece, and consoled himself by the pleasures of the harem (Herod. ix. 108); in the seventh year of his reign "fair young virgins were sought" for Ahasuerus, and he replaced Vashti by marrying Esther. The tribute he "laid upon the land and upon the isles of the sea" (Esth. x. 1) may well have been the result of the expenditure and ruin of the Grecian expedition. Throughout the Book of Esther in the LXX. Ἀρταξέρξης is written for Ahasuerus, but on this no argument of weight can be founded. [G. E. L. C.] [F.]

A'HAVA (אַהֲוָא: in Ezra [2 Esd.] viii. 15, B. Εὐείμ, A. Εὐεί; in Ezra viii. 21, A. Ἀουέ, B. Θουέ; in Ezra viii. 31, B. Ἀουέ, AB.*vid Θουέ: *Ahava*), a place (Ezra viii. 15), or a river (נהר, viii. 25), on the banks of which Ezra collected the second expedition which returned with him from Babylon to Jerusalem. Various have been the conjectures as to its locality: *e.g.* Adiaba (Leclerc and Mannert); Abeh or Aveh (Hävernick, see Winer); the Great Zab (Rosenmüller, *Bib. Geogr.*). But the latest researches are in favour of its being the modern *Hit*, on the Euphrates, due east of Damascus, the name of which is known to have been in the post-biblical times Ihi, or Ihi dakira (Talm. יהיא דקירא), "the spring of bitumen." See Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, i. 316, note.

In the apocryphal Esdras (1 Esd. viii. 41, 61) the name is given Θερᾶς [B. omits in v. 41]; *Thia*. Josephus (*Ant.* xi. 5, § 2) merely says εἰς τὸ πέραν τοῦ Εὐφράτου. [G.] [W.]

A'HAZ (אָחָז, *possessor*; perhaps an abridgement or alteration of Jehoahaz, the Jauhazi of the Inscriptions [Schrader, *KAT.*² p. 263]: B. Ἀχάζ and Ἀχάς, A. Ἀχάζ and Ἀχαάζ; Joseph. Ἀχάζης: *Achaz*), eleventh king of Judah and son of Jotham, ascended the throne in the twentieth year of his age, according to 2 K. xvi. 2. But this must be a transcriber's error for the twenty-fifth, which number is found in one Hebrew MS., the LXX. [Lucian; BA. have 20], the Peshito, and Arabic Version of 2 Ch. xxviii. 1; for otherwise his son Hezekiah was born when he was eleven years old (so Clinton, *Fasti Hell.*, vol. i. p. 318). At the time of his accession, Rezin, king of Damascus, and Pekah, king of Israel, had recently formed a league against Judah, and they proceeded to lay siege to Jerusalem, intending to place on the throne Ben Tabeal, who was not a prince of the royal family of Judah, but probably a Syrian soldier of low origin (Gesenius). Upon this the great prophet Isaiah, full of zeal for God and patriotic loyalty to the house of David, hastened to give advice and encouragement to Ahaz, and it was probably owing to the spirit of energy and religious devotion which he poured into his counsels that the allies failed in their attack on Jerusalem. Thus much, together with anticipations of danger from the Assyrians, and a general picture of weakness and unfaithfulness both in the king and the people, we find in the famous prophecies of the 7th, 8th, and 9th chapters of Isaiah, in which he seeks to animate and support them by the promise of the Messiah. From 2 Ch. xxviii. we learn that the allies took a vast number of captives, who, however, were restored in virtue of the remonstrances of the prophet Oded; and from 2 K. xvi. that they also inflicted a most severe injury on Judah by the capture of Elath, a flourishing port on the Red Sea, in which, after expelling the Jews, they re-established the Edomites (according to Keri of 2 K. xvi. 6, אֲרוֹמִים [Ἰδουμαῖοι and Vulg.]. Further Ewald, Thenius, Stade, Edersheim, &c., conjecture לְאֲרָם for לַאֲרָם), who attacked and wasted the east part of Judah, while the Philistines invaded the west and south. The weak-minded and helpless Ahaz sought deliverance from these numerous troubles by appealing to Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, who freed him from his most formidable enemies by invading Syria, taking Damascus, killing Rezin, and depriving Israel of its Northern and Transjordanic districts. But Ahaz had to purchase this help at a costly price: he became tributary to Tiglath-pileser (so the Inscriptions, in which Ahaz = Jahuhazi; see Schrader, *KAT.*² p. 263), sent him all the treasures of the Temple and of his own palace, and even appeared before him in Damascus as a vassal. He also ventured to seek for safety in heathen ceremonies (2 K. xvi. 3, 4); making his son pass through the fire to Moloch, consulting wizards and necromancers (Is. viii. 19), sacrificing to the Syrian gods, introducing a foreign altar from Damascus, and probably the worship of the heavenly bodies from Assyria and Babylon, as he would seem to have set up the horses of the sun mentioned in 2 K. xxiii. 11 (cf. Tac. *Ann.* xii. 13); and "the altars on the top (or roof) of the upper chamber of Ahaz" (2 K. xxiii. 12) were connected with the Assyrian adoration of the stars. We see another and blameless result of this intercourse with an astronomical people in the "sundial of Ahaz," Is. xxxviii. 8. He died after a reign of sixteen years, lasting according to some B.C.

735–715, according to others B.C. 735 or 4–728. See CHRONOLOGY; Driver, *Isaiah, his Life and Times*, pp. 13, 14; Herzog, *RE.*² *Zeitrechnung*, p. 477. [G. E. L. C.] [F.]

2. A son of Micah, the grandson of Jonathan through Meribbaal or Mephibosheth (1 Ch. viii. 35, 36 [B. Ζάκ, A. Χαάζ], ix. 42 [B. Ἀχάζ, A. Χαάζ]). [W. A. W.] [F.]

AHAZI'AH (אֲחַזְיָה, אֲחַזְיָהוּ, *whom Jehovah sustains*; B. Ὀχοζείας, A. -τ-; *Ochozias*). **1.** Son of Ahab and Jezebel, and eighth king of Israel. After the battle of Ramoth in Gilead [AHAB] the Syrians had the command of the country along the east of Jordan, and they cut off all communication between the Israelites and Moabites, so that MESHA, the vassal king of Moab, refused his yearly tribute of 100,000 lambs and 100,000 rams with their wool (2 K. iii. 4, 5; cp. Is. xvi. 1), and "rebelled against the king of Israel." [On the war between Israel and Moab, and the supplement to the Biblical account furnished by "the Moabite stone," see Sayce, *Fresh Light from the Ancient Monuments*, p. 76, &c.] Before Ahaziah could take measures for enforcing his claim, he was seriously injured by a fall through a lattice in his palace at Samaria. In his health he had worshipped his mother's gods, and now he sent to inquire of the oracle of Baalzebub in the Philistine city of Ekron whether he should recover his health. But Elijah, who now for the last time exercised the prophetic office, rebuked him for this impiety, and announced to him his approaching death. He reigned two years; the date being dependent upon that adopted for the death of AHAB. The only other recorded transaction of his reign, his endeavour to join the king of Judah in trading to Ophir, is more fitly related under JEHOSHAPHAT (1 K. xxii. 50 ff.; 2 K. i.; 2 Ch. xx. 35 ff.).

2. Fifth king of Judah, son of Jehoram and Athaliah, daughter of Ahab, and therefore nephew of the preceding Ahaziah. He is called Azariah (2 Ch. xxii. 6), probably by a copyist's error, and Jehoahaz (2 Ch. xxi. 17), which is the same name as Ahaziah, the two words of which they are compounded being reversed. Ewald (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, iii. p. 525) thinks that his name was changed to Ahaziah on his accession, but the LXX. read Ὀχοζίας for Jehoahaz, and with this agree the Peshito, Chald., and Arabic. So, too, while in 2 K. viii. 26 we read that he was 22 years old at his accession, we find in 2 Ch. xxii. 2 that his age at that time was 42. The former number is certainly right, as in 2 Ch. xxi. 5, 20, we see that his father Jehoram was 40 when he died, which would make him younger than his own son. The LXX. of 2 Ch. xxii. 2 reads 20. Ahaziah was an idolater, "walking in all the ways of the house of Ahab," and he allied himself with his uncle Jehoram, king of Israel, brother and successor of the preceding Ahaziah, against Hazael, the new king of Syria. The two kings were successful at Ramoth (cp. 2 K. ix. 14), though Jehoram was so severely wounded that he retired to his mother's palace at Jezreel to be healed. The union between the uncle and nephew was so close that there was great danger lest heathenism should entirely overspread both the Hebrew kingdoms, but this was prevented by the great revolution carried out in Israel by Jehu under the guidance of Elisha, which involved the house of David in calamities only less severe than those which exterminated the house of Omri. It broke out while Ahaziah was visiting his uncle at Jezreel. As Jehu approached the town, Jehoram and Ahaziah went out to meet him, either from not suspecting his designs, or to prevent them. Jehu's arrow pierced the heart of the former. Ahaziah was pursued as far as the pass of Gur, near the city of Ibleam, and there mortally wounded. He died when he reached Megiddo. But in 2 Ch. xxii. 9 it is said that he was found hidden in Samaria after the death of Jehoram, brought to Jehu, and killed by his orders. Attempts to reconcile these accounts may be found in Pole's *Synopsis*; in Lightfoot's *Harm. of Old Test.* (in loc.); in Davidson's *Text of the Old Test.*, part ii. book ii. ch. xiv.; in Edersheim, *Hist. of Judah and Israel*, vi. 201, and in the American edition of this work, where Dr. Hackett considers the two accounts to be at once fragmentary and supplementary. Ahaziah reigned one year, B.C. 884 (Klostermann, 875; Hommel, 842), called the 12*th* of Jehoram, king of Israel, 2 K. viii. 25; the 11th, 2 K. ix. 29. His father, therefore, must have died before the 11th year of Jehoram was concluded (Clinton, *Fasti Hell.*, i. p. 324). [G. E. L. C.] [F.]

AH'BAN (אַחְבָּן, meaning uncertain [Nestle, *Israelit. Eigennamen*, p. 187, n. 1], Ges. = *brother of the prudent*; B. Ἀχαβάρ, A. Ὀζά; *Ahbban*). Son of Abishur, by his wife Abihail (1 Ch. ii. 29). He was of the tribe of Judah. [W. A. W.] [F.]

A'HER (אַחֵר, *another*; B. Ἀέρ, A. Ἀόρ; *Aher*). Ancestor of Hushim, or rather "the Hushim," as the plural form seems to indicate a family rather than an individual. The name occurs in an obscure passage in the genealogy of Benjamin (1 Ch. vii. 12). Some translators consider it as not a proper name at all, and render it literally "another," because, as Rashi says, Ezra, who compiled the genealogy, was uncertain whether the families belonged to the tribe of Benjamin or not. It is not improbable that Aher and Ahiram (Num. xxvi. 38) are the same; unless the former belonged to the tribe of Dan, whose genealogy is omitted in 1 Ch. vii.; Hushim being a Danite as well as a Benjamite name. [W. A. W.] [F.]

AHI' (אֲחִי, *brother*; Ges. and Olshausen [*Lehrb.* p. 615] contracted from אֲחִיָּה [cp. Renan, *Des Noms théophores apocopés* in 'Revue des Etudes Juives,' v. 169]). **1.** A Gadite, chief of a family who lived in Gilead in Bashan (1 Ch. v. 15), in the days of Jotham, king of Judah. Some texts of the Greek Version and the Vulgate did not consider the word a proper name. Hence the reading ἀδελφοῦ, T.², *fratres*. A. takes the last name of v. 14 (בּוּז) and the first name of v. 15 (אֲחִי) of the Heb. text, and makes the name Ἀχιβούζ by reversing the Heb. order. The reading of B. Ζαβουχάμ is not so readily explained. **2.** B. Ἀχιουιά, A. Ἀχιουρά; *Ahi*. A descendant of Shamer, of the tribe of Asher (1 Ch. vii. 34). [W. A. W.] [F.]

AHI'AH. [AHIJAH.]

AHI'AM (אֲחִיאָם, meaning obscure, Ols-

hausen, *Lehrb.* p. 620; Gesenius (*Thes.*) takes it in 2 Sam. as a wrong reading for אֲחִיאָב, *father's brother*: Ἀμνὰν in 2 Sam.; B. Ἀχείμ, A. Ἀχιὰμ in 1 Ch.: *Ahiam*), son of Sharar the Hararite (or of Sacar, 1 Ch. xi. 35), one of David's thirty mighty men (2 Sam. xxiii. 33). [W. A. W.] [F.]

AHI'AN (אֲחִין, Ges. = *brotherly*, comparing Syr. ܐܚܝܢ; B. Ἰααείμ, A. Ἀείν; *Ahin*), a Manassite of the family of Shemida (1 Ch. vii. 19). [W. A. W.] [F.]

AHI'EZER (אֲחִיעֶזֶר, *brother of help*, or *my brother is help*; Ἀχιέζερ; *Ahiezer*). **1.** Son of Ammishaddai, hereditary chieftain of the tribe of Dan under the administration of Moses (Num. i. 12; ii. 25; vii. 66, 71; x. 25). **2.** The Benjamite chief of a body of archers at the time of David (1 Ch. xii. 3). [R. W. B.] [F.]

AHI'HUD (אֲחִיהוּד = *brother of majesty*, or *my brother is majesty*; B. Ἀχιώρ, A. Ἀχιώβ; *Ahihud*). **1.** The son of Shelomi, and prince of the tribe of Asher, selected to assist Joshua and Eleazar in the division of the Promised Land (Num. xxxiv. 27). **2.** אֲחִיחֻד, probably an error for אֲחִיהוּד, cp. Olshausen, *Lehrb.* p. 615, MV.[10] *s. n.*; B. Ἰαχειχώλ, A. Ἰαχιχάδ; *Ahiud*), a chief of the tribe of Benjamin (1 Ch. viii. 7). [R. W. B.] [F.]

AHI'JAH, or AHI'AH (אֲחִיָּה and אֲחִיָּהוּ, *brother of Jah* [Ges.] or *my brother is Jah* [Olshausen, MV.[10]]. Cp. the Phoenician parallels in Nestle, *Israel. Eigennamen*, p. 186; Schroeder, *Phoenic. Gram.* p. 87: Ἀχιά; *Achias*). **1.** Son of Ahitub, Ichabod's brother, the son of Phinehas, the son of Eli (1 Sam. xiv. 3, 18). He was the Lord's priest in Shiloh: the ark of God was under his care, and he inquired of the Lord by means of it and the ephod (cp. 1 Ch. xiii. 3). There is, however, great difficulty in reconciling the statement (1 Sam. xiv. 18) that the ark was used for inquiring by Ahijah at Saul's bidding, and the statement that men inquired not at the ark in the days of Saul, if the latter expression be taken strictly. This difficulty is removed by the reading of LXX. B. τὸ ἐφούδ, in 1 Sam. xiv. 18, instead of "the ark"; and most modern critics (cp. *Speaker's Comm.* l. c.) accept this reading in preference to that of the Hebrew. Josephus also notes that Saul bade the priest take (not the ark but) "the garments of his priesthood" and prophesy (*Antiq.* vi. 6, § 3). Others, however, still prefer to meet the difficulty by applying the expression "the days of Saul" only to all the latter years of the reign of Saul, when the priestly establishment was at Nob, and not at Kirjath-jearim or Baale of Judah, where the ark was. On this supposition the narrative in 1 Sam. xiv. may be taken as favourable to the mention of the ark. For it appears that Saul was at the time in Gibeah of Benjamin, and Gibeah of Benjamin seems to have been the place where the house of Abinadab was situated (2 Sam. vi. 3), being probably the Benjamite quarter of Kirjath-jearim, which lay on the very borders of Judah and Benjamin (see Josh. xviii. 14, 28). Whether it was the encroachments of the Philistines, or an incipient schism between the tribes of Benjamin and Judah, or any other cause, which led to the disuse of the ark during the later years of Saul's reign, is difficult to say. But probably the last time that Ahijah inquired of the Lord before the ark was on the occasion related 1 Sam. xiv. 36, when Saul marred his victory over the Philistines by his rash oath, which nearly cost Jonathan his life. For we there read that when Saul proposed a night-pursuit of the Philistines, the priest, Ahijah, said, "Let us draw near hither unto God;" for the purpose, namely, of asking counsel of God. But God returned no answer, in consequence, as it seems, of Saul's rash curse. If, as is commonly thought, and as seems most likely, Ahijah is the same person as Ahimelech the son of Ahitub, this failure to obtain an answer from the priest, followed as it was by a rising of the people to save Jonathan out of Saul's hands, may have led to an estrangement between the king and the high-priest, and predisposed him to suspect Ahimelech's loyalty, and to take that terrible revenge upon him for his favour to David. Such changes of name as Ahi-melech and Ahi-jah are not uncommon (see *Genealogies*, &c., pp. 115–118); or it is not impossible that, as Gesenius supposes, Ahimelech may have been brother to Ahijah.

2. B. Ἀχεία, A. Ἀχία; *Achia*. Son of Bela (1 Ch. viii. 7); thought to be the same as Ahoah (1 Ch. viii. 4, B. Ἀχιά, A. omits).

3. Son of Jerahmeel (1 Ch. ii. 25; LXX. ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ; *Achia*).

4. *Ahia*. One of David's mighty men, a Pelonite (1 Ch. xi. 36).

5. LXX. ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῶν; *Ahias*. A Levite in David's reign who was over the treasures of the house of God, and over the treasures of the dedicated things (1 Ch. xxvi. 20).

6. *Ahia*. One of Solomon's princes, brother of Elihoreph, and son of Shisha (1 K. iv. 3).

7. *Ahias*. A Prophet of Shiloh (1 K. xiv. 2), hence called the Shilonite (xi. 29), in the days of Solomon and of Jeroboam king of Israel, of whom we have two remarkable prophecies extant: the one in 1 K. xi. 31–39, addressed to Jeroboam, announcing the rending of the ten tribes from Solomon, in punishment of his idolatries, and the transfer of the kingdom to Jeroboam: a prophecy which, though delivered privately, became known to Solomon, and excited his wrath against Jeroboam, who fled for his life into Egypt, to Shishak, and remained there till Solomon's death. The other prophecy, in 1 K. xiv. 6–16, was delivered in the Prophet's extreme old age to Jeroboam's wife, in which he foretold the death of Abijah, the king's son, who was sick, and to inquire concerning whom the queen had come in disguise. He then went on to denounce the destruction of Jeroboam's house on account of the images which he had set up, and to foretell the Captivity of Israel "beyond the river" Euphrates. These prophecies give us a high idea of the faithfulness and boldness of Ahijah, and of the eminent rank which he attained as a Prophet. Jeroboam's speech concerning him (1 K. xiv. 2, 3) shows the estimation in which he held him for his truthfulness and prophetic powers. In 2 Ch. ix. 29 reference is made to a record of the events of Solomon's reign contained in the "prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite." If there were a larger work of Ahijah's, the passage in 1 K. xi. may be based upon it.

8. *Ahias.* Father of Baasha, king of Israel, the contemporary of Asa, king of Judah. He was of the tribe of Issachar (1 K. xv. 27, 33, xxi. 22; 2 K. ix. 9). [A. C. H.]

9. ℵA. Ἀία, B. Ἀρα; *Echaia.* One of the heads of the people who sealed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 26). [W. A. W.] [F.]

AHI'KAM (אֲחִיקָם, MV.[10] = *my brother uplifts himself*, or *rises up*; cp. Olshausen, *Lehrb.* p. 620: Ἀχικάμ, B. -ει-; *Ahicam*), a son of Shaphan the scribe, an influential officer at the court of Josiah (2 K. xxii. 12) and of Jehoiakim his son (Jer. xxvi. 24). When Shaphan brought the book of the Law to Josiah, which Hilkiah the high-priest had found in the Temple, Ahikam was sent by the king, together with four other delegates, to consult Huldah the prophetess on the subject. In the reign of Jehoiakim, when the priests and prophets arraigned Jeremiah before the princes of Judah on account of his bold denunciations of the national sins, Ahikam successfully used his influence to protect the Prophet. His son Gedaliah was made governor of Judah by Nebuchadnezzar, the Chaldean king, and to his charge Jeremiah was entrusted when released from prison (Jer. xxxix. 14, xl. 5). [R. W. B.] [F.]

AHI'LUD (אֲחִילוּד, meaning doubtful; according to Gesen. [*Thes.*] = *brother of the born.* The readings of the Greek texts are very varied. In 2 Sam. viii. 16, B. Ἀχειά, A. Ἀχιμέλεχ; in 2 Sam. xx. 24, Ἀχι[B -ει-]λούθ; in 1 K. iv. 3, B. Ἀχειλιάδ, A. Ἀχιμά; in 1 Ch. xviii. 15, B. Ἀχειά, A. Ἀχιλούδ: *Ahilud*). **1.** Father of Jehoshaphat, the recorder or chronicler of the kingdom in the reigns of David and Solomon.

2. B. Ἀχειμάχ, A. Ἐλούδ. The father of Baana, one of Solomon's twelve commissariat officers (1 K. iv. 12). It is uncertain whether he is the same as No. 1. [W. A. W.] [F.]

AHI'MAAZ (אֲחִימַעַץ, Ges., from the Arabic, =*brother of anger*: A. Ἀχιμάας, B. Ἀχειάας; *Achimaas*). **1.** Father of Saul's wife, Ahinoam (1 Sam. xiv. 50).

2. B. Ἀχειμαίας, A. Ἀχιμάας; *Achimaas.* Son of Zadok, the priest in David's reign. When David fled from Jerusalem on account of Absalom's rebellion, Zadok and Abiathar, accompanied by their sons, Ahimaaz and Jonathan, and the Levites, carried the ark of God forth, intending to accompany the king. But at his bidding they returned to the city, as did likewise Hushai the Archite (2 Sam. xv. 24, &c.). It was then arranged that Hushai should feign himself to be a friend of Absalom, and should tell Zadok and Abiathar whatever intelligence he could obtain in the palace. They, on their parts, were to forward the intelligence through Ahimaaz and Jonathan. Accordingly Jonathan and Ahimaaz stayed outside the walls of the city at En-rogel, on the road towards the plain (2 Sam. xvii. 17). A message soon came to them from Zadok and Abiathar through the maid-servant, to say that Ahithophel had counselled an immediate attack against David and his followers, and that, consequently, the king must cross the Jordan without the least delay. They started at once on their errand, but not without being suspected, for a lad seeing the maid speak to them, and seeing them immediately run off quickly—and Ahimaaz, we know, was a practised runner—went and told Absalom, who ordered a hot pursuit. In the meantime, however, they had got as far as Bahurim, the very place where Shimei cursed David (2 Sam. xvi. 5), to the house of a steadfast partisan of David. Here the woman of the house effectually hid them in a well in the courtyard, and covered the well's mouth with ground or bruised corn. Absalom's servants coming up searched for them in vain; and as soon as they had gone and returned on the road to Jerusalem, Ahimaaz and Jonathan hasted on to David, and told him Ahithophel's counsel, and David with his whole company crossed the Jordan that very night. Ahithophel was so mortified at seeing the failure of his scheme, through the unwise delay in executing it, that he went home and hanged himself. This signal service rendered to David, at the hazard of his life, by Ahimaaz, must have tended to ingratiate him with the king. We have a proof how highly he was esteemed by him, as well as an honourable testimony to his character, in the saying of David recorded in 2 Sam. xviii. 27. For when the watchman announced the approach of a messenger, and added, that his running was like the running of Ahimaaz, the son of Zadok, the king said, "He is a good man, and cometh with good tidings."

The same transaction gives us a very curious specimen of the manners of the times, and a singular instance of Oriental or Jewish craft in Ahimaaz. For we learn, first, that Ahimaaz was a professed runner—and a very swift one too—which one would hardly have expected in the son of the high-priest. It belongs, however, to a simple state of society that bodily powers of any kind should be highly valued, and exercised by the possessor of them in the most natural way. Ahimaaz was probably naturally swift, and so became famous for his running (2 Sam. xviii. 27). So we are told of Asahel, Joab's brother, that "he was as light of foot as a wild roe" (2 Sam. ii. 18). And that quick running was not deemed inconsistent with the utmost dignity and gravity of character appears from what we read of Elijah the Tishbite, that "he girded up his loins and ran before Ahab (who was in his chariot) to the entrance of Jezreel" (1 K. xviii. 46). The kings of Israel had running footmen to precede them when they went in their chariots (2 Sam. xv. 1; 1 K. i. 5), and their guards were called רָצִים, "runners." It appears by 2 Ch. xxx. 6, 10, that in Hezekiah's reign there was an establishment of running messengers, who were also called רָצִים. The same name is given to the Persian posts in Esth. iii. 13, 15; viii. 14: though it appears from the latter passage that in the time of Xerxes the service was performed with mules and camels. The Greek name, borrowed from the Persian, was ἄγγαροι. As regards Ahimaaz's craftiness we read that, when Absalom was killed by Joab and his armour-bearers, Ahimaaz was very urgent with Joab to be employed as the messenger to run and carry the tidings to David. The politic Joab, well knowing the king's fond partiality for Absalom, and that the news of his death would be anything but good news to him, and apparently having a friendly feeling towards Ahimaaz, would not allow him

to be the bearer of such tidings, but employed Cushi instead. But after Cushi had started, Ahimaaz was so urgent with Joab to be allowed to run too that at length he extorted his consent. Taking a shorter or an easier way by the plain, he managed to outrun Cushi before he got in sight of the watch-tower, and, arriving first, he reported to the king the good news of the victory, suppressing his knowledge of Absalom's death, and leaving to Cushi the task of announcing it. He had thus the merit of bringing good tidings without the alloy of the disaster of the death of the king's son. This is the last we hear of Ahimaaz, for the Ahimaaz of 1 K. iv. 15, who was Solomon's captain in Naphtali, was certainly a different person (3). There is no evidence, beyond the assertion of Josephus, that Ahimaaz ever filled the office of high-priest; and Josephus may have concluded that he did, merely because, in the genealogy of the high-priests (1 Ch. vi. 8, 9), he intervenes between Zadok and Azariah. Judging only from 1 K. iv. 2, compared with 1 Ch. vi. 10, we should conclude that Ahimaaz died before his father Zadok, and that Zadok was succeeded by his grandson Azariah. Josephus's statement that Zadok was the first high-priest of Solomon's Temple, seeing the Temple was not finished till the eleventh year of his reign, is a highly improbable one in itself. The statement of the Seder Olam, which makes Ahimaaz high-priest in Rehoboam's reign, is still more so. It is safer, therefore, to follow the indications of the Scripture narrative, though somewhat obscured by the apparently corrupted passages, 1 K. iv. 4 and 1 Ch. vi. 9, 10, and conclude that Ahimaaz died before he attained the high-priesthood, leaving as his heir his son Azariah.

3. B. Ἀχει(A. -ι-)μάας. Solomon's officer in Naphtali, charged with providing victuals for the king and his household for one month in the year. Probably of the tribe of Naphtali, he was the king's son-in-law, having married his daughter Basmath (1 K. iv. 7, 15). [A. C. H.]

AHI'MAN (אֲחִימָן, of doubtful meaning; perhaps [if Man be the name of a divinity] = *brother of Man:* in Num. F. Ἀχιμάν, B. Ἀχειμάν, A. Ἀχικάμ; in Judg. B. Ἀχιναάν, B^{abmg}. Ἀχειμάν, A. Ἀχιμαάμ: *Achiman*). **1.** One of the three giant Anakim who inhabited Mount Hebron (Num. xiii. 22, 23), seen by Caleb and the spies. The whole race were cut off by Joshua (Josh. xi. 21), and the three brothers were slain by the tribe of Judah (Judg. i. 10). [R. W. B.] [F.]

2. B. Αἰμάμ, A. Αἰμάν; *Ahinum.* One of the porters or gate-keepers, who had charge of the king's gate for the "camps" of the sons of Levi (1 Ch. ix. 17). [W. A. W.] [F.]

AHI'MELECH (אֲחִימֶלֶךְ, *brother of the king;* A. Ἀχιμέλεκ, B. Ἀβειμέλεχ; *Achimelech*). **1.** Son of Ahitub (1 Sam. xxii. 12), and high-priest at Nob in the days of Saul. He gave David the shewbread and the sword of Goliath; and for so doing was, upon the accusation of Doeg the Edomite, put to death with his whole house by Saul's order. Eighty-five priests wearing an ephod were thus cruelly slaughtered; Abiathar alone escaped [Abiathar]. The LXX. reads *three hundred and five men*, thus affording another instance of the frequent clerical errors in transcribing numbers of which Ezra ii. compared with Neh. vii. is a remarkable example. The interchange of שְׁמֹנִים, or שְׁמֹנָה, with שְׁלֹשִׁים and שְׁלֹשׁ, is very common. For the question of Ahimelech's identity with Ahijah, see Ahijah. For the confusion between Ahimelech and Abiathar in the First Book of Chronicles (xxiv. 3, 6, 31), see Abiathar.

2. One of David's companions while he was persecuted by Saul, a Hittite; called in the B. of 1 Sam. xxvi. 6, Ἀβειμέλεχ, and A. Ἀβι- (but B^{a}. Ἀχει-); which is perhaps the right reading, after the analogy of Abimelech, king of Gerar. In the title of Ps. xxxiv. אֲבִימֶלֶךְ seems to be an error for אָבִישׁ, due possibly to a lapse of memory [S. R. D.]. See 1 Sam. xxi. 13 (*v.* 12 in A. V.; and Abimelech). [A. C. H.]

AHI'MOTH (אֲחִימוֹת, *brother of death;* B. Ἀλειμώθ, A. Ὀχιμώθ; *Achimoth*), a Levite of the house of the Korhites, of the family of the Kohathites, apparently in the time of David (1 Ch. vi. 25 [LXX. *v.* 10]). In ver. 35, for *Ahimoth* we find *Mahath* (מַחַת), B. Μέθ, A. Μαάθ (as in Luke iii. 26). For a correction of these genealogies, see *Genealogies of our Lord*, p. 214, note. [A. C. H.]

AHI'NADAB (אֲחִינָדָב, Ges. = *noble brother*, MV.[10] = *my brother is noble;* B. Ἀχεινααδάβ, A. Αἰναδάβ; *Ahinadab*), son of Iddo, one of Solomon's twelve commissaries who supplied provisions for the royal household. The district entrusted to Ahinadab was that of Mahanaim, situated on the east of the Jordan (1 K. iv. 14). [R. W. B.] [F.]

AHI'NOAM (אֲחִינֹעַם, Ges. = *brother of grace*, MV.[10] = *my brother is grace;* B. Ἀχινοάμ, A. Ἀχεινοάμ; *Achinoam*). **1.** Daughter of Ahimaaz and wife of Saul (1 Sam. xiv. 50).

2. B. Ἀχεινάαν (1 Sam. xxv. 43), -αμ (1 Sam. xxvii. 3; 1 Ch. iii. 1), -νόομ (1 Sam. xxx. 5; 2 Sam. iii. 2), Ἀχινόομ (2 Sam. ii. 2); A. usually Ἀχινάαμ (in 2 Sam. ii. 2, same as B.): *Achinoam.* A woman of Jezreel. If the masculine sense given to the name (see Ges. above) be retained, a similar use is found in Abigail, *father of joy.* Ahinoam was married to David during his wandering life (1 Sam. xxv. 43), lived with him and his other wife Abigail at the court of Achish (xxvii. 3), was taken prisoner with her by the Amalekites when they plundered Ziklag (xxx. 5), but was rescued by David (18). She is again mentioned as living with him when king of Judah in Hebron (2 Sam. ii. 2), and as the mother of his eldest son Amnon (iii. 2; 1 Ch. iii. 1). [G. E. L. C.] [F.]

AHI'O (אַחְיוֹ; οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ: *Ahio*, 2 Sam. vi. 3, 4; *frater ejus*, 1 Ch. xiii. 7). **1.** One of the two sons of *Abinadab* who accompanied the ark when it was brought out of their father's house at Gibeah.

2. אַחְיוֹ; B. ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ, A. οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ; *Ahio.* A Benjamite, one of the sons of Beriah, who drove out the inhabitants of Gath (1 Ch. viii. 14).

3. A Benjamite, son of Jehiel, father or founder of Gibeon (1 Ch. viii. 31, ix. 37). In

both places B. has ἀδελφός, and A. (supported in the second by א) ἀδελφοί. [W. A. W.] [F.]

AHI'RA (אֲחִירַע, Ges. = *brother of evil*, MV.[10] = *my brother is evil*; AF. [usually] Ἀχιρέ, B. -ει-; *Ahira*), chief of the tribe of Naphtali when Moses took the census in the year after the Exodus (Num. i. 15; ii. 29; vii. 78, 83; x. 27). [R. W. B.] [F.]

AHI'RAM (אֲחִירָם; MV.[10] = *my brother is exalted* [cp. Olshausen, *Lehrb.* p. 620]; B. Ἰαχειράν, A. -ι-, F. Ἀχιάν; *Ahiran*), son of Benjamin (Num. xxvi. 38 [LXX. *v.* 42]), called Ehi in Gen. xlvi. 21, Aharah in 1 Ch. viii. 1, perhaps the same as AHER. [W. A. W.] [F.]

AHI'RAMITES, THE (הָאֲחִירָמִי; B. Ἰαχειρανεί, F. Ἀχιανεί, A. Ἀχιραί; *Ahiramitae*). One of the branches of the tribe of Benjamin, descendants of Ahiram (Num. xxvi. 38, LXX. *v.* 42). [W. A. W.] [F.]

AHI'SAMACH (אֲחִיסָמָךְ, MV.[10] = *my brother supports*; Ἀχισαμάχ; *Achisamech*). A Danite, father of Aholiab, one of the architects of the tabernacle (Ex. xxxi. 6; xxxv. 34 [AF. -αχ, B. -ακ]; xxxviii. 23 [LXX. xxxvii. 21, AF. -αχ, B. -ακ]). [W. A. W.] [F.]

AHI'SHAHAR (אֲחִישַׁחַר, Ges. = *brother of the dawn*, MV.[10] and Olshausen = *my brother is the dawn*; B. Ἀχεισάδαρ, A. Ἀχισάαρ; *Ahisaher*). One of the sons of Bilhan, the grandson of Benjamin (1 Ch. vii. 10). [W. A. W.] [F.]

AHI'TOPHEL (אֲחִיתֹפֶל, of uncertain meaning, apparently = *brother of folly* [Ges.]; A. Ἀχιτόφελ, B. -ει-, Joseph. Ἀχιτόφελος; *Achitophel*), a native of Giloh, in the hill-country of Judah (Josh. xv. 51), and privy councillor of David, whose wisdom was so highly esteemed that his advice had the authority of a divine oracle, though his name (according to Gesenius) had an exactly opposite signification (2 Sam. xvi. 23). He was the grandfather of Bathsheba (comp. 2 Sam. xi. 3 with xxiii. 34), and it was her fall which influenced him to join in the rebellion of Absalom. She is called daughter of Ammiel in 1 Ch. iii. 5; but עַמִּיאֵל is probably only the anagram of אֱלִיעָם (see Klostermann, *Kgff. Komm.* in 2 Sam. xi. 3). Absalom as soon as he had revolted sent for him, and, when David heard that Ahitophel had joined the conspiracy, he prayed Jehovah to turn his counsel to foolishness (xv. 31), alluding possibly to the signification of his name. David's grief at the treachery of his confidential friend found expression in the Messianic prophecies (Ps. xli. 2; lv. 12–14).

In order to show to the people that the breach between Absalom and his father was irreparable, Ahitophel persuaded him to take possession of the royal harem (2 Sam. xvi. 21). David, in order to counteract his counsel, sent Hushai to Absalom. Ahitophel had recommended an immediate pursuit of David; but Hushai advised delay, his object being to send intelligence to David, and to give him time to collect his forces for a decisive engagement. When Ahitophel saw that Hushai's advice prevailed, he despaired of success, and returning to his own home "put his household in order and hung himself" (xvii. 1–23). This is the only case of suicide mentioned in the Old Testament (except in war), as that of Judas is the only case in the New Testament. The Talmud ranks him and Balaam together as instances of men whose "wisdom" not being "the gift of heaven" led them to destruction. (Hamb̈urger, *RE.*, s. n.; Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 9, § 8; Niemeyer, *Charakt.* iv. 454; Ewald, *Geschich.* ii. 652.) [R. W. B.] [F.]

AHI'TUB (אֲחִיטוּב, *brother of goodness*; B. Ἀχειτώβ, A. -ι-; *Achitob*). **1.** Father of Ahimelech, or Ahijah, son of Phinehas, and elder brother of Ichabod (1 Sam. xiv. 3; xxii. 9, 11), and therefore of the house of Eli and the family of Ithamar. There is no record of his high-priesthood, which, if he ever was high-priest, must have coincided with the early days of Samuel's judgeship.

2. B. Ἀχειτώβ, A. -ι-. Son of Amariah, and father of Zadok the high-priest (1 Ch. vi. 7, 8; 2 Sam. viii. 17), of the house of Eleazar. From 1 Ch. ix. 11, where the genealogy of Azariah, the head of one of the priestly families that returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel, is traced, through Zadok, to "Ahitub, the ruler of the house of God," it appears tolerably certain that Ahitub was high-priest. And so the LXX. Version (B.) unequivocally renders it υἱοῦ Ἀχειτὼβ ἡγουμένου οἴκου τοῦ Θεοῦ. The expression נְגִיד בֵּית־הָאֱלֹהִים is applied to Azariah the high-priest in Hezekiah's reign, in 2 Ch. xxxi. 13. The passage is repeated in Neh. xi. 11 [where the name has in the Greek texts several variant forms:—T.[1] Αἰτώθ, ΒΝ. Ἀπωβώχ, A. Αἰτώβ], but the LXX. have spoilt the sense by rendering נְגִיד ἀπέναντι, as if it were נֶגֶד. If the line is correctly given in these two passages, Ahitub was not the father, but the grandfather of Zadok, his father being Meraioth. But in 1 Ch. vi. 8, and in Ezra vii. 2, Ahitub is represented as Zadok's father. This uncertainty makes it difficult to determine the exact time of Ahitub's high-priesthood. If he was father to Zadok, he must have been high-priest with Ahimelech. But if he was grandfather, his age would have coincided exactly with the other Ahitub, the son of Phinehas. Certainly a singular coincidence.

3. The genealogy of the high-priests in 1 Ch. vi. 11, 12, introduces another AHITUB, son of another Amariah, and father of another Zadok. At p. 287 of the *Genealogies*, &c., will be found reasons for believing that the second Ahitub and Zadok are spurious. [A. C. H.]

AH'LAB (אַחְלָב = *fat, fertile place*; Ἀαλάφ; *Achlab*), a city of Asher from which the Canaanites were not driven out (Judg. i. 31). Its omission from the list of the towns of Asher, in Josh. xix., has led to the suggestion (Bertheau on Judg.) that the name is but a corruption of Achshaph; but this appears extravagant. It is more probable that Ahlab reappears in later history as Gush Chaleb, גּוּשׁ חֲלָב, or Giscala (Reland, 813, 817), a place lately identified by Robinson under the abbreviated name of *el-Jish*,[a] near *Safed*, in the hilly

[a] *El-Jish*, however, lies within the territory assigned to Naphtali.

country to the N.W. of the Sea of Galilee (Rob. ii. 446; iii. 73). Gush Chaleb was in Rabbinical times famous for its oil (see the citations in Reland, 817), and the old olive-trees still remain in the neighbourhood (Rob. iii. 72). From it came the famous John, son of Levi, the leader in the siege of Jerusalem (Jos. *Vit.* § 10; *B. J.* ii. 21, § 1), and it had a legendary celebrity as the birthplace of the parents of no less a person than the apostle Paul (Jerome, quoted by Reland, 813). [G.] [W.]

AH'LAI (אַחְלַי, of uncertain meaning; Ges. and Olshausen, *Lehrb.* p. 610, preserve for it the sense *utinam!* it has in Ps. cxix. 5: B. Ἀχαΐ, A. Ἀαδαΐ; *Oholai*), daughter of Sheshan, whom he gave in marriage to his Egyptian slave Jarha (1 Ch. ii. 31, 35). In consequence of the failure to Sheshan of male issue, Ahlai became the foundress of an important branch of the family of the Jerahmeelites, and from her were descended Zabad, one of David's mighty men (1 Ch. xi. 41, B. Ἀχαιά, A. Ὀλί, א Ἀχεά; *Oholi*), and Azariah, one of the captains of hundreds in the reign of Joash (2 Ch. xxiii. 1; cp. 1 Ch. ii. 38). [W. A. W.] [F.]

AHO'AH (אֲחוֹחַ, in 1 Ch. viii. 7 the name is read אֲחִיָּה, Ahijah; Ἀχιά [A. omits]; *Ahoe*), son of Bela, the son of Benjamin (1 Ch. viii. 4). The patronymic Ahohite (אֲחֹחִי, *Ahohites*) is found in 2 Sam. xxiii. 9 [T.[7] πατραδέλφου], 28 [B. Ἀωείτης, A. Ἐλωείτης]; 1 Ch. xi. 12 [B. Ἀρχωνεί, א Ἀχωνεί, A. Ἀχωχί], 29 [א[1] B. Ἀχωνεί, א* Ἀναχωνεί, A. Ἀχώρ]; xxvii. 4 [T.[7] B. ἐκχώχ, A. Ἀωθί]. [Ehi.] [W. A. W.] [F.]

AHO'HITE. [Ahoah.]

A'HOLAH (אָהֳלָה, *tent*; T.[7] Ὀολά, B. Ὀολλά, A. Ὀλλά; *Oolla*; R. V. *Oholah*), a harlot, used by Ezekiel as the symbol of Samaria (Ezek. xxiii. 4, 5, 36, 44). [W. A. W.] [F.]

AHOLI'AB (אָהֳלִיאָב, MV.[10] = *tent* or *family of the Father*; Ἐλιάβ; *Ooliab*; R. V. *Oholiab*), a Danite of great skill as a weaver and embroiderer, whom Moses appointed with Bezaleel to erect the tabernacle (Ex. xxxi. 6, xxxv. 30–35, xxxvi. 1, 2, xxxviii. 22, 23). [W. A. W.] [F.]

AHOLI'BAH (אָהֳלִיבָה, MV.[10] = *she in whom is My tent*, for אֳהָלִי־בָהּ; Fürst compares חֶפְצִי־בָהּ, *Hephzibah*: T.[7] Ὀολιβά, A. Ὀλιβά; B. sometimes Ὀλ-, sometimes Ὀολ-: *Ooliba*; R. V. *Oholibah*), a harlot, used by Ezekiel as the symbol of Jerusalem (Ezek. xxiii. 4, 11, 22, 36, 44). [W. A. W.] [F.]

AHOLI-BA'MAH (אָהֳלִיבָמָה, MV.[10] = *tent of the high place*; *Oolibama*; R. V. *Oholibama*), one (probably the second) of the three wives of Esau. She was the daughter of Anah, a descendant of Seir the Horite (Gen. xxxvi. 2, A. Ὀλιβεμά, E. Ὀλιβαιμάν; *v.* 25, E. Ὀλιβά). It is doubtless through this connexion of Esau with the original inhabitants of Mount Seir that we are to trace the subsequent occupation of that territory by him and his descendants, and it is remarkable that each of his three sons by this wife is himself the head of a tribe, whilst all the tribes of the Edomites sprung from his other two wives are founded by his grandsons (Gen. xxxvi. 15–19 [*v.* 18, A. Ὀλιβέμας and Ἐλι-, *D.* Ὀλιβέμμας and Ἐλιβάμας, E. [second time] Ὀλιβέμα]). In the earlier narrative (Gen. xxvi. 34) Aholibamah is called Judith, daughter of Beeri, the Hittite. The explanation of the change in the name of the woman seems to be that her proper personal name was Judith, and that Aholibamah was the name which she received as the wife of Esau and foundress of three tribes of his descendants; she is therefore in the narrative called by the first name, whilst in the genealogical table of the Edomites she appears under the second (see Delitzsch, *Genesis*, p. 429 [1887]). This explanation is confirmed by the recurrence of the name Aholibamah in the concluding list of the genealogical table (Gen. xxxvi. 40–43 [*v.* 41, A. Ἐλιβεμᾶς, *D*[vid] Ἐλειβαμᾶς]), which, with Hengstenberg (*Die Authentie d. Pent.* ii. 279; Eng. trans. ii. 228), Tuch (*Komm. üb. d. Gen.* 493), Knobel (*Genes.* p. 258), Dillmann and Delitzsch, we must regard as a list of names of places and not of persons, as indeed is expressly said at the close of it: "These are the chiefs (heads of tribes) of Esau, according to their settlements in the land of their possession." The district which received the name of Esau's wife, or perhaps rather from which she received her married name, was no doubt (as the name itself indicates) situated in the heights of the mountains of Edom, probably therefore in the neighbourhood of Mount Hor and Petra, though Knobel places it south of Petra, having been misled by Burckhardt's name *Hesma*, which however, according to Robinson (ii. 155), is "a sandy tract with mountains around it . . . but not itself a mountain, as reported by Burckhardt." It seems not unlikely that the three tribes descended from Aholibamah, or at least two of them, possessed this district, since there are enumerated only eleven districts, whereas the number of tribes is thirteen, exclusive of that of Korah, whose name occurs twice, and which we may further conjecture emigrated (in part at least) from the district of Aholibamah, and became associated with the tribes descended from Eliphaz, Esau's first-born son.

It is to be observed that each of the wives of Esau is mentioned by a name in the genealogical table different from that which occurs in the history. See Bashemath. With respect to the name and race of the father of Aholibamah, see Anah and Beeri. [F. W. G.] [F.]

AHU'MAI (אֲחוּמַי; B. Ἀχειμεί, A. Ἀχιμαί; *Ahumai*), son of Jahath, a descendant of Judah, and head of one of the families of Zorathites (1 Ch. iv. 2). [W. A. W.]

AHUZ'ZATH (אֲחֻזַּת, *possession*, but (?) a Philistine name; A. Ὀχοζάθ, *D.* -ζαχ [in Gen. xxvi. 26]; *Ochozath*), one of the friends of the Philistine king Abimelech who accompanied him at his interview with Isaac (Gen. xxvi. 26). In the LXX. the epithet מֵרֵעֵהוּ (R. V. "his friend") is rendered *ὁ νυμφαγωγὸς αὐτοῦ* = *pronubus*, or bridesman (cp. Jud. xiv. 20, LXX. A.), and his name is inserted in xxi. 22, 32. St. Jerome (*Quaest. in Gen.*) and the Targum render מ' א' by "a company of friends," a sense which א' does not possess. For the termination "-ath" to Philistine masc. names, cp. Goliath

-ath (the old fem.) is common in Canaanitish, Aramaic, and Arabic names, even of men: cp. Genubath (1 K. xi. 20. See Driver, *Hebr. Tenses*,[2] p. 261; Euting, *Nabat. Inschriften*, pp. 73, 90–92; *e.g.* חרחת = Aretas). [R. W. B.] [F.]

AI (עַי = *heap of ruins*, Ges.). **1.** (always with the def. article, הָעַי [see Gen. xii. 8, in A. V.]; Αγγαι [Gen. and Is. x. 28], Γαι [in Josh.], Αἰα [in Ezra], T.[J] Ἀΐ, ℵB. Αλεία [Neh. vii. 32], ℵ[3] Αἰω [Neh. xi. 31]; Jos. *Ant.* v. 1, 2, Αἶνα [Dind. Ἄννα]: *Hai*), a royal city (cp. Josh. viii. 23, 29; x. 1; xii. 9) of Canaan, already existing in the time of Abraham (Gen. xii. 8) [HAI]. It was east of and "beside" Bethel (Gen. xii. 8; Josh. vii. 2, xii. 9); on the south side of a valley (Josh. viii. 11); "beside" Bethaven (Josh. vii. 2); a valley or place where 5,000 men could be concealed lay between it and Bethel (Josh. viii. 9, 12), and it was apparently more closely connected with Bethel than with Michmash (Ezra ii. 28; Neh. vii. 32.) It was the second city taken by Israel after their passage of the Jordan, and was "utterly destroyed" (Josh. vii. 3–5; viii. 1–3, 10–12, 14, 16–18, 20, 21, 23–26, 28, 29; ix. 3; x. 1, 2; xii. 9: see Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 202). However, if Aiath be Ai—and from its mention with Migron and Michmash, it is at least probable that it was so—the name was still attached to the locality at the time of Sennacherib's march on Jerusalem (Is. x. 28). [AIATH.] At any rate, the "men of Bethel and Ai," to the number of two hundred and twenty-three, returned from the Captivity with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii. 28; Neh. vii. 32, "*one* hundred and twenty-three" only); and when the Benjamites again took possession of their towns, "Michmash, Aija, and Bethel, with their 'daughters,'" are among the places named (Neh. xi. 31). [AIJA.]

Eusebius remarks (*OS.*[2] p. 233, 59, Ἀγγαί) that though Bethel remained, Ai was a *τοπὸς ἔρημος, αὐτὸ μόνον δείκνυται*: but even that cannot now be said, and no attempt has yet succeeded in definitely fixing the site of the city which Joshua doomed to be a "heap and a desolation for ever." It is now probably *et-Tell*, a conspicuous mound, covered with heaps of stones and ruins, 1⅜ miles E.S.E. of Bethel, on the south side of *W. Muheisin*, "the valley of the fortifications." Compare Josh. viii. 28, where the Hebrew has תֵּל, "Tell," for heap, an unusual word which only occurs in four other passages of the Bible. Between *Beitin* (Bethel) and *et-Tell* the ruins of a church on the brow of a hill, whence there is a commanding view of the Jordan valley north of the Dead Sea, possibly mark the site of the altar built by Abram (Gen. xii. 8. See *PFQy. Stat.* 1869, pp. 123–6, and 1874, pp. 62–4). M. Ganneau and Major Conder identify Ai with *Kh. Haiyân*, near *Deir Dîwân*, 2⅛ miles S.E. of Bethel, but the position and topographical features are not so closely in accordance with the Bible narrative as those of *et-Tell*; see, however, Major Conder in *Tent Work in Palestine*, ii. 108–9. Ai has also been identified by Krafft and Capt. Kitchener with *Kh. el-Haiyeh*, "ruin of the snake," south-east of *Mûkhmâs* (Michmash), but this position is too remote from Bethel; and the same remark applies to *Kh. Dâr Haiyeh* to the south of *W. Suweinit*. An Ai occurs in the Geographical Lists of the Temple of Karnak in Upper Egypt, but this would appear to have been in Northern Palestine. It is the opinion of some that the words Avim (עִוִּים) in Josh. xviii. 23, and Gaza (עַזָּה) in 1 Ch. vii. 28, are corruptions of Ai. [AVIM; AZZAH.]

2. עַי; T.[J] Γαί, ℵA. Καί, B. omits; *Hai*. A city of the Ammonites, apparently attached to Heshbon (Jer. xlix. 3, LXX. xxx. 3). [G.] [W.]

AI'AH (אַיָּה, *vulture*; B. Αἰθ, A. Αἰά; *Aia*). **1.** Son of Zibeon, a descendant of Seir, and ancestor of one of the wives of Esau (1 Ch. i. 40), called in Gen. xxxvi. 24 AJAH [A. Αἰέ, E. Ναιέ]. He probably died before his father, as the succession fell to his brother ANAH.

2. Father of Rizpah, the concubine of Saul (2 Sam. iii. 7; xxi. 8, 10, 11). In 2 Sam. iii. 7 B. gives the name as Ἰάλ (B*. Ἰαά), A. as Ἰόλ; in 2 Sam. xxi. 8, B. reads Αιά. [W. A. W.] [F.]

AI'ATH (עַיָּת, fem. of עַי, *Ai*; εἰς τὴν πόλιν Αγγαι; *Aiath*), a place named by Isaiah (x. 28) with Migron and Michmash. Probably the same as Ai. [AI; AIJA.] [G.] [W.]

AI'JA (עַיָּא; om. ℵA., ℵ[3] Αἰω; *Hai*), like Aiath, probably a variation of the name Ai. The name is mentioned with Michmash and Bethel (Neh. xi. 31). [AI.] [G.] [W.]

AI'JALON (אַיָּלוֹן, "place of deer[a] or gazelles," MV.[10] *s. n.*, Stanley, p. 208, note; *Ajalon*). **1.** A city of the Kohathites (Josh. xxi. 24, B. Αἰλών, A. Ἰαλών; 1 Ch. vi. 69, B. Ἐγλάμ, A. Ἠλών: *Helon*), originally allotted to the tribe of Dan (Josh. xix. 42, B. Ἀμμών, A. Ἰααλών; A. V. "Ajalon"), which tribe, however, was unable to dispossess the Amorites of the place (Judg. i. 35 [LXX. paraphrases]). Aijalon was one of the towns fortified by Rehoboam (2 Ch. xi. 10, B. Αλδών, A. Αἰαλών) during his conflicts with the new kingdom of Ephraim (1 K. xiv. 30), and the last we hear of it is as being in the hands of the Philistines (2 Ch. xxviii. 18, B. Αἰλώ, A. Αἰλών, A. V. "Ajalon").

Being on the very frontier of the two kingdoms, we can understand how Aijalon should be spoken of sometimes (1 Ch. vi. 69, comp. with r. 66) as in Ephraim,[b] and sometimes (2 Ch. xi. 10; 1 Sam. xiv. 31 [LXX. omits]) as in Judah and Benjamin.

The name is most familiar to us from its mention in the celebrated speech of Joshua during his pursuit of the Canaanites (Josh. x. 12, Αἰλών, "valley (עֵמֶק) of Aijalon;" see Stanley, p. 210). There is no doubt that the town has been discovered by Dr. Robinson in the modern *Yâlo*,[c] a little to the N. of the Jaffa road, about 14 miles out of Jerusalem. It stands on the side of a long hill which forms

[a] The part of the country in which Aijalon was situated—the western slopes of the main central tableland leading down to the plain of Sharon—must, if the derivation of the names of its towns is to be trusted, have abounded in animals. Besides Aijalon (deer), here lay Shaalbim (foxes or jackals), and not far off the valley of Zeboim (hyaenas). See Stanley, p. 162, note.

[b] Perhaps this may suggest an explanation of the allusion to the "house of Joseph" in the difficult passage, Judg. i. 34, 35.

[c] Ἰαλώ, in Epiphanius; see Reland, p. 553.

the southern boundary of a fine valley of cornfields, which valley now bears the name of the *Merj Ibn 'Ámir*, but which there seems no reason for doubting was the valley of Aijalon which witnessed the defeat of the Canaanites (Rob. ii. 253, iii. 145).

2. Αἰλώμ; A. Αἰλείμ. A place in Zebulun, mentioned as the burial-place of Elon (אַיָלוֹן),[d] one of the Judges (Judg. xii. 12). It may also have been his birthplace and originally called after him. [ELON, 3.] It may possibly be *Kh. Jallún*, E. of Acre. [G.] [W.]

AIJELETH SHAHAR, or rather *Ayyeleth Hasshachar* (Aurora[a]), stands in the Hebrew text as part of the first, *i.e.* introductory, verse of Ps. xxii. These two words being nowhere else found together in the Bible, are somewhat difficult to explain, both as regards their meaning and their application. Whilst some of the translators are agreed as to the literal meaning of these words, scarcely two commentators agree as to their literary application. Rashi[b] leaves us the choice between *Ayyeleth Hasshachar* being either the name of a musical instrument, or the allegorical name of the Congregation of Israel.[c] This latter application is taken from the Midrash,[d] and is accepted by Qimchi.[e] Ibn 'Ezra,[f] while justly rejecting this meaning, takes *Ayyeleth Hasshachar* as the commencement of a poem, which, together with its tune (though now lost), was so well known (before and during the existence of the Temple), that these mere two words were a sufficient indication to the leader of the music-band how to execute the whole Psalm. It is but just to say that to this explanation Ibn 'Ezra adheres almost consistently throughout the whole Psalter, whenever the superscriptions thereof are concerned [GITTITH]. This view of Ibn 'Ezra has been received with great favour by most of the modern translators and commentators. It would, indeed, be very acceptable were it not lacking in one point—*truth*. Moreover, it is not only not true, but cannot be true, as it rests on a gross anachronism. That such is the case can be proved both negatively and positively. In the first place, there is not the slightest evidence that such a custom of giving the first word or two for a whole poem and its melody ever obtained in early Christian, not to say in pre-Christian, times.[g] We know, moreover, for a fact where this custom originated, and approximately when. Singularly enough, the man who has furnished us with this piece of information is Ibn 'Ezra himself. On Ps. vii. 1 (superscription) he tells us: "Set to *Dibere Khush*. As the writers of *Sepharad* (the Iberian peninsula) at the top of the poems note down a poem, the melody of which is (well) known" כמו שכותבין כותבי ספרד הפיוטין יכתבו למעלה בתחלת טור הפיוט טעם נגועם [l. פיוט ידוע]. Now, Ibn 'Ezra does not tell us whether he means by "the writers of *Sepharad*" simply Jewish poets, or Jewish liturgical authors, or Christian or Mohammedan poets, or, finally, mere copyists. We will give him, however, the benefit of the doubt, and assume that he meant either Jewish poets who had learnt versification from the Arabs of Spain, or those Arabs themselves. The former supposition is the more probable one. Ibn 'Ezra lived into the second half of the 12th century; and although born in Arabic-speaking Spain, had travelled much abroad, and seen "the lands of many lords" (Italy, France, Provence, England, &c.), where Christians, laymen as well as ecclesiastics, were in the habit of writing poetry "set to" popular tunes. Had he not meant, therefore, by "the writers of *Sepharad*," either the Jews who had learnt from the Arabs, or those Arabs themselves, he would scarcely have used that peculiar expression. Now, the earliest Arabs of Spain who wrote metrically lived at the very least full a thousand years later than the time when the latest Psalm received its superscription. Again, when we look into the practice obtaining among later Jews of having a poem "set to" a well-known melody, we find that neither the Sepharadim nor the Ashkenazim employ for that practice the word *'Al* (עַל). The former use the terms *Leno'am* (לנועם) or *Lechen* (לחן), whilst the latter employ the word *Beniggun* (בנגון). Ibn 'Ezra's theory, that *'Al Ayyeleth Hasshachar* signified "Set to the tune of a poem beginning *Ayyeleth Hasshachar*," must therefore be absolutely rejected as an anachronism.

But how came so keen-witted a scholar as Ibn 'Ezra unquestionably was, to fall into such a gross mistake? This may be easily explained. It has been clearly shown by Ewald,[h] and by

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[d] It will be observed that the two words אַיָלוֹן and אַיָלוֹן differ only in their vowel-points.

[a] *Shocher Tob* (i.e. Midrash *Tehillim*, or *Tillim*), xxii.; Midrash *Chazitha* (on Cant. vi. 10); Talmud Yerushalmi *Berakhoth*, i. 1; *Yuma*, iii. 2.

[b] This greatest of mediaeval Rabbis flourished at Troyes, Champagne, from 1040 to 1105. See Schiller-Szinessy, art. "Rashi," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. xx.

[c] Rashi's statement that the Rabbis applied this Psalm to Esther is given by him without any further remark. It is evident by his silence that he does not quite see the cogency of this application.

[d] *Shocher Tob*, in loco.

[e] This prince of commentators was born after 1155, and died about 1235 at Narbonne. See Schiller-Szinessy, art. "Kimhi," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. xiv.

[f] Abraham Ibn 'Ezra was born at Toledo after 1090, and died at Rome (?) after 1165. He was versed in all branches of literature and science known in his time. He wrote most learnedly on philosophy and theology, and it may safely be said of him, *Nihil tetigit quod non ornavit*; but he believed, alas! also in astrology, on which we have several books by him.

[g] It is true that some writers (Gesenius, Fürst, &c.) have even gone so far as to maintain that a somewhat similar instance is to be found in the Bible itself, and that the word *qasheth* (קֶשֶׁת) in 2 Sam. i. 18 refers to the word *qesheth* (קֶשֶׁת), which is to be found in *v.* 22. With the same reason, and a much better one, as the word *qesheth* (קֶשֶׁת) there stands at the beginning of a verse, we might say that it refers to 1 Sam. ii. 4. But this, surely, would be a gross absurdity. As regards the "proof" which Gesenius brings from the Qoran, we can only say that it is worse than a mere anachronism.

[h] *Die poetischen Bücher des Alten Bundes* (Göttingen, 1839, 8vo, i. p. 175).

others both before[i] and after[k] him, though not with sufficient consistency, that no word or words signifying an instrument or instruments can be preceded by *'Al*, as the Hebrews did not speak of playing "upon" (*'Al*), but "with" or "by means of" (= *Be* or = *Bi*). Ewald and his predecessor, however, were by no means the first to find out this fact: it must have been well known to Ibn 'Ezra, who no doubt rejected, on account of that fact, the "instrument-of-music" theory, though he only did so silently. The theory, that a word or words succeeding *'Al* in superscriptions signified a "music-band," applied practically by Rab Se'adyah Gaon to Ps. viii. 1, was not only not rejected by Ibn 'Ezra, but even received with some favour. He, no doubt, would have consistently adhered to this rational theory, had not the superscriptions of Pss. liii. 1, lxi. 1, and lxxxviii. 1 presented, as it appeared to him, an insuperable difficulty. He gives us an insight into his thoughts concerning this matter in his commentary on Pss. lxi. 1 and lxxxviii. 1 (and silently also on Ps. liii. 1). He tells us that the *Pattach* under the last syllable of *Neginath* (נְגִינַת) and *Machalath* (מַחֲלַת) (being common nouns, as he believed) pointed to a construct state (*status constructus*); but since the genitive of this construction was missing, this omission, in its turn, could only point to one thing, viz. that this was the first word of a poem, the tune of which was well known at the time while the Temple stood. Now, in reality, Ibn 'Ezra argues here in a circle (*circulus vitiosus*), as *Machalath* need not be a common, but may be a proper, noun; in the latter case it is found with a *Pattach*, without a genitive following (cf. Gen. xxviii. 9; 2 Ch. xi. 18). If we may appeal to analogy, such is also the case with *Neginath*, when a proper noun.

To resume: (1) The "instrument-of-music" theory must be abandoned. That part of it which identifies *Ayyeleth Hasshachar* with a "morning-flute" is so gross an absurdity that it needs no further refutation. (2) The "commencement-of-a-poem" theory must also be rejected, as resting not merely on an anachronism, but also as originating in an argument which moves in a circle.

What, then, is the meaning of *Ayyeleth Hasshachar*? It is the name of a music-band, as the learned Calmet,[l] in his commentary on this Psalm (which with him, as with the Septuagint, is Ps. xxi.), already suggests, although he was not aware of all the reasons why it was so called. Now, there can be little doubt that this band had its seat in *Ayyalon* (Aijalon or Ajalon), and that it was its duty Levitically to assist in the morning sacrifice and service. Hence *Ayyeleth Hasshachar*. This theory fits in well with the Targumic phrase "the perpetual morning sacrifice" (קורבן תדירא דקריצתא), which expresses in part an old tradition. [S.-S.]

[i] The late I. H. Kohn, Hebrew Master at the Imperial Royal Normal School of Old Buda, whose pupil the writer of this article was in 1830–32.

[k] H. P. Rée, *Forschungen über die Ueberschriften der Psalmen* (Leipzig, 1846, sm. 8vo, p. 2, n. 2 *seqq.*). This little book, if used with caution, will prove valuable in many respects.

[l] Calmet was a French Benedictine of great distinction. He flourished from 1672 to 1757.

AIN (עַיִן), an eye, and also, in the simple but vivid imagery of the East, a spring or natural burst of living water, always distinguished from the well or tank of artificial formation, which is designated by the words Bĕêr (בְּאֵר) and Bor (בְּאֵר and בּוֹר). Ain still retains its ancient and double meaning in Arabic, عين. Such living springs abound in Palestine even more than in other mountainous districts, and, apart from their natural value in a hot climate, form one of the most remarkable features of the country. Stanley (*S. and P.* 147, 509) has called attention to the accurate and persistent use of the word in the original text of the Bible, and has well expressed the inconvenience arising from the confusion in the A.V. of words and things so radically distinct as *Ain* and *Beer*. "The importance of distinguishing between the two is illustrated by Ex. xv. 27, in which the word *'Ainoth* (A. V. 'wells,' R. V. 'springs') is used for the springs of fresh water at Elim, although the rocky soil of that place excludes the supposition of dug wells." [FOUNTAIN.]

Ain oftenest occurs in combination with other words, forming the names of definite localities: these will be found under En, as En-gedi, En-gannim, &c. It occurs alone in two cases:—

1. With the def. article, הָעַיִן. One of the landmarks on the eastern boundary of Palestine as described by Moses (Num. xxxiv. 11), and apparently mentioned, if the rendering of the A. V. and R. V. be accurate, to define the position of Riblah, viz. "on the east side of 'the spring'" (LXX. ἐπὶ πηγάς). By Jerome, in the Vulgate, it is rendered *contra fontem Daphnim*, meaning the spring which rose in the celebrated grove of Daphne, dedicated to Apollo and Diana at Antioch.[a] But Riblah having been lately, with much probability, identified (Rob. iii. 542–6; Porter, ii. 335) with a place of the same name on the east bank of the Orontes between *Ba'albek* and *Homs*, "the spring" of the text must in the present state of our knowledge be taken to be *'Ain el-'Asy*, the main source of the Orontes; a spring remarkable, even among the springs of Palestine, for its force and magnitude. The objections to this identification are the distance from *Ribleh*—about 9 miles; and the direction—nearer N.E. than E. (see Rob. iii. 534; Porter, ii. 335–6, 358). Not far from *'Ain el-'Asy* is the remarkable monument of *Kamû'a el-Hermil*, perhaps the most conspicuous landmark in Syria, and some distance to the south is the modern village of *el-'Ain*. [RIBLAH; HAMATH.]

2. One of the southernmost cities of Judah (Josh. xv. 32, *Aen*), afterwards allotted to Simeon (Josh. xix. 7, *Ain*; 1 Ch. iv. 32,[b] B. omits, A.

[a] That this, and not the spring identified at *Difneh*, near the source of the Jordan at *Tell el-Kady* (Rob. iii. 393; Ritter, *Jordan*, 215), is the Daphne referred to in the Vulgate, is clear from the quotations from Jerome given in Reland (*Pal.*, cap. xxv. p. 120). In the Targums of Jerusalem and Ps.-Jonathan Riblah is rendered by Daphne, and Ain by 'Invatha (עינוותא). Schwarz (29) would place Ain at "Ein-al-Malcha": to be consistent with which, he is driven to assume that the Daphne near Panias had also the name of Riblah.

[b] After enumerating the "cities" (עָרִים) of Simeon, the text proceeds, "and their villages (חַצְרֵיהֶם) were

Hν, *Aen*) and given to the priests (Josh. xxi. 16, B. Ἄσα, A. Αἰκ; *Ain*). In the list of priests' cities *Ain* 1 Ch. vi. 59 ([Heb. v. 44], B. Ἀσάν, A. Ἀτταν; *Asan*) Ashan (עָשָׁן) takes the place of Ain; they were, however, different places, as they are mentioned together in Josh. xix. 7 and 1 Ch. iv. 32. [ASHAN.] The name may possibly be retained in the *W. el-'Ain*, which rises in the heart of *Jebel Magrâh* at the southern extremity of Palestine.

In Neh. xi. 29 (T.[7] and Vulg. omit, ℵ.[3] ἐν Ρεμμών) Ain is joined to the name which in the other passages usually follows it, and appears as En-rimmon. So the LXX. B. in Josh. xv. 32 gives the name as Ἐρωμώθ (A. Ρεμμών; *Aen*), and in Josh. xix. 7 as Ἐρεμμών (A. Αἰν καὶ Ρ.; *Ain*). [EN-RIMMON.] (See Rob. ii. 204.) [G.] [W.]

AIR (ἀήρ). In Eph. ii. 2 Satan is called "the prince of the power of the air," "the spirit that worketh in the sons of disobedience" (R. V.). Whether or not "air" be taken, with some critics, as equivalent to darkness, the sentence expresses the popular belief of Jew and Gentile that the air was peopled with spiritual beings, and the lower strata especially or those nearest to earth with spirits of evil. It was the teaching of Pythagoras, of Plutarch, and of Xenocrates that the air beneath the ether and the heaven was full of gods and demons; it was a similar belief which made the Jews "all their lifetime through fear of death subject to bondage" (Heb. ii. 15). Jewish theology (to refer only to that) massed together these noxious spirits under the head of *Massikin* (מזיקין). Their leader was and is Satan,—restless, cruel, and independent. As the "spirit of delusion" he first tempts and deceives man; next as "accuser" he brings charges against him, and then as the "angel of death" he seeks to slay him. In this conception, probably that current in the time of St. Paul, there is an advance upon the more reserved statements of the Canonical Scripture of the Old Testament. The prologue to Job and Zechariah (ch. iii.) represents the Satan as able to work ill only by God's permission; and if the later writer of 1 Ch. xxi. 1 represents this prince-spirit as acting in a more independent fashion, his conception falls yet very far short of the ἄρχων τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος. See DEMONOLOGY, and consult on the whole subject Hamburger, *RE.* s. n. "Geister," and *Speaker's Comm.* on Tobit, pp. 176, &c. [F.]

AI'RUS (Ἀιρος; *An*). One of the "servants of the Temple," or Nethinim, whose descendants returned with Zorobabel (1 Esd. v. 31). Perhaps the same as REAIAH. [W. A. W.]

A'JAH (אַיָּה; A. Αιέ, E. Ναιέ; *Aia;* R. V. *Aiah*). Son of Zibeon (Gen. xxxvi. 24; called in 1 Ch. i. 40 AIAH [B. Αἰθ, A. Αἰα; *Aia*]). [AIAH; ANAH.] [F.]

A'JALON (R. V. *Aijalon*, Josh. x. 12, xix. 42; 2 Ch. xxviii. 18). The same place as AIJALON (1), which see. The Hebrew being the same in both, there is no reason for the inconsistency in the spelling of the name in the A. V. [G.] [W.]

AKA'N (עָקָן; A. Ἰωυκάμ, *D.* Ἰεωυκάμ; *Acan*), a descendant of Esau (Gen. xxxvi. 27), called JAKAN in 1 Ch. i. 42 (B. omits, A. Ἰωακάν; *Jacan*). [BENE-JAAKAN.] [W. A. W.] [F.]

AKEL'DAMA. [ACELDAMA.]

AKKU'B (עַקּוּב, Ges. = *cunning*, cp. יַעֲקֹב; A. Ακκούβ, B. Ἰακούν; *Accub*). **1.** A descendant of Zerubbabel, and one of the seven sons of Elioenai (1 Ch. iii. 24).

2. *Accub.* One of the porters or doorkeepers at the east gate of the Temple. His descendants succeeded to his office, and appear among those who returned from Babylon (1 Ch. ix. 17 [B. Ακούμ; A. Ακούβ]; Ezra ii. 42 [AB. Ακούμ]; Neh. vii. 45 [ℵAB (?). Ακούμ], xi. 19 [T.[7] Ακούβ], xii. 25 [T.[7] omits, ℵ.[3] Ακούβ]). Also called DACOBI (1 Esd. v. 28).

3. B. Ακαβώθ, A. Ακούβ. One of the Nethinim, whose family returned with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii. 45). The name is omitted in Neh. vii., but occurs in the form ACUB (B. Ακούφ, A. Ακούμ) in 1 Esd. v. 31; though some prefer to consider ACUB as answering to BAKBUK in Ezra ii. 51 (Βακβούκ, B. Βακκούκ), and find in Acua in 1 Esd. v. 30 (Ακούδ) the name of this member of the Nethinim.

4. Omitted in LXX. A Levite who assisted Ezra in expounding the Law (Neh. viii. 7). Called JACUBUS in 1 Esd. ix. 48 (A. Ἰάκουβος, B. Ἰασούβοος; *Accubus*). [W. A. W.] [F.]

AKRAB'BIM, "THE ASCENT OF," and "THE GOING UP TO;" also "MAALEH-ACRABBIM" (מַעֲלֵה עַקְרַבִּים="the ascent of scorpions;" BA. usually, ἀνάβασις Ακραβείν, A.? in Josh. Ἀκραββείμ; *Ascensus scorpionum*). A pass between the south end of the Dead Sea and Zin, forming one of the landmarks on the south boundary at once of Judah (Josh. xv. 3) and of the Holy Land (Num. xxxiv. 4). Also the north (?) boundary of the Amorites (Judg. i. 36).

Judas Maccabaeus gained here a great victory over the Edomites (1 Macc. v. 3[a] [ℵ.[1] Ἀκραβαττηνή, ℵ.[2] -αττανή; *Acrabathane*], "Arabattine," which see; *Jos. Ant.* xii. 8, § 1).

De Saulcy (i. 77) would identify it with the long and steep pass of the *Wady es-Zuweirah*. Scorpions he certainly found there in plenty, but this wady is too much to the north to have been Akrabbim, as the boundary went from thence to Zin and Kadesh-Barnea, which wherever situated were certainly many miles further south. Robinson's conjecture is, that it is the line of cliffs which cross the Ghor at right angles, 11 miles south of the Dead Sea, and form the ascent of separation between the Ghor and the Arabah (ii. 120). Akrabbim is possibly the

Etam, Ain ..... five cities" (עָרִים). Keil and Bertheau join וחצריהם to *v.* 31. The difference between the numbers five and four (*Josh.* xix. 6, 7, to which the passage in 1 Ch. refers) is sufficiently explained by Dillmann on Josh. *l. c.* [S. R. D.]

[a] The Alex. MS. in this place reads Ἰουδαίᾳ for Ἰδουμαίᾳ, and Ewald (*Gesch.* iv. 91, 358) endeavours to show therefrom that the Acrabattine there mentioned was that between Samaria and Judaea, in support of his opinion that a large part of Southern Palestine was then in possession of the Edomites. But this reading does not agree with the context, and it is at least certain that Josephus had the text as it now stands. See *Speaker's Commentary*, note on 1 Macc. v. 3.

steep pass *es-Sufah*, by which the final step is made from the desert to the level of the actual land of Palestine, or perhaps the ascent leading up to *Nagb Ibn Mâr*, a position more in accordance with that usually assigned to Zin, the next point mentioned on the boundary. As to the name, scorpions abound in the whole of this district.

This place must not be confounded with Akrabatene, 'Ακραβατηνή, or Akrabatta, 'Ακραβαττά, one of the eleven Toparchies into which Judaea was divided, and named next to Gophna. This place lay between Neapolis and Jericho, and its name survives in the modern village *'Akrabeh*. [ARBATTIS.] [G.] [W.]

ALABASTER (ἀλάβαστρος; *alabastrum*) occurs in the N. T. only, in the notice of the *alabaster-box* of ointment which a woman brought to our Lord when He sat at meat in the house of Simon the leper at Bethany, the contents of which she poured on the head of the Saviour. (See Matt. xxvi. 7; Mark xiv. 3; Luke vii. 37.) By the English word *alabaster* is to be understood both that kind which is also known by the name of *gypsum*, and the *Oriental alabaster* which is so much valued on account of its translucency, and for its variety of coloured streakings, red, yellow, gray, &c., which it owes for the most part to the admixture of oxides of iron. The latter is a fibrous carbonate of lime, of which there are many varieties, *satin spar* being one of the most common. The former is a hydrous sulphate of lime, and forms when calcined and ground the well-known substance called *plaster of Paris*. Both these kinds of alabaster, but especially the latter, are and have been long used for various ornamental purposes, such as the fabrication of vases, boxes, &c. The ancients considered alabaster (carbonate of lime) to be the best material in which to preserve their ointments (Pliny, *H. N.* xiii. 3). Herodotus (iii. 20) mentions an alabaster vessel of ointment which Cambyses sent, amongst other things, as a present to the Aethiopians. Hammond (*Annotat. ad Matt.* xxvi. 7) quotes Plutarch, Julius Pollux, and Athenaeus, to show that alabaster was the material in which ointments were wont to be kept.

In 2 K. xxi. 13, "I will wipe Jerusalem as a man wipeth a *dish*" (צַלָּחַת), the Vat. and Alex. versions of the LXX. use *alabastron* in the rendering of the Hebrew words.[a] The reading of the LXX. in this passage is thus literally translated by Harmer (*Observations*, iv. 473): "I will unanoint Jerusalem as an alabaster unanointed box is unanointed, and is turned down on its face." Pliny[b] tells us that the usual form of these alabaster vessels was long and slender at the top, and round and full at the bottom. He likens them to the long pearls, called *elenchi*, which the Roman ladies suspended from their fingers or dangled from their ears. He compares also the green pointed cone of a rose-bud to the form of an alabaster ointment-vessel (*H. N.* xxi. 4). The *onyx*—(cp. Hor. *Od.* iv. 12, 17, "Nardi parvus onyx")—which Pliny says is another name for *alabastrites*, must not be confounded with the precious stone of that name, which is a sub-species of the *quartz* family of minerals, being a variety of agate. Perhaps the name of onyx was given to the pink-coloured variety of the calcareous alabaster, in allusion to its resembling the finger-nail (*onyx*) in colour, or else because the calcareous alabaster bears some resemblance to the agate-onyx in the characteristic lunar-shaped mark of the last-named stone, which mark reminded the ancients of the whitish semicircular spot at the base of the finger-nail.

The term *alabastra*, however, was by no means exclusively applied to vessels made from this material. Theocritus[c] speaks of *golden alabasters*. That the passage in Theocritus implies that the alabasters were made of gold, and not simply gilt, as some have understood it, seems

Alabaster Vessels. (From the British Museum.) The inscription on the centre vessel denotes the quantity it holds.

clear from the words of Plutarch (*in Alexandro*, p. 676), cited by Kypke on Mark xiv. 3, where he speaks of alabasters "all skilfully *wrought of gold*" (χρυσοῦ ἠσκημένα περιττῶς). Alabasters, then, may have been made of any material suitable for keeping ointment in,—glass, silver, gold, &c. Precisely similar is the use of the English word *box*; and perhaps the Greek πύξος and the Latin *buxus* are additional illustrations. *Box* is doubtless derived from the name of the shrub, the wood of which is so well adapted for *turning* boxes and such like objects. The term, which originally was limited to boxes made of the box-wood, eventually extended to boxes generally; as we say, an *iron box*, a *gold box*, &c.

In Mark xiv. 3, the woman who brought "the alabaster-box of ointment of spikenard" is said to *break* the box before pouring out the ointment. Some have supposed that *breaking the box* implied merely *breaking the seal* which kept

[a] B. ἀπαλείψω τὴν Ἰερουσαλήμ, καθὼς ἀπαλείφεται ὁ ἀλάβαστρος [A. τὸ ἀλάβαστρον] ἀπαλειφόμενος, καὶ καταστρέφεται [A. -τε] ἐπὶ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ. The Complutensian Version and the Vulgate [*delebo Jerusalem sicut deleri solent tabulae* (Lucian's recension, πυξίον); *et delens vestam, et ducam crebrius stylum super faciem ejus*] understand the passage in a very different way.

[b] "Et procerioribus sua gratia est: elenchos appellant fastigata longitudine, *alabastrorum* figura in pleniorem orbem desinentes" (*H. N.* ix. 56).

[c] Συρίῳ δὲ μύρῳ χρύσει' ἀλάβαστρα (*Id.* xv. 114). "μύρου χρύσεια ἀλάβαστρα non sunt vasa unguentaria ex alabastrite lapide eaque auro ornata, sed simpliciter vasa unguentaria ex auro facta. Cf. Schleusn. *Lex. N. T.* s.v. ἀλάβαστρον" (Kiessling, *ad Theocr.* l. c.)

the essence of the perfume from evaporating; others take it more literally: the box was broken as having no value apart from its use as holding the ointment.

The town of Alabastron in Middle Egypt received its name from the alabaster quarries of the adjacent hill, the modern Mount St. Anthony. In this town was a manufactory of vases and vessels for holding perfumes, &c. [W. H.]

ALA'METH (עַלֶמֶת, Ges. = *covering*, Fürst = *youthfulness*; B. Γεμέεθ, A. Ἐλμεθέμ; *Almath*); better ALEMETH. One of the sons of Becher, the son of Benjamin (1 Ch. vii. 8). [W. A. W.] [F.]

ALAMME'LECH (אַלַּמֶּלֶךְ, perhaps *king's oak*; B. Ἐλειμέλεχ; *Elmelech*), a place within the limits of Asher, named between Achshaph and Amad (Josh. xix. 26, only). It has not yet been identified, but Schwarz (p. 191) suggests a connexion with the *W. el-Melek*, which falls into the Kishon near *Haifa*, and has a large forest of oaks on its south side. [G.] [W.]

ALA'MOTH (עַל-עֲלָמוֹת) occurs only twice in the Bible (Ps. xlvi. 1 and 1 Ch. xv. 20). The translators and commentators are much divided as regards the meaning of this phrase. The Targumist, taking advantage of the Sons of Qorach occurring in the first, or introductory, verse of the said Psalm, interprets *'Al-'Alamoth* Midrashically by, "When their father had been removed from their sight" (בזמן דאתכסי אבוהון מנהון); comp. Num. xvi. 33; xxvi. 11. This explanation, if we may call it one, deserves, of course, no further notice. Rashi gives *'Alamoth* as an instrument of music. This explanation, from the construction of the word with *'Al* (עַל), cannot be correct [AIJELETH SHAHAR]. Ibn 'Ezra gives it as the commencement of a poem. This is an anachronism (see *ut supra*). Qimchi's explanation, being the same as Rashi's, must be rejected on the same grounds. The same is the case as regards the translation of it by "*The Virginal*." Calmet's "*La bande des filles musiciennes*" (on Ps. ix. 1) is historically incorrect, since women[a] were not allowed, at public worship, to sing together with men. The explanation of *'Alamoth* by the German "*Jungfrauenweise*" is a worse anachronism still than Ibn 'Ezra's. We are, then, at once led to the only possible interpretation, which is strongly supported by the peculiar wording of 1 Ch. xv. 16. There only three instruments are named (*Nebalim*, *Kinnoroth*, and *Metziltayim*: see HARP and CYMBALS); and *ibidem* v. 21 the last word (לנצח) must refer also to the last word of v. 20 (עלמות). Thus we see that three men, Heman, Asaph, and Ethan (v. 19), handled the cymbals to give general notice (להשמיע), while the eight men (v. 20) played on psalteries in order to direct the music-corps called *'Alamoth*, and the six other men (v. 21) played on harps to direct the music-corps called *Hassheminith*.[b]

There would, then, remain only one more point that requires an explanation, viz. why this music-corps was called *'Alamoth*. This will be, however, easily understood when the following two facts are taken into consideration. (1) According to the Mosaic economy (Num. xviii. 2–6) there subsisted a very close connexion between the priests and the Levites. The latter were the companions (וילוו), if not the servants (וישרתוך), of the former. (2) *'Allemeth* and *'Almon* (*Bachurim*) were not identical but contiguous localities, and the dwelling-places of some of the priests; and hence we may derive the use of this word *'Alamoth*. This theory would likewise account for the plural number. As regards the feminine gender of *'Alamoth*, we need only refer to 1 Ch. xxiii. 6, where the Levites are said to have been divided into bands (*Machleqoth*, מחלקות; which is fem. plur.). The names of the bands, therefore, with rare exceptions, are given in that gender.[c] [S.-S.]

AL'CIMUS (Ἀλκιμος, *valiant*, a Greek name, assumed, according to the prevailing fashion, as representing Eliakim, אֶלְיָקִים, Ἐλιακείμ, *God setteth up*); called also JACEIMUS or JAKIM (ὁ καὶ Ἰάκειμος alit. Ἰωάκειμος, Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 9, § 5, *i.e.* יָקִים, cf. Jud. iv. 6 *varr. lectt.*; Ἰάκιμος, Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 10, 3), a Jewish priest (1 Macc. vii. 14), who was attached to the Hellenizing party (2 Macc. xiv. 3).[d] On the death of Menelaus (162 B.C.), Alcimus seems to have obtained from Antiochus Eupator, through the influence of Lysias, the succession to the high-priesthood, thereby excluding Onias, the nephew and heir of Menelaus (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 9, § 7; 2 Macc. xiv. 3). Though of the stock of Aaron (1 Macc. vii. 14), he was probably not of the high-priestly family (Joseph. *l. c.*; xx. 10, § 3); and, if not for that reason, yet at any rate for his well-known Hellenizing views, his designation to office seems not to have been recognised by his people. In the interval which elapsed before the downfall of Antiochus and Lysias, Judas in all probability exercised the functions of high-priest (cp. Joseph. xii. 11, § 2, *τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἐτὸς τρίτον κατασχών*), Alcimus being driven from the country. Of this first period of the high-priesthood of Alcimus we are told nothing in the First Book of Maccabees. It is, however, directly asserted by Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 9, § 7), and again implied by him when he states that Jakim (*i.e.* Alcimus) had at the time of his death held the office for *three* years (*ὁ δὲ Ἰάκιμος, ἔτη τρία τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην κατα-*

[a] When one finds the expression "and singing-women" (ומשררות) twice in the Bible (Ezra ii. 65 and Neh. vii. 67), it must be explained, as the commentators on these passages maintain, that these singers had nothing to do with religious songs in the Temple or any other public place of worship. Compare Ps. cxlviii. 12, and mark the difference there between the expression גם ("and also") and עם ("with"). [DANCE.]

[b] It was, no doubt, called so from having been the eighth music-corps when only eight such bands existed. Later on there were twenty-four such bands. See AL-TASCHITH.

[c] This explanation we owe to Kohn [AIJELETH SHAHAR, note [i]]. A somewhat similar one is given by Rée [AIJELETH SHAHAR, note [k]].

[d] According to a Jewish tradition (*Bereshith R.* 65), he was "sister's son of Jose ben Joeser," chief of the Sanhedrin (Raphall, *Hist. of Jews*, i. 245, 303).

σχὼν ἐτελεύτησεν, *Ant.* xx. 10, 3), or, as he says in another place, for *four* years (ἀρχιερατεύσας ἔτη τέσσαρα, *Ant.* xii. 10, 6). When Demetrius Soter obtained the kingdom of Syria, Alcimus paid court to that monarch, and represented the dangerous character of Judas and his followers (1 Macc. vii. 6). Demetrius therefore confirmed him in his office, and through his general Bacchides [BACCHIDES] established him at Jerusalem. At first a considerable section of the nationalist party were ready to put faith in Alcimus, because he was of the stock of Aaron. But their confidence was cruelly requited. By the order of Bacchides, apparently with the consent of Alcimus, as many as sixty were treacherously murdered; among them, according to Jewish tradition, the uncle of Alcimus—Jose ben Joeser, the illustrious pupil of Antigonus of Socho. The cruelty of the new high-priest, of which this deed may be taken as an example, quickly undeceived those who had hitherto remained doubtful. In spite of the force left in his command, he was unable to withstand the opposition which he provoked. The influence of Judas and the nationalist party (see ASSIDEANS) frustrated all his schemes of policy or revenge (1 Macc. vii. 9, 25); and he was once more compelled to flee to Demetrius at Antioch, who immediately took measures for his restoration. The first expedition under Nicanor proved unsuccessful. According to one account, it terminated in an amicable arrangement between Judas and Nicanor. This so little suited the purpose of Alcimus, that he applied again to Demetrius and charged Nicanor with friendship towards the king's worst foe. Nicanor received a stern order from Demetrius to bring Judas in chains to Antioch (2 Macc. xiv. 26, 27). A second campaign ended in Judas's great victory of Adarsa, near Bethhoron, where Nicanor was killed and his forces utterly routed (13th Adar=March, 161). Upon this Bacchides marched against Jerusalem with a large army, routed Judas, who fell in the battle of Eleasa (Nisan=April, 160 or 161 B.C.), and reinstated Alcimus. After his restoration, Alcimus seems to have attempted to modify the ancient worship, and was engaged in pulling down "the wall of the inner court of the sanctuary" (*i.e.* which separated the court of the Gentiles from it; yet see Grimm, 1 Macc. ix. 54) when he was "plagued" (by paralysis), and "died at that time,"—"in the second month," Ijar=May, 159 or 160 B.C. This "wall" was in all probability the barrier or fence of trellis-work (cf. the name סוריגא, "soriga"), from three to four feet in height, which stood between the inner and outer walls of the Temple. No Gentile nor any person rendered unclean by contact with a corpse might pass beyond it. [See a facsimile of the inscription placed on the wall in Stade, *Gesch. d. Volkes Israel*, ii. p. 268.] The great "outer court" was limited on its inner side by this breastwork, which is described by Josephus as it appeared in the Herodian Temple (δρύφακτος λίθινος τρίπηχυς μὲν ὕψος, πάνυ δὲ χαριέντως διειργασμένος, *Bell. Jud.* v. 5, 2). By the Jews it was regarded with peculiar reverence as the work of the prophets (ἔργα τῶν προφητῶν, 1 Macc. ix. 54; τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ ἁγίου, ὃν παλαιὸν καὶ κατασκευασμένον ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων προφητῶν, Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 10, 6). Accordingly the attempt of Alcimus was regarded with special horror by pious Jews; for it implied both the destruction of a sacred portion of their sanctuary, and the intention of granting a free access to the Temple even to the Gentiles and the unclean. The undertaking was stopped by the sudden seizure and death of Alcimus, which to the Jews appeared as a heaven-sent punishment for his impiety (πληγή τις αἰφνίδιος ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, Joseph. *l. c.*). The 23rd of Marcheswan, *i.e.* the second month of the civil year, = November, was observed by the people as the day on which Alcimus had begun the unholy work, which the hand of God had prevented him from carrying into effect. (Cf. *Mishna Middoth*, 2, 3. See Grätz, *Gesch. d. Jud.*[3] iii. pp. 12, 603.)

The character of Alcimus seems to have been thoroughly contemptible. Greed and love of power prompted him to sue for the office of high-priest. During the short period of his residence in Jerusalem he showed himself to be both treacherous and cruel. The last act of his life was prompted by his wish to curry favour with the Hellenizers and the court of Antioch, rather than by any ambition of making his religion universal.

His death is noticeable for another reason. The court at Antioch nominated no successor to his office, and there ensued an interregnum of seven years in the list of the high-priests, during which the high-priestly functions were performed by a *Sagan*, the representative or vice high-priest (cp. Buxtorf, *sub voce* סגן). Cp. Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 9, § 5, xii. 10; 1 Macc. vii. ix. cf. 2 Macc. xiv. xv.; Ewald, *Hist. of Israel*, v. 319 seq. (Eng. trans.); Graetz, *Gesch. der Jud.*[3] iii. pp. 11, 12, and his *Excursus on the Megillath Taanith*, p. 597. [R.]

AL'EMA (ἐν Ἀλέμαις, A. ἐν Ἀλάμοις; *in Alimis*), a large and strong city in Gilead in the time of the Maccabees (1 Macc. v. 26). Its name does not occur again, nor have we yet any means of identifying it with certainty; it may, however, be *Kefr el-Ma* on the right bank of *Nahr er-Rukkâd* in *Jaulân* (Schumacher, *Across the Jordan*, 79–83). Grimm (*in loc.*) suggests that it may represent BEER-ELIM (Is. xv. 8; comp. Num. xxi. 16). [G.] [W.]

ALE'METH (עַלֶמֶת [meaning uncertain: see under ALAMETH], Fürst = *youthfulness; Alamath*). A Benjamite, son of Jehoadan, or Jarah, and descended from Jonathan the son of Saul (1 Ch. viii. 36 [B. Σαλαιμάθ, A. Γαλεμάθ], ix. 42 [B. Γαμέλεθ, A. Γαλεμέθ]). The form of the name in Hebrew is different from that of the town ALEMETH, with which it has been compared. [W. A. W.] [F.]

ALE'METH (R. V. more accurately, *Allemeth*, עַלְמֶת; B. Γαλέμεθ, A. Γαλήμεθ; *Almath*), the form under which Almon, the name of a city of the priests in Benjamin, appears in 1 Ch. vi. 60 [45]. Under the very similar form of *'Almit*, it has been identified in the present day at about a mile N.E. of *'Anâta*, the site of Anathoth; first by Schwarz (p. 128) and then by Mr. Finn (Rob. iii. 287). Among the genealogies of Benjamin the name occurs in connexion with Azmaveth, also the name of a town of that tribe (1 Ch. viii. 36, ix. 42; compared with

Ezra ii. 24). [ALMON.] In the Targum of Jonathan on 2 Sam. xvi. 5, Bahurim is rendered Alemath. [G.] [W.]

ALEXAN'DER III., king of Macedon, surnamed THE GREAT (Ἀλέξανδρος, *the helper of men; Alexander;* Arab. *the two-horned,* Golii *Lex. Arab.* p. 1806), "the son of Philip" (1 Macc. vi. 2) and Olympias, was born at Pella B.C. 356. On his mother's side he claimed descent from Achilles; and the Homeric legends were not without influence upon his life. At an early age he was placed under the care of Aristotle; and while still a youth he turned the fortune of the day at Chaeroneia (B.C. 338). On the murder of Philip (B.C. 336) Alexander put down with resolute energy the disaffection and hostility by which his throne was menaced; and in two years he crossed the Hellespont (B.C. 334) to carry out the plans of his father, and execute the mission of Greece to the civilised world. The battle of the Granicus was followed by the subjugation of Western Asia; and in the following year the fate of the East was decided at Issus (B.C. 333). Tyre and Gaza were the only cities in Western Syria which offered Alexander any resistance, and these were reduced and treated with unusual severity (B.C. 332). Egypt next submitted to him; and in B.C. 331 he founded Alexandria, which remains to the present day the most characteristic monument of his life and work. In the same year he finally defeated Darius at Gaugamela; and in B.C. 330 his unhappy rival was murdered by Bessus, satrap of Bactria. The next two years were occupied by Alexander in the consolidation of his Persian conquests, and in the reduction of Bactria. In B.C. 327 he crossed the Indus, penetrated to the Hydaspes, and was there forced by the discontent of his army to turn westward. He reached Susa B.C. 325, and proceeded to Babylon B.C. 324, which he chose as the capital of his empire. In the next year he died there (B.C. 323) in the midst of his gigantic plans; and those who inherited his conquests left his designs unachieved and unattempted (cp. Dan. vii. 6, viii. 5, xi. 3).

The famous tradition of the visit of Alexander to Jerusalem during his Phoenician campaign (Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 8, § 1 sq.) has been a fruitful source of controversy. The Jews, it is said, had provoked his anger by refusing to transfer their allegiance to him when summoned to do so during the siege of Tyre, and after the reduction of Tyre and Gaza (Joseph. *l. c.*) he turned towards Jerusalem. Jaddua (Jaddus) the high-priest (Neh. xii. 11, 22), who had been warned in a dream how to avert the king's anger, calmly awaited his approach; and when he drew near went out to Sapha (more generally known as Scopus: cp. Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* v. 2, 3), within sight of the city and Temple, clad in his robes of hyacinth and gold, and accompanied by a train of priests and citizens arrayed in white. Alexander was so moved by the solemn spectacle that he did reverence to the holy name inscribed upon the tiara of the high-priest; and when Parmenio expressed surprise, he replied that "he had seen the God Whom Jaddua represented in a dream at Dium, encouraging him to cross over into Asia, and promising him success." After this it is said that he visited Jerusalem, offered sacrifice there, heard the prophecies of Daniel which foretold his victory, and conferred important privileges upon the Jews, not only in Judaea but in Babylonia and Media, which they enjoyed during the supremacy of his successors. The narrative is repeated in the Talmud (*Joma,* p. 69; cp. Wünsche, *Der Babyl. Talmud,* i. 374; the high-priest is there said to have been Simon the Just, and the scene to have taken place near Antipatris), in later Jewish writers (*Yajikra R.* Par. 13; Joseph ben Gorion, *ap.* Ste. Croix, p. 553), and in the chronicles of Abulfeda (Ste. Croix, p. 555). The event was adapted by the Samaritans to suit their own history with a corresponding change of places and persons and various embellishments (Abulfeda, quoted by Ste. Croix, pp. 209–212); and in due time Alexander was enrolled among the proselytes of Judaism. On the other hand, no mention of the event occurs in Arrian, Plutarch, Diodorus, or Curtius; and the connexion in which it is placed by Josephus is alike inconsistent with Jewish history (Ewald, *Hist. Isr.* vol. v. p. 214, Eng. tr.; Grätz, *Gesch. d. Jud.* Bd. ii. pt. 2, p. 221) and with the narrative of Arrian (iii. 1, ἑβδόμῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀπὸ τῆς Γάζης ἐλαύνων ἦκεν ἐς Πηλούσιον).

But admitting the incorrectness of the details of the tradition as given by Josephus, there are several points which confirm the truth of the main fact. Justin says that "many kings of the East came to meet Alexander wearing fillets" (lib. xi. 10); and after the capture of Tyre, "Alexander himself visited some of the cities which still refused to submit to him" (Curt. iv. 5, 13). Even at a later time, according to Curtius, he executed vengeance personally on the Samaritans for the murder of his governor Andromachus (Curt. iv. 8, 10). Besides this, Jewish soldiers were enlisted in his army (Hecat. *ap.* Joseph. *c. Apion.* i. 22), and Jews formed an important element in the population of the city, which he founded shortly after the supposed visit. Above all, the privileges which he is said to have conferred upon the Jews, including the remission of tribute every sabbatical year, existed in later times, and imply some such relation between the Jews and the great conqueror as Josephus describes. Internal evidence is decidedly in favour of the story even in its picturesque fulness. From policy or conviction Alexander delighted to represent himself as chosen by destiny for the great act which he achieved. The siege of Tyre arose professedly from a religious motive. The battle of Issus was preceded by the visit to Gordium; the invasion of Persia by the pilgrimage to the temple of Ammon. And if it be impossible to determine the exact circumstances of the meeting of Alexander and the Jewish envoys, the silence of the classical historians, who notoriously disregarded (*e.g.* the Maccabees) and misrepresented (Tac. *Hist.* v. 8) the fortunes of the Jews, cannot be held to be conclusive against the occurrence of an event which must have appeared to them trivial or unintelligible (Jahn, *Archaeol.* iii. 300 ff.; Ste. Croix, *Examen critique,* &c., Paris, 1810; Thirlwall, *Hist. of Greece,* vi. 206 f.; and on the other side Ant. van Dale, *Dissert. super Aristeâ,* Amstel. 1705, pp. 69 sq.).

The tradition, whether true or false, presents

an aspect of Alexander's character which has been frequently lost sight of by his recent biographers. He was not simply a Greek, nor must he be judged by a Greek standard. The Orientalism, which was a scandal to his followers, was a necessary deduction from his principles, and not the result of caprice or vanity (comp. Arr. vii. 29). He approached the idea of a universal monarchy from the side of Greece, but his final object was to establish something higher than the paramount supremacy of one people. His purpose was to combine and equalize, not to annihilate: to wed the East and West in a just union—not to enslave Asia to Greece (Plut. *de Alex. Or.* 1, § 6). The time, indeed, was not yet come when this was possible; but if he could not accomplish the great issue, he prepared the way for its accomplishment.

The first and most direct consequence of the policy of Alexander was the weakening of nationalities, the first condition necessary for the dissolution of the old religions. The swift course of his victories, the constant incorporation of foreign elements in his armies, the fierce wars and changing fortunes of his successors, broke down the barriers by which kingdom had been separated from kingdom, and opened the road for larger conceptions of life and faith than had hitherto been possible (cp. Polyb. iii. 59). The contact of the East and West brought out into practical forms, thoughts and feelings which had been confined to the schools. Paganism was deprived of life as soon as it was transplanted beyond the narrow limits in which it took its shape. The spread of commerce followed the progress of arms; and the Greek language and literature vindicated their claim to be considered the most perfect expression of human thought by becoming practically universal.

The Jews were at once most exposed to the powerful influences thus brought to bear upon the East, and most able to support them. In the arrangement of the Greek conquests, which followed the battle of Ipsus B.C. 301, Judaea was made the frontier land of the rival empires of Syria and Egypt; and though it was necessarily subjected to the constant vicissitudes of war, it was able to make advantageous terms with the state to which it owed allegiance from the important advantages which it offered for attack or defence [ANTIOCHUS, II.–VII.]. Internally also the people were prepared to withstand the effects of the revolution which the Greek dominion effected. The constitution of Ezra had obtained its full development. A powerful hierarchy had succeeded in substituting the idea of a Church for that of a state; and the Jew was now able to wander over the world and yet remain faithful to the God of his fathers [THE DISPERSION]. The same constitutional change had strengthened the intellectual and religious position of the people. A rigid "fence" of ritualism protected the course of common life from the licence of Greek manners: and the great doctrine of the unity of God, which was now seen to be the divine centre of their system, counteracted the attractions of a philosophic pantheism [SIMON THE JUST]. Through a long course of discipline, in which they had been left unguided by prophetic teaching, the Jews had realised the nature of their mission to the world, and were waiting for the means of fulfilling it. The conquest of Alexander furnished them with the occasion and the power. But at the same time the example of Greece fostered personal as well as popular independence. Judaism was speedily divided into sects, analogous to the typical forms of Greek philosophy. But even the rude analysis of the old faith was productive of good. The freedom of Greece was no less instrumental in forming the Jews for their final work than the contemplative spirit of Persia, or the civil organization of Rome: for if the career of Alexander was rapid, its effects were lasting. The city which he chose to bear his name perpetuated in after ages the office which he providentially discharged for Judaism and mankind; and the historian of Christianity must confirm the judgment of Arrian, that Alexander, "who was like no other man, could not have been given to the world without the special design of Providence" (ἔξω τοῦ θείου, Arr. vii. 30). And Alexander himself appreciated this design better even than his great teacher; for it is said (Plut. *de Alex. Or.* 1, § 6) that when Aristotle urged him to treat the Greeks as freemen and the Orientals as slaves, he found the true answer to this counsel in the recognition of his "divine mission to unite and reconcile the world (κοινὸς ἥκειν θεόθεν ἁρμοστὴς καὶ διαλλακτὴς τῶν ὅλων νομίζων)."

Tetradrachm (Attic talent) of Lysimachus, king of Thrace.
Obv. Head of Alexander the Great, as a young Jupiter Ammon, to right. Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ. In field, monogram and Σ. Pallas seated to left, holding a Victory.

In the prophetic visions of Daniel the influence of Alexander is necessarily combined with that of his successors.[a] They represented with partial exaggeration the several phases of his character; and to the Jews nationally the policy of the Syrian kings was of greater importance than the original conquest of Asia. But some traits of "the first mighty king" (Dan. viii. 21, xi. 3) are given with vigorous distinctness. The emblem by which he is typified (עָזִּי, *a he-goat*, fr. עָזַז, *he leapt*, Ges. *Thes.* s. v.) suggests the notions of strength and speed;[b] and the universal extent (Dan. viii. 5, . . . *from the west on the face of the whole earth*) and marvellous rapidity of his conquests (Dan. l. c. *he touched not the ground*) are brought forward as the characteristics of his power, which was directed by the strongest personal

[a] The attempt of Bertholdt to apply the description of the third monarchy to that of Alexander has little to recommend it [DANIEL].

[b] There may be also some allusion in the word to the legend of Caranus, the founder of the Argive dynasty in Macedonia, who was guided to victory by "a flock of goats" (Justin, i. 7).

impetuosity (Dan. viii. 6, *in the fury of his power*). He ruled with great dominion, and did according to his will (xi. 3); "and there was none that could deliver . . . out of his hand" (viii. 7). [B. F. W.] [R.]

ALEXAN'DER BALAS (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 4, § 8, Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Βάλας λεγόμενος; Strab. xiv. p. 751, τὸν Βάλαν Ἀλέξανδρον; Just. xxxv. 1, "Subornant pro eo *Balam* quendam . . . et . . . nomen ei Alexandri inditur." Balas possibly represents the Aram. בַּעְלָא, *lord*. He was, according to some, a (natural) son of Antiochus IV. Epiphanes (Liv. *Ep.* 50; Strab. xiii.; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 2, 1), but he was more generally regarded as an impostor who falsely assumed the connexion (App. Syr. 67; Justin, *l. c.*; cp. Polyb. xxxiii. 16). In any case he seems to have assumed the title of his reputed father (cp. Ἀλέξανδρος, ὁ τοῦ Ἀντιόχου ὁ Ἐπιφανής, 1 Macc. x. 1, where there is no need to read τοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς, as Grotius and Michaelis propose). He claimed the throne of Syria in B.C. 152 in opposition to Demetrius Soter, who had provoked the hostility of the neighbouring kings and alienated the affections of his subjects (Joseph. *l. c.*). His pretensions were put forward by Heraclides, formerly treasurer of Antiochus Epiphanes, who obtained the recognition of his title at Rome by scandalous intrigues (Polyb. xxxiii. 14, 16). After landing at Ptolemais (1 Macc. x. 1) Alexander gained the warm support of Jonathan, who was now the leader of the Jews (1 Macc. ix. 73); and though his first efforts were unsuccessful (Just. xxxv. 1, 10), in B.C. 150 he completely routed the forces of Demetrius, who himself fell in the retreat (1 Macc. x. 48–50; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 2, 4; Strab. xvi. p. 751). After this Alexander married Cleopatra, the daughter of Ptolemaeus VI. Philometor; and in the arrangement of his kingdom appointed Jonathan governor (μεριδάρχης, 1 Macc. x. 65) of a province (Judea: cp. 1 Macc. xi. 57). But his triumph was of short duration. After obtaining power he gave himself up to a life of indulgence (Liv. *Ep.* 50; cp. Athen. v. 211); and when Demetrius Nicator, the son of Demetrius Soter, landed in Syria in B.C. 147, the new pretender found powerful support (1 Macc. x. 67 ff.). At first Jonathan defeated and slew Apollonius the governor of Coele-Syria, who had joined the party of Demetrius, for which exploit he received fresh favours from Alexander (1 Macc. x. 69–89); but shortly afterwards (B.C. 146) Ptolemy entered Syria with a large force, and after he had placed garrisons in the chief cities on the coast, which received him according to the commands of Alexander, suddenly pronounced himself in favour of Demetrius (1 Macc. xi. 1–11; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. § 4, 5 sq.), alleging, probably with truth, the existence of a conspiracy against his life (Joseph. *l. c.* cf. Diod. *ap.* Müller, *Fragm.* ii. 16). Alexander, who had been forced to leave Antioch (Joseph. *l. c.*), was in Cilicia when he heard of Ptolemy's defection (1 Macc. xi. 14). He hastened to meet him, but was defeated (1 Macc. xi. 15; Just. xxxv. 2), and fled to Abae in Arabia (Diod. *l. c.*), where he was murdered B.C. 146 (Diod. *l. c.* and 1 Macc. xi. 17 differ as to the manner; and Euseb. *Chron. Arm.* i. 349 represents him to have been slain in the battle). The narrative in 1 Macc. and Josephus shows clearly the partiality which the Jews entertained for Alexander "as the first that entreated of true peace with them" (1 Macc. x. 47); and the same

Tetradrachm (Ptolemaic talent) of Alexander Balas. Obv. Bust of King to right. Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Eagle, upon rudder, to left, and palm-branch. In field the monogram and symbol of Tyre; date ΓΞΡ (163 Aer. Seleucid.), &c.

feeling was exhibited afterwards in the zeal with which they supported the claims of his son Antiochus. [ANTIOCHUS, VI.] [B. F. W.] [R.]

ALEXAN'DER (Ἀλέξανδρος; *Alexander*). Several persons of this name are mentioned in the N. T. The name was so common that attempts at identification are most precarious. In the following list **3** and **5** may be identical, but **4** and **5** are probably different persons.

1. Son of Simon of Cyrene, who bore our Lord's Cross (Mark xv. 21). On the probable reason for mentioning Simon's sons, see RUFUS.

2. One of the high-priestly family, and important enough to be mentioned by name in the account given (Acts iv. 6) of the meeting of the Sanhedrin to examine Peter and John. It has been conjectured that he may possibly be the Alabarch Alexander Lysimachus of Alexandria, brother of Philo, and father of Tiberius Alexander, procurator of Judaea (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 8, § 1; xix. 5, § 1). He was the first man of his time among the Jews of Alexandria (*Ant.* xx. 5, § 2). But this identification has no confirmatory evidence.

3. A Jew of Ephesus, whom his countrymen put forward during the tumult raised by Demetrius the silversmith (Acts xix. 33). Their object was to dissociate themselves from the Christians, and to avoid any further increase of the habitual enmity of their Gentile fellow-citizens. This was the subject of Alexander's attempted defence. The verb used, which signifies "instructed" (συνεβίβασαν, so best authorities), negatives the explanation that he was a Christian whom the Jews put forward as a victim.

4. A Christian who with Hymenaeus had made shipwreck concerning the faith, and had been delivered to Satan by St. Paul (1 Tim. i. 19, 20). For the nature of the discipline inflicted, see HYMENAEUS.

5. A "coppersmith" (χαλκεύς), but see Stephanus, ed. Hase, *s. v.*, who proves the word to mean simply a "smith." He is mentioned by St. Paul (2 Tim. iv. 14, 15) as "having done him much evil," and "having greatly withstood his words." The latter expression is not to be connected with v. 16 and referred to opposition to St. Paul in his defence (ἀπολογία) at Rome (as Lewin, vol. ii.), but is to be understood of former opposition to the Apostle's teaching (cp. Acts xiii. 8, where the same

verb is used, ἀνθίσταμαι). Against a forensic and technical sense of "shewed" (ἐνεδείξατο), see Alford's note *ad loc.* If the epistle (2 Tim.) was addressed to Timothy at Ephesus, Alexander was probably concerned in the persecutions to which St. Paul was there exposed. [E. R. B.]

ALEXAN'DRIA (ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρεια, 3 Macc. iii. 1; Mod., *El-Iskendereeych*; Ethn., Ἀλεξανδρεύς, 3 Macc. ii. 30, iii. 21; Acts vi. 9, xviii. 24), the Hellenic, Roman, and Christian capital of Egypt, was founded by Alexander the Great B.C. 332, who himself traced the ground-plan of the city which he designed to make the metropolis of his western empire (Plut. *Alex.* 26). The work thus begun was continued after the death of Alexander by the Ptolemies; and the beauty (Athen. i. p. 3) of Alexandria became proverbial. Every natural advantage contributed to its prosperity. The climate and site were singularly healthy (Strab. p. 793). The harbours, formed by the island of Pharos and the headland Lochias, were safe and commodious, alike for commerce and for war; and the Lake Mareotis was an inland haven for the merchandise of Egypt and India (Strab. p. 798). Under the despotism of the later Ptolemies the trade of Alexandria declined, but its population (300,000 freemen, Diod. xvii. 52; the free population of *Attica* was about 130,000) and wealth (Strab. p. 798) were enormous. After the victory of Augustus it suffered for its attachment to the cause of Antony (Strab. p. 792); but its importance as one of the chief corn-ports of Rome[a] secured for it the general favour of the first emperors. In later times the seditious tumults for which the Alexandrians had always been notorious desolated the city (A.C. 260 ff.: Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, c. x.), and religious feuds aggravated the popular distress (Dionys. Alex. *Ep.* iii., xii.; Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 41 ff., vii. 22). Yet even thus, though Alexandria suffered greatly from constant dissensions and the weakness of the Byzantine court, the splendour of "the great city of the West" amazed Amrou, its Arab conqueror (A.D. 640; Gibbon, c. li.); and after centuries of Muslim misrule it promises once again to justify the wisdom of its founder (Strab. xvii. 791–9; *Frag.* ap. Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 7, 2; Plut. *Alex.* 26; Arr. iii. 1; Joseph. *B. J.* iv. 5. ALEXANDER THE GREAT).

The population of Alexandria was mixed from the first (comp. Curt. iv. 8, 5); and this fact formed the groundwork of the Alexandrine character. The three regions into which the city was divided (*Regio Judaeorum, Bruchcium, Rhacotis*) corresponded to the three chief classes of its inhabitants,—Jews, Greeks, Egyptians;[b] but in addition to these principal races, representatives of almost every nation were found there (Dio Chrys. *Orat.* xxxii.). According to Josephus, Alexander himself assigned to the Jews a place in his new city; "and they obtained," he adds, "equal privileges with the Macedonians" (*c. Ap.* ii. 4), in consideration "of their services against the Egyptians" (*B. J.* ii. 18, 7). Ptolemy I. imitated the policy of Alexander, and, after the capture of Jerusalem, he removed a considerable number of its citizens to Alexandria. Many others followed of their own accord; and all received the full Macedonian franchise (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 1; cf. *c. Ap.* i. 22), as men of known and tried fidelity (Joseph. *c. Ap.* ii. 4). Already on a former occasion the Jews had sought a home in the land of their bondage. More than two centuries and a half before the foundation of Alexandria a large body of them had taken refuge in Egypt, after the murder of Gedaliah; but these, after a general apostasy, were carried captive to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar (2 K. xxv. 26; Jer. xliv.; Joseph. *Ant.* x. 9, 7).

The fate of the later colony was far different. The numbers and importance of the Egyptian Jews were rapidly increased under the Ptolemies by fresh immigrations and untiring industry. Philo estimates them in his time at little less than 1,000,000 (*in Flacc.* § 6, p. 971); and adds, that two of the five districts of Alexandria were called "Jewish districts;" and that many Jews lived scattered in the remaining three (*id.* § 8, p. 973). From a chance remark of Josephus we should infer that "the Delta"—by which name the fourth district in Alexandria was known—was more especially the Jewish quarter (τὸ καλούμενον Δέλτα· συνφκιστο γὰρ ἐκεῖ τὸ Ἰουδαϊκόν, Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 18, 8). Julius Caesar (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 10, § 1) and Augustus confirmed to them the privileges which they had enjoyed before, and they retained them with various interruptions, of which the most important, A.D. 39, is described by Philo (*l. c.*), during the tumults and persecutions of later reigns (Joseph. *c. Ap.* ii. 4; *B. J.* xii. 3, 2). They were represented, at least for some time (from the time of Cleopatra to the reign of Claudius; Jost, *Gesch. d. Judenth.* 353) by their own officer (ἐθνάρχης, Strab. *ap.* Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 7, 2: ἀλαβάρχης, Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 7, 3; 9, 1; xix. 5, 1; cp. Rup. *ad* Juv. *Sat.* i. 130: γενάρχης, Philo, *in Flacc.* § 10, p. 975), and Augustus appointed a council (γερουσία, i.e. *Sanhedrin*: Philo, *l. c.*) "to superintend the affairs of the Jews," according to their own laws. The establishment of Christianity altered the civil position of the Jews, but they maintained their relative prosperity; and when Alexandria was taken by Amrou, 40,000 tributary Jews were reckoned among the marvels of the city (Gibbon, c. li.).

For some time the Jewish Church in Alexandria was in close dependence on that of Jerusalem. Both were subject to the civil power of the first Ptolemies, and both acknowledged the high-priest as their religious head. The persecution of Ptolemy Philopator (B.C. 217) occasioned the first political separation between the

[a] The Alexandrine corn-vessels (Acts xxvii. 6, xxviii. 11) were large (Acts xxvii. 37) and handsome (Luc. *Navig.* p. 668, ed. Bened.); and even Vespasian made a voyage in one (Joseph. *B. J.* vii. 2). They generally sailed direct to Puteoli (*Dicaearchia*, Strab. p. 793; Senec. *Ep.* 77, 1; cp. Suet. *Aug.* 98, Acts xxviii. 13); but, from stress of weather, often sailed under the Asiatic coast (Acts xxvii.; cp. Luc. *l. c.* p. 870 sq.; Smith, *Voyage of St. Paul*, pp. 70 sq.).

[b] Polybius (xxxiv. 14; *ap.* Strab. p. 797) speaks of the population as consisting of "three races (τρία γένη), the native Egyptian . . ., the *mercenary*, . . . and the Alexandrine . . . of Greek descent." The Jews might receive the title of "mercenaries," from the service which they originally rendered to Alexander (Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 18, 7) and the first Ptolemies (Joseph. *c. Ap.* ii. 4).

two bodies. From that time the Jews of Palestine attached themselves to the fortunes of Syria [ANTIOCHUS THE GREAT]; and the same policy which alienated the Palestinian party gave unity and decision to the Jews of Alexandria. The Septuagint translation, which strengthened the barrier of language between Palestine and Egypt, and the temple at Leontopolis (B.C. 161), which subjected the Egyptian Jews to the charge of schism, widened the breach which was thus opened. But the division though marked was not complete. At the beginning of the Christian era the Egyptian Jews still paid the contributions to the Temple-service (Raphall, *Hist. of Jews*, ii. 72). Jerusalem, though its name was fashioned to a Greek shape, was still the Holy City, the metropolis not of a country but of a people (Ἱερόπολις, Philo, *in Flacc.* § 7; *Leg. ad Cai.* § 36), and the Alexandrians had a synagogue there (Acts vi. 9). The internal administration of the Alexandrine Church was independent of the Sanhedrin at Jerusalem; but respect survived submission.

There were, however, other causes which tended to produce at Alexandria a distinct form of the Jewish character and faith. The religion and philosophy of that restless city produced an effect upon the people more powerful than the influence of politics or commerce. Alexander himself symbolised the spirit with which he wished to animate his new capital by founding a temple of Isis side by side with the temples of the Grecian gods (Arr. iii. 1). The creeds of the East and West were to coexist in friendly union; and in after-times the mixed worship of Serapis (comp. Gibbon, c. xxviii.; *Dict. of Geogr.* i. p. 98) was characteristic of the Greek kingdom of Egypt (August. *de Civ. Dei*, xviii. 5; *S. maximus Aegyptiorum deus*). This catholicity of worship was further combined with the spread of universal learning. The same monarchs who favoured the worship of Serapis (Clem. Al. *Protr.* iv. § 48) founded and embellished the Museum and Library; and part of the Library was deposited in the Serapeum. The new faith and the new literature led to a common issue; and the Egyptian Jews necessarily imbibed the spirit which prevailed around them.

The Jews were, indeed, peculiarly susceptible of the influences to which they were exposed. They presented from the first a capacity for Eastern or Western development. To the faith and conservatism of the Oriental they united the activity and energy of the Greek. The mere presence of Hellenic culture could not fail to call into play their powers of speculation, which were hardly repressed by the traditional legalism of Palestine (comp. Jost, *Gesch. d. Judenth.* pp. 293 ff.); and the unchanging element of divine revelation which they always retained, enabled them to harmonize new thought with old belief. But while the intercourse of the Jew and Greek would have produced the same general consequences in any case, Alexandria was peculiarly adapted to ensure their full effect. The result of the contact of Judaism with the many creeds which were current there must have been speedy and powerful. The earliest Greek fragment of Jewish writing which has been preserved (about B.C. 160) [ARISTOBULUS] contains large Orphic quotations, which had been already moulded into a Jewish form (comp. Jost, *Gesch. d. Judenth.* 370); and the attempt thus made to connect the most ancient Hellenic traditions with the Law was often repeated afterwards. Nor was this done in the spirit of bold forgery. Orpheus, Musaeus, and the Sibyls appeared to stand in some remote period anterior to the corruptions of polytheism, as the witnesses of a primeval revelation and of the teaching of nature, and thus it seemed excusable to attribute to them a knowledge of the Mosaic doctrines. The third book of the Sibyllines (*c.* B.C. 150) is the most valuable relic of this pseudo-Hellenic literature, and shows how far the conception of Judaism was enlarged to meet the wider views of the religious condition of heathendom which was opened by a more intimate knowledge of Greek thought; though the later Apocalypse of Ezra [ESDRAS, IV.] exhibits a marked reaction towards the extreme exclusiveness of former times.

But the indirect influence of Greek literature and philosophy produced still greater effects upon the Alexandrine Jews than the open conflict and combination of religious dogmas. The literary school of Alexandria was essentially critical and not creative. For the first time men laboured to collect, revise, and classify all the records of the past. Poets trusted to their learning rather than to their imagination. Language became a study; and the legends of early mythology were transformed into philosophic mysteries. The Jews took a vigorous share in these new studies. The caution against writing, which became a settled law in Palestine, found no favour in Egypt. Numerous authors adapted the history of the Patriarchs, of Moses, and of the Kings to classical models (Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* ix. 17–39. Eupolemus, Artapanus (?), Demetrius, Aristaeus, Cleodemus or Malchas, "a prophet"). A poem which bears the name of Phocylides gives in verse various precepts of Leviticus (*Daniel sec. LXX., Apolog.* p. 512 f.; Romae, 1772); and several large fragments of a "tragedy" in which Ezekiel (*c.* B.C. 110) dramatized the Exodus, have been preserved by Eusebius (*l. c.*), who also quotes numerous passages in heroic verse from the elder Philo and Theodotus. This classicalism of style was a symptom and a cause of classicalism of thought. The same Aristobulus who gave currency to the Judaeo-Orphic verses endeavoured to show that the Pentateuch was the real source of Greek philosophy (Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* xiii. 12; Clem. Al. *Strom.* vi. 98).

The proposition thus enunciated was thoroughly congenial to the Alexandrine character; and henceforth it was the chief object of Jewish speculation to trace out the subtle analogies which were supposed to exist between the writings of Moses and the teaching of the schools. The circumstances under which philosophical studies first gained a footing at Alexandria favoured the attempt. For some time the practical sciences reigned supreme; and the issue of these was scepticism (Matter, *Hist. de l'École d'Alex.* iii. 162 ff.). Then at length the clear analysis and practical morality of the Peripatetics found ready followers; and in the strength of the reaction men eagerly trusted to those splendid ventures with which Plato taught

them to be content till they could gain a surer knowledge (*Phaed.* p. 85). To the Jew this surer knowledge seemed to be already given; and the belief in the existence of a spiritual meaning underlying the letter of Scripture was the great principle on which all his investigations rested. The facts were supposed to be essentially symbolic: the language the veil (or sometimes the mask) which partly disguised from common sight the truths which it enwrapped. In this way a twofold object was gained. It became possible to withdraw the Supreme Being (τὸ ὄν, ὁ ὤν) from immediate contact with the material world; and to apply the narratives of the Bible to the phenomena of the soul. It is impossible to determine the process by which these results were embodied; but, as in parallel cases, they seem to have been shaped gradually in the minds of the mass, and not fashioned at once by one great teacher. Even in the LXX. there are traces of an endeavour to interpret the anthropomorphic imagery of the Hebrew text [SEPTUAGINT]; and there can be no doubt that the Commentaries of Aristobulus gave some form and consistency to the allegoric system. In the time of Philo (B.C. 20—A.D. 50) the theological and interpretative systems were evidently fixed even in many of their details, and he appears in both cases only to have collected and expressed the popular opinions of his countrymen.

In each of these great forms of speculation—the theological and the exegetical — Alexandrianism has an important bearing upon the Apostolic writings. But the doctrines which are characteristic of the Alexandrine school were by no means peculiar to it. The same causes which led to the formation of wider views of Judaism in Egypt, acting under greater restraint, produced corresponding results in Palestine. A doctrine of the Word (*Memra*) and a system of mystical interpretation grew up within the Rabbinic schools, which bear a closer analogy to the language of St. John and to the "allegories" of St. Paul than the speculations of Philo.

But while the importance of this Rabbinic element in connexion with the *expression* of Apostolic truth is often overlooked, there can be no doubt that the Alexandrine teaching was more powerful in furthering its *reception*. Yet even when the function of Alexandrianism with regard to Christianity is thus limited, it is needful to avoid exaggeration. The preparation which it made was indirect and not immediate. Philo's doctrine of the Word (Logos) led men to accept the teaching of St. John, but not to anticipate it; just as his method of allegorizing fitted them to enter into the arguments of the Epistle to the Hebrews, though they could not have foreseen their application.

The first thing, indeed, which must strike the reader of Philo in relation to St. John is the similarity of phrase without a similarity of idea. His treatment of the Logos is vague and inconsistent. He argues about the term and not about the reality, and seems to delight in the ambiguity which it involves. At one time he represents the Logos as the reason of God in which the archetypal ideas of things exist (λόγος ἐνδιάθετος), at another time as the Word of God by which He makes himself known to the outward world (λόγος προφορικός); but he nowhere realizes the notion of One Who is at once Revealer and the Revelation, which is the essence of St. John's teaching. The idea of the active Logos is suggested to him by the necessity of withdrawing the Infinite from the finite, God *from* man, and not by the desire to bring God *to* man. Not only is it impossible to conceive that Philo could have written as St. John writes, but even to suppose that he could have admitted the possibility of the Incarnation of the Logos, or of the personal unity of the Logos and the Messiah. But while it is right to state in its full breadth the opposition between the teaching of Philo and St. John,[e] it is impossible not to feel the important office which the mystic theosophy, of which Philo is the representative, fulfilled in preparing for the apprehension of the highest Christian truth. Without any distinct conception of the personality of the Logos, the tendency of Philo's writings was to lead men to regard the Logos, at least in some of the senses of the term, as a person; and while he maintained with devout earnestness the indivisibility of the Divine nature, he described the Logos as Divine. In this manner, however unconsciously, he prepared the way for the recognition of a twofold personality in the Godhead, and performed a work without which it may well appear that the language of Christianity would have been unintelligible (comp. Dorner, *Die Lehre von der Person Christi*, i. pp. 23 sq.).

The allegoric method stands in the same relation to the spiritual interpretation of Scripture as the mystic doctrine of the Word to the teaching of St. John. It was a preparation and not an anticipation of it. Unless men had been familiarized in some such way with the existence of an inner meaning in the Law and the Prophets, it is difficult to understand how an Apollos "mighty in the Scriptures" (Acts xviii. 24–28) could have convinced many, or how the infant Church could have seen almost unmoved the ritual of the Old Covenant swept away, strong in the conscious possession of its spiritual antitypes. But that which is found in Philo in isolated fragments combines in the N. T. to form one great whole. In the former the truth is affirmed in casual details, in the latter it is laid down in its broad principles which admit of infinite application; and a comparison of patristic interpretations with those of Philo will show how powerful an apostolic example exercised in curbing the imagination of later writers. Nor is this all. While Philo regarded that which was positive in Judaism as the mere symbol of abstract truths, in the Epistle to the Hebrews it appears as the shadow of blessings realized (Heb. ix. 11, γενομένων) in the presence of a personal Saviour. History in the one case is the enunciation of a riddle; in the other it is the record of a life.

The speculative doctrines which thus worked for the general reception of Christian doctrine were also embodied in a form of society which was afterwards transferred to the Christian Church. Numerous bodies of ascetics (*Thera-*

[e] The closest analogy to the teaching of Philo on the Logos occurs in the Epistle to the Hebrews. Compare Heb. iv. 12 with Philo, *Quis rer. div. haeres.*, § 26.

peutae), especially on the borders of Lake Mareotis, devoted themselves to a life of ceaseless discipline and study. Unlike the Essenes, who present the corresponding phase in Palestinian life, they abjured society and labour, and often forgot, as it is said, the simplest wants of nature in the contemplation of the hidden wisdom of the Scriptures (Philo, *de Vit. Contempl.* throughout). The description which Philo gives of their occupation and character seemed to Eusebius to present so clear an image of Christian virtues that he claimed them as Christians; and there can be no doubt that some of the forms of monasticism were shaped upon the model of the Therapeutae (Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 16).

According to the common legend (Euseb. *l. c.*) St. Mark first "preached the Gospel in Egypt, and founded the first Church in Alexandria." At the beginning of the second century the number of Christians at Alexandria must have been very large, and the great leaders of Gnosticism who arose there (Basilides, Valentinus) exhibit an exaggeration of the tendency of the Church. But the later forms of Alexandrine speculation, the strange varieties of Gnosticism, the progress of the catechetical school, the development of Neo-Platonism, the various phases of the Arian controversy, belong to the history of the Church and to the history of philosophy. To the last Alexandria fulfilled its mission; and we still owe much to the spirit of its great teachers, which in later ages struggled, not without success, against the sterner systems of the West.

[In the face of the general acceptance of Alexandrine syncretism, a somewhat opposite view is taken by Renouf (*Hibbert Lectures*, 1879, pp. 246–248), who denies that Alexandria was of any importance "as a medium of interchange of ideas between the Eastern and Western worlds." Alexandrine thought, he maintains, was free from Oriental influence; Alexandrine philosophers were either ignorant or contemptuous of Oriental ideas, and of the Egyptian language and literature. He quotes M. Ampère, "Alexandre fut très grecque, assez juive et presque point égyptienné" (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, Sept. 1846, p. 735), and supports his view by pointing out that down to the Roman times there had been no commercial communication between Alexandria and the distant East, the Indian traffic passing through the Gulf of Akaba, and being conveyed to the Mediterranean either by Palmyra and Antioch or by Petra and Gaza (quoting Renaud, "Sur le royaume de la Mesène et de la Kharasène," in the *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr.* t. xxiv. pt. 2, p. 215; and Lumbroz, *Recherches sur l'économie politique de l'Égypte sous les Lagides*, chap. vi. on Commerce).—R.]

The following works embody what is valuable in the earlier literature on the subject, with copious references to it: Matter, *Histoire de l'École d'Alexandrie*, 2nd edit., Paris, 1840; A. F. Dähne, *Geschichtliche Darstellung der Jüdisch-Alexandrinischen Religions-Philosophie*, Halle, 1834; A. F. Gfrörer, *Philo und die Judisch-Alexandrinische Theosophie*, Stuttgart, 1835. To these may be added H. Ewald, *History of Israel*, vol. v. 223 sq.; J. M. Jost, *Gesch. des Judenthums*, Leipzig, 1857, i. 344 sq., 388 sq.; A. Neander, *History of Christian Church*, vol. i. 66 sq., Eng. tr., 1847; Prof. Jowett, *Philo and St. Paul, St. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians*, &c., London, 1855, i. 363 ff. And for the later Christian history: H. F. Guericke, *De Schola Alexandrinâ Catecheticâ*, Halis, 1825; Haselbach, *De Schola, quae Alex. floruit, Catecheticâ*, part i., Stettin, 1826; cf. Matter, *H. de l'École d'Alex.* 1820. For Alexandrian Gnosticism and allegory, cf. Baur's *Church History*, vol. i. pt. iii. chap. i., Eng. tr. (Williams and Norgate).

In recent literature the general subject has been very fully discussed. Special mention may here be made of Herzfeld's *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, Bd. iii.; Grätz, *Gesch. der Juden*, Bd. iii. 3; Hausrath, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgschte.* Bd. ii. 91–145; Stanley's *Jewish Church*, Lect. xlvii.; Schürer's *Gesch. d. Jud.* Bd. ii. 493 sq. (1886).

For Alexandrine religious thought, see also Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen*, &c., iii. 2, 338–418 (1881); Lipsius, *Alexandr. Religionphilos.*, in Schenkel's *Bibel Lexicon:* and specially for Philo's treatment of the Logos, Heinze, *Die Lehre vom Logos in der griech. Philos.*, 1872; Soulier, *La doctrine du Logos chez Philon d'Alexandrie*, 1876; Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Colossians*, note on i. 15; Westcott, *Gospel according to St. John*, Introd. xv.–xviii., and *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, chap. iii.; Bigg, *The Christian Platonists of Alexandria*, p. 14, &c.; Drummond's *Philo-Judaeus.*[d] [B. F. W.] [R.]

ALEXAN'DRIANS, THE (*οἱ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς*). **1.** The Greek inhabitants of Alexandria (3 Macc. ii. 30, iii. 21). **2.** *Alexandrini.* The Jewish colonists of that city, who were admitted to the privileges of citizenship, and had a synagogue at Jerusalem (Acts vi. 9). [ALEXANDRIA.] [W. A. W.]

ALGUM or ALMUG TREES (אַלְגֻּמִּים. *algummîm;* אַלְמֻגִּים, *almuggîm;* *ξυλλοπελέκητα*, A. *ξ. πελεκητά*, B. in 1 K. x. 11, 12; *ξ. πεύκινα*; *ligna thyina, ligna pinea*). There can be no question that these words are identical, although, according to Celsius (*Hierob.* i. 173), some doubted it. The same author enumerates no fewer than fifteen different trees, each one of which has been supposed to have a claim to represent the *algum* or *almug* tree of Scripture. Mention of the *almug* is made in 1 K. x. 11, 12 (*algum* in 2 Ch. ix. 10, 11) as having been brought in great plenty from Ophir, together with gold and precious stones, by the fleet of Hiram, for Solomon's Temple and house, and for the construction of musical instruments. "The king made of the almug-trees pillars for the house of the Lord, and for the king's house, harps also and psalteries for singers; there came no such almug-trees, nor were seen unto this day" (1 K. *l. c.*). In 2 Ch. ii. 8 (though not in 1 K. v. 6), Solomon — by an intelligible mistake on the part of the Chronicler — is represented as desiring Hiram to send him "cedar-trees, fir-trees, and algum-trees out of Lebanon" (cp. *Speaker's Comm.*, note *l. c.*). From the passage

[d] Alexandria occurs in the Vulgate by an error for No-Ammon [NO-AMMON], Jer. xlvi. 25; Ezek. xxx. 14, 15, 16; Nah. iii. 8.

in Kings, it seems clear that almug-trees came from Ophir. No information can be deduced from the readings of the LXX., which explains the Hebrew word by "hewn wood" (1 K. x. 11, B.), "unhewn wood" (*ibid.* A.), and "pine-wood" (2 Ch. ii. 8, and ix. 10, 11). The Vulg. in the passages of Kings and 2 Ch. ix. read *ligna thyina;* but in 2 Ch. ii. 8 follows the LXX., and has *ligna pinea.*

Interpreters are greatly perplexed as to what kind of tree is denoted by the words *algummim* and *almuggim.* The Chaldee and the Arabic interpretations, with Munster, A. Montanus, Deodatus, Noldius, Tigurinus, retain the original word, as do the A. V. and R. V. in all the three passages. We may notice the conjectures of the chief modern writers on the subject. Against the first four given below, objections have been raised. (1.) Some maintain that the thyina[a] wood (*Thuya articulata*) is signified by *algum.* This wood, as is well known, was highly prized by the Romans, who used it for the doors of temples, tables, and a variety of purposes; for the citron-wood of the ancients appears to be identical with the thuya. (The word occurs in Rev. xviii. 12.) Its value to the Romans accounts for the reading of the Vulgate in the passages quoted above. But the *Thuja articulata* is indigenous to the north of Africa, and is not found in Asia; and few geographers will be found to identify the ancient Ophir with any port on the N. African coast. [OPHIR.] (2.) Not more happy is the opinion of Dr. Kitto, that the *deodar* is the tree probably designated by the term *almug* (*Pict. Bibl.*, note on 2 Ch.). On this subject Sir J. Hooker, in a letter to the writer, says, "The *deodar* is out of the question. It is no better than cedar, and never could have been exported from Himalaya." (3.) The late Dr. Royle, with more reason, is inclined to decide on the white sandal-wood (*Santalum album;* see *Cycl. Bib. Lit.*, art. "Algum"). This tree is a native of India and the mountainous parts of the coast of Malabar, and deliciously fragrant in the parts near to the root. It is much used in the manufacture of work-boxes, cabinets, and other ornaments. (4.) The Rabbis[b] understand a wood commonly call brasil, in Arabic *albaccam,* of a deep red colour, used in dyeing.[c] This appears to be the *bukkum* (*Caesalpina sappan*), a tree allied to the Brazil-wood of modern commerce, and found in India; and many of the Jewish doctors understand *coral* (*i.e.* coral-wood) by the word *almug,* the name no doubt having reference to the colour of the wood. (5.) But little reliance can be placed on these rabbinical interpretations, and the most probable of all the attempts to identify the almug is that first proposed by Celsius (*Hierob.* i. 172), viz. that the red sandal-wood (*Pterocarpus santalinus*) may be the kind denoted by the Hebrew word. So also Rawlinson in *Speaker's Comm.* on 1 K. x. 11. Oettli (in Strack u. Zöckler, *Kgf. Komm.* on 2 Ch. ii. 7) indicates sandal-wood simply, without specification of colour.

This tree, which belongs to the natural order *Leguminosae,* and sub-order *Papilionaceae,* is a native of India and Ceylon. The wood is very heavy, hard, and fine-grained, and of a beautiful garnet colour, as any one may see who has observed the medicinal preparation, the compound tincture of lavender, which is coloured by the wood of the red sandal-tree. Dr. Lee (*Lex. Heb.* s. v. "Algummim"), identifying Ophir with some seaport of Ceylon, following Bochart (*Chanaan,* i. 46) herein, thinks that there can be no doubt that the wood in question must be either the *Kalanji ūd* of Ceylon or the sandal-wood (*Pterocarpus santalinus*) of India. The *Kalanji ūd,* which apparently is some species of *Pterocarpus,* was particularly esteemed and sought after for the manufacture of lyres and musical instruments, as Dr. Lee has proved by quotations from Arabic and Persian works. In fact he says that the Eastern lyre is termed the *ūd,* perhaps because made of this sort of wood.

As to the derivation of the word, Hiller's (*Hierophyt.* pt. i. p. 106) derivation from two words supposed to mean "drops of gum" is untenable. Other etymologies that have been suggested may be seen in Celsius, *Hierob.* i. 172 *sq.*; Salmasius, *Hyl. Iatr.* p. 120, b; Castell. *Lex. Hept.* s. v. אלגום. The word is evidently foreign. Gesenius connects it with the Sanskrit *mic'ata* (the Arab. art. prefixed), *sandal-wood,* but the Sanskrit word is of doubtful existence; and uncertainty rests also, according to Böthlingk, upon another Sanskrit word, *valgu, valguka,* with which Lassen compared it, giving to it the meaning of *sandal-wood* (see MV.[10] *s. v.* אלמגים). Josephus, though not naming the almug-tree (*Ant.* viii. 7, § 1), makes special mention of a tree not unlike pine, which was imported by Solomon, but which he is careful to warn us not to confuse with the pine-trees known to the merchants of his time. "Those we are speaking of," he says, "were in appearance like the wood of the fig-tree, but were whiter and more shining." This description is too vague to allow us even to conjecture what he means. On the whole, the arguments are in favour of the red sandal-wood being the algum of the O. T. [W. H.]. [H. B. T.]

ALI'AH. [ALVAH.]

ALI'AN. [ALVAN.]

ALIEN. [STRANGER.]

ALLEGORY, a figure of speech, which has been defined by Bishop Marsh, in accordance with its etymology, as "a representation of one thing which is intended to excite the representation of another thing;" the first representation being consistent with itself, but requiring, or being capable of admitting, a moral and

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[a] *Thuja* appears to be a corruption of *Thya,* from θύω, "I sacrifice," the wood having been used in sacrifices. *Thuja occidentalis* is the well-known evergreen, "arbor vitae."

[b] R. Salomon Ben Melek, 1 K. x. 11, and R. Dav. Kimchi, 2 Ch. ii. 8. "*Algummim* est quod *almyggim,* arbor rubris coloris dicta Arabum linguâ *albaccam,* vulgo *brasilia.*" See Celsius, who wonders that the term "Brazil-wood" (*Lignum brasiliense*) should be named by one who lived 300 years before the discovery of America; but the word *brasil* also = red colour. Cf. Rosenm. *Bot. of Bibl.* p. 243, Morren's note.

[c] بقم, lignum arboris magnae, foliis amygdalinis, cujus decocto tingitur color rubicundus seu pseudopurpureus—lignum bresillum—*etiam,* color ejus tincturam referens (Golius, *Arab. Lex.* s. v. *bakkam*).

spiritual interpretation over and above its literal sense. An allegory has been incorrectly considered by some as a lengthened or sustained metaphor, or a continuation of metaphors, as by Cicero, thus standing in the same relation to metaphor as parable to simile. But the two figures are quite distinct; no sustained metaphor, or succession of metaphors, can constitute an allegory, and the interpretation of allegory differs from that of metaphor, in having to do not with words but things. In every allegory there is a twofold sense; the immediate or historic, which is understood from the words, and the ultimate, which is concerned with the things signified by the words. The allegorical interpretation is not of the words, but of the things signified by them (cp. Luke viii. 11, &c.; 2 Sam. xii. 1–14); and not only may, but actually does, coexist with the literal interpretation in every allegory, whether the narrative in which it is conveyed be of things possible or real. An illustration of this may be seen in Gal. iv. 24, where the Apostle gives an allegorical interpretation to the historical narrative of Hagar and Sarah; *not treating* that narrative as an allegory in itself, as our A. V. would lead us to suppose, but drawing from it a deeper sense than is conveyed by the immediate representation, as "containing an allegory" (R. V.).

In *pure* allegory no direct reference is made to the principal object. Of this kind the parable of the prodigal son is an example (Luke xv. 11–32). In *mixed* allegory the allegorical narrative either contains some hint of its application, as Ps. lxxx., or the allegory and its interpretation are combined, as in John xv. 1–8; but this last passage is, strictly speaking, an example of a metaphor.

The distinction between the parable and the allegory is laid down by Dean Trench (*On the Parables*, chap. i.) as one of form rather than of essence. "In the allegory," he says, "there is an interpretation of the thing signifying and the thing signified, the qualities and properties of the first being attributed to the last, and the two thus blended together, instead of being kept quite distinct and placed side by side, as is the case in the parable." According to this, there is no such thing as pure allegory as above defined. [W. A. W.]

Allegory (ἄλλο ἀγορεύειν) has its position and history in Biblical Hermeneutics. This is traced, and may be followed with much profit, in Hamburger, *RE.*[2] Abth. ii. s. n. *Allegorie;* in Herzog, *RE.*[2]; and Wetzer u. Welte's *K. Lex.* s. n. *Hermeneutik, Biblische.* Cp. also Farrar's *Hist. of Interpretation*, Index, *s. n.* "Allegory." [F.]

ALLELU'IA (Ἀλληλούϊα; *Alleluia*), so written in Rev. xix. 7 foll., or more properly HALLELUJAH (הַלְלוּ־יָהּ), "praise ye Jehovah," as it is found in the margin of Ps. civ. 35, cv. 45, cvi., cxi. 1, cxii. 1, cxiii. 1 (cp. Ps. cxiii. 9, cxv. 18, cxvi. 19, cxvii. 2). The Psalms from cxiii. to cxviii. were usually called by the Jews the Hallel, though some have applied the name by preference to Psalms cxxxiv.–vii. These Psalms were sung on the first of the month, at the feast of Dedication and the feast of Tabernacles, the feast of Weeks and the feast of the Passover. [HOSANNA.] In later times, New Year's day and the day of Atonement were excluded from their seasons in deference to the grave character of these days as "days of judgment"; and the same exclusion applied to the feast of Purim. At the Passover Pss. cxiii. and cxiv., according to the school of Hillel (the former only according to the school of Shammai), were sung before the feast, and the remainder at its termination, after drinking the last cup. The hymn (Matt. xxvi. 30) sung by Christ and His disciples after the last supper is supposed to have been the great Hallel, which seems to have varied according to the feast[a] (cp. Hamburger, *RE. für Bibel u. Talmud*, Abth. ii. *s. v.* "Hallel"). The literal meaning of "Hallelujah" sufficiently indicates the character of the Psalms in which it occurs, as hymns of praise and thanksgiving. They are all found in the last book of the collection, and bear marks of being intended for use in the Temple-service; the words "praise ye Jehovah" being taken up by the full chorus of Levites. In the great hymn of triumph in heaven over the destruction of Babylon, the Apostle in vision heard the multitude in chorus like the voice of mighty thunderings burst forth, "Alleluia, for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth," responding to the voice which came out of the throne, saying, "Praise our God, all ye His servants, and ye that fear Him, both small and great" (Rev. xix. 1–6). In this, as in the offering of incense (Rev. viii.), there is allusion to the service of the Temple, as the Apostle had often witnessed it in its fading grandeur. [W. A. W.] [F.]

ALLIANCES. In the time of Abraham alliances with foreigners were not forbidden. At Mamre he had his "confederates" among the chiefs of Canaan (Gen. xiv. 13); and his alliance with Abimelech, king of Gerar (Gen. xxi. 22), renewed by Isaac (Gen. xxvi. 26), is a model of primitive simplicity and trustfulness. Presently this permission was withdrawn, and on the first establishment of the Israelites in Palestine connexions between them and the surrounding nations were forbidden (Lev. xviii. 3, 4; xx. 22, 23). The geographical position of their country, the peculiarity of their institutions, and the prohibitions against intercourse with the idolatrous Canaanites and other heathen nations, alike tended to promote an exclusive and isolated state. But with the extension of their power under the kings, the Jews were brought more into contact with foreigners, and alliances became essential to the security of their commerce. Solomon concluded two important treaties chiefly for commercial purposes: the first was with Hiram, king of Tyre; and, if principally with the view of obtaining

[a] Historically the introduction of the Hallel into the synagogal service is traced, according to the Rabbinic teachers of the 3rd and 4th cent. A.D., to the men of the days of Mordecai and Esther, who instituted its use in commemoration of great deliverances from great sufferings and sorrows. It was easy to go further and base the idea upon the "Hallel" of a Moses and Israel after their passage through the Red Sea, of a Joshua and Israel after their battles with the kings of Canaan, of a Deborah and Barak after the victory over Sisera, of an Ananias, Misael, and Azarias after their deliverance from the king of Babylon.

materials and workmen for the erection of the Temple, and afterwards for the supply of ship-builders and sailors (1 K. v. 2–12, ix. 27), it was also a general league of amity (cp. the rebuke to Tyre in Amos i. 9): the second was with Pharaoh, king of Egypt, and was cemented by his marriage with a princess of the royal family (1 K. iii. 1); by this he secured a monopoly of the trade in horses and other products of that country (1 K. x. 28, 29). After the division of the kingdom, political alliances (as distinguished from the lamentable matrimonial alliances, *e.g.* 1 K. xi. 1–8, xvi. 31) were of an offensive and defensive nature: they had their origin partly in the internal disputes of the kingdoms of Judah and Israel, and partly in the position which these countries held relatively to Egypt on the one side, and the great Eastern monarchies of Assyria and Babylonia on the other. The fresh light from the ancient monuments cast upon the Jewish scant historical records enables us to account for, and sometimes correct, views upon the alliances and counter-alliances formed between these peoples. Thus the invasion of SHISHAK in Rehoboam's reign—directed as it was against the northern as well as the southern kingdom—can no longer be claimed as an alliance made with Jeroboam, who had previously found an asylum in Egypt (1 K. xi. 40, xii. 2, xiv. 25). Each, however, of these monarchs sought a connexion with the neighbouring kingdom of Syria, on which side Israel was particularly assailable (1 K. xv. 19): but Asa ultimately succeeded in securing the active co-operation of Benhadad against Baasha (1 K. xv. 16–20). Another policy, induced probably by the encroaching spirit of Syria, led to the formation of an alliance between the two kingdoms under Ahab and Jehoshaphat, which was maintained until the end of Ahab's dynasty: it occasionally extended to commercial operations (2 Ch. xx. 36). The alliance ceased in Jehu's reign: war broke out shortly after between Amaziah and Jeroboam II.: each nation looked for foreign aid, and a coalition was formed between Rezin king of Syria and Pekah on the one side, and Ahaz and Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria on the other (2 K. xvi. 5–9). By this means an opening was afforded to the advances of the Assyrian power; and the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, as they were successively attacked, sought the alliance of the Egyptians, who were strongly interested in maintaining the independence of the Jews as a barrier against the encroachments of the Assyrian power. Thus Hoshea made a treaty with So (Sevechus, the Shabak of the 25th Dynasty), and rebelled against Shalmaneser (2 K. xvii. 4): Hezekiah adopted the same policy in opposition to Sennacherib (Is. xxx. 2). In neither case was the alliance productive of much good: the Israelites were abandoned by So: in Hezekiah's case, the Egyptian troops were defeated at Altakû in the earlier stages of the campaign of B.C. 701, Judah was overrun by the Assyrian soldiery, and heavy tribute exacted. Later on, when a fresh movement on the part of the Egyptians and a possible junction of his own forces with those of Tirhakah might have tempted Hezekiah to a fresh alliance, he was taught by Isaiah to ally himself to God as the only defence against the Assyrian (cp. Driver, *Isaiah*, ch. vii.). The weak condition of Egypt at the beginning of the 26th Dynasty left Judah entirely at the mercy of the Assyrians, who under Esarhaddon subdued the country, and by a conciliatory policy secured the adhesion of Manasseh and his successors to his side against Egypt (2 Ch. xxxiii. 11–13). It was apparently as an ally of the Babylonians that Josiah, ninety years later, resisted the advance of Necho (2 Ch. xxxv. 20). His defeat, however, and the check to the Babylonian troops, made the Jews the subjects of Egypt. Nebuchadnezzar's first expedition against Jerusalem was contemporaneous with, and probably in consequence of, the expedition of Necho against the Babylonians (2 K. xxiv. 1; Jer. xlvi. 2): and lastly Zedekiah's rebellion was accompanied with a renewal of the alliance with Egypt (Ezek. xvii. 15). A temporary relief appears to have been afforded by the advance of Hophrah (Jer. xxxvii. 11), but it was of no avail to prevent the extinction of Jewish independence.

On the restoration of independence Judas Maccabaeus sought an alliance with the Romans, who were then gaining an ascendency in the East, as a counterpoise to the neighbouring state of Syria (1 Macc. viii.; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 10, § 6). this alliance—the terms of which were graven on brass and deposited in the Capitol at Rome—was renewed by Jonathan (1 Macc. xii. 1; *Ant.* xiii. 5, § 8) and by Simon (1 Macc. xv. 17; *Ant.* xiii. 7, § 3): on the latter occasion the independence of the Jews was recognised and formally notified to the neighbouring nations B.C. 140 (1 Macc. xv. 22, 23). Treaties of a friendly nature were at the same period concluded with the Lacedaemonians under an impression that they came of a common stock (1 Macc. xii. 2, xiv. 20; *Ant.* xii. 4, § 10, xiii. 5, § 8). The Roman alliance was again renewed by Hyrcanus, B.C. 128 (*Ant.* xiii. 9, § 2), after his defeat by Antiochus Sidetes, and the losses he had sustained were repaired. This alliance, however, ultimately proved fatal to the independence of the Jews: the rival claims of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus having been referred to Pompey, B.C. 63, he availed himself of the opportunity of placing the country under tribute (*Ant.* xiv. 4, § 4). Finally, Herod was raised to the sovereignty by the Roman Senate, acting under the advice of M. Antony (*Ant.* xiv. 14, § 5).

The formation of an alliance was attended with various religious rites: a victim was slain and divided into two parts, between which the contracting parties passed, invoking imprecations of a similar destruction upon him who should break the terms of the alliance (Gen. xv. 10; cf. Liv. i. 24); hence the expression כָּרַת בְּרִית (= ὅρκια τέμνειν, *foedus icere*), to make (lit. *to cut*) a treaty; hence also the use of the term אָלָה (lit. *imprecation*) for a covenant. That this custom was maintained to a late period appears from Jer. xxxiv. 18–20. Generally speaking, the oath alone is mentioned in the contracting of alliances, either between nations (Josh. ix. 15) or individuals (Gen. xxvi. 28, xxxi. 53; 2 K. xi. 4; 1 Macc. xv. 17). The event was celebrated by a feast (Gen. *l. c.*; Ex. xxiv. 11; 2 Sam. iii. 12, 20). Salt, as symbolical of fidelity, was used on these occasions; it was applied to the sacrifices (Lev. ii. 13), and probably used, as among the Arabs, at

hospitable entertainments; hence the expression "covenant of salt" (Num. xviii. 19; 2 Ch. xiii. 5). Occasionally a pillar or a heap of stones was set up as a memorial of the alliance (Gen. xxxi. 52), a custom prevalent among the Assyrians also. Presents were also sent by the party soliciting the alliance (1 K. xv. 18; Is. xxx. 6; 1 Macc. xv. 18). The fidelity of the Jews to their engagements was conspicuous at all periods of their history (Josh. ix. 18), and any breach of covenant was visited with very severe punishment (2 Sam. xxi. 1; Ezek. xvii. 16). [W. L. B.] [F.]

AL'LOM (B. Ἀλλών, A. Ἀβλών; *Malmon*), 1 Esd. v. 34. The same as AMI or AMON. Cp. Ezra ii. 57; Neh. vii. 59. [W. A. W.] [F.]

AL'LON (אַלּוֹן or אָלוֹן), a large strong tree of some description, probably an oak (see Ges. *Thes.* 51, 103; Stanley, App. § 76). The word is found in two names in the topography of Palestine.

1. ALLON, more accurately ELON, אֵלוֹן[a] (בְּצַעֲנַיִם; B. Μωλὰ καὶ Βεσεμιείν, A. Μηλὼν κ. Βεσεναείμ; *Elon*), a place named among the cities of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 33). Probably the more correct construction is to take it with the following word, *i.e.* either (R. V.) "the oak in Zaanannim," or—treating the ב as part of the word (R. V. marg.)—the *oak* (or *terebinth*) *of Bezaanannim*. In the former case, the place might possibly derive its name Zaanannim from some nomad tribe or wanderers (see the verb in Is. xxxiii. 20). Such a tribe were the Kenites, and in connexion with them the place is again named in Judg. iv. 11,[b] with the additional definition of "by Kedesh" (of Naphtali). The latter view (see Dillmann on Josh. xix. 33) is, however, favoured by the absence of the article before אלון. In this case it would be better to read, as in Judg. iv. 11 (Cethib), בצענים, *Biẓ'annim*. The A. V., following the Vulgate, renders here "the plain of Zaanaim." [R. V. as above; B. ἕως δρυὸς (A. πρὸς δρῦν) πλεονεκτούντων (thinking of עָצַע, *to be covetous*).] [ELON.] (See Stanley, p. 340, *note*.) [G.] [S. R. D.]

2. ALLON-BA'CHUTH (אַלּוֹן בָּכוּת[c]; R. V. *Allon-Bacuth* = "oak of weeping;" and so βάλανος πένθους; *Quercus fletus*), the tree under which Rebekah's nurse, Deborah, was buried "beneath Bethel" (Gen. xxxv. 8). Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. 29) believes the "oak of Tabor" (1 Sam. x. 3, A. V. "plain of T.") to be the same as, or the successor of, this tree; "Tabor" being possibly a merely dialectical change from "Deborah:" he would further identify it with the "palm-tree of Deborah" (Judg. iv. 5). See also Stanley, pp. 143, 220. [G.] [W.]

AL'LON (אָלוֹן; B. Ἀμών, A. Ἀλλών; *Allon*). A Simeonite, ancestor of Zirza, a prince of that tribe in the reign of Hezekiah (1 Ch. iv. 37). [W. A. W.] [F.]

ALMO'DAD (אַלְמוֹדָד; Ἐλμωδάδ; *Elmodad*), named first, in order, among the descendants of Joktan (Gen. x. 26; 1 Ch. i. 20 [B. omits]), and thus as the progenitor of an Arab tribe. His settlements must be looked for, in common with those of the other descendants of Joktan, in the Arabian peninsula; and his name appears to be preserved in that of Mudâd (or El-Mudâd, the word being one of those proper names that admit of the article being prefixed), a famous personage in Arabian history, the reputed father of Ishmael's Arab wife, and the chief of the Joktanite tribe Jurhum (not to be confounded with the older, or first, Jurhum), which, coming from the Yemen, settled in the neighbourhood of Mekka, and intermarried with the Ishmaelites. The name of Mudâd was peculiar to Jurhum, and borne by several of its chiefs (Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'Hist. des Arabes*, i. 33 *seq.*, 168, and 195 *seq.*). Gesenius (*Lex.*, ed. Tregelles, *in loc.*) says, "If there were an ancient error in reading (for אלמורד), we might compare *Morad*, مراد or بنى مراد, the name of a tribe living in a mountainous region of Arabia Felix, near Zabid." Dillmann (*Gen.* l. c.), D. H. Müller, and Halévy take אל to be the name of God (as often in Sabaean names), and, deriving מוד from ידד, render *God is One to be loved* or *God loves* (see MV.[10] *s. n.*). Others have suggested מצר, but, apart from philological objections, the well-known tribes of this stock are of Ishmaelite descent. Bochart (*Phaleg*, ii. 16) thinks that Almodad may be traced in the name of the Ἀλουμεῶται of Ptolemy (vi. 7, § 24), a people of the interior of Arabia Felix, near the sources of the river Lar [ARABIA]; but see against this view *ZDMG.* xxii. 658. [E. S. P.]

AL'MON (עַלְמוֹן; B. Γάμαλα,[a] A. Ἀλμών; *Almon*), a city within the tribe of Benjamin, with "suburbs" given to the priests (Josh. xxi. 18). Its name does not occur in the list of the towns of Benjamin in Josh. xviii. In the parallel list in 1 Ch. (vi. 60) it is found as Alemeth [B. Γαλέμεθ, A. -η-; *Almath*]—probably a later form, and that by which it would appear to have descended to us. [ALEMETH.] [G.] [W.]

AL'MON-DIBLATHA'IM (accurately Diblathaimah, עַלְמֹן־דִּבְלָתָיְמָה; Γελμὼν Δεβλαθάιμ; *Helmon-diblathaim*), one of the latest stations of the Israelites, between Dibon-gad and the mountains of Abarim (Num. xxxiii. 46, 47 [A. in *v.* 47 Δαιβλαθάιν]). Dibon-gad is doubtless the

[a] אֵלּוֹן, *Allon*, is the reading of V. d. Hooght, and of Walton's Polyglott; but the best authorities have as above (De Rossi, *Var. Lectt.* Supplem. p. 35).

[b] The Targum of Jonathan renders this passage by "the plain (מישׁר) of the pools" (אגניא), connecting *Bezaanannim* with a late Heb. word בְּצָעִים (*Bez'aim*) meaning tanks or pools (see Kimchi *i. l.*; Levy, *Chald. WB.* s. v. אגנא, *NHWB.* s. v. בצעים), upon which speculations respecting the character of the locality have been based (Ewald, *JBW.* ii. 52). "Plain" is in accordance with the usual rendering of א in the Targum (cp. "the plains of Moreh"). [S. R. D.]

[c] The Sam. Version, according to its customary rendering of Allon, has here משור בכיתה, "the *plain* of Bakith." See this subject more fully examined under ELON.

[a] This suggests that the Hebrew name of the Gamala so famous in the Roman war in Galilee may have been Almon.

present *Dhîbân*, just to the north of the Arnon; and there is thus every probability that Almon-diblathaim was identical with Beth-diblathaim, a Moabite city mentioned by Jeremiah (xlviii. 22) in company with both Dibon and Nebo, and that its traces will be discovered on further exploration. The name Beth-diblathaim occurs on the Moabite stone, and it has been identified, doubtfully, by Major Conder with the ruins of *Deleiyât*, south of the *Zerka M'ain*. [BETH-DIBLATHAIM.] [G.] [W.]

ALMOND (שָׁקֵד [לוּז], *shâkêd* [*lûz*]; ἀμύγδαλον, κάρυον, καρῦνος, καρυωτὰ; *amygdalus, amygdala, in nucis modum, instar nucis, virga vigilans*). This word is found in Gen. xliii. 11; Ex. xxv. 33, 34, xxxvii. 19, 20; Numb. xvii. 8; Eccles. xii. 5; Jer. i. 11, in the text of the A. V. It is invariably represented by the same Hebrew word (*shâkêd*), which sometimes stands for the whole tree, sometimes for the fruit or nut: for instance, in Gen. xliii. 11, Jacob commands his sons to take as a present to Joseph "a little honey, spices and myrrh, nuts and almonds;" where the fruit is clearly meant. In the passages out of the Book of Exodus the "bowls made like unto almonds,"[a] which were to adorn the golden candlestick, seem to allude to the nut also.[b] Aaron's rod, that so miraculously budded, yielded *almond nuts*. In the two passages from Ecclesiastes and Jeremiah, *shâkêd* is translated *almond tree*, which from the context it certainly represents. It is clearly then a mistake to suppose, with some writers, that *shâkêd* stands exclusively for "almond-nuts," and that *lûz* signifies the "tree."[c] It appears more probable that this tree, conspicuous as it was for its early flowering and useful fruit, was known by these *two* different names. The etymology of the Hebrew *lûz* is uncertain; and although the word occurs only in Gen. xxx. 37, where it is translated *hazel* in the text of the A. V., yet there can be little or no doubt that it is another word for the *almond* [so R. V. *in loco*], for in the Arabic this identical word, لوز, *lûz*, denotes the almond. [HAZEL.] The early appearance of the blossoms on the almond-tree (*Amygdalus communis*) was no doubt regarded by the Jews of old as a welcome harbinger of spring, reminding them that the winter was passing away—that the flowers would soon appear on the earth—and that the time of the singing of birds and the voice of the turtle would soon be heard in the land (Song of Sol. ii. 11, 12). *Shâkêd* is derived from a root which signifies "to be wakeful," "to hasten," for the almond-tree blossoms very early in the season, the flowers appearing before the leaves. The word *shâkêd*, therefore, or the tree which *hastened* to put forth its blossoms, was a very beautiful and fitting synonym for the *lûz*, or almond-tree, in the language of a people so fond of imagery and poetry as were the Jews. We have in our own language instances of plants being named from the season of the year when they are flowering—*May* for *Hawthorn; Pasque Flower* for *Anemone; Lent Lily* for *Daffodil; Winter Cress* for *Hedge Mustard*. But perhaps the best and most exact illustration of the Hebrew *shâkêd* is to be found in the English word *Apricot*, or *Apricock*, as it was formerly and more correctly called, which is derived from the Latin *praecoqua, praecocia*; this tree was so called by the Romans, who considered it a kind of peach which *ripened earlier* than the common one; hence its name, the *precocious tree* (comp. Plin. xv. 11; Martial, xiii. 46).

The almond-tree flowers early in January, and continues to show a mantle of white bloom suffused with a delicate blush, until February, when the fruit begins to set. The knowledge of this interesting fact will explain that otherwise unintelligible passage in Jeremiah (i. 11, 12), "The word of the Lord came unto me, saying, Jeremiah, what seest thou? And I said, I see the rod of an almond-tree (*shâkêd*). Then said the Lord unto me, Thou hast well seen, for I will *hasten* (*shôkêd*; R. V. "I watch over") My word to perform it."

In that well-known poetical representation of old age in Eccles. xii. 5 it is said, "the almond-tree shall flourish." This expression is generally understood as emblematic of the hoary locks of old age thinly scattered on the bald head, just as the white blossoms appear on the yet leafless boughs of this tree. Gesenius, however, does not allow such an interpretation, for he says with some truth[e] that the almond flowers are pink or rose-coloured, not *white*. This passage, therefore, is rendered by him—"the almond is rejected."[f] Though a delicious fruit, yet the old man, having no teeth, would be obliged to refuse it.[g] If, however, the reading of the A. V.

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[a] מְשֻׁקָּדִים, Pual part. pl., from denom. verb שָׁקַד, always used in Heb. text in reference to the golden candlestick; LXX. ἐκτετυπωμένοι καρυΐσκους, al. καρυΐσκοις; Aquila, ἐξημυγδαλωμένην.

[b] שָׁקֵד, "est *amygdalus* et *amygdalum*, arbor et fructus; hic autem fructus potius quam arboris forma designari videtur" (Rosenmüll. *Schol. in Exod.* xxv. 33). That *shâkêd* = *tree* and *fruit*, see also Fürst, *Concord.* שָׁקֵד, "*amygdala* et *amygdalum*, de arbore et fructu;" and Buxtorf, *Lex. Chald.* שְׁנַד, "significat arborem et fructum." Michaelis (*Suppl.* s. v. גְּבִיעִים) understands the almond-shaped bowls to refer to the *blossom*, i.e. the *calyx* and the *corolla*.

[c] Harris, *Dict. Nat. H. Bibl.* art. "Almond," and Dr. Royle in Kitto, art. "Shâkêd."

[d] שָׁקַד (1) *decubuit*, (2) *vigilavit*=Arab. شَقِنَ, شَقَدَ *insomnis*. The Chaldee is שְׁקַדִין, שְׁנַדִין, שְׁנַדָּא; ג and ק being interchanged. The Syriac word is similar.

[e] The general colour of the almond blossom is pink, but the flowers do vary from deep pink to nearly white.

[f] יָגְאַץ שָׁקֵד. Gesenius makes the verb יָגְאַץ to be Hiphil future, from גָּאַץ, to *deride*, to *despise*; יַגְאַץ would then be after the Syriac form, instead of יַגְאִיץ. But all the old Versions agree with the translation of the A. V. [R. V. "blossom"], the verb being formed regularly from the root, נוּץ, *florere*. [See Wright. *Ecclesiastes*, p. 258 n., who prefers יָנֵאַץ, "will be despised."]

[g] "When the grinders cease because they are few" (Eccles. xii. 3). For some other curious interpretations of this passage, see that of R. Salomon, quoted by Santes Pagninus in his *Thesaurus*, sub voce נוּץ, and Vatablus, *Annotata ad Ecclesiasten*, xii. 5 (*Crit. Sac.* iii. 236).

is retained, then the allusion to the almond-tree is intended to refer to the *hastening* of old age in the case of him who remembereth not "his Creator in the days of his youth." As the almond-tree ushers in spring, so do the signs mentioned in the context foretell the approach of old age and death. It has always been regarded by the Jews with reverence, and even to this day the English Jews on their great feast-days carry a bough of flowering almond to the synagogue, just as in old time they used to present palm-branches in the Temple, to remind them perhaps, as Lady Callcott has observed (*Script. Herb.* p. 10), that in the great famine in the time of Joseph the almond did not fail them, and that, as it "failed not to their patriarchs in the days of dearth, it cometh to their hand in this day of worse and more bitter privation, as a token that God forgetteth not His people in their distress, nor the children of Israel, though scattered in a foreign land, though their home is the prey of the spoiler, and their Temple is become an high place for the heathen."

The almond-tree, the scientific name of which is *Amygdalus communis*, belongs to the natural order *Rosaceae* and sub-order *Amygdaleae*. This order is a large and important one, for it contains more than 1000 species, many of which produce excellent fruit. Apricots, peaches, nectarines, plums, cherries, apples, pears, strawberries, &c., are all included under this order. It should be remembered, however, that the seeds, flowers, bark, and leaves of many plants in the order *Rosaceae* contain a deadly poison; namely, prussic or hydrocyanic acid. The almond-tree is a native of Western Asia and North Africa, but it is cultivated in the milder parts of Europe. It does not appear to have been cultivated in Egypt, since almonds were among the presents taken down thither by Jacob's sons. In Palestine it is indigenous. There are many wild almond-trees on Mount Carmel, and they abound in the lonely forests of Gilead, and are among the few trees which relieve the barrenness of the wilds of Moab. On Jebel Attarus and Jebel Shihan are many

Almond-tree and blossom.

wild almond-trees. I found them covered with bloom 3000 feet above the sea in the beginning of February, and in Southern Gilead I have often, in my rides, gathered wild almond nuts well filled in March. Though the blossom of the almond is not white, yet when, as in the orchards about Nablous (Shechem), the peach- and almond-trees are intermingled, the latter look white by contrast. In early spring they form a beautiful picture in the landscape there, as the lower slopes of Gerizim, as well as the valley, are studded with peaches and almonds (the descendants, doubtless, of those which supplied Jacob's sons with their gifts), in striking contrast with the deep green foliage of the orange-trees, and rivalling an apple orchard in splendour of colour. Though not so thickly massed, they are a not less beautiful feature in the forest scenery of Gilead. In England the almond is grown simply on account of its beautiful vernal flowers, for the fruit scarcely ever comes to maturity. The height of the tree is about 12 or 14 feet; the flowers are arranged for the most part in pairs; the leaves are long, ovate, with a serrated margin, and an acute point. The covering of the fruit is downy and succulent, enclosing the hard shell which contains the kernel. The bitter almond is the ungrafted wild tree. Four species of Amygdalus are indigenous in Palestine. The English *almond*, Spanish *almendra*, the Provençal *amandola*, the French *amande*, are all apparently derived from the Greek ἀμυγδάλη; Latin *amygdala*. It is curious to observe, in connexion with the almond-bowls of the golden candlestick, that pieces of rock-crystal used in adorning branch-candlesticks are still termed by the lapidaries "Almonds." [W. H.] [H. B. T.]

ALMS (Chald. צְדָקָה), beneficence towards the poor, from Anglo-Sax. *ælmesse*, probably, as well as from the Germ. *almosen*, from ἐλεημοσύνη; *eleemosyna*, Vulg. (but see Bosworth, *A.-S. Dict.*). The word "alms" is not found in the A. V. of the canonical Books of the O. T., but it occurs repeatedly in the N. T., and in the apocryphal books of Tobit and Ecclesiasticus. The Heb. צְדָקָה, *righteousness*, is rendered by the LXX. in Deut. xxiv. 13, Dan. iv. 27, and elsewhere, ἐλεημοσύνη, instead of which the modern Revised text reads in Matt. vi. 1, δικαιοσύνη.

The duty of almsgiving, especially in kind, consisting chiefly in portions to be left designedly from produce of the field, the vineyard, and the oliveyard (Lev. xix. 9, 10, xxiii. 22; Deut. xv. 11, 14, xxiv. 19, 21, xxvi. 2–13; Ruth ii. 2), is strictly enjoined by the Law. After his entrance into the land of promise, the Israelite was ordered to present yearly the first-fruits of the land before the Lord, in a manner significant of his own previously destitute condition. Every third year also (Deut. xiv. 28) each proprietor was directed to share the tithes of his produce with "the Levite, the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow." The theological estimate of almsgiving among the Jews is indicated by the following passages:—Job xxxi. 17; Prov. x. 2, xi. 4; Esth. ix. 22; Ps. cxii. 9; Dan. iv. 27; Acts ix. 36, the case of Dorcas; x. 2, of Cornelius: to which may be added, Tob. iv. 10, 11, xiv. 10, 11; and Ecclus. iii. 30, xl. 24. And the Talmudists went so far as to interpret *righteousness* by almsgiving in such passages as Gen. xviii. 19; Ps. xvii. 15; Is. liv. 14.

In the women's court of the Temple there were thirteen receptacles for voluntary offerings (cp. Mark xii. 41), one of which was devoted to

alms for education of poor children of good family. Before the Captivity there is no trace of permission of mendicancy, but it was evidently allowed in later times (Matt. xx. 30; Mark x. 46; Acts iii. 2).

After the Captivity, but at what time cannot be known certainly, a definite system of almsgiving was introduced, and even enforced under penalties. Besides the tithes mentioned above, and the portions of produce set apart for the poor in fields and vineyards, there were in every city three collectors. The collections were of two kinds: 1, of money for the poor of the city only, made by two collectors, received in a chest or box (קוּפָּה) in the synagogue on the Sabbath, and distributed by the three in the evening; 2, for the poor in general, of food and money, collected every day from house to house, received in a dish (תַּמְחוּי) by the three collectors, and distributed by them. The two collections obtained the names respectively of "alms of the chest" and "alms of the dish." Special collections and distributions were also made on fast-days.

The Pharisees were zealous in almsgiving, but too ostentatious in their mode of performance (Matt. vi. 2). But there is no ground for supposing that the expression *μὴ σαλπίσῃς* is more than a mode of denouncing their display, by a figure drawn from the frequent and well-known use of trumpets in religious and other celebrations, Jewish as well as heathen (Winer, *s. v.*; Otho, *Lex Rabb.* pp. 163–167; Carpzov. *Eleem. Jud.* § 32, p. 745; Vitringa, *de Syn. Vet.* iii. 1, 13; Maimonides, *de Jure Pauperis*, a treatise devoted to the subject (Prideaux); Lightfoot, *Horae Hebr.*, on Matt. vi. 2, and *Descr. Templi*, 19; *Dict. of Antiq.* s. v. "Tuba.") [See OFFERINGS; POOR; TITHES; TEMPLE.]

The duty of relieving the poor was not neglected by the Christians (Matt. vi. 1–4; Luke xiv. 13; Acts xx. 35; Gal. ii. 10). Every Christian was exhorted to lay by on the Sunday in each week some portion of his profits, to be applied to the wants of the needy (Acts xi. 30; Rom. xv. 25–27; 1 Cor. xvi. 1–4). It was also considered a duty specially incumbent on widows to devote themselves to such ministrations (1 Tim. v. 10). [H. W. P.]

ALMUG-TREE. [ALGUM.]

AL'NATHAN (A. Ἐλναθάν, B. Ἐννατάν; *Enaathan*). ELNATHAN No. 2 (1 Esd. viii. 44 [LXX. *v.* 43]; cp. Ezra viii. 16, B. -μ). [W. A. W.] [F.]

ALOES, LIGN ALOES (אֲהָלִים, *Ahâlîm*, אֲהָלוֹת, *Ahâlôth*; *σκηναί* [in Num. xxiv. 6]; *στακτή* [in Ps. xlv. 8]; T.^{r} ἀλώθ, א. ἀλοή; Sym. *θυμίαμα* [in Cant. iv. 14]: *tabernacula, gutta, aloe*: in N. T. ἀλόη, *aloe*), the name of some costly and sweet-smelling perfume prepared from a tree mentioned in Ps. xlv. 8, "All thy garments smell of myrrh, and aloes, and cassia;" in Prov. vii. 17, "I have perfumed my bed with myrrh, aloes, and cinnamon." In Cant. iv. 14, Solomon speaks of "myrrh and aloes, with all the chief spices." The word occurs once in the N. T. (John xix. 39), where mention is made of Nicodemus bringing "a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about an hundred pound weight," for the purpose of anointing the body of our Lord. The tree itself is spoken of in Numb. xxiv. 6, where Balaam compares the camps of Israel to "trees of lign aloes which the Lord hath planted." Writers generally, following Celsius (*Hierob.* i. 135), who devotes thirty-five pages to this subject, suppose that the *Aquilaria agallochum* is the

Aquilaria agallochum.

tree in question. The trees which belong to the natural order *Aquilariaceae*, apetalous dicotyledonous flowering plants, are for the most part natives of tropical Asia. The species *Aq. agallochum*, which supplies the aloes-wood of commerce, is much valued in India on account of its aromatic qualities for fumigations and incense. It was well known to the Arabic physicians. Ibn Sina[a] (Avicenna), in the Latin translation, speaks of this wood under the names of *Agallochum*, *Xylaloe*, or *Lignum-Aloes*. In the Arabic original a description is given of it under the names of *Aghlagoon*, *Aghalookhi*, *Ood*[b] (Dr. Royle, in *Cyc. Bib.* s. v. "Ahalim"). Dr. Royle (*Illust. of Himalayan Botany*, p. 171) mentions three varieties of this wood as being obtained in the bazaars of Northern India.

The *Aquilaria secundaria* of China has the character of being the most highly scented. But it is a singular fact that this fragrancy does not exist in any of this family of trees when in a

[a] Abdallah ibn Sina, a celebrated Arabian physician and natural philosopher, born A.D. 980. The Jews abbreviated the name into Abensina, whence the Christians called it Avicenna.

[b] اغالوجن, ἀγάλλοχον, *Aquilaria ovata*, Sprengel, *Hist. Rei Herb.* i. p. 261 *sq.*; Avicenna, lii. p. 132. اغالوجن, id. (Freytag, *Lex.* s. v.). عود, *Lignum Aloës*, Kam. Dj. Avic. Can., lii. p. 231; cfs. Sprengel, *Hist. Rei Herb.* t. i. p. 271 (Freytag, *Lex.* s. v.).

healthy and growing condition; it is only when the tree is diseased that it has this aromatic property. On this account the timber is often buried for a short time in the ground, which accelerates the decay, when the *utter*, or fragrant oil, is secreted. The best aloe-wood is called *calambac*, and is the produce of *Aquilaria agallochum*, a native of Silhet, in Northern India. This is a magnificent tree, and grows to the height of 120 feet, being 12 feet in girth: "The bark of the trunk is smooth and ash-coloured; that of the branches grey and lightly striped with brown. The wood is white, and very light and soft. It is totally without smell; and the leaves, bark, and flowers are equally inodorous" (*Script. Herb.* 238). The *Excaecaria agallochum*, with which some writers have confused the *Ag. agallal.*, is an entirely different plant, being a small crooked tree, containing an acrid milky poison, in common with the rest of the *Euphorbiaceae*. Persons have lost their sight from this juice getting into their eyes, whence the plant's generic name, *Excaecaria*. It is difficult to account for the specific name of this plant, for the *agallochum* is certainly not the produce of it.

There would be no difficulty in the identification of *Ahalim* with the Oriental *A. agallochum*, as the three passages in which the perfume is mentioned would imply that it was a foreign product, were it not for the expression in Balaam's parable; for he speaks, as the passage would imply, of a tree familiar to himself or his hearers. But no species of *Aquilaria* is found in Mesopotamia, and we can scarcely assume that Balaam would take his illustration from a tree absolutely unknown.[a] It seems much more probable that in this case the name was applied to some other but familiar tree, such as the graceful *Populus euphratica*, which in many parts is a conspicuous adornment of the banks of the Euphrates, and is pre-eminently the river-side tree of Western Asia. The difficulty seems to have been recognised by the LXX., who translate σκηναί, as though the original had been אָהֳלִים, *'ohâlim*, and in this they are followed by the Vulg., Syriac, Arabic, and other Versions. But this reading destroys all the force and parallelism of the context.

The passage in Ps. xlv. 8 has been sometimes translated thus: "The myrrh, aloes, and cassia, perfuming all thy garments, brought from the ivory palaces of the *Minni*, shall make thee glad." The Minni, or Minaei, were inhabitants of spicy Arabia, and carried on a great trade in the exportation of spices and perfumes (Plin. xii. 14, 16; Bochart, *Phaleg*, ii. 22, 135). As the *myrrh* and *cassia* are mentioned as coming from the Minni, and were doubtless natural productions of their country, so it has been inferred that *aloes*, being named with them, was was also a production of the same country. But the translation is impossible.[c] The aloe of Scripture has nothing to do with the modern aloe of medicine, procured from a species of American aloe, *Aloe vera*, which has become naturalised in Palestine. [W. H.] [H. B. T.]

A'LOTH (עָלוֹת; B. ἐν τῇ Μααλά, A. ἐν Μααλώτ, Luc. recension ἐν τῇ Γαλαάδ; *Baloth*; R. V. *Bealoth*), a place or district, forming with Asher the jurisdiction of the ninth of Solomon's commissariat officers (1 K. iv. 16). T.[7] and later scholars read ἐν Βααλώθ, "(in) Bealoth," though the A. V. ("in Aloth") treats the ב as a prefix. In the former case see BEALOTH. Josephus has τὴν περὶ Ἀρκὴν παραλίαν, Ἀρκὴ being the name which he elsewhere gives to Ecdippa (Achzib) on the sea-coast in Asher. Conder (*Hdbk. to Bible*, 402) identifies Aloth with *Kh. 'Alia* near *Malia*; but Guérin (*Galilée*, ii. 62), with more probability, believes *Kh. 'Alia* to be Hali (Josh. xix. 25). [G.] [W.]

AL'PHA, the first letter of the Greek alphabet, as Omega is the last. Its significance is plainly indicated in the context, "I am the Alpha and the Omega, the first and the last, the beginning and the end" (Rev. xxii. 13, R. V.; a passage explanatory of i. 8, xxi. 6: cp. R. V. in each case), which may be compared with Is. xli. 4, xliv. 6, "I am the first and I am the last, and beside Me there is no God." So Prudentius (*Cathemer. hymn.* ix. 11, quoted by Bp. Wordsworth in loco) explains it:

> "Corde natus ex Parentis, ante mundi exordium
> Alpha et O cognominatus, Ipse fons et clausula
> Omnium quae sunt, fuerunt, quaeque post futura sunt."

In Rev. xxii. 13, the speaker is our Lord; in i. 8, xxi. 6, He is, according to most commentators, God the Father. The appellation, taken in its most general sense, is equivalent to "the Eternal One," from Whom all things proceed and to Whom they tend; and, in the special sense of the Apocalypse, it is used of One Who will carry on to its consummation the work which He has begun; "the kingdom of the world is become the kingdom of our Lord and of His Christ" (Rev. xi. 15, R. V.). Illustrations of the expression "the Alpha and the Omega" are adduced by Abbot (*D. B.*, Amer. ed.) from Josephus, *c. Apion.* ii. 22; *Ant.* viii. 11, § 2; Plato, *de Legg.* iv. 7, p. 715 e; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. 5. The expression "I am Alpha and Omega" is further illustrated by the usage in Rabbinical writers of Aleph and Tau, the first and last letters of the Hebrew alphabet. Schoettgen (*Hor. Hebr.* i. 1086) quotes from *Jalkut Rubeni*, fol. 17, 4, "Adam transgressed the whole law from א to ת," that is, from the beginning to the end. It is not necessary to inquire whether in the latter usage the meaning is so full as in the Revelation: that must be determined by separate considerations. As an illustration merely, the reference is valuable. Both Greeks and Hebrews employed the letters of the alphabet as numerals. In the early times of the Christian Church the letters A and Ω were combined with the cross or with the monogram of Christ (Maitland, *Church in the Catacombs*, pp. 166–8). One of the oldest monuments on which this occurs is a marble tablet found in the catacombs at Melos, which belongs, if not to the first century, to the first half of the second (see *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.* "A and Ω," "Cross," i. pp. 495–7). [W. A. W.] [F.]

ALPHABET. [WRITING.]

[a] See Rosenmüller's note on this passage (*Schol. in V. T. ad Ps.* xlv. 9), and Lee's *Heb. Lex.* (s. v. מִנִּי). R. V. translates, "Out of ivory palaces stringed instruments have made thee glad." See *Speaker's Comm.* in loco and the commentaries of Perowne, Delitzsch, Cheyne, W. Schultz, &c., in loco.

ALPHAEUS (Ἁλφαῖος or Ἀλφαῖος; *Alphaeus*; Aramaic, חַלְפַי).

1. Father of Levi the publican (Mark ii. 14). Notice the Western reading Ἰάκωβον (James) for Λεύειν (Levi), suggested by τὸν τοῦ Ἁλφαίου (the son of Alphaeus).

2. Father of James the Apostle, always mentioned to distinguish his son from James the son of Zebedee (Matt. x. 3; Mark iii. 18; Luke vi. 15; Acts i. 13). The identification of this Alphaeus with Clopas (John xix. 25), and perhaps with Cleopas (Luke xxiv. 18), is the only point necessary to consider. The question of the identity of the persons will be taken first, and afterwards the independent question of the identity of the names. The identity of Alphaeus and Clopas depends on the supposition that James the son of Alphaeus is the same as James "the Little" (R. V. marg., ὁ μικρός, Mark xv. 40; R. V. in text as A. V., "the less." There is no scriptural or early sanction for the title James the Great being applied to James the son of Zebedee). The mother of James the Little was Mary, and, by a comparison of the accounts of the Crucifixion, this Mary appears to be the same as Mary of Clopas, *i.e.* probably the wife of Clopas (John xix. 25). Clopas, according to Hegesippus (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 11), was brother of Joseph, the husband of the Blessed Virgin. Some have supposed that Mary the wife of Clopas was the Virgin's sister, on the ground of John xix. 25 (but see Westcott's note in *Speaker's Commentary*). Clopas being Joseph's brother, his son Simeon was regarded (though of course not accurately) as our Lord's cousin; and Simeon was on this account chosen to succeed James as Bishop of Jerusalem (Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 22). If Clopas and Alphaeus are the same, then James the son of Alphaeus is no more really related to our Lord according to the flesh than Simeon the son of Clopas, who is described as our Lord's cousin (ἀνεψιός). For the bearing of this point on the controversy about James the Lord's brother, see JAMES. It will be evident from what has been said that all inferences from the passages quoted are precarious.

Admitting that Alphaeus and Clopas may be two names for the same man, can it be admitted that the names themselves are two Greek forms of one Aramaic name, חַלְפַי (Chalphai)? Clopas cannot be connected with Alphaeus through חַלְפַי, for an initial ח is seldom if ever represented by κ; the omission of α before λ in Κλώπας and the insertion of ω after it are unaccountable; and the representation of פ by π is unlikely. Delitzsch* holds with great probability that Κλώπας is a contraction of Κλεόπας, and Κλεόπας an abbreviation of Κλεόπατρος (the masculine counterpart of Κλεοπάτρα), a name which actually occurs (Plutarch, *Vit. Ar.* 40). The identity of the man Alphaeus with the man Clopas may still be admitted, as Jews often bore Greek in addition to Aramaic names, and sometimes a man chose a Greek name which sounded like his Aramaic name, though not etymologically connected with it. If Delitzsch's view is correct, Clopas and Cleopas are the same name, and the Cleopas of Luke xxiv. 18 may possibly be the same as the Clopas of John xix. 25.

On the whole question, see Herzog, *Real Ency.* art. Alphäus; *Expositor*, Jan. 1885, and authorities there quoted; Bishop Lightfoot's *Galatians*,[2] The Brethren of the Lord, p. 253 sq., especially p. 260, note 3. [E. R. B.]

* In his Heb. N. T. (1885), Delitzsch renders Alphaeus by חַלְפַי, Clopas by קְלֹפָס, Cleopas by קְלֵיוֹפָס.

ALT'ANE'US. Same as MATTENAI (Ezra x. 33, ℵB. Ματθανία; *Mathania*), one of the sons of Hashum (1 Esd. ix. 33, B. Μαλταννᾶος, A. Ἀλτ-; *Carianeus*). [W. A. W.] [F.]

ALTAR (מִזְבֵּחַ; θυσιαστήριον, βωμός; *altare*). A. The first altar of which we have any account is that built by Noah when he left the ark (Gen. viii. 20). The Targumists indeed assert that Adam built an altar after he was driven out of the garden of Eden, and that on this Cain and Abel, and afterwards Noah and Abraham, offered sacrifice (Pseudo-Jonath. Gen. viii. 20; xxii. 9). According to the tradition, the First Man was made upon an altar which God Himself had prepared for the purpose, and on the site of this altar were reared both those of the Patriarchs and that in the Temple of Solomon. This tradition, if in no other way valuable, at least shows the great importance which the Jews attached to the altar as the central point of their religious worship (Bähr, *Symbol.* ii. 350).

In the early times altars were usually built in certain spots hallowed by religious associations, *e.g.* where God appeared (Gen. xii. 7; xiii. 18; xxvi. 25; xxxv. 1). Generally of course they were erected for the offering of sacrifice; but in some instances they appear to have been only memorial. Such was the altar built by Moses and called Jehovah Nissi, as a sign that the Lord would have war with Amalek from generation to generation (Ex. xvii. 15, 16). Such too was the altar which was built by the Reubenites, Gadites, and half-tribe of Manasseh, "in the borders of Jordan," and which was erected "not for burnt-offering nor for sacrifice," but that it might be "a witness" between them and the rest of the tribes (Josh. xxii. 10–29). Altars were most probably originally made of earth. This was the commonest form of altar in antiquity. Such were the altars of the Greeks, Romans, and Carthaginians. Tertullian (*Apol.* 25) speaks of altars of turf (*de cespite altaria*) as the earliest among the Romans. The Law of Moses allowed them to be made either of earth or of unhewn stones (Ex. xx. 26): any iron tool would have profaned the altar. But this law was subsequently modified.

In later times altars were frequently built on high places, especially in idolatrous worship (Deut. xii. 2; for the pagan notions on this subject, see Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 57). The altars so erected were themselves sometimes called "high places" (בָּמוֹת, 2 K. xxiii. 8; 2 Ch. xiv. 3, &c.). Both in the Levitical and Deuteronomic codes all altars were forbidden except those first in the Tabernacle and afterwards in the Temple (Lev. xvii. 8, 9; Deut. xii. 13, &c.). This prohibition, however, was not strictly observed, at least till after the building of the Temple, even by pious Israelites. Thus Gideon built two altars (Judg.

vi. 24, 26). The first of these, which he called *Jehovah-shalom* in memory of the Divine manifestation to him, may have been only a monumental altar, as it does not appear that he offered sacrifices upon it. The second was erected by the command of God. So likewise did Samuel (1 Sam. vii. 9, 10), David (2 Sam. xxiv. 25), and Solomon (1 K. iii. 4). Elijah also repaired the altar of Jehovah on Mount Carmel, and himself offered sacrifice thereon (1 K. xviii. 30–32). The sanctity attaching to the altar led to its being regarded as a refuge or asylum (Ex. xxi. 14; 1 K. i. 50). On the subject of this article generally, cp. W. R. Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, i., index *s. v.* "altar."

B. The earliest provision for the erection of an altar is found in Ex. xx. 24, immediately after the promulgation of the Decalogue. It is as follows: "An altar of earth shalt thou make unto Me, and shalt sacrifice thereon thy burnt-offerings and thy peace-offerings, thy sheep and thine oxen; in every place where I record My name I will come unto thee and will bless thee. And if thou make Me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of hewn stones: for if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it. Neither shalt thou go up by steps unto Mine altar; that thy nakedness be not discovered thereon" (R. V.). This no doubt is the original and simplest form of the Altar of Burnt-offering. As regards material, it might be of earth, or of unhewn stone. It must not be so elevated as to require an ascent to it, lest the person of the sacrificer should be exposed. The offering of victims is not confined to the priests. An altar of this kind might be erected wherever a Divine manifestation was made. Subsequently more definite directions were given for two altars for the service of the Tabernacle: I. the Altar of Burnt-offering; and II. the Altar of Incense.

I. The Altar of Burnt-offering (מִזְבַּח הָעוֹלָה), called in Ex. xxvii. 1 emphatically "*the* altar" (הַמִּזְבֵּחַ), sometimes "the brazen altar" (מִזְבַּח הַנְּחֹשֶׁת); in Mal. i. 7, 12, "the table of the Lord." Throughout the Bible, wherever "*the* altar" is spoken of, the Altar of Burnt-offering is always meant, and where no confusion can arise the shorter expression is common. Where, however, it is necessary to distinguish between this and the Altar of Incense, the full phrase, Altar of Burnt-offering or Brazen Altar, is employed. This differed in construction at different times. (1.) In the Tabernacle (Ex. xxvii. 1 sq.; xxxviii. 1 sq.) it was comparatively small and portable. In shape it was square. It was five cubits in length, the same in breadth, and three cubits high. It was made of planks of shittim (or acacia) wood overlaid with brass (Josephus says *gold* instead of *brass*, *Ant.* iii. 6, § 8). The interior was hollow (נָבוּב לֻחוֹת, Ex. xxvii. 8). But as nothing is said about a covering to the altar on which the victims might be placed, Rashi supposes that whenever the Tabernacle for a time became stationary, the hollow case of the altar was filled up with earth. In support of this view he refers to Ex. xx. 24, where the command is given, "make me an altar of earth," &c., and observes: "The altar of earth is the Brazen Altar itself, the hollow of which was filled up with earth, whenever the camp was pitched." This *may* have been done, but it is obvious, as has been remarked, that there was a modification of the earlier enactment.

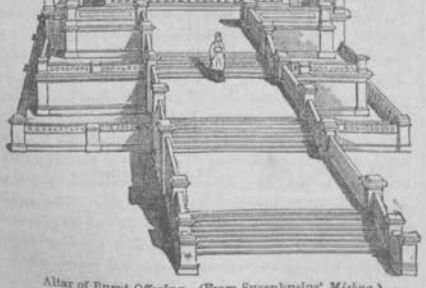
At the four corners were four projections called horns, made, like the altar itself, of shittim-wood overlaid with brass. It is not quite certain how the words in Ex. xxvii. 2, מִמֶּנּוּ תִּהְיֶיןָ קַרְנֹתָיו, should be explained. According to Mendelssohn, they mean that these horns were of one piece with the altar. So also Knobel-Dillmann (*Comm.* in loc.). And this is probably right. By others they are understood to describe only the projection of the horns from the altar. These probably projected upwards; and some have supposed, referring to Ps. cxviii. 27, that to them the victim was bound when about to be sacrificed. But the proper rendering of that passage is "even unto the horns of the altar" (R. V.), and Ainsworth's explanation is probably correct: "Unto the horns, that is all the court over, until you come even to the horns of the altar." There is no evidence that the victims were ever bound to the horns of the altar. On the occasion of the consecration of the priests (Ex. xxix. 12) and the offering of the sin-offering (Lev. iv. 7 ff.) the blood of the victim was sprinkled on the horns of the altar (see the symbolism explained by Baumgarten, *Commentar zum Pentateuch*, ii. 63; Jukes, *The Law of the Offerings*, p. 153, &c.). Round the altar midway between the top and bottom (or, as others suppose, at the top) ran a projecting ledge (כֶּרֶכֹב, A. V. "compass," R. V. "ledge round;" Targ. סובבא; Gr. Ven. *κύκλωμα, περιοχή*), on which perhaps the priests stood when they officiated. No other probable use has been suggested; and it is clear that in the case of an altar three cubits high the priests could not have discharged their duties except by standing upon some part of the altar. To the outer edge of this, again, a grating or network of brass (מִכְבַּר מַעֲשֵׂה רֶשֶׁת נְחֹשֶׁת) was affixed, and reached to the bottom of the altar, which thus presented the appearance of being larger below than above.* Others have supposed this grating to adhere closely to the boards of which the altar was composed, or even to have been substituted for them half-way up from the bottom.

At any rate there can be little doubt that the grating was perpendicular, not horizontal, as Jonathan supposes (Targum on Ex. xxvii. 5). According to him, it was intended to catch portions of the sacrifice or coals which fell from the altar, and which might thus be easily replaced. But it seems improbable that a network or grating should have been constructed for such a purpose (cp. Joseph. *Ant.* iii. 6, § 8). At the four corners of the network were four brazen rings into which were inserted the staves by which the altar was carried. These staves were of the same materials as the altar itself. As the Law forbad any ascent to the altar by steps (Ex. xx. 26), it has been conjectured that an approach was provided by means of a slope

* Knobel's opinion that the object of the network was to protect the altar from being injured by the feet and knees of the officiating priests, and that the כֶּרֶכֹב was merely an ornament by way of finish, is not accepted by Dillmann (in loco).

of earth which led gradually up to the כַּרְכֹּב, or ledge round the altar already described. This must have been either on the north or south side; for on the east was "the place of the ashes" (Lev. i. 16), and on the west at no great distance stood the laver of brass. According to the Jewish tradition, it was on the south side. The place of the altar was at "the door of the tabernacle of the tent of the congregation" (Ex. xl. 29). The various utensils for the service of the altar (Ex. xxvii. 3) were: (1) סִירוֹת, *pans* wherewith to clear away the fat (לְדַשְּׁנוֹ) and ashes: elsewhere the word is used of the pots in which the flesh of the sacrifices was put to seethe (cp. Zech. xiv. 20, 21, and 2 Ch. xxxv. 13, with 1 Sam. ii. 14). (2.) יָעִים, *shovels*, Vulg. *forcipes*, Gesen. *palae cineri removendo*. (3.) מִזְרָקוֹת, *basons;* LXX. φιαλαί, vessels in which the blood of the victims was received, and from which it was *sprinkled* (r. זרק). (4.) מִזְלָגוֹת, *flesh-hooks*, LXX. κρεάγραι, by means of which the flesh was removed from the caldron or pot (see 1 Sam. ii. 13, 14, where they are described as having three prongs). (5.) מַחְתֹּת, *fire-pans*, or perhaps *censers*. These might either be used for taking coals from the fire on the altar (Lev. xvi. 12); or for burning incense (Num. xvi. 6, 7). In Ex. xxv. 38 the English Bible (A. V. and R. V.), following the Vulgate, translates it "snuff-dishes" (cp. Dillmann in loco). All these utensils were of brass.

(2.) In Solomon's Temple the altar was considerably larger in its dimensions, as might have been expected from the much greater size of the building in which it was placed. Like the former, it was square: but the length and breadth were now twenty cubits, and the height ten (2 Ch. iv. 1). It differed, too, in the material of which it was made, being entirely of brass (1 K. viii. 64; 2 Ch. vii. 7). It had no grating: and instead of a single gradual slope, the ascent to it was probably made by three successive platforms, to each of which it has



Altar of Burnt Offering. (From Surenhusius' *Mishna.*)

been supposed that steps led (Surenhus. *Mishna*, vol. ii. p. 261, as in the figure annexed). Against this may be urged the fact that the Law of Moses, as we have seen, positively forbad the use of steps (Ex. xx. 26), and the assertion of Josephus that in Herod's Temple the ascent was by an inclined plane. On the other hand, steps are introduced in the ideal, or symbolical, Temple of Ezekiel (xliii. 17), and the prohibition in Ex. xx. has been interpreted as applying to a *continuous* flight of stairs and not to a broken ascent. But it is very doubtful whether the word מַעֲלוֹת can be confined to "steps:" it would seem rather to cover any kind of ascent. If so, the prohibition was not understood to be of universal application. It must have been restricted to the case of worshippers who were not priests, the object of the prohibition being to guard against exposure of the person to the altar. In the case of the Levitical priests this danger was provided against in another way, by the use of linen breeches (Ex. xxviii. 42). When it is said (Lev. ix. 22) that Aaron *came down* after offering the sin-offering, &c., it is implied that there was some elevated structure upon which he had been standing. In the case of Ezekiel's altar, as has been said, steps are expressly mentioned (xliii. 17). The only way of reconciling these apparent contradictions is by supposing that the Law in Ex. xx. contemplates the case of laymen approaching in their ordinary dress, whereas the Brazen Altar was "approached by priests protected against exposure by their special costume." "In fact, with a large altar, the priest could not put the blood of a victim on the four horns without standing and walking on the altar (Mishna, *Zebachim*, v.), which is clearly against the spirit of Ex. xx., except on the understanding that that law does not apply to priests appropriately clad for the office" (*The Old Test. in the Jewish Church*, by Prof. Robertson Smith, Lect. xii. note 1). The prohibition in Ex. xx. is general, "Thou shalt not go up," not "the priests shall not go up." There is no evidence that by the first legislation priests only were allowed to approach the altar. Asa, we read, renewed (וַיְחַדֵּשׁ) Solomon's altar (2 Ch. xv. 8). This may either mean that he *repaired* it, or more probably perhaps that he *reconsecrated* it after it had been polluted by idol worship (ἀνεκαίνισεν, LXX.). Subsequently Ahaz had it removed from its place to the north side of the new altar which Urijah the priest had made in accordance with his direction (2 K. xvi. 14). It was "cleansed" by command of Hezekiah (טִהַרְנוּ, 2 Ch. xxix. 18), and Manasseh, after renouncing his idolatry, either *repaired* (Kethibh, ויכן) or *rebuilt* it (Keri, ויבן). It may finally have been broken up and the brass carried to Babylon, but this is not mentioned (Jer. lii. 17 sq.). According to the Rabbinical tradition, this altar stood on the very spot on which man was originally created.

(3.) The Altar of Burnt-offering in the second (Zerubbabel's) Temple. Of this no description is given in the Bible. We are only told (Ezra iii. 2) that it was built before the foundations of the Temple were laid. According to Josephus (*Ant.* xi. 4, § 1), it was placed on the same spot on which that of Solomon had originally stood. It was constructed, as we may infer from 1 Macc. iv. 47, of unhewn stones (λίθους ὁλοκλήρους). Antiochus Epiphanes desecrated it (ᾠκοδόμησαν βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον, 1 Macc. i. 54); and, according to Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 5, § 4), removed it altogether. In the restoration by Judas Maccabaeus a new altar

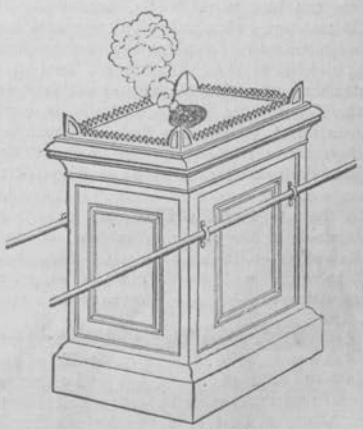
was built of unhewn stone in conformity with the Law (1 Macc. iv. 47).

(4.) The altar erected by Herod, which is thus described by Josephus (*B. J.* v. 5, § 6):—"In front of the Temple stood the altar, 15 cubits in height, and in breadth and length of equal dimensions, viz. 50 cubits: it was built four-square, with horn-like corners projecting from it; and on the south side a gentle acclivity led up to it. Moreover it was made without any iron tool, neither did iron ever touch it at any time." Rufin. has 40 cubits square instead of 50. The dimensions given in the Mishna are different. It is there said (*Middoth*, 3, 1) that the altar was at the base 32 cubits square; at the height of a cubit from the ground 30 cubits square; at 5 cubits higher (where was the circuit, סוֹבֵב) it was reduced to 28 cubits square, and at the horns still further to 26. A space of a cubit each way was here allowed for the officiating priests to walk, so that 24 cubits square were left for the fire on the altar (הַמַּעֲרָכָה). This description is not very clear. But the Rabbinical and other interpreters consider the altar from the סוֹבֵב upwards to have been 28 cubits square, allowing at the top, however, a cubit each way for the horns, and another cubit for the passage of the priests. Others, however (as L'Empereur *in loc.*), suppose the ledge on which the priests walked to have been 2 cubits lower than the surface of the altar on which the fire was placed.

The Mishna further states, in accordance with Josephus (see above), and with reference to the Law already mentioned (Ex. xx. 25), that the stones of which the altar was made were unhewn; and that twice in the year, viz. at the Feast of the Passover and the Feast of Tabernacles, they were whitewashed afresh. The way up (כֶּבֶשׁ) was on the south side, 32 cubits long and 16 broad, constructed also of unhewn stones. In connexion with the horn on the south-west was a pipe intended to receive the blood of the victims which was sprinkled on the left side of the altar: the blood was afterwards carried by means of a subterranean passage into the brook Kidron. Under the altar was a cavity into which the drink-offerings passed. It was covered over with a slab of marble, and emptied from time to time. On the north side of the altar were a number of brasen rings, to secure the animals which were brought for sacrifice. Lastly, round the middle of the altar ran a scarlet thread (חוּט שֶׁל כִּיּוֹרָא) to mark where the blood was to be sprinkled, whether above or below it.

According to Lev. vi. 12, 13, a perpetual fire was to be kept burning on the altar. This, as Bähr (*Symbol.* ii. 350) remarks, was the symbol and token of the perpetual worship of Jehovah. For inasmuch as the whole religion of Israel was concentrated in the sacrifices which were offered, the extinguishing of the fire would have looked like the extinguishing of the religion itself. It was therefore, as he observes, essentially different from the perpetual fire of the Persians (Curt. iii. 3; Amm. Marc. xxiii. 6; Hyde, *Rel. Vet. Pers.* viii. p. 148), or the fire of Vesta to which it has been compared. These were not sacrificial fires at all, but were symbols of the Deity, or were connected with the belief which regarded fire as one of the primal elements of the world. This fire, according to the Jews, was the same as that which came down from heaven (πῦρ οὐρανοπετές), "and consumed upon the altar the burnt-offering and the fat" (Lev. ix. 24). It couched upon the altar, they say, like a lion; it was bright as the sun; the flame thereof was solid and pure; it consumed things wet and dry alike; and, finally, it emitted no smoke. This was one of the five things existing in the first Temple which tradition declares to have been wanting in the second (Tract. *Joma*, c. i. fol. 21 b; cp. Wünsche, *d. Babyl. Talm.* i. 353). The fire which consumed the sacrifices was kindled from this: and besides these there was the fire from which the coals were taken to burn incense with (see Carpzov. *Apparat. Hist. Crit. Annot.* p. 286).

II. The Altar of Incense (מִזְבַּח הַקְּטֹרֶת and מִ' מִקְטַר קְטֹרֶת, Ex. xxx. 1; θυσιαστήριον θυμιάματος, LXX.), called also the golden altar (מִזְבַּח הַזָּהָב, Ex. xxxix. 38; Num. iv. 11; θυσ. χρυσοῦν, LXX.) to distinguish it from the Altar of Burnt-offering, which was called the *Brazen* Altar (Ex. xxxviii. 30).[b] Like the Altar of Burnt-offering, it was called "holy of holies" or "most holy" unto Jehovah (Ex. xxx. 10). Probably this is meant by the "altar of wood" spoken of Ezek. xli. 22, which is further described as the "table that is *before the Lord*," precisely the expression used of the Altar of Incense (see Delitzsch, *Brief an die Hebr.* p. 678). The name מִזְבֵּחַ, "altar," was not strictly appropriate, as no sacrifices were offered upon it. This, indeed, was expressly forbidden: "Ye shall



Supposed form of the Altar of Incense.

offer no strange incense thereon, nor burnt sacrifice, nor meal-offering; and ye shall pour no drink-offering thereon" (Ex. xxx. 9, R. V.). But once in the year, on the great Day of Atonement,

[b] Wellhausen points out that the Altar of Incense does not appear among the furniture of the inner sanctuary in Ex. xxv.–xxix., but only as an appendix at the beginning of chap. xxx., and very arbitrarily infers that the author of chaps. xxv.–xxviii. knew nothing of it. There may have been a good reason for its appearing where it does, though we may not now be able to account for it.

the high-priest sprinkled upon the horns of it "the blood of the sin-offering of atonement" (Ex. xxx. 10).

(*a.*) That in the Tabernacle was made of acacia-wood, overlaid with pure gold. In shape it was square, being a cubit in length and breadth, and 2 cubits in height. Like the Altar of Burnt-offering, it had horns at the four corners, which were of one piece with the rest of the altar. So Rabb. Levi ben Gersom:—"Discimus inde quod non conveniat facere cornua separatim, et altari deinde apponere, sed quod cornua debeant esse ex corpore altaris" (*Comment. in Leg.* fol. 109, col. 4).

It had also a *top* or *roof* (גג; ἐσχαρά, LXX.), a flat surface like the roof of an Eastern house (the Hebrew word is the same), on which the incense was laid and lighted. Many, following the interpretation of the Vulgate *craticulam ejus*, have supposed a kind of grating to be meant; but for this there is no authority. Round the altar was a border or wreath (זר; στρεπτὴν στεφάνην χρυσῆν, LXX.). Josephus says: ἐπῆν ἐσχαρὰ χρυσέα ὑπὲρ ἀνεστῶσα, ἔχουσα κατὰ γωνίαν ἑκάστην στέφανον (*Ant.* iii. 7). "Erat itaque cinctorium, ex solido conflatum auro, quod tecto ita adhaerebat, ut in extremitate illud cingeret, et prohiberet, ne quid facile ab altari in terram devolveretur" (Carpzov. *Appar. Hist. Crit. Annot.* p. 273). Below this were two golden rings which were to be "for places for staves to bear it withal." The staves were of acacia-wood overlaid with gold. Its appearance may be illustrated by the figure on the preceding page.

This Altar stood in the Holy Place, "before the veil that is by the ark of the testimony, before the mercy-seat" (Ex. xxx. 6; xl. 5). Philo too speaks of it as ἔσω τοῦ προτέρου καταπετάσματος, and as standing between the candlestick and the table of shewbread. In apparent contradiction to this, the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (ix. 4) enumerates it among the objects which were within the second vail (μετὰ τὸ δεύτερον καταπέτασμα), *i.e.* in the Holy of Holies. It is true that by θυμιατήριον in this passage *may* be meant "a censer," in accordance with the usage of the LXX., but it is better understood of the Altar of Incense, which by Philo and other Hellenists is called θυμιατήριον. It is to be observed also that in 1 K. vi. 22, this same Altar is said to belong to "the oracle" (הַמִּזְבֵּחַ אֲשֶׁר לַדְּבִיר, "the altar that belonged to the oracle," R. V.) or most Holy Place. This may perhaps be accounted for by the great typical and symbolical importance attached to this Altar, so that it might be considered to *belong* to the δευτέρα σκηνή. On the great Day of Atonement it, as well as the mercy-seat, was sprinkled with the blood of the sin-offering (Lev. xvi. 18); and incense itself was supposed to have an atoning efficacy (T. B. *Joma*, f. 44 a; Num. xvi. 47). But further, the writer of the Epistle has the Day of Atonement in his mind; and on that day, when the high-priest lifted the inner veil to go into the Most Holy Place, the separation between the Holy Place and the Most Holy Place seemed for the moment to cease, and they might be regarded as one sanctuary (see Prof. Milligan, *Bible Educator*, iii. 230). In like manner, in the vision of Isaiah (vi. 1–8), the altar from which the seraph takes the "live coal," or rather "hot stone," wherewith he touches the Prophet's lips, and which clearly corresponds to the Altar of Incense in the earthly Temple, is before the Lord, seated upon His throne. And similarly in the Apocalypse (viii. 1–5) the Angel whom St. John sees with a golden censer has much incense given to him, that he may offer it upon the golden altar which is before the throne (see Bleek on Heb. ix. 4, and Delitzsch *in loc.*). Wellhausen has pointed out, that "the rite of the most solemn atoning sacrifice takes place in Lev. iv. on the golden altar, but in Ex. xxix., Lev. viii. ix., without its use"; and that "a still more striking circumstance is, that in passages where the holiest incense-offering is itself spoken of, no trace can be discovered of the corresponding altar. This is particularly the case in Lev. xvi. To burn incense in the sanctuary, Aaron takes a censer, fills it with coals from the altar of burnt-offering (vv. 12, 18–20), and lays the incense upon them in the adytum. Similarly in Lev. x., Num. xvi. xvii., incense is offered on censers of which each priest possesses one. The coals are taken from the Altar of Burnt-offering (Num. xvii. 11; A. V. xvi. 46), which is plated with the censers of the Korahite Levites (xvii. 3, 4; A. V. xvi. 38, 39); whoever takes fire from any other source incurs the penalty of death" (*Hist. of Israel*, Eng. transl. p. 66).

(*b.*) The Altar in Solomon's Temple was similar (1 K. vii. 48; 1 Ch. xxviii. 18), but was made of cedar overlaid with gold. The Altar mentioned in Is. vi. 6 is clearly the Altar of Incense, not the Altar of Burnt-offering; and although, as has been said, it is the heavenly Altar, not the earthly, that the Prophet sees, still no doubt the one was the pattern of the other; and if so, it may be inferred from this passage that heated stones (רְצָפָה) were laid upon the Altar, by means of which the incense was kindled.

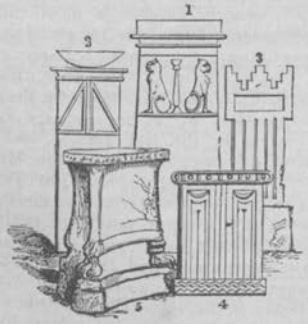
(*c.*) The Altar of Incense is mentioned as having been removed from the Temple of Zerubbabel by Antiochus Epiphanes (1 Macc. i. 21). Judas Maccabaeus restored it, together with the holy vessels, &c. (1 Macc. iv. 49). On the arch of Titus no Altar of Incense appears. But that it existed in the last Temple, and was richly overlaid, we learn from the Mishna (*Hagiga* 3, 8). Ezekiel in his ideal Temple mentions an altar of wood before the sanctuary, of which he says that it was three cubits in height, two cubits in length and breadth, and it had projecting corners, and the frame (R. V. text, "length") and the walls thereof were of wood: "this is the table that is before the Lord" (xli. 21, 22; cp. xliv. 16). According to Wellhausen and Smend, Ezekiel makes no distinction between the table of shewbread and the Altar of Incense. But "altar" and "table" are here convertible terms, just as they are in Mal. i. 7, 12, where they are applied indifferently to the Altar of Burnt-offering.

From the circumstance that the sweet incense was burnt upon it every day, morning and evening (Ex. xxx. 7, 8), as well as that the blood of atonement was sprinkled upon it (v. 10), this Altar had a special importance attached to it. It is the only Altar which

appears in the heavenly Temple (Is. vi. 6; Rev. viii. 3, 4).

C. Other altars. (1.) Altars of brick, forbidden by the Law (Ex. xx. 24, 25). Some commentators have seen an allusion to such in Is. lxv. 3. The words are מְקַטְּרִים עַל הַלְּבֵנִים, "offering incense *on the bricks*," which has been explained as referring to altars made of this material, and situated perhaps in the "gardens" mentioned just before. Rosenmüller suggests, however, that the allusion is to some Babylonish custom of burning incense on bricks covered over with magic formulae or cuneiform inscriptions. This is also the view of Gesenius and Maurer. Dr. Cheyne understands by the "bricks," the tilings of the houses (2 K. xxiii. 12; Zeph. i. 5; Jer. xix. 13), and thinks this view, as implying that Palestine is the locality, and not Babylonia or Egypt, to be more in harmony with the context. Delitzsch, on the other hand, observes that the expression "transports us to Babylon, the country of *cocti lateres* (*laterculi*). The Torah mentions לְבֵנִים only with reference to Babylonian and Egyptian buildings, it knows and allows only of altars of earth, unhewn stones, and wooden planks with brazen covering."

(2.) An altar with the inscription Ἀγνώστῳ Θεῷ, Acts xvii. 22. St. Paul in his speech on the Areopagus mentions having seen such an altar in ATHENS. The inscription, however, is capable of two renderings, either (*a*) "to an unknown god" (Rev. Vers.), or (*b*) "to the unknown god" (A. V.); for in inscriptions of this kind Greek usage did not always require the insertion of the article. (*a*) If we understand the inscription in the former sense, the altar was one erected in gratitude for some benefit received, though the receiver did not know to which of the many deities of heathenism the benefit was due. This interpretation falls in very well with what St. Paul had said as to the "somewhat superstitious" character of the Athenians. It would be evidence of a scrupulous anxiety lest any deity, even though unknown, should not receive his meed of honour and gratitude. Altars of this kind, Pausanias tells us, he had seen in the harbour and streets of Athens.



Various Altars.

1, 2. Egyptian, from bas-reliefs. (Rossellini.)
3. Assyrian, found at Khorsabad. (Layard.)
4. Babylonian, *Bibliothèque Nationale*. (Layard.)
5. Assyrian, from Khorsabad. (Layard.)

He says (i. § 4), ἐνταῦθα καὶ βωμοὶ θεῶν τε ὀνομαζομένων ἀγνώστων καὶ ἡρώων καὶ παίδων τῶν Θήσεως καὶ Φαλήρου. And Philostratus (*Vit. Apollon.* vi. 3), σωφρονέστερον τὸ περὶ παντῶν θεῶν εὖ λέγειν, καὶ ταῦτα Ἀθήνησιν, οὗ καὶ ἀγνώστων δαιμόνων βωμοὶ ἵδρυνται. This, as Winer observes, need not be interpreted as if the several altars were dedicated to a number of ἄγνωστοι θεοί, but rather that *each* altar had the inscription Ἀγνώστῳ Θεῷ. It is not at all probable that such inscription referred to the God of the Jews, as One Whose Name it was unlawful to utter (as Wolf and others have supposed). Neander quotes Diog. Laertius, who, in his Life of Epimenides, says that in the time of a plague, when they knew not what god to propitiate in order to avert it, he caused black and white sheep to be let loose from the Areopagus, and, wherever they lay down, to be offered to the god to whom of right the victim belonged (τῷ προσήκοντι θεῷ). ὅθεν, adds Diogenes, ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐστιν εὑρεῖν κατὰ τοὺς δήμους τῶν Ἀθ. βωμοὺς ἀνωνύμους. On which Neander remarks that on this or similar occasions altars might be dedicated to an unknown god, since they knew not what god was offended and required to be propitiated. But it is to be observed that, according to Diogenes, the altars were left without any inscription. Nor can we attach much importance to Eichhorn's suggestion that these altars (βωμοὶ ἀνώνυμοι) might have been built before the art of writing was known, and subsequently have been inscribed ἀγνώστῳ θεῷ. A passage in the *Philopatris* ascribed to Lucian, in which one of the speakers swears "by the unknown god," has sometimes been quoted as confirming St. Paul's statement; but as the Dialogue is of the 3rd century after Christ, it may be intended only as a sneer at the Apostle's words. Jerome, indeed (on Tit. i. 12), affirms that the inscription ran: "To the gods of Asia and Europe and Africa, to unknown and strange gods." But though Jerome may have seen such an inscription, it is plainly not that to which St. Paul refers. His statement is clear and definite.

(*b*.) If we adopt the rendering "to *the* unknown god," then we must take the verbal adjective in its extended signification, as meaning not only the unknown, but the unknowable. The inscription, as Dr. Plumptre observes, does not affirm Atheism, but simply recognises the existence of a Power concerning which man knows and can know nothing. He finds a parallel to this inscription in that which Plutarch (*de Isid. et Osir.*) records as found on the veil of Isis: "I am all that has been, and all that is, and all that shall be; and no mortal hath lifted my veil;" and a still more striking parallel in the inscription on a Mithraic altar found at Ostia, and now in the Vatican, "signum Indeprehensibilis Dei." "This," he remarks, "is the nearest equivalent that Latin can supply for 'the Unknown and Unknowable God'" (*Bible Commentary for English Readers*, in loco). [J. J. S. P.]

AL-TASCHITH (אַל־תַּשְׁחֵת, more correctly, Al-Tashcheth) forms part of the first, or introductory, verses of Psalms lvii., lviii., lix., lxxv. The Aramaic paraphrast and Rashi, both of whom literally translate this phrase by

"Destroy not!" are, though consistent, greatly mistaken, because these Psalms do not merely stand on the defensive "Destroy not!" but take the offensive "Destroy my enemies!" So is also Ibn 'Ezra with his stereotyped phrase, "Commencement of a well-known poem to the tune of which these Psalms were to be sung." [AIJELETH SHAHAR; ALAMOTH.] But Ibn 'Ezra also, apart from the anachronism on which his theory rests, must be wrong, since it is impossible that all these four Psalms could have been sung satisfactorily to one and the same tune, seeing that they greatly differ not only in sentiment but also in length of diction. Qimchi (on lvii.) actually believes that he has found the very source from which the *Al-Tashcheth* comes, viz. the *Al-Tashchithehu* used by David when Abishai wished to kill Saul (1 Sam. xxvi. 9). On such grounds one need not be astonished to find a modern writer proposing seriously that the source of this title was the *Al-Tashchithehu* of Isaiah (lxv. 8)! Although the explanations of the Targumist and Rashi cannot be true for the reasons given above, they have both at least some ground to stand upon, inasmuch as the phrase *Al-Tashcheth* literally occurs in the Pentateuch (Deut. ix. 26), where it is used by Moses in a prayer for Israel. But what shall we say to the following explanation propounded in all earnest by a German scholar, that *Al-Tashcheth* meant "Spoil not!" and that these words were addressed to a music-director whose band had some time before spoiled a Psalm by singing it or playing it out of tune. If Ibn 'Ezra's theory were true, the band would be certain to spoil the execution of one or the other of these Psalms, and the reminder "Spoil not!" might find an application. Since, however, the Scripture gives us no indication of this, what warrant is there that *Al-Tashcheth* could have such a meaning? The fact is, *Al-Tashcheth* is itself the name of a music-corps, as the '*Al* (עַל) virtually standing before it clearly testifies. The '*Al* is only left out on account of the *Al* following, as *Al* (אַל) after '*Al* (עַל) would be somewhat difficult to pronounce.* (Such was evidently the view taken by the R. V., which inserts in italics the words, *Set to.*) Let nobody object that we have '*Al*-'*Alamoth* (ALAMOTH); for in that case the second ע cannot be pronounced by itself at all, and absolutely depends upon the ל following it (עֲלָמוֹת). It might, however, be legitimately asked: Why should a music-corps be called by the apparently singular name *Al-Tashcheth*? To this legitimate question a legitimate answer may be given, which will throw light on the names of the other music-bands also. When there were only eight music-bands (Talmud Babli *Ta'anith*, 27ª), and these had no history worth speaking of, they were simply numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. The proof of this is the term *Hassheminith* = the Eighth. When they were increased to twenty-four and began to have a history of their own, or one partially relating to them, they received several kinds of names. Some were named from their dwelling-places and functions, as *Ayyeleth Hasshachar* (AIJELETH SHAHAR), *'Alamoth* (ALAMOTH), *Haggittith* (GITTITH), &c.; some from their director, as *Yeduthun;* some from the nature, character, and position of the instruments on which they excelled, as *Yonath Elem Rechoqim* (JONATH ELEM RECHOKIM); some from historical occurrences, as *Muth-Labben* (see 1 Ch. xv. 2 and Qimchi on Ps. ix. 1). Of this last kind is, no doubt, this *Al-Tashcheth*, which was probably given to one of the bands when Uzzah was struck down dead (2 Sam. vi. 8). David commemorated that event, it is true, by calling the place where the catastrophe had occurred *Perez-Uzzah;* but as he could not give one of the music-bands such an ill-omened name, he called it by the historically-auspicious title *Al-Tashcheth!* [S.-S.]

A'LUSH (אָלוּשׁ, of uncertain etymology; Sam. אלוש; AF. Αἰλούς; B. Αἰλείμ; *Alus*), one of the stations of the Israelites on their journey to Sinai, the last before Rephidim (Num. xxxiii. 13, 14). No trace of it has yet been found (see conjectures in Dillmann on Exod. xvii. 1). In the Seder Olam (Kitto, *Cyc.* s. v.) it is stated to have been 8 miles from Rephidim. Perhaps in *W. Feirân*, near the mouth of *W. er Rummâneh.* [G.] [W.]

AL'VAH (עַלְוָה. The real meaning of the Edomite and pre-Edomite names is still unknown; Γωλά; *Alva*), a duke (=*dux*, Vulg.) of Edom (Gen. xxxvi. 40), written Aliah (עַלְיָה) in 1 Ch. i. 51.

2. Alvah is the name of a place as well as of a chief. Dillmann (Gen. *l. c.*) and Delitzsch, *Genesis, l. c.* [1887], identify the name with ALVAN. [W. A. W.] [F.]

AL'VAN (עַלְוָן, see ALVAH; A. Γωλών, *DE.* -μ; *Alvan*), a Horite, son of Shobal (Gen. xxxvi. 23), written Alian (עַלְיָן) in 1 Ch. i. 40 (B. Σωλάμ, A. Ἰωλάμ; *Alian*). [W. A. W.] [F.]

AM'AD (עַמְעָד; Ἀμιήλ; A. Ἀμάδ; *Amaad*), an unknown place in Asher between Alammelech and Misheal (Josh. xix. 26 only). It is placed by Major Conder (*Handbook to Bible*, p. 402) at *Kh. el 'Amûd*, close to *ez-Zib*, but this identification seems doubtful. [W.]

AMADA'THA (Esth. xvi. 10, 17); and AMADA'THUS (Esth. xii. 6). [HAMMEDATHA.]

A'MAL (עָמָל; B. Ἀμάδ; *Amal*), a descendant of Asher, the son of Jacob (1 Ch. vii. 35).

AM'ALEK (עֲמָלֵק; Ἀμαλήκ; *Amalech*), son of Eliphaz by his concubine Timnah, grandson of Esau, and one of the chieftains ("dukes," A. V. and R. V.) of Edom (Gen. xxxvi. 12, 16). His mother came of the Horite race, whose territory the descendants of Esau had seized: and, although Amalek himself is represented as of equal rank with the other sons of Eliphaz, yet his posterity appear to have shared the fate of the Horite

* The somewhat similar pronunciation of א and ע is no anachronism. It is not merely testified to in Talmudic times (Yerushalmi *Berakhoth*, ii. 4; Babli *Megillah*, 24b), but is pre-supposed in the Bible itself (1 Sam. i. 10; Amos vi. 8, and very many other places).

population, a "remnant" only being mentioned as existing in Edom in the time of Hezekiah, when they were dispersed by a band of the tribe of Simeon (1 Ch. iv. 43). [W. L. B.]

AMAL'EKITES (עֲמָלֵקִי, עֲמָלְקִי or הָעֲמָלְקִי: the abnormal הָעַמְלֵק, 2 Sam. i. 1, is no doubt a textual error: see Wellh. or Driver *i. l.*; Ἀμαληκῖται; *Amalecitae*), a nomadic tribe which, probably about the time of Moses, first occupied the peninsula of Sinai and the wilderness intervening between the southern hill-ranges of Palestine and the border of Egypt (Num. xiii. 29; 1 Sam. xv. 7, xxvii. 8). Arabian historians (to be read with reserve: see Nöldeke, *Die Amalekiter*, 1864) represent them as originally dwelling on the shores of the Persian Gulf. Thence they were pressed westwards by the growth of the Assyrian empire, and spread over a portion of Arabia at a period antecedent to its occupation by the descendants of Joktan. This account of their origin harmonizes with Gen. xiv. 7, where the "country" ("princes" according to the reading adopted by the LXX.) of the Amalekites is mentioned several generations before the birth of the Edomite Amalek (Gen. xxxvi. 12; cp. Num. xxiv. 20): it throws light on the traces of a permanent occupation of Central Palestine in their passage westward, as indicated by the

Map of the Country of the Amalekites.

names Amalek and Mount of the Amalekites (Judg. v. 14, xii. 15): and it accounts for the silence of Scripture as to any relationship between the Amalekites on the one hand, and the Edomites or the Israelites on the other. That a mixture of the two former races occurred at a later period, would in this case be the only inference from Gen. xxxvi. 16, though many writers have considered that passage to refer to the origin of the whole nation, explaining Gen. xiv. 7 as a case of *prolepsis* (see, however, Schultz, *s. n.* in Herzog, *RE.*²). The physical character of the district occupied by the Amalekites [ARABIA] necessitated a nomadic life, which they adopted to its fullest extent, taking their families with them even on their military expeditions (Judg. vi. 5). Their wealth consisted in flocks and herds. Mention is made of a "town" (1 Sam. xv. 5), and Josephus gives an exaggerated account of the capture of several towns by Saul (*Ant.* vi. 7, § 2); but the towns could have been little more than stations, or nomadic enclosures. The kings or chieftains were perhaps distinguished by the hereditary title AGAG (Num. xxiv. 7; 1 Sam. xv. 8). Two important routes led through the Amalekite district, viz. from Palestine to Egypt by the *Isthmus of Suez*, and to Southern Asia and Africa by the Aelanitic arm of the Red Sea. It has been conjectured that the expedition of the four kings (Gen. xiv.) had for its object the opening of the latter route; and it is in connexion with the former that the Amalekites first came in contact with the Israelites, whose progress they attempted to stop, adopting a *guerilla* style of warfare (Deut. xxv. 18), but were signally defeated at REPHIDIM (Ex. xvii. 8, &c.). The conduct of Amalek in this cruel attack on a people "faint and weary" was never forgiven. "The Lord will have war with Amalek from generation to generation;" "Thou shalt blot out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven" (Ex. xvii. 16; Deut. xxv. 17–19). In union with the Canaanites they were, however, permitted to attack the disobedient Israelites on the borders of Palestine, and to defeat them near Hormah (Num. xiv. 45). Thenceforward we hear of them only as a secondary power, at one time in league with the Moabites (Judg. iii. 13), when they were defeated by Ehud near Jericho; at another time in league with the Midianites (Judg. vi. 3), when they penetrated into the plain of Esdraelon, and were defeated by Gideon. Saul undertook an expedition against them, overrunning their whole district "from Havilah to Shur," and inflicting an immense loss upon them (1 Sam. xv.). Their power was thenceforward broken, and they degenerated into a horde of banditti, whose style of warfare is well expressed in the Hebrew term גְּדוּד (Gesen. *Lex.*), frequently applied to them in the description of their contests with David in the neighbourhood of Ziklag, when their destruction was completed (1 Sam. xxvii., xxx.; cp. Num. xxiv. 20). [W. L. B.] [F.]

AMA'M (אֲמָם B. Σήν; A. Ἀμάμ; *Amam*), a city in the south of Judah, named with Shema and Moladah (*el-Milh*) in Josh. xv. 26 only. Nothing is known of it. [G.] [W.]

A'MAN (B. Ἀδάμ; Itala *Nadab;* Syr. *Ahab*). Tob. xiv. 10. [HAMAN.] [F.]

AMA'NA (אֲמָנָה, i.e. *constant*), apparently a mountain near Lebanon, and possibly a part of Anti-Lebanon which overlooks the plain of Damascus,—"from the head of Amana" (Cant. iv. 8). It is commonly assumed that this is the mountain in which the river Abana (2 K. v. 12; Keri, Targum-Jonathan, and margin of A. V. and R. V. "Amana") has its source, and it may have derived its name from that river. The LXX. (BA.) translate ἀπ' ἀρχῆς πίστεως. [G.] [W.]

AMARI'AH (אֲמַרְיָה and אֲמַרְיָהוּ, *Amarias* usually; *whom God promised*, Gesen., *i. q.* Θεόφραστος). **1.** Father of Ahitub, according to 1 Ch. vi. 7 [LXX. v. 33, B. Ἀμαρειά, A. Ἀμαρίας], *v.* 52 [LXX. vi. 37, B. Ἀλιαρειά, A.

'Αμαριά], and son of Meraioth, in the line of the high-priests. In Josephus's Hist. (*Ant.* viii. 1, § 3) he is transformed into 'Αροφαῖος.

2. 'Αμαριάς. The high-priest in the reign of Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. xix. 11). He was the son of Azariah, and the fifth high-priest who succeeded Zadok (1 Ch. vi. 11). Nothing is known of him beyond his name, but from the way in which Jehoshaphat mentions him he seems to have seconded that pious king in his endeavours to work a reformation in Israel and Judah (see 2 Ch. xvii. xix.). Josephus, who calls him 'Αμασίαν τὸν ἱερέα, "Amaziah the priest," unaccountably says of him (as the text now stands) that he, as well as Zebadiah, was of the tribe of Judah. But if ἑκατέρους is struck out, this absurd statement will disappear (*Ant.* ix. 1, § 1). It is not easy to recognise him in the wonderfully corrupt list of high-priests given in the *Ant.* x. 8, § 6. But he seems to be concealed under the strange form ΑΞΙΩΡΑΜΟΣ, Axioramus. The syllable ΑΞ is corrupted from ΑΣ, the termination of the preceding name, Azarias, which has accidentally adhered to the beginning of Amariah, as the final Σ has to the very same name in the text of Nicephorus (*ap.* Seld. *de Success.* p. 103), producing the form Ζαμαρίας. The remaining 'Ιώραμος is not far removed from 'Αμαρίας. The successor of Amariah in the high-priesthood must have been Jehoiada. In Josephus Φιδέας, which is a corruption of 'Ιωδέας, follows Axioramus. There is not the slightest support in the sacred history for the names *Ahitub* and *Zadok*, who are made to follow *Amariah* in the genealogy, 1 Ch. vi. 11, 12.

3. The head of a Levitical house of the Kohathites in the time of David (1 Ch. xxiii. 19 [A. 'Αμαριά, B. 'Αμαδιά]; xxiv. 23 [B. 'Αμαδιά, A. 'Αμαρίας]).

4. The head of one of the twenty-four courses of priests, which was named after him, in the time of David, of Hezekiah, and of Nehemiah (1 Ch. xxiv. 14 [BA. 'Εμμήρ, *Emmer*, but in A. Heb. Vulg. the head of the 16th course, in B. the head of the 15th course]; 2 Ch. xxxi. 15 [B. Μαρίας]; Neh. x. 3 ['Αμαριά], xii. 2 [B. Μαριά, ℵ. Μαρεία, ℵ$^{c.a}$ 'Αμαρεία, A. -ιά], 13 [B. Μαρεά, ℵ* 'Αραμιά, ℵ$^{c.a}$ A. 'Αμαριά]). In the first passage the name is written אִמֵּר, *Immer*, but it seems to be the same name. Another form of the name is אִמְרִי, *Imri* (1 Ch. ix. 4 [B. 'Αμρεί, A. -ί; *Amri*]), a man of Judah, of the sons of Bani. Of the same family we find,

5. Amariah in the time of Ezra (Ezra x. 42. ℵB. Μαρία, A. 'Αμαριάς), one of those who had married a "strange" wife.

6. An ancestor of Zephaniah the prophet (Zeph. i. 1, T.^{r} 'Αμορίος, A. -ει-, ℵ. very corrupt). [A. C. H.] [F.]

7. B. Ζαμαρειά, A. -ιά, ℵ. 'Αμαριά. A descendant of Pharez, son of Judah (Neh. xi. 4). Probably the same as Imri (above No. 4). [W. A. W.] [F.]

AMARI'AS (*Amerias*). An ancestor of Ezra (1 Esd. viii. 2, B. 'Αμαρθείος, A. 'Αμαριάς; 2 Esd. i. 2 [Gk. vii. 3, Ζαμαρεία]). [W. A. W.] [F.]

AMA'SA (עֲמָשָׂא, Ges. = *a burden*, Fürst = עָמוֹס, *a bearer*; D. H. Müller [in MV.^{10}] connects it with an Arabic word and prefers the meaning of *weak-sighted*, having weeping eyes: *Amasa*). **1.** Son of Ithra or Jether, by Abigail, David's sister (2 Sam. xvii. 25, B. 'Αμεσσεί, A. -αει). He joined Absalom in his rebellion, and was by him appointed commander-in-chief in the place of Joab, by whom he was totally defeated in the forest of Ephraim (2 Sam. xviii. 6). When Joab incurred the displeasure of David for killing Absalom, David forgave the treason of Amasa, recognised him as his nephew, and appointed him Joab's successor (xix. 13, B. 'Αμεσσαεί [and in xx. 10], A. 'Αμισσαί). Joab afterwards, when they were both in pursuit of the rebel Sheba, pretended to salute Amasa, and stabbed him with his sword (xx. 10, A. 'Αβισαεί), which he held concealed in his left hand. Amasa is probably identical with עֲמָשַׂי (AMASAI No. 2), who is mentioned among David's commanders (1 Ch. xii. 18, B. 'Αμασαί, ℵ. -σε. Ewald, *Gesch. Israel*, ii. 544).

2. A prince of Ephraim, son of Hadlai, in the reign of Ahaz (2 Ch. xxviii. 12, B. 'Αμασείας, A. -ι-). [R. W. B.] [F.]

AMA'SAI (עֲמָשַׂי, Ges. = *burdensome*, Fürst = עָמוֹס [see AMASA]; *Amasai*). **1.** A Kohathite, father of Mahath and ancestor of Shemuel and Heman the singer (1 Ch. vi. 25 [LXX. vi. 10, B. 'Αμεσσεί, A. 'Αμασί], 35 [LXX. v. 20, B. 'Αμαθείος, A. 'Αμάς]).

2. See AMASA No. 1. Chief of the captains (Heb., LXX., and R. V. "thirty"), leader of the men of Judah and Benjamin, who came to David while an outlaw at Ziklag (1 Ch. xii. 18). He was probably the same as Amasa, David's nephew.

3. B. 'Αμασαί, ℵ. 'Αμασέ. One of the priests who blew trumpets before the Ark, when David brought it from the house of Obed-edom (1 Ch. xv. 24).

4. B. Μασί: cp. No. 1. Another Kohathite, father of another Mahath, in the reign of Hezekiah (2 Ch. xxix. 12), unless the name is that of a family. [W. A. W.] [F.]

AMASH'AI (עַמַשְׁסַי, according to Ges. an incorrect reading sprung out of the forms עמשי and עמסי; according to Olshausen [*Lehrb.* p. 625] an error for עמשי; 'Αμασία, A. 'Αμεσαί; *Amassai*), properly "Amashsai." Son of Azareel, a priest in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. xi. 13); apparently the same as MAASAI (1 Ch. ix. 12). [W. A. W.] [F.]

AMASI'AH (עֲמַסְיָה, *Jah is bearer*, cp. the Phoen. אשמנעמס, *Eshmun beareth*, MV.^{10}; B. Μασαίας, A. Μασαΐας; *Amasias*). Son of Zichri, and captain of 200,000 warriors of Judah, in the reign of Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. xvii. 16). [W. A. W.] [F.]

A'MATH. [HAMATH.]

AM'ATHEIS (B. 'Εμαθθίς, A. 'Εμαθείς; *Emeus*). 1 Esd. ix. 29. [ATHLAI.] [W. A. W.] [F.]

AM'ATHIS (in some copies AMATHAS), "THE LAND OF" (ἡ 'Αμαθῖτις χώρα); a district to the north of Palestine, in which Jonathan Maccabaeus met the forces of Demetrius (1 Macc. xii. 25). From the context it is evidently HAMATH. [G.] [W.]

AMAZI'AH (אֲמַצְיָה or אֲמַצְיָהוּ, *Jehovah is strong*; B. 'Αμεσσείας [usually], A. 'Αμασίας

[usually]; *Amasias*), son of Joash, and eighth king of Judah, succeeded to the throne at the age of 25 on the murder of his father, and punished the murderers (2 K. xii. 21, xiv. 2, 5); sparing, however, their children, in accordance with Deut. xxiv. 16, as the Second Book of Kings (xiv. 6) expressly informs us, thereby implying that the precept had not been generally observed. In order to restore his kingdom to the greatness of Jehoshaphat's days, he made war on the Edomites, defeated them in the valley of Salt, south of the Dead Sea (the scene of a great victory in David's time, 2 Sam. viii. 13; 1 Ch. xviii. 12; Ps. lx. title), and took their capital, Selah or Petra, to which he gave the name of JOKTHEEL, which was also borne by one of his own Jewish cities (Josh. xv. 38). We read in 2 Ch. xxv. 12–14, that the victorious Jews threw 10,000 Edomites from the cliffs, and that Amaziah performed religious ceremonies in honour of the gods of the country; an exception to the general character of his reign (cf. 2 K. xiv. 3 with 2 Ch. xxv. 2). In consequence of this he was overtaken by misfortune. Having already offended the Hebrews of the northern kingdom by sending back, in obedience to a prophet's direction, some mercenary troops whom he had hired from it, he had the foolish arrogance to challenge Joash, king of Israel, to battle, despising probably a sovereign whose strength had been exhausted by Syrian wars, and who had not yet made himself respected by the great successes recorded in 2 K. xiii. 25. But Judah was completely defeated, and Amaziah himself was taken prisoner, and conveyed by Joash to Jerusalem, which, according to Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 9, § 3), opened its gates to the conqueror under a threat that otherwise he would put Amaziah to death. We do not know the historian's authority for this statement, but it explains the fact that the city was taken apparently without resistance (2 K. xiv. 13). A portion of the wall of Jerusalem on the side towards the Israelitish frontier was broken down, and treasures and hostages were carried off to Samaria. Amaziah lived fifteen years after the death of Joash; and in the 29th year of his reign was murdered by conspirators at Lachish, whither he had retired for safety from Jerusalem. The chronicler seems to regard this as a punishment for his idolatry in Edom, though his language is not very clear on the point (2 Ch. xxv. 27); and doubtless it is very probable that the conspiracy was a consequence of the low state to which Judah must have been reduced in the latter part of his reign, after the Edomitish war and humiliation inflicted by Joash, king of Israel. The chronology of this king's reign is much disputed. Clinton (*Fasti Hellenici*, i. p. 325) gives the dates B.C. 837–809; and, previous to the comparison with Assyrian dates, the beginning of the regnal years has been variously placed between the limits B.C. 840 (Bengel) and B.C. 809 (Seyfarth. See the table in Herzog, *RE.*² xvii. p. 477, *s. n.* Zeitrechnung). Since the employment of Assyrian synchronistic dates, the beginning of Amaziah's reign is placed between B.C. 798 and B.C. 796, and a joint reign with his son Amariah (or Uzziah) is supposed to have begun in B.C. 786. (See CHRONOLOGY.)

2. Ἀμασίας. Priest of the golden calf at Bethel, who endeavoured to drive the prophet Amos from Israel into Judah, and complained of him to king Jeroboam II. (Amos vii. 10).

3. A descendant of Simeon (1 Ch. iv. 34, B. Ἀμασειά, $B^{b}A$. -ια).

4. A Levite (1 Ch. vi. 45, B. Ἀμεσσειά: A. has a longer reading, Μαεσσία υἱοῦ Χελχίου υἱοῦ Ἀμασαί). [G. E. L. C.] [F.]

AMBASSADOR. Sometimes צִיר and sometimes מַלְאָךְ is thus rendered; and the occurrence of both terms in the parallel clauses of Prov. xiii. 17 seems to show that they approximate to synonyms. The word "messengers" is probably equivalent to ambassadors in the A. V. of Deut. ii. 26; Judg. xi. 12–19; 2 Sam. v. 11; 1 Ch. xiv. 1, xix. 2; Is. xiv. 32, xviii. 2, xxxiii. 7, lvii. 9; Jer. xxvii. 3; Ezek. xxx. 9; Nah. ii. 13, as well as in many of the passages cited below. The office, like its designation, was not definite nor permanent, but *pro re natâ* merely. The precept given in Deut. xx. 10 seems to imply some such agency; rather, however, that of a mere nuncio, often bearing a letter (2 K. v. 5, xix. 14), than of a legate empowered to treat. The inviolability of such an officer's person may perhaps be inferred from the only recorded infraction of it being followed with unusual severities towards the vanquished, probably designed as a condign chastisement of that offence (2 Sam. x. 2–5; cf. xii. 26–31). The earliest examples of ambassadors employed occur in the cases of Edom, Moab, and the Amorites (Num. xx. 14, xxi. 21; Judg. xi. 17–19), afterwards in that of the fraudulent Gibeonites (Josh. ix. 4, &c.), of the king of Ammon, and in the instances of civil strife mentioned Judg. xi. 12 and xx. 12 (see Cunaeus, *de Rep. Hebr.* ii. 20, with notes by J. Nicholaus; Ugol. iii. 771–4). They are mentioned more frequently during and after the contact of the great adjacent monarchies of Syria, Babylon, &c. (*e.g.* xvii. 14), with those of Judah and Israel, *e.g.* in the invasion of Sennacherib. They were usually men of high rank; just as in that case the chief captain, the chief cupbearer, and chief of the eunuchs were deputed, and were met by delegates of similar dignity from Hezekiah (2 K. xviii. 17, 18; see also Is. xxx. 4). Ambassadors are found to have been employed, not only on occasions of hostile challenge or insolent menace (2 K. xiv. 8; 1 K. xx. 2, 6), but of friendly compliment, of request for alliance or other aid, of submissive deprecation, and of curious inquiry (2 K. xvi. 7, xviii. 14; 2 Ch. xxxii. 31). The dispatch of ambassadors with urgent haste is introduced as a token of national grandeur in the obscure prophecy Is. xviii. 2. The political complications of the Jewish State in the Maccabean period and subsequently, when they were brought into contact with the Western republics, as well as with the Eastern and Egyptian monarchies, gave a wider range and greater precision to the ambassadorial function. These treaties with Rome and Sparta were negotiated by Simon the Maccabee (1 Mac. xiv. 21 foll.). The A. V. is rather arbitrary in its selection of terms to designate the office. Thus "the ambassador" of 1 Mac. xii. 8 is τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἀπεσταλμένον; *ib.* 23, "ambassador" is understood from the verb ἀπαγγείλωσιν. Thus

both πρέσβεις and πρεσβευται are in A. V. "messengers" (1 Mac. xiii. 14, 21), whereas "ambassadors" stands for the same words in ix. 70, xi. 9, xiv. 21, 40, xv. 17; 2 Mac. xi. 34. On the other hand "ambassadors" stands for ἀγγέλους in Jud. iii. 1; and in 1 Mac. i. 44, where the same word is rendered "messengers," the ambassadorial function seems clearly intended. In 2 Mac. iv. 19, θεωρούς, "special messengers" in A. V., is used for the envoys sent by Jason, the Hellenizing high-priest, to the festival of Herakles. In the N. T. the only mention of the office is in parables or metaphor (Luke xiv. 22; 2 Cor. v. 20). [H. H.]

AMBER (חַשְׁמַל, *chashmal*; חַשְׁמַלָה, *chashmalâh*; ἤλεκτρον; *electrum*; R. V. margin, "electrum") occurs only in Ezek. i. 4, 27, viii. 2. In the first passage the Prophet compares it with the brightness in which he beheld the heavenly apparition who gave him the Divine commands. In the third, "the glory of the God of Israel" is represented as having, "from the appearance of his loins even downward, fire; and from his loins even upward as the appearance of brightness, as the colour of amber" [כְּעֵין הַחַשְׁמַלָה, words which Orelli (*Kyf. Komm.* ed. Strack u. Zöckler) retains, but which Cornill (*Das Buch des Propheten Ezechiel*, note in loco) would strike out as a gloss]. It is by no means a matter of certainty, notwithstanding Bochart's dissertation and the conclusion he comes to (*Hieroz.* iii. 876, ed. Rosenmüll.), that the Hebrew word *chashmal* denotes a metal, and not the fossil resin called *amber*, although perhaps the probabilities are more in favour of the metal. Dr. Harris (*Nat. Hist. Bib.*, art. "Amber") asserts that the translators of the A. V. could not mean amber, "for that, being a bituminous substance, becomes dim as soon as it feels the fire, and soon dissolves and consumes." But this is founded on a misconstruction of the words of the Prophet, who does not say that what he saw was amber, but of the colour of amber (*Pict. Bib.* note on Ezek. viii. 2). The context of the passages referred to above is clearly as much in favour of amber as of metal. Neither do the LXX. and Vulg. afford any certain clue to identification, for the word *electron* was used by the Greeks to express both *amber* and a certain *metal*, composed of gold and silver, and held in very high estimation by the ancients (Pliny, *H. N.* xxxiii. 4). It is a curious fact, that in the context of all the passages where mention of *electron* is made in the works of Greek authors (Hom. see below; Hes. *Sc. Herc.* 142; Soph. *Antig.* 1038; Aristoph. *Eq.* 532, &c.), no evidence is afforded to help us to determine what the *electron* was. In the *Odyssey* (iv. 73) it is mentioned as enriching Menelaus's palace, together with copper, gold, silver, and ivory. In *Od.* xv. 460, xviii. 296, a necklace of gold is said to be fitted with *electron*. Pliny, in the chapter quoted above, understands the electron in Menelaus's palace to be the *metal*. But with respect to the golden necklace, it is worthy of note that amber necklaces have long been used, as they were deemed an amulet against throat diseases. They are still frequently worn in England by persons liable to asthma, and are believed to be efficacious for the purpose. Beads of amber are frequently found in British barrows with entire necklaces (Fosbroke, *Antiq.* i. 289). Theophrastus (ix. 18, § 2; and *Fr.* ii. 29, ed. Schneider), it is certain, uses the term *electron* to denote *amber*, for he speaks of its attracting properties. On the other hand, that *electron* was understood by the Greeks to denote a metal composed of one part of silver to every four of gold, we have the testimony of Pliny to show; but whether the early Greeks intended the metal or the amber, or sometimes one and sometimes the other, it is impossible to determine with certainty. Passow believes that the *metal* was always denoted by *electron* in the writings of Homer and Hesiod, and that amber was not known till its introduction by the Phoenicians: to which circumstance, as he thinks, Herodotus (iii. 115, who seems to speak of the resin, and not of the metal) refers. Others again, with Buttmann (*Mythol.* ii. p. 337), maintain that the *electron* denoted *amber*, and they very reasonably refer to the ancient myth of the origin of *amber*. Pliny (*H. N.* xxxvii. 2) ridicules the Greek writers for their credulity in the fabulous origin of this substance; and especially finds fault with Sophocles, who, in some lost play, appears to have believed in it.

From these considerations it will be seen that it is not possible to identify the *chashmal* by the help of the LXX., or to say whether we are to understand the metal or the fossil resin by the word. The derivation of the word is entirely unknown, nor is there any plausible explanation of it. Bochart (*Hieroz.* iii. 885) conjectures that *chashmal* is compounded of two Chaldee[a] words meaning *copper—gold-ore*, to which he refers the *aurichalcum*. But *aurichalcum* is in all probability only the Latin form of the Greek *orichalcon* (*mountain copper*. See Smith's *Lat.-Engl. Dict.*, s. v. "Orichalcum"). Isidorus, however (*Orig.* xvi. 19), sanctions the etymology which Bochart adopts. But the *electron*, according to Pliny, Pausanias (v. 12, § 6), and the numerous authorities quoted by Bochart, was composed of *gold and silver*, not of *gold and copper*. The Hebrew word may denote either the metal *electron* or *amber*; but it must be left as a question which of the two substances is really intended. [W. H.] [H. B. T.]

A'MEN (אָמֵן), literally "firm, true;" and used as a substantive, "that which is true," "truth" (Is. lxv. 16); a word used in strong asseverations, fixing as it were the stamp of truth upon the assertion which it accompanied, and making it binding as an oath (cp. Num. v. 22). In the LXX. of 1 Ch. xvi. 36, Neh. v. 13, viii. 6, the word appears in the form Ἀμήν, which is used throughout the N. T.[b] In other passages the Heb. is rendered by γένοιτο, except in Is. lxv. 16. The Vulgate adopts the Hebrew word in all cases except in the Psalms, where it is translated *fiat*. In Deut. xxvii. 15–26,

[a] Fried. Delitzsch (Pref. to Baer's ed. of Ezekiel, p. xii.) compares with it an Assyrian word, *ešmarê*, which he conjectures, from the context of the passage in which it occurs, may have meant some white metal.

[b] The Ἀμὴν of the Rec. text at the end of most of the Books of the N. T. is thought to be genuine only in Romans, Galatians, Hebrews (?), and Jude (see Westcott and Hort's ed. of the N. T. in Greek).

the people were to say "Amen," as the Levites pronounced each of the curses upon Mount Ebal, signifying by this their assent to the conditions under which the curses would be inflicted. In accordance with this usage we find that among the Rabbis "Amen" involves the ideas of swearing, acceptance, and truthfulness. The first two senses are illustrated by the passages already quoted; the last by 1 K. i. 36; John iii. 3, 5, 11 (A. V. "verily"), in which the assertions are made with the solemnity of an oath, and then strengthened by the repetition of "Amen." "Amen" was the proper response of the person to whom an oath was administered (Neh. v. 13, viii. 6; 1 Ch. xvi. 36; Jer. xi. 5, marg.); and the Deity, to Whom appeal is made on such occasions, is called "the God of *Amen*" (Is. lxv. 16), as being a witness to the sincerity of the implied compact. With a similar significance Christ is called "the *Amen*, the faithful and true witness" (Rev. iii. 14; comp. John i. 14, xiv. 6; 2 Cor. i. 20). It is matter of tradition that in the Temple the "Amen" was not uttered by the people, but that instead, at the conclusion of the priest's prayers, they responded, "Blessed be the name of the glory of His kingdom for ever and ever." Of this a trace is supposed to remain in the concluding sentence of the Lord's Prayer (cp. Rom. xi. 36). But in the synagogues and private houses it was customary for the people or members of the family who were present to say "Amen" to the prayers which were offered by the minister or the master of the house, and the custom remained in the early Christian Church (Matt. vi. 13; 1 Cor. xiv. 16). And not only public prayers, but those offered in private, and doxologies, were appropriately concluded with "Amen" (Rom. ix. 5, xi. 36, xv. 33, xvi. 27; 2 Cor. xiii. 14, &c.). [W. A. W.]

AMETHYST (אַחְלָמָה, *achlâmâh*, derivation unknown. *Ges.* [*Lex.*] connects it with חָלַם, from the idea that it caused dreams to those that wore it; according to Fried. Delitzsch from *Ahlamû*, an Armenian district in which he conjectures that the stone may have been found [*Heb. Lang.* p. 36]: ἀμέθυστος; *amethystus*). Mention is made of this precious stone, which formed the third in the third row of the high-priest's breastplate, in Ex. xxviii. 19, xxxix. 12, "And the third row a ligure, an agate, and an amethyst." It occurs also in the N. T. (Rev. xxi. 20) as the twelfth stone which garnished the foundations of the wall of the heavenly Jerusalem. Commentators generally are agreed that the *amethyst* is the stone indicated by the Hebrew word, an opinion which is abundantly supported by the ancient Versions. The Targum of Jerusalem indeed reads *smaragdin* (*smaragdus*); those of Onkelos and Ps.-Jonathan have two words which signify "calf's-eye" (*oculus vituli*), which Braunius (*de Vestit. Sacerd. Heb.* i. 711) conjectures may be identical with the *Beli oculus* of the Assyrians (Pliny, *H. N.* xxxvii. 55), the *Cat's-eye Chalcedony*, according to Ajasson and Desfontaines; but, as Braunius has observed, the word *achlâmâh* according to the best and most ancient authorities signifies *amethyst*.

Modern mineralogists usually understand by the term amethyst the amethystine variety of *quartz*, which is crystalline and highly transparent: it is sometimes called *Rose quartz*, and contains alumina and oxide of manganese. There is, however, another mineral to which the name of *Oriental amethyst* is usually applied, and which is far more valuable than the quartz kind. This is a crystalline variety of *Corundum*, being found more especially in the E. and W. Indies. It is extremely hard and bright, and generally of a purple colour, which, however, it may readily be made to lose by subjecting it to fire. In all probability the common *Amethystine quartz* is the mineral denoted by *achlâmâh*; for Pliny speaks of the amethyst being easily cut (*scalpturis facilis*, *H. N.* xxxvii. 40), whereas the *Oriental amethyst* is inferior only to the diamond in hardness, and is moreover a comparatively rare gem.

The Greek word *amethustos*, the origin of the English *amethyst*, is usually derived from ἀ, "not," and μεθύω, "to be intoxicated," this stone having been believed to have the power of dispelling drunkenness in those who wore it (Dionys. Perieg. 1122; *Anthol. Palat.* 9, 752; Martini, *Excurs.* 158). Pliny, however (*H. N.* xxxvii. 9), traces the name of these stones "to their peculiar tint, which, after approximating to the colour of wine, shades off into a violet." Theophrastus also alludes to its wine-like colour.[a] [W. H.] [H. B. T.]

A'MI (אָמִי; Ἡμεί; *Ami*), name of one of "Solomon's servants" (Ezra ii. 57); called Amon (אָמוֹן) in the parallel passage Neh. vii. 59 (Ἡμείμ; *Amon*), of which, according to Ges., it is a corruption. The transcriptional variations between the parallel lists are tabulated by Smend, *Die Listen d. BB. Esra u. Nehemia* (Basel, 1881). [W. A. W.] [F.]

AMIN'ADAB (Ἀμιναδάβ; *Aminadab*). AMMINADAB No. 1 (Matt. i. 4; Luke iii. 33). [W. A. W.]

AMIT'TAI (אֲמִתַּי = *true, faithful*; B. Ἀμαθεί, A. -ι; *Amathi*), father of the prophet Jonah (2 K. xiv. 25; Jon. i. 1). [W. A. W.] [F.]

AM'MAH, the hill of (גִּבְעַת אַמָּה; ὁ βουνός, B. Ἀμμάν, A. Ἀμμά; *collis Aquaeductus*), a hill "facing" Giah by the way of the wilderness of Gibeon, named as the point to which Joab's pursuit of Abner after the death of Asahel extended (2 Sam. ii. 24). Josephus (*Ant.* vii. ch. i. § 3), τόπος τις, ὃν Ἀμμάταν καλοῦσι (comp. Targ. Jon. אַמְּתָא). Both Symmachus (νάπη = *gully*) and Theodotion (ὑδραγωγός[b]), who is followed by the Vulgate, find an allusion to a watercourse here, possibly some place near *W. Kelt*, on the road by which Abner fled to the Jordan valley. Can this point to the "excavated fountain," "under the high rock," described as near Gibeon (*El-Jib*) by Robinson (i. 455)?

[G.] [W.]

AM'MI (עַמִּי; λαός μου; *populus meus*), i.e. as explained in the margin of the A. V. and

[a] Τὸ δ' ἀμέθυσον οἰνωπὸν τῇ χρόᾳ. (*Fr.* ii. 31, ed. Schneid.)

[b] In post-Biblical Hebrew as in Aramaic אַמָּה acquired the meaning of *aqueduct*. Had this sense, however, been intended here, the word would naturally have been provided with the article. [S. R. D.]

R. V., "My people;" a figurative name applied to the kingdom of Israel in token of God's reconciliation with them, and their position as "sons of the living God," in contrast with the equally significant name Lo-ammi, given by the prophet Hosea to his second son by Gomer, the daughter of Diblaim (Hos. ii. 1). In the same manner Ruhamah contrasts with Lo-Ruhamah. [W. A. W.]

AM'MIDOI, in the Geneva Version **AMMIDIOI** (B. Ἀμμίδιοι, A. Ἀμμίδαιοι; Vulg. has different names), people who, together with the men of Chadias, came up from Babylon with Zerubbabel (1 Esd. v. 20). If Chadias be identified with Kedesh (Josh. xv. 23), the Ammidioi may be (Fritzsche) the men of Humtah (חַמְטָה, Josh. xv. 54). If so, the LXX. A. χαμματά (B. Εὐμά) furnishes the connecting link with Ammidioi or (replacing the guttural) Chammidioi (see Lupton, *Speaker's Commentary*, note on 1 Esd. v. 20). [F.]

AMMI'EL (עַמִּיאֵל, MV.[10] = *people of God.* Many Heb. names are compounded of עַם, but the sense in which it is to be understood is uncertain. See Nestle, *Die Israel. Eigennamen*, p. 187, n. a; Fried. Delitzsch, *Prolegg.* p. 201, n. 3; B. Ἀμιήλ, AF. Ἀμιήλ; *Ammiel*). **1.** The spy selected by Moses from the tribe of Dan (Num. xiii. 12).

2. The father of Machir of Lodebar (2 Sam. ix. 4 [B. Ἀμαήρ, A. Ἀμιήλ], *v.* 5 [B. Ἀμιήλ, A. -ι-], xvii. 27 [B. Ἀμιήλ, A. Ἀμιήρ]; *Ammihel*).

3. The father of Bathshua, or Bathsheba, the wife of David (1 Ch. iii. 5), called ELIAM (אֶלִיעָם) in 2 Sam. xi. 3; the Hebrew letters, which are the same in the two names, being transposed. He was the son of Ahithophel, David's prime minister.

4. B. Ἀμιήλ, A. -ι-. The sixth son of Obed-edom (1 Ch. xxvi. 5), and one of the doorkeepers of the Temple. [W. A. W.] [F.]

AMMI'HUD (עַמִּיהוּד, MV.[10] = *my people is majesty;* Ἐμιοὺδ in Num., Ἀμιοὺδ in 1 Ch.; *Ammiud*). **1.** An Ephraimite, father of Elishama, the chief of the tribe at the time of the Exodus (Num. i. 10, ii. 18, vii. 48 [F. Σεμιούδ, and in x. 22], 53, x. 22), and through him ancestor of Joshua (1 Ch. vii. 26 [B. Ἀμιουείδ, A. -ουδ]).

2. B. Σεμιούδ; B[ab]EF. Ἐμιούδ. A Simeonite, father of Shemuel, chief of the tribe at the time of the division of Canaan (Num. xxxiv. 20).

3. AF. Ἀμιούδ, B. Βενιαμειούδ, B[b]-μι-. The father of Pedahel, chief of the tribe of Naphtali at the same time (Num. xxxiv. 28).

4. עַמִּיחוּר, *Keri* עַמִּיהוּד; Ἐμιούδ. Ammihud, or "Ammichur," as the written text has it, was the father of Talmai, king of Geshur (2 Sam. xiii. 37).

5. A. Ἀμιούδ, B. Σαμμιού. A descendant of Pharez, son of Judah (1 Ch. ix. 4).
[W. A. W.] [F.]

AMMI'NADAB (עַמִּינָדָב, MV.[10] = *my people is noble:* the passages Judg. v. 2, Ps. cx. 3 marg., seem however rather to suggest the sense *my people is willing* [see *v.* 4]; B. Ἀμειναδάβ, AF. -ιν- [usually; in Ex. vi. 23, A. and in Num. i. 7, F. Ἀμιναδάμ]; *Aminadab*). **1.** Son of Ram or Aram, and father of Nahshon, or Naasson (as it is written, Matt. i. 4; Luke iii. 32; R. V. Nahson in both places), who was the prince of the tribe of Judah, at the first numbering of Israel in the second year of the Exodus (Num. i. 7, ii. 3; Ruth iv. 19, 20; 1 Ch. ii. 10). We gather hence that Amminadab died in Egypt before the Exodus, which accords with the mention of him in Ex. vi. 23, where we read that "Aaron took him Elisheba daughter of Amminadab, sister of Nahshon, to wife, and she bare him Nadab and Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar." This also indicates that Amminadab must have lived in the time of the most grievous oppression of the Israelites in Egypt. He is the fourth generation after Judah, the patriarch of his tribe, and one of the ancestors of JESUS CHRIST. Nothing more is recorded of him; but the marriage of his daughter to Aaron may be marked as the earliest instance of alliance between the royal line of Judah and the priestly line of Aaron. And the name of his grandson Nadab may be noted as probably given in honour of Ammi-nadab his grandfather.

2. ℵA. Ἀμιναδάβ, B. -ειν-. The chief of the 112 sons of Uzziel, a junior Levitical house of the family of the Kohathites (Ex. vi. 18), in the days of David, whom that king sent for, together with Uriel, Asaiah, Joel, Shemaiah, and Eliel, other chief fathers of Levitical houses, and Zadok and Abiathar the priests, to bring the ark of God to Jerusalem (1 Ch. xv. 10–12), to the tent which he had pitched for it. The passage last quoted is instructive as to the mode of naming the houses; for besides the sons of Kohath, 120 in *v.* 5, we have the sons of Elizaphan, 200 in *v.* 8, of Hebron, 80 in *v.* 9, and of Uzziel, 112 in *v.* 10, all of them Kohathites (Num. iii. 27, 30).

3. At 1 Ch. vi. 22 (*v.* 7, Heb.) Izhar, the son of Kohath, and father of Korah, is called Amminadab, and the LXX. has the same reading (B. Ἀμειναδάβ, A. Ἰσσαάρ). But it is probably only a clerical error.

4. In Cant. vi. 12 it is uncertain whether we ought to read עַמִּינָדִיב, *Amminadib*, with the A. V., or עַמִּי נָדִיב, *my willing people*, as in the margin [R. V. "my princely people"] and most moderns (Delitzsch, Oettli, &c.). If Amminadib is a proper name, it is thought to be either the name of some one famous for his swift chariots, מַרְכְּבוֹת, or that there is an allusion to Abinadab, and to the new cart on which they *made to ride* (יַרְכִּיבוּ) the ark of God (2 Sam. vi. 3). But this last, though perhaps intended by the LXX. version of Cant., which has Ἀμιναδάβ, is very improbable. In vii. 2 (*v.* 1, A. V.) the LXX. (T.[r]) also renders בַּת־נָדִיב, "O prince's daughter," by θύγατερ Ναδάβ; A reads θύγατερ Ἀμιναδάβ; Vulg. *filia principis.* [A. C. H.] [F.]

AMMI'NADIB (Cant. vi. 12). [AMMINADAB No. 4.]

AMMI'SHADDAI (עַמִּישַׁדַּי, MV.[10] = *people of the Almighty;* B. Ἀμεισαδαί, AF. -ισ- [except in Num. ii. 25, where A. reads Σαμασαδαί, and in x. 25, Μισαδαί]; *Amisaddai, Ammisaddai*). The

father of Ahiezer, chief of the tribe of Dan at the time of the Exodus (Num. i. 12, ii. 25, vii. 66, 71, x. 25). His name is one of the few which we find at this period compounded with the ancient name of God, Shaddai; Zuri-shaddai, and possibly Shedeur, are the only other instances: both belong to this early time.

[W. A. W.] [F.]

AMMI'ZABAD (עַמִּיזָבָד, MV.[10] = *My people hath granted (it)*; for the verb זָבַד (ἅπ. λεγ.) see Gen. xxx. 20. זָבַד is common in proper names in the Palmyrene Inscriptions [cp. Euting, *Sechs Phön. Inschriften*, p. 15]; B. Λαιβαζάθ, A. 'Αμιραζάθ; *Amizabad*). The son of Benaiah, who apparently acted as his father's lieutenant, and commanded the third division of David's army, on duty for the third month (1 Ch. xxvii. 6). [W. A. W.] [S. R. D.]

AM'MON, AM'MONITES, CHILDREN OF AMMON [a] (עַמּוֹן, עַמּוֹנִי, עַמּוֹנִים; בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן; 'Αμμάν [B. sometimes 'Αμμών], 'Αμμανῖται, LXX. in Pent.; elsewhere 'Αμμών, *υἱοὶ* 'Αμμών; Joseph. 'Αμμανῖται; *Ammon, Ammonitae*), a people descended from Ben-Ammi, the son of Lot by his younger daughter (Gen. xix. 38; cp. Ps. lxxxiii. 7, 8), as Moab was by the elder; and dating from the destruction of Sodom.

The near relation between the two peoples indicated in the story of their origin continued throughout their existence: from their earliest mention (Deut. ii.) to their disappearance from the biblical history (Jud. v. 2) the brother-tribes are named together (cp. Judg. x. 10; 2 Ch. xx. 1; Zeph. ii. 8, &c.). Indeed, so close was their union, and so near their identity, that each would appear to be occasionally spoken of under the name of the other. Thus the "land of the children of Ammon" is said to have been given to the "children of Lot," *i. e.* to both Ammon and Moab (Deut. ii. 19). They are both said to have hired Balaam to curse Israel (Deut. xxiii. 4), whereas the detailed narrative of that event omits all mention of Ammon (Num. xxii., xxiii.). In the answer of Jephthah to the king of Ammon the allusions are continually to Moab (Judg. xi. 15, 18, 25), while Chemosh, the peculiar deity of Moab (Num. xxi. 29), is called "thy god" (Judg. xi. 24). The land from Arnon to Jabbok, which the king of Ammon calls "my land" (Judg. xi. 13), is elsewhere distinctly stated to have once belonged to a "king of Moab" (Num. xxi. 26). Possibly on a later occasion also the name represents both parts of the nation of Lot (2 Ch. xxvi. 8). [MOAB.]

Unlike Moab, the precise position of the territory of the Ammonites is not clearly ascertainable. In the earliest mention of them (Deut. ii. 20) they are said to have destroyed those Rephaim, or non-Semitic people, whom they called the Zamzummim, and to have occupied their country which lay north of Moab, between the Arnon and the Jabbok.[b] Shortly, however, before the advent of the Israelites in Palestine the Amorites had dispossessed the Ammonites of a portion of their territory and established a kingdom under Sihon, whose seat was at Heshbon (Num. xxi. 26). It was on this prior possession that the Ammonite king appears to have grounded his claim in the time of Jephthah (Judg. xi. 13); a claim perhaps admitted in Josh. xiii. 25. The kingdom of Sihon was divided between Gad and Reuben, but the Israelites were not permitted to occupy that portion of the Ammonite territory which the Amorites had failed to subdue. This independent kingdom lay between the Arnon and the Jabbok, and its western boundary was conterminous with the limits of the tribe of Gad (see Reland, 105, on Josh. xiii. 25), which included the town of Aroer near Rabbah; it consisted of the eastern portion of the district now called *Belka*, and its capital was Rabbah, or Rabbath, the modern *Ammán* [RABBAH]. "Land" or "country" is, however, but rarely ascribed to the Ammonites, nor is there any reference to those habits and circumstances of civilisation—the "plentiful fields," the "hay," the "summer-fruits," the "vineyards," the "presses," and the "songs of the grape-treaders"—which so constantly recur in the allusions to Moab (Is. xv., xvi.; Jer. xlviii.); but, on the contrary, we find everywhere traces of the fierce habits of marauders in their incursions—thrusting out the right eyes of whole cities (1 Sam. xi. 2), ripping up the women with child (Amos i. 13), and displaying a very high degree of crafty cruelty (Jer. xli. 6, 7; Judg. vii. 11, 12) to their enemies, as well as a suspicious discourtesy to their allies, which on one occasion (2 Sam. x. 1–5) brought all but extermination on the tribe (xii. 31). Nor is the contrast less observable between the one city of Ammon, the fortified hold of Rabbah (2 Sam. xi. 1; Ezek. xxv. 5; Amos i. 13), and the "streets," the "house-tops," and the "high-places" of the numerous and busy towns of the rich plains of Moab (Jer. xlviii.; Is. xv., xvi.). Taking the above into account, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that, while Moab was the settled and civilised half of the nation of Lot, the Bene-Ammon formed its predatory and Bedouin section. The confirmation of this opinion, once deduced (cp. 1st ed. of the *B. D.*) from the Succoth of Amos v. 26 (cp. LXX.; Acts vii. 43), that the special deity of the tribe was worshipped, in a booth or tent designated by that word Succah which most keenly expressed to the Israelites the contrast between a nomadic and a settled life, is now given up. Cp. the R. V. of Amos, *l. c.*

On the west of Jordan they never obtained a footing. Among the confusions of the times of the Judges we find them twice passing over; once with Moab and Amalek seizing Jericho, the "city of palm-trees" (Judg. iii. 13), and a second time "to fight against Judah and Benjamin, and the house of Ephraim" (Judg. x. 9); but they quickly returned to the freer pastures of Gilead, leaving but one trace of their presence in the name of Chephar ha-Ammonai, "the hamlet of the Ammonites" (Josh. xviii.

[a] The expression most commonly employed for this nation is "Bene-Ammon;" next in frequency comes "Ammoni" or "Ammonim" (usually in late writers); and least often "Ammon." The translators of the Auth. Version have neglected these minute differences, and have employed the three terms—children of Ammon, Ammonites, Ammon—indiscriminately.

[b] Josephus states (*Ant.* i. 11, § 5) that the Moabites and Ammonites lived in Coele-Syria.

24), situated in the portion of Benjamin somewhere at the head of the passes which lead up from the Jordan valley, and form the natural access to the table-land of the west country.

The hatred in which the Ammonites were held by Israel, and which possibly was connected with the story of their incestuous origin, is stated to have arisen partly from their opposition, or, rather, their want of assistance (Deut. xxiii. 4), to the Israelites on their approach to Canaan. But it evidently sprang mainly from their share in the affair of Balaam (Deut. xxiii. 4; Neh. xiii. 1). At the period of Israel's first approach to the south of Palestine the feeling towards Ammon is one of regard. The command is then, "distress not the Moabites ... distress not the children of Ammon, nor meddle with them" (Deut. ii. 9, 19; and cp. *v.* 37), and it is only from the subsequent transaction that we can account for the fact that Edom, who had also refused passage through his land but had taken no part with Balaam, is punished with the ban of exclusion from the congregation for three generations, while Moab and Ammon are to be kept out for ten generations (Deut. xxiii. 2), a sentence which acquires peculiar significance from its being the same pronounced on "bastards" in the preceding verse, from its collocation amongst those pronounced in reference to the most loathsome physical deformities, and also from the emphatic recapitulation (ver. 6), "Thou shalt not seek their peace or their prosperity all thy days for ever."

But whatever its origin it is certain that the animosity continued in force to the latest date. Subdued by Jephthah (Judg. xi. 33), and scattered with great slaughter by Saul (1 Sam. xi. 11)—and that not once only, for he "vexed" them "whithersoever he turned" (xiv. 47)—they enjoyed under his successor a short respite, probably the result of the connexion of Moab with David (1 Sam. xxii. 3) and David's town, Bethlehem—where the memory of Ruth must have been still fresh. But this was soon brought to a close by the shameful treatment to which their king subjected the friendly messengers of David (2 Sam. x. 1; 1 Ch. xix. 1), and for which David destroyed their city and inflicted on them the severest blows (2 Sam. xii.; 1 Ch. xx.). [RABBAH.]

In the days of Jehoshaphat they made an incursion into Judah with the Moabites and the Maonites,[c] but were signally repulsed, and so many killed that three days were occupied in spoiling the bodies (2 Ch. xx. 1–25). In Uzziah's reign they made incursions and committed atrocities in Gilead (Amos i. 13); but afterwards were his tributaries (2 Ch. xxvi. 8), where perhaps the name represents both the children of Lot (comp. Jos. *Ant.* ix. 10, § 3). Jotham had wars with them, and exacted from them a heavy tribute of "silver (comp. "jewels," 2 Ch. xx. 25), wheat, and barley" (2 Ch. xxvii. 5). In the time of Jeremiah we find them in possession of the cities of Gad from which the Jews had been removed by Tiglath-pileser (Jer. xlix. 1–6); and other incursions are elsewhere alluded to (Zeph. ii. 8, 9). At the time of the Captivity many Jews took refuge among the Ammonites from the Assyrians (Jer. xl. 11), but no better feeling appears to have arisen; and on the return from Babylon, Tobiah the Ammonite and Sanballat a Moabite (of Choronaim, Jer. xlix.) were foremost among the opponents of Nehemiah's restoration.

Among the wives of Solomon's harem are included Ammonite women (1 K. xi. 1), one of whom, Naamah,[d] was the mother of Rehoboam (1 K. xiv. 31; 2 Ch. xii. 13), and henceforward traces of the presence of Ammonite women in Judah are not wanting (2 Ch. xxiv. 26; Neh. xiii. 23; Ezra ix. 1; see Geiger, *Urschrift*, &c., pp. 47, 49, 299). These may have been either bestowed during the intervals of actual warfare or taken prisoners.

The last appearances of the Ammonites in the biblical narrative are in the books of Judith (v. vi. vii.) and of the Maccabees (1 Macc. v. 6, 30–43), where they are found (*v.* 39) in alliance with the Arabs; and where, as it has been already remarked, their chief characteristics—close alliance with Moab, hatred of Israel, and cunning cruelty—are maintained to the end. By Justin Martyr (*Dial. Tryph.*) they are spoken of as still numerous (*νῦν πολὺ πλῆθος*); but notwithstanding this, they do not appear again, and Origen, about a century afterwards, says (*in Jobum*, lib. i.) that the term Ammonites had become merged in that of Arabs.

The tribe was governed by a king (Judg. xi. 12, &c.; 1 Sam. xii. 12; 2 Sam. x. 1; Jer. xl. 14) and by "princes," שָׂרִי (2 Sam. x. 3; 1 Ch. xix. 3). It has been conjectured that Nahash (1 Sam. xi. 1; 2 Sam. x. 2) was the official title of the king as Pharaoh was of the Egyptian monarchs; but this is without any clear foundation.

The divinity of the tribe was Milcom—"the abomination of the children of Ammon" (1 K. xi. 5), a name only dialectically different from the Phoenician Milk (Molech; Baethgen, *Beiträge z. Sem. Religionsgeschichte*, p. 15). In more than one passage under the word rendered "their king" in the A. V. an allusion is intended to this idol. [MOLECH.]

The Ammonite names preserved in the sacred text are as follow. It is open to inquiry whether these words have reached us in their original form (certainly those in Greek have not), or whether they have been altered in transference to the Hebrew records.

Achior, Ἀχιώρ, quasi אָחִי אוֹר, *brother of light*, Jud. v. 5, &c.

Baalis, בַּעֲלִיס (see *s. n.*), Jer. xl. 14.

Hanun, חָנוּן, *treated graciously*, 2 Sam. x. 1.

Molech, מֹלֶךְ, *king*.

Naamah, נַעֲמָה *pleasant*, 1 K. xiv. 21, &c.

Nahash, נָחָשׁ, *serpent*, 1 Sam. xi. 1, &c.; Ναάσης (Jos. *Ant.* vi. 5, 2).

Shobi, שׁוֹבִי (the Nabatean שׁבי, if the name

[c] There can be no doubt that instead of "Ammonites" in 2 Ch. xx. 1 we should read, with the LXX., "Maonites" or "Mehunim." The reasons for this will be given under MEHUNIM.

[d] According to the LXX. [B. not A.] additions to 1 K. xii. [*v.* 24 a, ed. Swete], she was the daughter of Hanun son of Nahash.

be the same, is probably to be vocalized Shabbai; Euting, *Nab. Inschr.* pp. 57, 74), 2 Sam. xvii. 27.

Timotheus, Τιμόθεος, 1 Macc. v. 6, &c.

Tobiah, טוֹבִיָּה, *goodness of Jah*, Neh. ii. 10, &c.

Zelek, צֶלֶק, in post-biblical Heb. = *a scar*,* 2 Sam. xxiii. 37.

Ammon appears in the cuneiform inscriptions as Bit Ammana, Beth Ammon (comp. Beth Humri, "house of Omri," for Samaria). A king Puduilu, Puduel (cp. Pedahel, Num. xxxiv. 28), is mentioned in the records of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon; Sanibu (Fried. Delitzsch = Shinab, Gen. xiv. 2) in those of Tiglath-pileser; and Ba-'-sa (cp. Baasha, 1 K. xv. 33) son of Ruchub, in those of Shalmaneser II. (Schrader, *KAT.*² pp. 141, 613).

The name Zamzummim, applied by the Ammonites to the Rephaim, a non-Semitic (possibly Turanian) people whom they dispossessed, should not be omitted. [G.] [W.]

AMMONI'TESS (הָעַמֳנִית: B. Ἀμμανεῖτις, sometimes with and sometimes without the article ἡ; A. usually ἡ Ἀμανῖτις, sometimes Ἀμμ-: *Ammanitis*). A woman of Ammonite race. Such were Naamah, the mother of Rehoboam, one of Solomon's foreign wives (1 K. xiv. 21, 31; 2 Ch. xii. 13), and Shimeath, whose son Zabad or Jozachar was one of the murderers of king Joash (2 Ch. xxiv. 26). For allusions to these mixed marriages see 1 K. xi. 1 and Neh. xiii. 25. Where in the Hebrew the word has the definite article, it should be rendered "the Ammonitess." [W. A. W.] [F.]

AM'NON (אַמְנוֹן, Ges. = *faithful*, once אֲמִינֹן, either a diminutive formation used contemptuously [Wright, *Arab. Gr.* i. § 269] or an error [Wellhausen, *i. l.*]; Ἀμνών; *Amnon*). **1.** Eldest son of David by Ahinoam, the Jezreelitess, born in Hebron while his father's royalty was only acknowledged in Judah (2 Sam. iii. 2). He dishonoured his half-sister Tamar, and was in consequence murdered by her brother (2 Sam. xiii. 1–39; 1 Ch. iii. 1). [ABSALOM.] [S. R. D.]

2. Son of Shimon (1 Ch. iv. 20). [G. E. L. C.]

A'MOK (עָמוֹק, *deep; Amoc*). A priest, whose family returned with Zerubbabel, and were represented by Eber in the days of Joiakim (Neh. xii. 7 [A. א^c.a mg inf Ἀμούκ], 20 [א^c.a mg sup Ἀμοναβέδ. B. omits almost the whole of *vv.* 3–7, 14–21; Aא* omit *vv.* 14–21]). [W. A. W.] [F.]

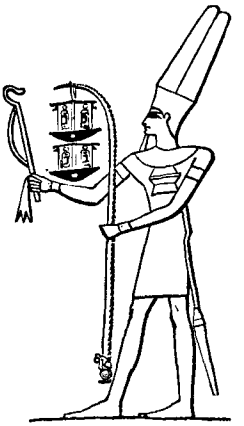
AMO'MUM. In the descriptive list of the merchandise of Babylon (Rev. xviii. 13) the text should read καὶ κιννάμωμον καὶ ἄμωμον. A. V. omits the latter words; R. V. translates them "and spice." Lee (*Speaker's Commentary* in loco) describes it as "a zingiberaceous plant, with aromatic seeds, much employed under the name of *cardamoms, grains of Paradise*, &c., and found only in the hot parts of India and Africa." From the *amomum* the Romans prepared an oil or balsam for funeral rites (Pers. iii. 104; Ovid. *Pont.* i. 9, 51), and unguents for the hair (Ovid. *Her.* xxi. 166; Mart. viii. 28; Lucan. x. 164 ff.). Abbot (*D. B.* Amer. ed.) affirms that modern botanists have found it difficult to identify the plant with any known species. [F.]

A'MON (אָמוֹן; Ἀμμών), the name of an Egyptian god, the chief object of worship at Thebes. It occurs as the second element in the name of Thebes, in Heb. No-Amon (נֹא אָמוֹן, Nah. iii. 8); in hieroglyphics, Nu-Amon, "the city of Amon;" also called No, נֹא, "the city," hierog. Nu and Nu-aä, "the great city." If with Brugsch (*Dict. Géogr.* s. v.) we read Ni, the equivalent to No may be the distinctive name Ni-aä. The Assyrian form is Ni. Nu, however, seems the preferable transliteration of the Egyptian.

Amon is probably mentioned in Jer. xlvi. 25, where we should rather render אָמוֹן מִנּוֹא, "Amon of No," as in the LXX. and the Coptic Version, than "the multitude of No" (Vulg. *tumultum Alexandriae*): note the parallelism of "Amon" with "their gods," and "Pharaoh" with "their kings." In the parallel passage in Ezek. xxx. 15, "the multitude of No," הָמוֹן, the equivalent of אָמוֹן as a Heb. word, is used (Vulg. *multitudinem Alexandriae*). It does not appear venturesome to read the Egyptian name as Hamon here also. Comp. also *vv.* 4, 10, for the use of the latter word with reference to Egypt. The destruction of the false gods of Noph (Memphis, not Napata; NOPH) in *v.* 13 seems to support this parallel in the case of the other great city. Thus the two forms Amon and Hamon are no more unlikely than the Latin Ammon and Hammon. If this explanation be rejected, there is certainly a play on the name Amon. [R. S. P.]

Amon in Egyptian means "hidden," as in Ament, "the hidden land," Hades. The worship of Amon was not of very ancient origin in Egypt. His name does not occur in the Book of the Dead, and Maspero has but once found it, as part of a proper name, in the inscriptions of the first six dynasties (*Hist. anc. des Peuples de l'Orient*,³ p. 97).

Amon was at first the local god of Thebes, and his worship appears with the 11th and 12th dynasties, which founded the great temple of Amon. Afterwards, in the New Empire, when Thebes became the capital of Egypt, it spread over other parts of the land, and the god himself took a rank in the Egyptian Pantheon which he had never before held. If we consider all his attributes, we find that they are very much the same as those of the other gods, and that some of the hymns which are dedicated to him sum up all the characters which constitute the Egyptian deity. The distinctive features of



The god Amon. (Wilkinson.)

* Compare the *soubriquet* of "Le Balafré."

the Egyptian gods, their rank in the Pantheon, their pedigree, their history are generally not well marked, and have been very much exaggerated by the fact of their names being translated in Greek, and reasoned on by the late Neo-Platonists, who laboured hard to philosophise Egyptian mythology. It would convey a very wrong idea of the nature of Amon to consider him as the equivalent of the Greek Zeus.

In the time of the 18th, 19th, and 20th dynasties, when the imperial power of Thebes had raised the worship of Amon to its highest importance, we generally find him called *Amon Ra*, "Amon the sun," showing his identification with the solar god; and having the attribute of *suten neteru*, king of the gods, out of which the Greeks have made the word Ἀμονρασωνθήρ. His special character, as far as it is possible to determine it, is indicatgd by this sentence, *Amon Ra Ka mut-f*, "Amon Ra, the bull or the husband of his mother;" the never-ceasing generative power, the hidden action of nature which manifests itself through its two principal agents, the sun and the water. This idea may probably be traced in most of the texts relating to Amon. It has been developed in a rich and poetical style in a hymn contained in a papyrus of the Boolak Museum of Theban origin, which has been translated by Grébaut (*Hymne à Ammon Ra*, Paris, 1874), and in the inscriptions which cover the temple of the Great Oasis, and which belong to the time of Darius I. (Brugsch, *Reise nach der Oase von El Khargeh*). These two remarkable compositions, which both bear a marked pantheistic character, are not to be considered as giving the distinctive features of Amon. They are interesting as showing how an Egyptian priest conceived his god, how he pictured his god to himself. Here his god was Amon; but if we take the hymn to Osiris translated by Chabas, or even Enna's hymn to the Nile, or any of the numerous prayers which are addressed to Ra Harmachis, we find in them most of the same attributes, which must be considered as belonging to the deity in general, but not to any particular god.

The history of the worship of Amon is intimately connected with that of the Theban power. As the god of their capital, he was to the conquering kings of Thebes, and particularly to Ramses II., what Assur was to the Assyrians. An interesting episode, where Amon assumes a more personal character, is related by the poem of Pentaur; it is the intervention of the god in the battle against the Chetas (Hittites), when Ramses, surrounded by their chariots, calls on him for help. Amon hears and comes to his rescue; the king hears his voice behind him, which promises him victory

The dignity of high-priest of Amon must have been very high. We know the names of a great number of those officials who seem to have ranked next to the king. At the time of the 20th dynasty they were the great constructors who enlarged the temple of Amon, now called Karnak. They encroached more and more on the power of the Ramesside kings; and at last put them aside and founded the 21st dynasty (Naville, *Inscr. de Pinotém III.*). They were superseded and expelled to Ethiopia by the Bubastite house of Shishak, who, though very likely of Libyan origin, still adhered to the worship of Amon at Thebes, and enlarged the sanctuary of the god. When the exiles founded a kingdom at Napata (Gebel Barkal), this city was the seat of the Theban worship. When, a little before the fall of Samaria, the Ethiopian king Pianchi reconquered Egypt, an intensely Theban worship was the result; and the succeeding Ethiopians, who fill so large a space in the view of the Prophets, maintained their devotion to Amon. His position was not lost in the final decline of Thebes. His worship had already spread to the Oases, to find its way gradually to the Cyrenaïca and to Greece. His rank in Egypt led the Greeks to identify him with Zeus: thus he is called Zeus Ammon, the Latin Jupiter Ammon.

The Theban triad was composed of *Amon*, *Mut*, and *Khonsu*, this last one being decidedly a lunar god; while here Mut may be considered as being a representative of the sky. Mut and Khonsu had both their special temples at Thebes in the vicinity of the sanctuary of Amon.

Amon is generally represented in human form, standing or sitting, painted blue, and wearing a cap surmounted by tall plumes. We also see him in the shape of Khem, the generative power; or ram-headed, as he was in the Oasis of Ammon, or even under the form of a ram wearing a solar disk. This explains why several temples of Amon, at Thebes and in Nubia, are preceded by long avenues lined on each side by criosphinxes, of which at Karnak there must have been hundreds.

To the Hebrew Prophets, Amon seemed emphatically the national god of Egyptian and Ethiopian alike. Hence probably the fact that he alone is mentioned by name in their writings, except perhaps the bull Apis (Jer. xlvi. 15, LXX.; Lagarde). [HAPH.] [E. N.]

A'MON (אָמוֹן): B. Ἀμώς, A. Ἀμμὼν in Kings; T.[7] Ἀμών, B. Ἀμνών, B[ab]A[1? or a?] Ἀμὼς in 1 Ch.; BA. Ἀμὼς in 2 Ch. and Jer.; AB.[3 vl 2] Ἀμώς, ℵ. Ἀμμὼν in Zeph.; Ἀμὼς in Matt.; Joseph. Ἄμωσος: *Amon*). **1.** King of Judah, son and successor of Manasseh. The name would naturally mean *architect*, but perhaps it is Egyptian, and connected with the Theban god; possibly it may have been given by Manasseh to his son in an idolatrous spirit. Following his father's example, Amon devoted himself wholly to the service of false gods, but was killed in a conspiracy after a reign of two years. Probably by insolence or tyranny he had alienated his own servants, and fell a victim to their hostility, for the people avenged him by putting all the conspirators to death, and secured the succession to his son Josiah. To Amon's reign we must refer the terrible picture which the prophet Zephaniah gives of the moral and religious state of Jerusalem: idolatry supported by priests and prophets (i. 4, iii. 4), the poor ruthlessly oppressed (iii. 3), and shameless indifference to evil (iii. 11). According to Usher, the date of his accession is B.C. 643, and of his death, B.C. 641 (2 K. xxi. 19; 2 Ch. xxxiii. 20); according to Kamphausen, 640 and 638. The name occurs in 2 K. xxi. 18–25; 1 Ch. iii. 14; 2 Ch. xxxiii. 20–25; Jer. i. 2, xxv. 3; Zeph. i. 1; Matt. i. 10.

2. (אָמֹן, אָמֹן; B. Σεμήρ [Kings], Ἐμήρ [Ch.], A. Ἀμμών [Kings], Σεμμήρ [Ch.]; *Aman.*)

Prince or governor of Samaria in the reign of Ahab (1 K. xxii. 26; 2 Ch. xviii. 25). What was the precise nature of his office is not known. Perhaps the prophet Micaiah was entrusted to his care as captain of the citadel. The LXX. B. has τὸν Βασιλέα (A. ἄρχοντα) τῆς πόλεως in 1 K., but BA. ἄρχοντα in 2 Ch. Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 15, § 4) calls him Ἀχάμων.

3. See AMI. [G. E. L. C.] [F.]

AM'ORITE, THE AM'ORITES אֱמֹרִי, הָאֱמֹרִי [always in the singular], accurately "the Emorite"—the dwellers on the summits —mountaineers; Ἀμορραῖοι; *Amorrhaei*), one of the chief nations who possessed the land of Canaan before its conquest by the Israelites.

In the genealogical table of Gen. x. "the Amorite" is given as the fourth son of Canaan, with "Zidon, Heth [Hittite], the Jebusite," &c. The interpretation of the name as "mountaineers" or "highlanders"—due to Simonis (see his *Onomasticon*), though commonly ascribed to Ewald—is quite in accordance with the notices of the text, which, except in a few instances, speak of the Amorites as dwelling on the elevated portions of the country. In this respect they are contrasted with the Canaanites, who were the dwellers in the lowlands; and the two thus formed the main broad divisions of the Holy Land. "The Hittite, and the Jebusite, and the Amorite dwell in the mountain [of Judah and Ephraim], and the Canaanite dwells by the sea [the lowlands of Philistia and Sharon] and by the 'side' of Jordan" [in the valley of the Arabah],—was the report of the first Israelites who entered the country (Num. xiii. 29; and see Josh. v. 1, x. 6, xi. 3; Deut. i. 6, 20; "Mountain of the A." 44). This we shall find borne out by other notices. In the very earliest times (Gen. xiv. 7) they are occupying the barren heights west of the Dead Sea, at the place which afterwards bore the name of Engedi; hills in whose fastnesses, the "rocks of the wild goats," David afterwards took refuge from the pursuit of Saul (1 Sam. xxiii. 29, xxiv. 2). [HAZEZON-TAMAR.] From this point they stretched west to Hebron, where Abram was then dwelling under the "oak-grove" of the three brothers, Aner, Eshcol, and Mamre (Gen. xiv. 13; comp. xiii. 18). At this period they would appear to have formed part of the great Hittite kingdom, or confederation; it is from a Hittite that Abraham buys the cave of Machpelah (Gen. xxiii. 8, 9), and the obsequiousness shown by the Patriarch to the "children of Heth" indicates that they and not the Amorites were the ruling people. This may perhaps also be inferred from the lists of the early inhabitants in which the Amorites are usually mentioned as secondary in importance to the Hittites. The campaigns of Sethi I. and Rameses II. against the Hittites, which occurred during the interval between the settlement of Jacob in Egypt and the Exodus, would seem, however, to have weakened their power and to have been favourable to the growth of independent kingdoms in Southern Palestine. At this later period the dominant people appear to have been the Amorites, who had established kingdoms in the Jebusite town of Jerusalem, and at Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish, and Eglon; they had also crossed the valley of the Jordan, tempted by the high table-lands on the east, and founded the larger kingdoms over which Sihon and Og then ruled. Sihon had taken the rich pasture-land south of the Jabbok, and had driven the Moabites, its former possessors, across the wide chasm of the Arnon (Num. xxi. 13, 26), which thenceforward formed the boundary between the two hostile peoples (Num. xxi. 13). [SIHON.] The Israelites apparently approached from the south-east, keeping "on the other side" (that is on the east) of the upper part of the Arnon, which there bends southwards, so as to form the eastern boundary of the country of Moab. Their request to pass through his land to the fords of Jordan was refused by Sihon (Num. xxi. 21; Deut. ii. 26); he "went out" against them (xxi. 23; ii. 32), was killed with his sons and his people (ii. 33), and his land, cattle, and cities were taken possession of by Israel (xxi. 24, 25, 31; ii. 34, 35). Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 5, § 2) adds some singular details to the Bible narrative of this event, and sums up the character of the Amorites as "neither wise in council nor sagacious in war." This rich tract, bounded by the Jabbok on the north, the Arnon on the south, Jordan on the west, and "the wilderness" on the east (Judg. xi. 21, 22)—in the words of Josephus "a land lying between three rivers after the manner of an island" (*Ant.* iv. 5, § 2)—was perhaps, in the most special sense, the "land of the Amorites" (Num. xxi. 31; Josh. xii. 2, 3, xiii. 9; Judg. xi. 21, 22); but their possessions are distinctly stated to have extended to the very feet of Hermon (Deut. iii. 8, iv. 48), embracing "all Gilead and all Bashan" (iii. 10), with the Jordan valley on the east of the river (iv. 49), and forming together the land of the "two kings of the Amorites," Sihon and Og (Deut. xxxi. 4; Josh. ii. 10, ix. 10, xxiv. 12[a]). In the reign of Sethi I. the Amorites appear to have had settlements north of Hermon, for Kadesh on the Orontes is said to have formed part of the land of the Amorites although it was under the jurisdiction of the Khita (Hittites). Later, in the reign of Rameses III., the Egyptians defeated a combined force of European maritime people, in the land of *Taha*, a part of Palestine, apparently the south, in which was comprised Amaur or the Amorites (Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, 116, 141).

After the passage of the Jordan we again meet with Amorites disputing with Joshua the conquest of the west country. But although the name generally denotes the mountain-tribes of the centre of the country, yet this definition is not always strictly maintained, varying probably with the author of the particular part of the history, and the time at which it was written. Nor ought we to expect that the Israelites could have possessed very accurate knowledge of a set of small tribes whom they were called upon to exterminate—with whom they were forbidden to hold any intercourse—and, moreover, of whose general similarity to each other we have one proof in the confusion in question.

Some of these differences are as follows:—Hebron is "Amorite" in Gen. xiii. 18 (cp. xiv. 13), though "Hittite" in xxiii. and "Canaanite"

[a] But here the LXX. reads δώδεκα, not δύο; and the context shows that *West* Palestine is probably referred to (see Dillmann, and *QPB.*[3] in loco). [S. R. D.]

in Judg. i. 10. The "Hivites" of Gen. xxxiv. 2 are "Amorites" in xlviii. 22; and so also in

Map of the Country of the Eastern Amorites.

Josh. ix. 7, xi. 19, as compared with 2 Sam. xxi. 2. Jerusalem is "Amorite" in Josh. x. 5,[b] 6; but in xv. 63, xviii. 28, Judg. i. 21, xix. 11, 2 Sam. v. 6, &c., it is "Jebusite." The "Canaanites" of Num. xiv. 45 (comp. Judg. i. 17) are "Amorites" in Deut. i. 44. Jarmuth, Lachish, and Eglon were in the low country of the *Shefelah* (Josh. xv. 35, 39), but in Josh. x. 5, 6, they are "Amorites that dwell in the mountains;" and it would appear as if the "Amorites" who forced the Danites into the mountain (Judg. i. 34, 35) must have themselves remained on the plain.[c]

It appears plain that "Amorite" was a descriptive title, and not the name of a distinct tribe. This is confirmed by the following facts:—(1) The wide area over which the name was spread. (2) The want of connexion between those on the east and those on the west of Jordan—which is only once hinted at (Josh. ii. 10). (3) The existence of kings like Sihon and Og, whose territories were separate and independent, who are yet called "the two kings of the Amorites," a state of things quite at variance with the habits of Semitic tribes. (4) Beyond the three confederates of Abram, and these two kings, no individual Amorites appear in the history (unless Araunah or Ornan the Jebusite be one). (5) There are no traces of any peculiar government, worship, or customs, different from those of the other "nations of Canaan."

One word of the "Amorite" language has survived—the name Senir (R. V., not "Shenir" A. V.) for Mount Hermon (Deut. iii. 9); but may not this be the Canaanite name as opposed to the Phoenician (Sirion) on the one side, and the Hebrew on the other?

All mountaineers are warlike; and, from the three confederate brothers who at a moment's notice accompanied "Abram the Hebrew" in his pursuit of the five kings, down to those who, not depressed by the slaughter inflicted by Joshua and the terror of the name of Israel, persisted in driving the children of Dan into the mountain, the Amorites fully maintained this character.

After the conquest of Canaan nothing is heard in the Bible of the Amorites, except the occasional mention of their name in the usual formula for designating the early inhabitants of the country. [G.] [W.]

AMOS (עָמוֹס, *i.e.* apparently *the bearer of a burden* [*βαστάζων*, Jerome, *Pref.* to *Joel*]; Ἀμώς; *Amos*), a Prophet whose short but important Book stands third in the collection known by us as the "Minor Prophets," but by the Jews called "the Twelve" (cp. Ecclus. xlix. 10).

I. *Circumstances of the life and age of Amos.*—From the title to his Book (i. 1), we learn that he was "among the herdmen from Tekoa," *i.e.*, as it would seem, one of a settlement of herdmen who had their home at Tekoa (cf. Jer. i. 1), and who, as the word used implies, reared a special breed of sheep, of small and stunted growth, but prized on account of their wool. From vii. 14 we learn further that he had under his charge herds of larger cattle as well; and that he was employed besides in the cultivation of sycamore trees. The attention which the cultivation of this tree demanded, and the artificial means by which its fruit was rendered edible, are explained under the article SYCAMORE. The Tekoa mentioned has been commonly supposed to be the well-known place of that name about nine miles south of Jerusalem; and Amos has been regarded accordingly as a Judaean, who received a special commission to deliver his prophetic message to the northern kingdom. Kimchi, however, conjectured Tekoa to be a town in the tribe of Asher; and recently internal grounds have been alleged to show that the northern kingdom must have been his home, and that the Tekoa in question is at least not the Tekoa in Judah (Grätz, *Gesch. der Juden*, ii. 1, 82; Oort, in the *Theol. Tijdschrift*, 1880, pp. 123–7). Much weight will not indeed be attached to the argument drawn from his familiarity with the life and scenery of Israel (which he might have acquired from personal observation or by report, without being actually a native); but that derived from his occupation as sycamore-cultivator deserves greater attention. Sycamores, travellers are agreed (*e.g.* Tristram, *Nat. Hist. of Bible*, p. 398), are highly susceptible of cold; and in Palestine "grow

[b] The LXX. has here τῶν Ἰεβουσαίων.

[c] The clue to most, if not all, of these differences is, that in particular writers (esp. the Hexateuchal source E, Deut., Amos ii. 9, 10, 2 Sam. xxi. 2) Amorite is the *general* name of the primitive population of Canaan (cp. Wellhausen, *Comp. d. Hexat.* p. 341 sq. [1889]; Dillmann on Gen. x. 16, Deut. i. 7, and p. 617 sq.; Delitzsch on Gen. xlviii. 22). [S. R. D.]

only in the mild climate of the maritime plain and the hot Jordan valley." Is it probable, therefore, it is asked, that they could have been cultivated on the bare and elevated plateau on which Tekoa stands? Jerome, who must have known the district, describes it as wild and barren, and expressly mentions that no sycamores were to be found there; conjecturing indeed on this account that the word used by the prophet denoted rather "brambles" (*Pref.* to *Amos*, and on vii. 15). The difficulty is a real one; for as the temperature here is due to elevation [PALESTINE, Climate], a change of climate can hardly be assumed to have taken place since the days of Amos. On the whole, inasmuch as only one Tekoa is known, it seems safest, pending further investigation, to suppose that Amos, being a native of it, carried on the cultivation of sycamores at some spot in the neighbourhood suited to their growth—or even in the lower part of the Jordan valley itself. But, however this may be, we must think of Amos as busied with his rural tasks when he became conscious of the higher vocation reserved for him: "And Jehovah took me from following the sheep, and said unto me, Go, prophesy to My people Israel" (vii. 15). In connexion with the nature of prophecy, it is important to notice that Amos disclaims (*v.* 14) being a Prophet by profession or education: he is no member of a prophetic guild; his inspiration is independent of any artificial training. The date cannot be fixed with precision: for "the earthquake in the days of king Uzziah," though a sufficient clue at the time when the title was affixed, and though it lived for long in the memory of the people (Zech. xiv. 5), is not mentioned in the Historical Books, and cannot be assigned to any particular year of Uzziah's reign. Internal evidence, however (vii. 10 f.), agrees fully with the general limits specified in the title, pointing pretty conclusively to the latter part of the reign of Jeroboam II.; *i.e.* according to the chronology as corrected by Assyrian data, *c.* 760–50 B.C. The reign of Jeroboam II., though passed by briefly in the Historical Books (2 K. xiv. 23–29), was the culminating point in the history of the northern kingdom. A long series of successes abroad secured prosperity at home, and the Book of Amos shows us the nation reposing in opulence and ease (*e.g.* vi. 1–5): the ritual of the calf-worship at Beth-el, Gilgal and elsewhere (cp., a little later, Hos. iv. 15; x. 1, 5) was splendidly and punctiliously maintained (Amos iv. 4 f.; v. 21–23; vii. 13; viii. 14): general satisfaction reigned: the proud citizen of Ephraim could say, "Have we not taken to us horns by our own strength?" (vi. 13.) Such was the condition and temper of the people, when Amos was summoned to appear as a stranger amid the throng assembled at the great national sanctuary of Beth-el (vii. 10–17), and to interrupt the rejoicings with his unwelcome words.

II. *Contents and character of the Book of Amos.* — The Book falls naturally into three parts, each dominated by the same fundamental thoughts, and the whole pervaded by a unity of plan which leaves no reasonable doubt that the arrangement is the author's own. We may suppose that, having first delivered his discourses orally, after his ejection from Beth-el he arranged them at leisure in a literary form. The *first* part, ch. i. ii., is introductory. After the fine exordium (i. 2), so graphically descriptive of Jehovah's power, he proceeds to take a survey of the principal nations bordering on Israel, with the object of showing that as none of these will escape retribution for having broken the common and universally recognised dictates of morality, so Israel, for similar or greater sins (ii. 6–9), aggravated indeed in its case by ingratitude (*vv.* 9–12), will not be exempt from the same law of righteous government: a disaster, darkly hinted at (*vv.* 13–16), will undo all the conquests achieved by Jeroboam II.! The enumeration of countries is evidently meant to lead up to Israel: the mention of Judah may seem unneeded, but the Israelite would listen with some satisfaction to the prospect of Judah's humiliation (cp. what had happened under Jeroboam's father, 2 K. xiv. 8–14); and by the "*law* of Jehovah," the Prophet doubtless means primarily those moral precepts the neglect of which, not unconnected with superstition or idolatry ("lies"), so deeply stirred Hosea (iv. 1 f.; vi. 6, compared with viii. 1, 12). The *second* part (iii.–vi.) consists of three discourses, each introduced by the emphatic *Hear ye this word* (iii. 1; iv. 1; v. 1). Here the indictment and sentence of ii. 6–16 are further justified and expanded. Amos starts by disillusioning the Israelites. The latter argued that the fact of Jehovah's having chosen the nation was a guarantee of its safety; he replies: You mistake the conditions of His choice; for that very reason He will punish you for your iniquities (iii. 2). Nor, he continues, does the Prophet say this without a real power constraining him; for does any effect in nature take place without its due and adequate cause (*vv.* 3–8)? Call the heathen themselves to witness whether *justice* rules in Samaria! (*v.* 9 f.) The toils will, ere long, have closed around the land (*vv.* 11–15). Ch. iv. begins by denouncing the cruelty and frivolity of the women (*vv.* 1–3); the Prophet next asks the Israelites ironically whether their punctiliously performed ritual will save them (*v.* 4 f.): the fivefold warning has passed unheeded (*vv.* 6–11); prepare thyself, then, for judgment! (*v.* 12.) Ch. v.–vi. is a longer discourse, with two clearly marked subdivisions at v. 18 and vi. 1, each beginning *Woe*. Here the grounds of the judgment are repeated with greater emphasis: the infatuation of the people is exposed in desiring the "Day of Jehovah," as though that could be anything but an interposition in their favour; a ritual unaccompanied by any sense of moral obligation is indignantly rejected (v. 21–24); the nature of the coming disaster is described more distinctly (exile, v. 27), and the enemy indicated, though not named (the Assyrians, spoken of more familiarly in Hosea, and destined soon to exercise an important influence on the fortunes of both Israel and Judah), who should "afflict" Israel over the entire limits of that territory, which Jeroboam had not long before recovered (vi. 14; see 2 K. xiv. 25). The *third* part (vii.–ix.) consists of a series of visions, with an historical interlude (vii. 10–17) and an epilogue (ix. 7–15). The visions, which are simple and unartificial in structure, reinforce, under an effective symbolism, the lesson which Amos found so hard to impress (ix. 10): in the first two (vii. 1–6), the threatened judgment is interrupted at the Prophet's intercession; the

third, which spoke without any concealment or ambiguity (vii. 7–9), aroused the alarm and opposition of Amaziah, the priest of the golden calf at Beth-el, and is the occasion of the historical notice, vii. 10–17. The fourth vision is the text of a fresh and more detailed denunciation of judgment (ch. viii.): the fifth depicts the desolation falling upon the people as they are assembled for worship in their own Temple, and emphasizes the hopelessness of every effort to escape (ix. 1–6). With ix. 7 the transition to a brighter prospect begins: Israel, indeed, if it sins, will be dealt with as any other nation; but it is only the sinners who will be thus treated (*vv.* 7–10); and so the Prophet concludes with a promise that the house of David (which had probably not yet fully recovered from the blow inflicted on it by Jehoash, 2 K. xiv. 13 f.) will be restored to its former splendour and power (*v.* 12; see 2 Sam. viii. 14; Ps. xviii. 43), and the blessings of unity and prosperity shared by the entire nation (13–15). From this analysis, the unity of plan before spoken of will be manifest: the main theme, gradually introduced in the opening section of the Book, is developed with increasing distinctness in the portions which follow, till it gives place to the Messianic outlook at the close. Amos, by his allusions to contemporary life, gives us many a glimpse into the social condition and religious life of the northern kingdom under Jeroboam II.: the picture drawn by him is not indeed so dark as that which presented itself to Hosea (ch. iv.–xiv.) a few years later, when the dynasty of Jehu had fallen, and the spirit of anarchy and discord reigned uncontrolled; nevertheless the amendment, which was still viewed by him (v. 14 f.) as a possibility, never came; and a generation had hardly passed away, when his forebodings of invasion, disaster, and exile (ii. 13–16; iii. 11–15; iv. 12; v. 2 f., 16 f.; v. 27; vi. 14; vii. 9, 17; viii. 2 f.; ix. 1–4), were amply realised by Tiglath-pileser, Shalmaneser, and Sargon (2 K. xv. 29; xvii. 3 ff.). Judah is alluded to but incidentally (ii. 4 f.; iii. 1, "the *whole* family;" vi. 1, and ix. 11).

The place of Amos in Hebrew literature can only be properly estimated by an independent study of his Book, and comparison of it with other parts of the O. T. We confine ourselves to a few particulars, referring for a fuller treatment to the works quoted below. 1. As the earliest of the Prophets whose writings are extant and of undisputed date, it is worth noticing that his Book implies the existence of a recognised phraseology, and of familiar ideas to which he could appeal. The prophetic style, which in his hands appears already fully matured, had doubtless been formed gradually: among the Prophets to whom he alludes (ii. 11; iii. 7) may well have been some who were his literary predecessors. Whether his language presupposes an acquaintance with the Pentateuch, and, if so, to which of its component parts, is disputed. The allusions which are most distinct appear to be to the injunctions contained in the code Ex. xxi.–xxiii. (cp. ii. 8, v. 12, with Ex. xxii. 26 f., xxiii. 6): other phrases that have been cited are met with elsewhere, so that their occurrence in Amos is not a *demonstration* that he borrowed them from the Pentateuch. Passages such as ii. 9, 10; iii. 2; iv. 11; ix. 15; and iv. 4*b*, 5*a*; v. 12*b*, 21, 22; viii. 5, show that he was familiar with events and usages, related, or codified, in the Pentateuch: it may be doubted whether, taken by themselves, they are a sufficient proof that he was acquainted with the written Pentateuch, as we know it. Too much must not, however, be built upon this admission: for the whole prophecy implies the existence of a body of established ideas and institutions, to the true meaning and import of which he recalls the people. Amos both recognises an authoritative Divine teaching (ii. 4; iii. 7), and appeals to a tradition reaching back to a remote past (cp. Smend's article, cited below). 2. As regards the influence of Amos upon his successors, his younger contemporary Hosea borrows from him (*e.g.* iv. 15 from Amos v. 5 [Heb.]; viii. 14*b* from ii. 5; i. 4, x. 8, cp. Amos vii. 9). Isaiah, in tone and style, often recalls Amos (*e.g.* xxix. 21, cp. Amos v. 10; xxx. 10, cp. ii. 12; xxxi. 2, cp. vii. 9; xxxii. 11, cp. iv. 1, vi. 1); and his most characteristic doctrine may be considered as foreshadowed in Amos v. 15: cp. also Is. i. 25–28 with Amos ix. 8–10 (the purification of the nation by elimination of its guilty members). The example set by Amos (ch. i.) of noticing the fortunes and deserts of the nations bordering upon Palestine, especially in their bearing upon Israel, was also afterwards followed by Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel. Whether in his use of the term "Day of Jehovah" (v. 18, 20) Amos had been preceded by Joel (ii. 2 ff.), or not, must depend upon the date to which that Prophet is assigned; but in any case, he totally reversed the popular application of the idea, and showed what it really implied (see W. R. Smith, *Prophets of Israel*, pp. 131, 397). 3. The special characteristics of Amos appear most distinctly when he is compared with Hosea. While both Prophets naturally share the same fundamental beliefs, their temper and attitude of mind are very different. Hosea is the man of deep and susceptible religious emotion: Amos burns with zeal on behalf of the moral law. The standard by which he primarily judges Israel is thus the common morality recognised as binding alike by it and other nations. Jehovah, it has been remarked, is never termed by him the "God of Israel;" he is God of the whole earth, of other nations not less than of Israel (ch. i.; ix. 7), and will only be Israel's God in so far as that same morality is practised in their midst. Jehovah had been pleased to enter into a personal relation with Israel: this fact, to which the common people pointed as their security (v. 14 end), in the eyes of Amos only aggravates their guilt (iii. 2). "Wrong is wrong everywhere, even against Israel's bitterest foe" (ii. 1); it is the first charge which he brings against Israel itself (ii. 6–8); and his indignation against it, in whatever form, is vehemently expressed (cp. *e.g.* the outburst in viii. 4–8, against deceit in commercial dealings; notice also the oath *v.* 7, iv. 2, vi. 8). The observances of religion are no substitute for honesty, and will not be accepted by Jehovah in lieu of righteousness of heart (v. 21–24).

In vi. 6*b*; ix. 10, we see the first traces of that opposition to popular opinion, especially when strengthened and directed by the leaders of the nation, which in Isaiah and Jeremiah assumed

a real political importance. Amos only alludes to the Assyrians darkly; but it is plain that he realised the crisis which their activity would occasion, long before his countrymen saw that there was any cause for alarm; and that by the attitude which he assumed in face of them, he prepared the way for Isaiah, who saw yet more distinctly, in the advance of the Assyrians, a manifestation of Jehovah's justice.

III. *The style of Amos.*—"Imperitus sermone, sed non scientia," wrote Jerome (*Pref.* to *Amos*), arguing *à priori* (as the context suggests) from the Prophet's antecedents; and hence it has been sometimes the custom to speak of the unadorned "rusticity" of his style, and to search for examples of homely imagery drawn by him from the objects of country life. Recent critics have protested with justice against such conclusions; and, indeed, a much sounder judgment was expressed long ago by Bishop Lowth (Lect. xxi.), who rightly contended that the style of Amos possesses great literary merit, and only errs when he describes it in terms which, taken strictly, would place it on an equality with that of Isaiah. His language—with three or four exceptions, possibly due to copyists—is pure, his syntax idiomatic, his sentences smoothly constructed and clear. His literary power is shown in the regularity of structure which often characterises his periods, as i. 3–ii. 6, iv. 6–11 (the fivefold refrain), and the visions (vii. 1, 4, 7, viii. 1); in the fine climax, iii. 3–8; in the balanced clauses, the well-chosen images, the effective contrasts, in such passages as iii. 15, v. 2, v. 21–24, vi. 11, viii. 10, ix. 2–4; as well as in the ease with which he evidently writes, and the skill with which his theme (as shown above) is unfolded and developed. If in Amos, as compared with other Prophets, images derived from rural life somewhat preponderate, they are always applied by him worthily (*e.g.* i. 2; iii. 4, 8; v. 8 [a shepherd's observation], 16, 17, 19; ix. 9), and never strike the reader as occurring too frequently or as out of place. At other times his language is particularly fine (v. 24, viii. 8, ix. 5 f.). It is plain that Amos was no uncultured ἰδιώτης. His intelligence, of course, was of the Eastern type. He was a man naturally shrewd and observant: alike in his survey of foreign nations (comp. also vi. 2, viii. 8, ix. 7), and in his allusions to Israelitish life and manners, he reveals a width of knowledge and precision of detail which are remarkable (comp. Smith, p. 127 f.).

The Massoretic text of Amos appears, with but few exceptions, to be free from corruption. The best edition of it is that in S. Baer's *Liber Duodecim Prophetarum* (Lipsiae, 1878); compare, however, the criticism of Baer's methods by Strack in Schürer's *Theol. Litzeitg.* 1879, No. 8.

IV. *Authenticity of the Book of Amos.*—This has never been disputed.[a] Only particular passages have been thought by some to be later insertions. Thus Duhm (see below), p. 119, rejects ii. 4 f., iv. 13, v. 8 f., ix. 5 f., partly as interrupting the connexion and partly as containing ideas not so distinctly expressed till later; and he is followed by Wellhausen, *Gesch.* i. 59, 349, note (omitted, *Prolegomena*, p. 322), Oort, p. 116 ff., who discusses them at length, and Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 1887, i. p. 571. As explained above, however, the mention of Judah is relieved of suspicion; and all the passages are defended by Smith, p. 398 f., and shown to be in harmony with Amos' thought. Oort is inclined further to doubt v. 13–15, vi. 14, viii. 11 f.; but his arguments to show that they are out of place or break the connexion, are far from convincing.

V. *Literature.*—The commentary of Jerome (with much matter of interest); those of Rashi, Ibn Ezra, and David Kimchi (printed in the Rabbinical Bibles, and indispensable, as always, for a complete acquaintance with the exegesis); Le Mercier (*Jo. Merceri Commentarii locupletissimi in Prophetas quinque priores inter eos qui minores vocantur;* no date, published posthumously towards the end of the 16th century: learned); Ewald, in *Die Propheten des Alten Bundes* (translated, London, 1875: i. p. 143 ff.); Hitzig (in *Die Kleinen Propheten*, 3rd ed., 1863: the 4th ed., by Steiner, 1881, contains but little additional matter); Gustav Baur, *Der Proph. Amos erklärt*, 1847 (the fullest monograph in modern times; introduction specially useful); E. B. Pusey (in the *Minor Prophets;* learned and valuable); C. F. Keil (in his *Zwölf Kl. Proph.* 3rd ed. 1888); Otto Schmoller (in Lange's *Bibelwerk*, translated, Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark); Oort, *u. s.* pp. 114–158 (often arbitrary); G. Hoffmann, in Stade's *Zeitschrift*, 1883, pp. 87–126 (chiefly lexical: to be followed with caution); see also *ib.* p. 278 f.; J. H. Gunning, *De Godspraken van Amos vertaald en verklaard*, 1885; Orelli in Strack u. Zöckler's *Kgf. Komm.* On older commentators further information may be found in Baur, pp. 151–162.

On the *ancient versions* of Amos, in addition to the particulars given by Baur, p. 131 ff., the article of K. Vollers on the LXX. in Stade's *Zeitschr.* 1883, pp. 260–72, J. Z. Schuurmans Stekhoven, *De Alexandrijnsche Vertaling van het Dodekapropheton* (Leiden, 1887), and M. Sebök, *Die Syrische Uebersetzung der zwölf Kl. Proph.* (Breslau, 1887), should be consulted.

On *the position of Amos in the history of theology*, see Duhm, *Theologie der Propheten*, 1875, pp. 109–26, with the criticisms of Rud. Smend, in the *Studien u. Kritiken*, 1876, p. 599 ff.; Wellhausen, in the *Encycl. Brit.* (9th ed.), xiii. p. 410 f. (= *Hist. of Israel*, pp. 470–474); W. R. Smith, *Prophets of Israel*, 1882, Lecture III., with the notes, also pp. 163–5; Kuenen, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1882, pp. 178 ff., 317 (with the references), &c.; Castelli, *La Profezia nella Bibbia*, 1882, pp. 126–146; C. von Orelli, *Alttestamentliche Weissagung*, 1882 [translated under the title *Old Testament Prophecy*], § 26; W. H. Green, *Moses and the Prophets*, 1883, *passim* (see Index); C. A. Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*, 1886, pp. 160–3; A. B. Davidson, in the *Expositor*, 1887, vol. v. pp. 161–179, vi. 161–173.

The passage v. 21–26 is dealt with most thoroughly by Engelhardt in the *Zeitsch. für Luth. Theol.* 1874, pp. 409–22, and Rud. Smend, in *Moses apud Prophetas*, 1875, pp. 23–36 (comp. also the article mentioned above, p. 659 f.). See, besides, K. H. Graf in Merx's *Archiv*, ii.

[a] Such exceptions as those of E. Havet, *Le Christianisme et ses origines*, iii. (1878), pp. 178 f., 195 f., 233 f., and of M. Vernes, *La composition et l'origine du Deutéronome* (1887), p. 49, are hardly worthy of mention.

1871, pp. 93–6 (comp. i. p. 486); Oort, *u. s.* p. 144 f.; Smith, *u. s.* p. 399, with the references; Bredenkamp, *Gesetz und Propheten*, 1881, pp. 83–90; F. E. König, *Hauptprobleme der altisr. Rel.-Gesch.* 1884, p. 9 f.; Baethgen, *Beiträge zur Semitischen Rel.-Gesch.* (1888), pp. 180–83. To the present writer it appears that the reference in *v.* 26 is to the future. Amos says nothing in palliation of the idolatrous service rendered to Jehovah at Beth-el and the other sanctuaries: but it is clear that what he feels most strongly is the indifference shown by the people to Jehovah's moral demands (see esp. ii. 6–8, viii. 4–8). The passage is addressed then to those who observe ostentatiously an external ceremonial, but are heedless of moral duties; and the argument is that of Isa. i. 11–15. Sacrifice, *as such*, the Prophet says, is not demanded by God (*vv.* 21, 22): it is demanded only as the expression of a righteous heart (*v.* 23 f.). So far is it from being of the essence of religion, that in the wilderness, where circumstances were unfavourable to its regular observance, it was dispensed with (*v.* 25). Yet you treat sacrifice as paramount; you neglect the moral demands of God, and trust to that to indemnify you. The end of your neglect will be exile (*vv.* 26, 27). An allusion in *v.* 25 to idolatry practised in the wilderness would be out of place in the argument: *sacrifices*, not *to Me*, has in the Hebrew the emphatic position (cp. *e.g.* Isa. xxviii. 24); nor is there anything in the verse to suggest an antithesis between Jehovah and other gods. There is a real ambiguity in וְנִשֵּׂאתֶם; but treated as expressing a future, it stands evidently upon the same footing syntactically as וְהִגְלֵיתִי in *v.* 27. The allusions in *v.* 26 are still obscure: cp. Kuenen, *Religion of Israel*, i. 265 f.; Schrader, in his *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the O. T.* ad loc., and more fully in the *Stud. u. Krit.* 1874, p. 324 ff. (where plausible grounds are adduced, from Assyrian sources, for identifying Siccuth [R. V.] and Chiun with Adar and Saturn, respectively); Smith, p. 400 f. [S. R. D.]

2. Ἀμώς; *Amos*. Son of Naum, in the genealogy of Jesus Christ (Luke iii. 25). [W. A. W.]

A'MOZ (אָמוֹץ; Ἀμώς; *Amos*), father of the Prophet Isaiah (2 K. xix. 2, 20, xx. 1; 2 Ch. xxvi. 22, xxxii. 20, 32; Is. i. 1, ii. 1, xiii. 1, xx. 2, xxxvii. 2, 21, xxxviii. 1). [G.]

AMPHIP'OLIS (Ἀμφίπολις), a city of Macedonia, through which Paul and Silas passed on their way from Philippi to Thessalonica (Acts xvii. 1). It was distant 33 Roman miles from Philippi (*Itin. Anton.* p. 320). It was called Amphi-polis, because the river Strymon flowed almost round the town (Thuc. iv. 102).

Amphipolis.

It stood upon an eminence on the left or eastern bank of this river, just below its egress from the lake Cercinitis, and at the distance of about three miles from the sea. It was a colony of the Athenians, and was memorable in the Peloponnesian war for the battle fought under its walls, in which both Brasidas and Cleon were killed (Thuc. v. 6–11). At the spot where St. Paul crossed the Strymon on his missionary journey, there had Xerxes in his invasion of Greece offered a sacrifice of white horses to the river, and buried alive nine youths and maidens (Herod. vii. 114). In Amphipolis, Paulus Aemilius, after the battle of Pydna, publicly proclaimed the Macedonians free; and here another Paul came to proclaim another liberty, the service of perfect freedom. Its site is now occupied by a village called *Neokhório*, in Turkish *Jeni-Keni*, or "New-Town." See Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Epp. of St. Paul*, i. ch. ix. (ed. 4to), and *Dict. of Geography*, s. n. [F.]

AMPLIAS (Ἀμπλίας [Westcott and Hort, Ἀμπλιᾶτος]; *Ampliatus*), a Christian at Rome, saluted by St. Paul as his "beloved in the Lord" (Rom. xvi. 8). [F.]

AM'RAM. 1. (עַמְרָם, MV.[10] = *the people is exalted* or *exalted people*; Nöldeke [*ZDMG.*

xl. 185] would derive it, like עִמְרִי, from עמר; B. usually Ἀμβράμ [in Ex. vi. 20, 1 Ch. vi. 3, -ν, and in Num. Ἀμράμ], AF. in Ex. Ἀμράμ, in Num. Ἀμβράμ, and A. elsewhere usually Ἀμράμ; *Amram*). A Levite, father of Moses, Aaron, and Miriam (Ex. vi. 18, 20; Num. iii. 19, xxvi. 58, 59; 1 Ch. vi. 2, 3, 18, xxiii. 12, 13, xxiv. 20). [R. W. B.] [F.]

2. חַמְרָן; B. Ἐμερών, A. Ἀμαδά; *Hamram*. Properly Hamran or Chamran; son of Dishon and descendant of Levi (1 Ch. i. 41); in Gen. xxxvi. 26 called HEMDAN, and this is the reading in 1 Ch. of many of Kennicott's MSS. and preferred by Ges. MV., though not by Dillmann.

3. עַמְרָם; Ἀμράμ, א. Ἀμβράμ, B. Μαρεί; *Amram*. One of the sons of Bani, in the time of Ezra, who had married a foreign wife (Ezra x. 34); called OMAERUS in 1 Esd. ix. 34 (B. Μάηρος, A. Ἰσμάηρος; *Abramus*). [W. A. W.] [F.]

AM'RAMITES, THE (עַמְרָמִי; *Amramitae*). A branch of the great Kohathite family of the tribe of Levi (Num. iii. 27, B. Ἀμραμεῖς, A. Ἀμβραὰμ εἶς, F. Ἀμβρὰμ εἶς; 1 Ch. xxvi. 23, B. Ἀμβράμ, A. Ἀμραμί); descended from Amram, the father of Moses. [W. A. W.] [F.]

AMRA'PHEL (אַמְרָפֶל; Ἀμραφάλ *Amraphal*), the name of a king of Shinar or Southern Babylonia, who aided Chedorlaomer against the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah and the cities of the plain (Gen. xiv.). The name of this king has not yet been found in the cuneiform inscriptions. It seems, however, to be Semitic, and is, perhaps, to be rendered in Babylonian Âmar-apla (Âmar-pal), "I see a son," or Âmra-apla (Âmra-pal), "See, a son!" Future excavations in Babylonia will probably shed more light on the early history of Babylonia, and the events of the period to which this ruler belongs. [T. G. P.]

AMULETS (φυλακτήρια) were ornaments, gems, scrolls, &c., worn as preservatives against the power of enchantments, and generally inscribed with mystic forms or characters. As such they would come under the general denunciation of heathen "abominations" specified in Deut. xviii. 10–12 (cp. Num. xxiii. 23). The "earrings" in Gen. xxxv. 4 (נְזָמִים; ἐνώτια; *inaures*, but more properly nose-rings or forehead rings, Theod. Symm. ἐπιῤῥίνια, Gen. xxiv. 47; Ezek. xvi. 12) were obviously connected with idolatrous worship, and may have been amulets taken from the bodies of the slain Shechemites. Nose-rings are subsequently mentioned among the spoils of Midian (Judg. viii. 24), and perhaps their objectionable character was one reason why Gideon asked for them. The golden calf in the wilderness (Ex. xxxii. 3), as well as Gideon's "ephod," was made of these נְזָמִים. Again, in Hos. ii. 13, "decking herself with earrings" is mentioned as one of the signs of the "days of Baalim." Hence in Chaldee an earring is called קְדִישָׁא. An amulet worn in the ear was supposed to avert the danger of curses, &c. Such earrings are denounced by St. Augustine, *Ep.* 75.

But amulets were more often worn round the neck, like the golden *bulla* or leather *lorum* of the Roman boys (Juv. *Sat.* v. 153: cp. Plut. *Sympos.* v. 7; Varro, *de Ling. Lat.* vi. 5). Sometimes they were precious stones, supposed to be endowed with peculiar virtues. In the *Mirror of Stones* the strangest properties are attributed to the amethyst, Kinocetus, Alektoria, Keraunium, &c.; and Pliny, talking of succinum, says, "Infantibus alligare amuleti ratione prodest" (xxvii. § 50). He also speaks of cyclamen (xxv. § 115), wild vine (xxiii. § 20), jasper (xxxvii. § 118), saliva (xxxviii. §§ 35–39), and bats (xxix. § 83) being used for the purpose of amulets. Amulets were generally suspended as the centre-piece of a necklace, and among the Egyptians (Maspero, *L'Archéologie Égyptienne*, p. 235) often consisted of the emblems of various deities, or the symbol of truth and justice ("Thmei"). A gem of this kind, formed of sapphires, was worn by the chief judge of Egypt (Diod. i. 48, 75), and a similar one is represented as worn by the youthful deity Harpocrates (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* iii. 130, ed. 1878). The Arabs hang round their children's necks the figure of an open hand; a custom which, according to Shaw, arises from the *unluckiness* of the number 5. This principle is often found in the use of amulets. Thus the basilisk is constantly engraved on the talismanic scarabaei of Egypt, and the phallus was among the sacred emblems of the Vestals (*Dict. of Gk. and Rom. Ant.*, art. *Fascinum*). According to Jahn (*Arch. Bibl.* § 131, Engl. tr.), the לְחָשִׁים of Is. iii. 20 (A. V. "earrings," R. V. "amulets") were "figures of serpents carried in the hand" (more probably worn in the ears) "by Hebrew women." Schröder (*de Vestitu*, pp. 168, 170) says that Arab women wore golden serpents between the breasts; a practice forbidden by Mohammed, because the serpent is an emblem of the devil (see Gesenius, *s. v.* לחשׁ). The word is derived from לָחַשׁ, *sibilavit*, and means both "enchantments" (cp. Is. iii. 3; A. V. "eloquent orator," R. V. "skilful enchanter;" Aqu. συνετὸς ψιθυρισμῷ; Theodot. συνετὸς ἐπῳδῇ. In Is. xxvi. 16 it is rendered "a prayer:" *mary.* "secret speech") and the magical gems and formularies used to avert them (Gesen. *s. v.*). Amulets were used by the Phoenicians. Those that are found are Egyptian in type (see Perrot et Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, iii. 237).

The commonest amulets were sacred words (the tetragrammaton, &c.) or sentences, written in a peculiar manner, or inscribed in some cabbalistic figure like the shield of David, and Solomon's Seal (Bartolocci, *Bibl. Rabbin.* i. 576). Another form of this figure is the pentangle (or pentacle), which "consists of three triangles intersected, and made of five lines, which may be so set forth with the body of man as to touch and point out the places where our Saviour was wounded" (Sir T. Browne's *Vulg. Errors*, i. 10). Under the head of amulets fall the Ἐφέσια γράμματα (Acts xix. 19), and in later times the Abraxic gems of the Basilidians, and the use of the word "Abracadabra," recommended by the physician Serenus Samonicus as a cure for the hemitritaeus. The same physician prescribes for quartan ague:

"Maeoniae Iliados quartum suppone timenti."

Charms "consisting of words written on folds of papyrus tightly rolled up and sewed

in linen," have been found at Thebes (Wilkinson), and our English translators possibly intended something of the kind when they rendered the curious phrase (in Is. iii. 20) בָּתֵּי הַנֶּפֶשׁ (R. V. "perfume boxes") by "tablets." But though many scholars have understood the phrase to mean amulets (Targ. קְרֵשִׁין, "earrings"), Schröder has proved that it means "scent-boxes" (*de Vest.* x.). It was the danger of idolatrous practices arising from the abuse of amulets that probably induced the sanction of the use of phylacteries (Deut. vi. 8; xi. 18, טוֹטָפוֹת). The modern Arabs use scraps of the Koran (which they call "telesmes" or "alakakirs") in the same way.

Amulets are frequently alluded to in the Talmud under the name קמעות. Horses had a fox's tail or a crimson ornament placed between their eyes; and cows and goats were similarly protected (*Shabbath*, f. 53, 1). An approved amulet is one which has effected three cures; and whether it consisted of written characters or of roots (see Jos. *Ant.* viii. 2, § 5), it was considered so important that it might be worn even on the Sabbath, provided it were attached to a chain or ring, so as to *look* as if it were meant for an ornament and not for a remedy (*Shabbath*, f. 61, 1, 2). The disease *cardiacus* could be cured by an amulet on which was written the name of the demon which caused the disease (*Gittin.* f. 67, 2). See Hamburger, *Talm. Wörterb.* s. v. *Kamea.*

A very large class of amulets depended for their value on their being constructed under certain astronomical conditions. Their most general use was to avert ill-luck, &c., especially to nullify the effect of the ὀφθαλμὸς βάσκανος, a belief in which is found among all nations. (Mark vii. 22; Gal. iii. 1. See DIVINATION, § 7.) The Jews were particularly addicted to them, and the only restriction placed by the Rabbis on their use was, that none but *approved* amulets were to be worn on the Sabbath (Lightfoot's *Hor. Hebr.* in Matt. xxiv. 4). It was thought that they kept off the evil spirits who caused disease. Some animal substances were considered to possess a power of averting demons, as we see from Tobit. Pliny (xxviii. 47) mentions a fox's tongue worn on an amulet as a charm against blear eyes, and says (xxx. 15), "Scarabaeorum cornua alligata amuleti naturam obtinent;" perhaps an Egyptian fancy. In the same way one of the Roman emperors wore a seal-skin as a charm against thunder. Among plants, the white bryony and the Hypericon, or Fuga Daemonum, are mentioned as useful (Sir T. Browne, *Vulg. Errors*, i. 10. He attributes the whole doctrine of amulets to the devil, but still throws out a hint that they may work by "imponderous and invisible emissions").

Since the use of amulets was thus common among the Jews and the heathen, it is not unnatural that it should have lingered on among some Christians. Chrysostom (*Hom.* lxxii. *in Matt.*, ed. Field, ii. p. 347) speaks of *many* women who used the Gospels as amulets (εὐαγγέλια τῶν τραχήλων ἐξαρτῶσαι). Comp. Isidor. Pelus. ii. *Ep.* cl., who also alludes to these εὐαγγέλια μικρά. Jerome (*in Matt.* iv. 24) confesses that he once used the Gospels in this superstitious way. The Fathers denounce all amulets, and the use of them was forbidden by the Council of Laodicea.

Amulets are still common. On the Mod. Egyptian "Hegáb," see Lane, *Mod. Egypt.* c. 11; and on the African "pieces of medicine," a belief in which constitutes half the religion of the Africans, see Livingstone's *Travels*, p. 285 *et passim.* [TERAPHIM; TALISMAN.]

Amulet ("Hegáb"). (From Lane's *Modern Egyptians.*)

The word "amulet" is derived from the Arabic *hamâlet*, "a thing suspended." The Greek equivalent, φυλακτήριον, does not occur in the LXX. (but see Rosenmüller's *scholia* on Ezek. xiii. 18), and in the N. T. only in Matt. xxiii. 5. On Roman, Greek, and Christian use of amulets, see the *Dictt. of Greek and Roman*[2] and *Christian Antiquities*, s. v. [FRONTLETS; PHYLACTERIES.] [F. W. F.]

AM'ZI (אַמְצִי, *strong* or *valiant*; possibly an abbreviation of אֲמַצְיָה, *Jah is strong*; B. Ἀμεσσεία, A. Μαεσσία; *Amasai*). **1.** A Levite of the family of Merari, and ancestor of Ethan the minstrel (1 Ch. vi. 46).

2. B. Ἀμασεί, A. Ἀμασί, א. Ἀμεσσεί; *Amsi.* A priest, whose descendant Adaiah with his brethren served the Temple in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. xi. 12). [W. A. W.] [F.]

ANA'B (עֲנָב, perhaps, *place of grapes*, Ges.; *Anab*), a town in the mountains of Judah (Josh. xv. 50, B. Ἀνών, A. Ἀνώβ), named, with Debir and Hebron, as once belonging to the Anakim (Josh. xi. 21, AF. Ἀνώβ, B. Ἀναβώθ). It has retained its ancient name, and lies among the hills to the west of *edh-Dhâheriyeh*, Debir, close to Shoco and Eshtemoa (Rob. i. 494; see also *P. F. Mem.* iii. 393). The conjecture of Eusebius and Jerome (*OS.*[2] pp. 128. 12, 240. 14) is evidently inadmissible. [G.] [W.]

ANA'EL (Ἀναήλ; Chald. חֲמָאֵל; Heb. חֲנַנְאֵל [ed. Neubauer]; Vulg. omits). The brother of Tobit (Tob. i. 21). [G.] [F.]

ANA'H (עֲנָה, meaning uncertain; Ἀνά; *Ana*). **1.** The fourth son of Seir the Horite and a "duke" (Gen. xxxvi. 20, 29) in the land of Seir. He was the father of Aholibamah, the wife of Esau (Gen. xxxvi. 2, 14).

2. AE. Ὠνάς, D. Ἀνά. The grandson of Seir, *i.e.* son of the "duke" Zibeon the Horite, the third son of Seir (Gen. xxxvi. 24). Of him it is told (A. V.) that he "found the mules (אֶת־הַיְמִים, R. V. "the hot springs;" Vulg. *aquas calidas*; LXX. Ἰαμείν) in the wilderness." Modern scholars generally accept the rendering of the Vulgate, though the derivation is uncertain, and identify the spot with the sulphur-springs of Calirrhoe (LASHA, Gen. x. 19) on the east side of the Dead Sea (Delitzsch,

Genesis, p. 431 [1887]). Anah's discovery of these springs "as he fed the asses of Zibeon his father" was probably brought about by the wandering habits of his herd, and is compared by Riehm, Delitzsch, and others with the discovery of the waters of Carlsbad through the howling of the hound which, pursuing the stag, had fallen into some boiling springs.

Such interpretations as—(*a*) that of the Sam. and Targ. of Onkelos, which identifies יְמִים with אֵמִים (Deut. ii. 10, 11), the *Emim* or *Rephaim*, the giant aborigines of the Moabite border, and whom Anah is here supposed to have met and conquered (מצא, as in Ps. xxi. 9), or (*b*) the Rabbinic translation of the word by *mules* (as in A.V.), whom Anah is supposed to have procured ("found") by the conjunction of horse and ass—may be said to find no support to-day.

Nos. 1 and 2 are sometimes taken to be the same person. Aholibamah is described as "the daughter of (בַּת) Anah, the daughter of (בַּת) Zibeon the Hivite"* (Gen. xxxvi. 2, 14). The LXX., Samar., and Peshito Versions read "son (בֶּן) of Zibeon;" others read "(grand-) daughter of Zibeon;" but in either case identify the Anah of *v.* 2 with the Anah of *v.* 24. Others, however, take the expression "daughter of Zibeon" to be equivalent to "niece of Zibeon," and keep the Anah of *vv.* 20, 25 distinct from the Anah of *v.* 24. Robertson Smith (*Journ. of Philology*, "Animal Worship and Animal Tribes," ix. p. 90) alleges the variations connected with Anah as indications of no true genealogy, but of a systematization of tribal facts. Adopting the reading "daughter of Zibeon," he deduces kinship through females among the Horites; and from the existence of a sub-clan, Anah, among the Zibeonites as well as among the Seirites, he concludes that there was "exogamy" or that law which forbad the members of the Horite clan to intermarry. This is admitted to be probable only so far as the Edomites are concerned (Jacobs, *Archæolog. Review*, iii. p. 153).

On the identification of Anah the Horite with Beeri the Hittite, see BEERI. [F.]

ANA'HARATH (אֲנָחֲרַת; B. Ἀναχαρέθ; A. Ἀφφαρέθ; *Anaharath*), a place within the border of Issachar, named with Shihon and Rabbith (Josh. xix. 19). It is now probably the village *en-N'aûrah*, N.E. of Jezreel (*P. F. Mem.* ii. 85). [G.] [W.]

ANA'IAH (עַנָיָה, *Jah answers*; Ἀναίας, B. -ά; *Ania*). **1.** Probably a priest; one of those who stood on Ezra's right hand as he read the Law to the people (Neh. viii. 4). He is called ANANIAS in 1 Esd. ix. 43.

2. B. Ἀναιάδ, א*A. Ἀνάν· Ἀναΐα, א$^{c.a}$ Ἀνάν· Ἀναΐα; *Anaïa*. One of the "heads" of the people, who signed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 22). [W. A. W.] [F.]

ANAK. [ANAKIM.]

ANA'KIM (עֲנָקִים; A. Ἐνακίμ, B. -ειμ; *Enakim*), a race of giants or Rephaim (Deut. ii. 10), and probably so called from their stature (*longicollis*), descendants of Arba (Josh. xv. 13, xxi. 11), dwelling after the time of Abraham in the southern part of Canaan, and particularly at Hebron, which from their progenitor received the name of קִרְיַת אַרְבַּע, city of Arba. Besides the general designation Anakim, they are variously called בְּנֵי עֲנָק, sons of Anak (Num. xiii. 33, LXX. *τοὺς γίγαντας*), יְלִידֵי הָעֲנָק, descendants of Anak (Num. xiii. 22), and בְּנֵי עֲנָקִים, sons of Anakim* (Deut. i. 28, LXX. *υἱοὺς γιγάντων*). These designations serve to show that we must regard Anak as the name of the race rather than that of an individual, and this is confirmed by what is said of Arba, their progenitor, that he "was a great man among the Anakim" (Josh. xiv. 15). The race appears to have been divided into three tribes or families, bearing the names Sheshai, Ahiman, and Talmai. Though the warlike appearance of the Anakim had struck the Israelites with terror in the time of Moses (Num. xiii. 28; Deut. ix. 2), they were nevertheless dispossessed by Joshua, and utterly driven from the land, except a small remnant that found refuge in the Philistine cities, Gaza, Gath, and Ashdod (Josh. xi. 21). Their chief city Hebron became the possession of Caleb, who is said to have driven out from it the three sons of Anak mentioned above; that is, the three families or tribes of the Anakim (Josh. xv. 14; Judg. i. 20). After this time they vanish from history. [F. W. G.] [F.]

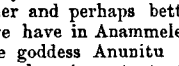
ANA'MIM (עֲנָמִים; A. Ἐνεμετιείν, B. Αἰνεμετιείμ; *Anamim*), a Mizraite people or tribe mentioned only in the Noachian list (Gen. x. 13; 1 Ch. i. 11 [A. Ἀναμιείμ, B. omits]). Its settlement is to be sought within the Mizraite territory, Egypt, Libya, South-west Palestine, and possibly the neighbouring islands of the Mediterranean. [MIZRAIM.]

Several identifications have been proposed in the Egyptian inscriptions. De Rougé (*Études sur les six premières Dynasties de Manéthon*, p. 6) compares this name to the *Anu*, a population which spread over a great part of the valley of the Nile, which gave its name to Heliopolis and Hermonthis, and which is found at last in Nubia, between the Nile and the Red Sea. The difficulty in this identification is that the sign with which the name of the Anu begins is nearly always transcribed by ℵ. Ebers (*Aegypten und die Bücher Moses*, p. 98) translates "the wandering Amu" (Shepherds), and considers them as the inhabitants of the eastern part of the Delta, around what is now Lake Menzaleh. The chief objection is that the Amu of the sculptures are decidedly a Semitic nation, with a Semitic type. The most satisfactory identification has been pointed out by Brugsch (*Reise nach den grossen Oase*, p. 68), who, relying on the fact that the hieroglyphical *k* or *gh* is sometimes transcribed by ע ʿ, considers the Anamim as the inhabitants of *Kenem* or *Ghenem*, the Great Oasis of El Khargeh, in the Libyan desert. It is to be observed that the Coptic Version has a variant *midiim*, which has not been explained. Both Josephus and St. Jerome confess their ignorance

* Delitzsch (*Genesis*, p. 428 [1887]), with most moderns, takes *Hivite* (הַחִוִּי) to be a mistake for *Horite* (הַחֹרִי).

* The A. V. "Anakims," which adds *s* to a plural termination (cp. also Emims, cherubims), is corrected in R. V. to Anakim.

of the meaning of the name of Anamim, which was forgotten in their time. [E. N.]

ANAMME'LECH (עַנַמֶּלֶךְ; B. Ἀνημελέχ, A. Ἀμη-; *Anamelech*), a divinity worshipped by the colonists brought into Samaria by Shalmaneser II., king of Assyria, from Sepharvaim (Sipar or Sippara). This deity is named (2 K. xvii. 31) as the companion-god to Adrammelech. Both of these deities were worshipped with rites similar to those of Moloch, children being sacrificed to them. According to Rawlinson, the first part of the name is the same as *Anunitu*, the goddess Venus as the morning and evening star, worshipped at Sippara of Anunitu. Schrader connects the first part of the name with Anu, and restores it as Anu-malik ("Anu is king"). The principal gods, however, besides Anunitu, worshipped at Sepharvaim, were Samas; Aa, the moon-goddess, his consort; and Bunene, and it is likely that Anammelech is only a by-name of one of these. A very probable explanation is that it is a name of the sun-god Samas, who was called also *Amna* (or *Aunu*); and if so, the Babylonian form would be *Amnamalik*. Another and perhaps better explanation is, that we have in Anammelech one of the names of the goddess Anunitu or Venus, worshipped at the less important of the two Sipparas. This goddess also bore the name  , which may, according to the syllabaries and bilingual lists, be read *Nin-malga* or *Ennin-malga* in Sumerian, and *Nin-milku* or *Ennin-milku* in Semitic Babylonian—forms which answer almost exactly to the biblical Anammelech, especially in its Greek form. Adopting this explanation, the probable meaning is "Lady of counsel." [T. G. P.]

A'NAN (עָנָן; B. Ἡνάμ, A. Ἡνάν, ℵ. Ἡνά; *Anan*). **1.** One of the "heads" of the people who signed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 26).

2. Ἀνάν; A. Ἀννάν; *Anani*. HANAN 4 (1 Esd. v. 30; cp. Ezra ii. 46). [W. A. W.] [F.]

ANA'NI (עֲנָנִי, probably abbreviated for עֲנַנְיָה; A. Ἀνανί, B. Μανεί; *Anani*), the 7th son of Elioenai, descended through Zerubbabel from the royal line of Judah (1 Ch. iii. 24).
[W. A. W.] [F.]

ANANI'AH (עֲנַנְיָה; the meaning is uncertain; perhaps from the Arab., *Jah meets*; Ἀνανία; *Ananias*). Probably a priest, the ancestor of Azariah, who assisted in rebuilding the city wall after the return from Babylon (Neh. iii. 23). [W. A. W.] [F.]

ANANI'AH (עֲנַנְיָה; *Anania*), a place named between Nob and Hazor, in which the Benjamites lived after their return from captivity (Neh. xi. 32). The MSS. of the LXX. BN. omit all mention of this and the accompanying names; but A. has Ἀνανία. It is now the village *Beit Hunina*, near *Neby Samwil* (*P. F. Mem.* iii. 8).
[G.] [W.]

ANANI'AS (Ἀνανίας; *Ananias*; same name as חֲנַנְיָה = Hananiah, which signifies "Jehovah is gracious").

1. High-priest when Paul was brought before the Sanhedrin (Acts xxiii. 2 ff.; xxiv. 1). His father's name was Nedebaeus, and he was nominated high-priest by Herod, king of Chalcis, in place of Joseph, son of Camithus, about A.D. 47 (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 5, § 2). A slaughter by the Samaritans of Galileans on their way to a feast (cp. Luke ix. 53) had received no redress from Cumanus the procurator, and had therefore been fiercely avenged by a band of Jews and Galileans. Samaritan complaints brought in Ummidius Quadratus, Legate of Syria, who sent his subordinate Cumanus to Rome for judgment, and with him Ananias the high-priest and other Jews (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 6, §§ 1–3). The Jewish cause triumphed: Cumanus was exiled, and we are left to infer that Ananias returned to enjoy his office, until he was superseded by Ismael, son of Phabi, shortly before Felix left Judaea,[a] probably A.D. 60 (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 8, § 8). Ananias would thus be high-priest at the time of Paul's arrest, which took place two years before the date above mentioned. Ananias continued, like other deposed high-priests [ANNAS], to retain and even increase his power. He was guilty of much violence, for which he obtained impunity by bribes (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 9, § 2). At the outbreak of the last revolt, A.D. 66, he was murdered by the rebels as a leader of the Roman and pacific party; a terrible fulfilment of the prophecy of St. Paul, τύπτειν σε μέλλει ὁ Θεός, Acts xxiii. 3 (Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 17, 9). In the Talmud Ananias has the closely allied name of Johanan, and is charged with the most extravagant gluttony (Derenbourg, *Essai sur Hist. et Géog.*, xv., notes 1 and 2). On Ananias generally, see Wieseler, *Chron. Ap. Zeit.* p. 76, note 1. [E. R. B.]

2. Ananias, husband of Sapphira. The second and fuller account of the common fund of the Christians at Jerusalem (Acts iv. 32) is followed by two instances of contributions made to it: the one in good faith, by Barnabas, who is thus introduced to the reader (Acts iv. 36, 37); and the other, fraudulently made, by Ananias, with the connivance of his wife. He kept back part of the price of a possession and offered the other part to the Apostles, as though it had been the whole. St. Peter, being enabled by the power of the Spirit to see through the fraud, denounced him as having deliberately attempted to deceive the Holy Ghost resident in the Apostles. On hearing St. Peter's words, Ananias fell down and died. Baur (*Apostel Paul*, Pt. i. c. i.) is perfectly justified in insisting that the deaths of both Ananias and Sapphira are represented as miraculously inflicted, against Neander and Olshausen, who to a certain extent introduce naturalistic explanations. This punitive miracle, administered through St. Peter, finds no parallel in the miracles of Christ (Trench, *Miracles*, Prel. Essay, iv.), but is to be compared on the one side with Elisha's infliction of leprosy on Gehazi, and on the other with the case of Elymas. There is

[a] Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 15, § 3) makes an Ismael high-priest in the reign of Claudius, *i.e.* before A.D. 54. This can hardly be Ismael, son of Phabi, successor of Ananias. Wieseler (*Chron. A. Z.* p. 159) guesses this Ismael to be identical with Elionaeus, an earlier high-priest. The matter is further complicated by the mention of another Ismael, son of Phabi, successor of Annas (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 2, § 2), whose date would be 15–16 A.D., long before Claudius.

no question as to the discretion of St. Peter; the Apostle is but the organ and announcer of the Divine justice (Niemeyer, *Characteristik der Bibel*, i. p. 574). It has been supposed that the severity of the judgment was necessary to prevent persons from attempting to defraud the common fund by establishing a claim to draw upon it, while they still retained private property. But this view presumes a stricter community of goods than actually existed, and does not harmonise with St. Peter's words. Reverence for the Holy Spirit as God (v. 3, 4) was the principle in danger, and its stern vindication was necessary at a time when the presence and work of the Spirit were so near and manifest. Cp. our Lord's teaching on sin against the Holy Ghost, Matt. xii. 31, and St. Peter's own words to Simon Magus, Acts viii. 22. [E. R. B.]

3. A Christian Jew of Damascus (Acts ix. 10–19). As in the case of Cornelius and Peter, so here two visions prepared Saul and Ananias for their interview. The natural fear of Ananias was overcome by a revelation of the work for which Saul was chosen by the counsel of God. He went as directed, and the laying on of his hands was followed by Saul's recovery of sight and by his Baptism. We cannot safely infer from the text that the power of conferring the gift of the Holy Ghost lay in Ananias, and therefore was not confined to the Apostles. The gift is indeed said to have been one of the objects of his mission, but may have been given without his instrumentality. Two other accounts of St. Paul's conversion, with some further particulars, are given by the Apostle himself (Acts xxii. 6–16, and xxvi. 12–18). In the former he naturally conciliates his Jewish audience by mentioning that Ananias was "a devout man according to the Law, well reported of by all the Jews that dwelt there." God Who sent Ananias was the "God of our fathers," and Jesus "the Righteous One." The second account before Festus and Agrippa abbreviates the story, Ananias disappears altogether, and a part of the message sent through him to Saul is directly attributed to the Lord Himself. Tradition represents Ananias as at this time *already* Bishop of Damascus by the appointment of St. Peter and St. Andrew, as martyred under Lucian the governor, and buried at Damascus (*Menol. Graec. Basil.* pp. 79, 80). [E. R. B.]

4. B. 'Αννεῖς, A. 'Αννίας; *Annias*. The sons of Ananias to the number of 101 (Vulg. 130) are enumerated as having returned with Zorobabel (1 Esd. v. 16). No such name exists in the parallel lists of Ezra and Nehemiah.

5. 'Ανανίας; Vulg. omits. HANANI No. 3 (1 Esd. ix. 21; cp. Ezra x. 20).

6. 'Ανανίας; *Ananias*. HANANIAH No. 9 (1 Esd. ix. 29; cp. Ezra x. 28).

7. 'Ανανίας; *Ananias*. ANAIAH No. 1 (1 Esd. ix. 43; cp. Neh. viii. 4).

8. A. 'Ανανίας, B. 'Αννίας; *Ananias*. HANAN No. 5 (1 Esd. ix. 48; cp. Neh. viii. 7).

9. "The great," father of Azarias, whose name was assumed by the Angel, Raphael (Tob. v. 12, 13. In Chald. and Heb. [ed. Neubauer] Hananel takes the place of Ananias; in Itala, *Annanias*). Ananias is accepted by Tobit as one of his "brethren."

10. ℵA. 'Ανανίας, B. and T.[7] omit; in the Vulg. the name corresponding to it in point of order is *Jamnor*, Judith viii. 1. One of the ancestors of Judith. [W. A. W.] [F.]

11. 'Ανανίας; *Ananias*. The Hebrew name of Shadrach (HANANIAH No. 7). Dan. iii. 88 (Theod., Vulg.; *v.* 65, LXX.). [W. A. W.]

ANAN'IEL (חֲנַנְאֵל [ed. Neubauer], *El is gracious*; 'Ανανιήλ; Itala, *Ananihel*), forefather of Tobias (Tob. i. 1). [F.]

ANA'TH (עֲנַת, connected with the name of the Phoenician and Canaanite goddess 'Anât [*CIG.* 95] whose worship passed also into Egypt [Baethgen, *Beiträge z. Sem. Religionsgesch.*, pp. 52, 141]; *Anath*), father of Shamgar (Judg. iii. 31 [B. Δεινάχ, A. 'Ανάθ], v. 6 [B. 'Ανάθ, A. Κενάθ]). [F.]

ANATH'EMA (*ἀνάθεμα*, in LXX., the equivalent for חֵרֶם, a thing or person *devoted:* in N. T. generally translated *accursed*). The more usual form is *ἀνάθημα* (*ἀνατίθημι*), with the sense of an *offering suspended* in a temple (Luke xxi. 5; 2 Macc. ix. 16): the Alexandrine writers preferred the short penultimate in this and other kindred words (*e.g. ἐπίθεμα, σύνθεμα*): but occasionally both forms occur in the MSS., as in Jud. xvi. 19; 2 Macc. xiii. 15; Luke xxi. 5: no distinction therefore existed originally in the meanings of the words, as has been supposed by many early writers. The Hebrew חֵרֶם is derived from a verb signifying primarily to *shut up*, and hence to (1) *devote* (R. V. text or marg.), and (2) *exterminate*. Any object so devoted to the Lord was irredeemable: if an inanimate object, it was to be given to the priests (Num. xviii. 14); if a living creature or even a man, it was to be slain (Lev. xxvii. 28, 29); hence the idea of *extermination* as connected with *devoting*. Generally speaking, a vow of this description was taken only with respect to the idolatrous nations who were marked out for destruction by the special decree of Jehovah, as in Num. xxi. 2; Josh. vi. 17. Jehovah (Is. xxxiv. 2) was said to *shut up*, i.e. *place under a ban*, which necessitated the *destruction* of the nation in order to prevent all contact. The extermination being the result of a positive command (Ex. xxii. 20), the idea of a vow is excluded, although the instances referred to show how a vow was occasionally superadded to the command. Any breach with respect to the "devoted" thing was punished with death (Josh. vii. 25). It may be further noticed that the degree to which the work of destruction was carried out, varied (cp. Dillmann on Lev. xxvii. 28, 29). Thus it applied to the destruction of (1) human life alone (Deut. ii. 34); (2) all, virgins excepted (Num. xxxi. 17; Judg. xxi. 11); (3) all living creatures (Deut. xx. 16; 1 Sam. xv. 3); the spoil in the former cases was reserved for the use of the army (Deut. ii. 35, xx. 14; Josh. xxii. 8), instead of being given over to the priesthood, as was the case in the recorded vow of Joshua (Josh. vi. 19). Occasionally the town itself was also utterly destroyed, the site rendered desolate (Josh. vi. 26), and the name Hormah ('Ανάθεμα, LXX.) applied to it (Num. xxi. 3; cp. Judg. i. 17). The *herem* was also resorted to by the Moabites (cp. the Mesha-Inscription, l. 17; cp. also 2 Ch. xx. 23), and the same term is used to express

the action of the Assyrians (2 K. xix. 11; Is. xxxvii. 11; 2 Ch. xxxii. 14). Cp. Riehm, *HWB.* "Bann"; Ewald, *Antiquities*, p. 75 sqq.

We pass on to the Rabbinical sense of חֵרֶם as referring to *excommunication*, premising that an approximation to that sense is found in Ezra x. 8, where forfeiture of goods is coupled with separation from the congregation (cp. Buxtorf. *Lex. Chald.* on the words specified; Weber, *System d. Altsynag. Paläst. Theologie*, p. 138; Schürer, *Gesch. d. Jüdischen Volkes am Zeitalter Jesu Christi*,[2] II. Theil. pp. 362–3). Three kinds of excommunication are enumerated (Levy, *Chald. Wörterb.* s. n. חרם No. ii.):—(1) נִדּוּי, involving various restrictions in civil and ecclesiastical matters for the space of thirty days: to this it is supposed that the terms ἀφορίζειν (Luke vi. 22) and ἀποσυνάγωγος (John ix. 22) refer. (2) A repetition of the excommunication for another thirty days (or even longer), with increased penalties. (3) חֵרֶם, a more public and formal sentence, accompanied with curses, and involving severer restrictions for an indefinite period. The term שַׁמְּתָא is common to these three kinds. Some expositors refer the terms ὀνειδίζειν καὶ ἐκβάλλειν (Luke vi. 22) to the second species, but a comparison of John ix. 22 with *v.* 34 shows that ἐκβάλλειν is synonymous with ἀποσυνάγωγον ποιεῖν, and there appears no reason for supposing the latter to be of a severe character. The phrase παραδιδόναι τῷ Σατανᾷ (1 Cor. v. 5; 1 Tim. i. 20) has been sometimes thought a reflexion of Jewish excommunication natural to the Jew St. Paul; but St. Paul's formula limiting his sentence to "the destruction of the flesh" is full of a "severe mercy of Divine discipline" (Aug.) unknown to the Rabbis (see the notes in the *Speaker's Commentary*, l. c.).

The word ἀνάθεμα frequently occurs in St. Paul's writing, and many expositors have regarded his use of it as a technical term for judicial excommunication. That the word was so used in the early Church, there can be no doubt (Bingham, *Antiq.* xvi. 2, § 16): but an examination of the passages [in each consult the admirable notes of the *Speaker's Commentary*] in which it occurs shows that, like the cognate word ἀναθεματίζω (Matt. xxvi. 74; Mark xiv. 71; Acts xxiii. 12, 21), it had acquired a more general sense as expressive either of strong feeling (Rom. ix. 3; cp. Ex. xxxii. 32), or of dislike and condemnation (1 Cor. xii. 3, xvi. 22; Gal. i. 9). [W. L. B.] [F.]

ANA'THOTH (עֲנָתוֹת, most probably the pl. of the goddess-name 'Ánât [Baethgen, p. 53; see ANATH]; Ἀναθώθ; *Anathoth*). **1.** The eighth son (in textual order) of Becher, the third son of Benjamin (1 Ch. vii. 8), perhaps connected with the place of the same name.

2. ℵ. Φαναθώθ, B. Ναθώθ (Neh. x. 19. See Swete's ed. of LXX., from which it will be seen how such variations arose). One of the heads of the people who signed the covenant in the time of Nehemiah: unless the name stands for the "men of Anathoth" mentioned in Neh. vii. 27. [W. A. W.] [F.]

ANA'THOTH (עֲנָתוֹת, עֲנָתֹת,[a] probably plur. עֲנָת [ANATH], by which name the place is called in the Talmud *Joma*, 10; Ἀναθώθ; *Anathoth*), a city of Benjamin, omitted from the list in Josh. xviii., but a priests' city; with "suburbs" (Josh. xxi. 18; 1 Ch. vi. 60). Hither, to his "fields," Abiathar was banished by Solomon after the failure of his attempt to put Adonijah on the throne (1 K. ii. 26). This was the native place of Abiezer, one of David's thirty captains (2 Sam. xxiii. 27; 1 Ch. xi. 28, xxvii. 12), and of Jehu, another of the mighty men (1 Ch. xii. 3); and here, "of the priests that were in Anathoth," Jeremiah was born (Jer. i. 1; xi. 21, 23; xxix. 27; xxxii. 7–9).

The "men" (אַנְשֵׁי, not בְּנֵי, as in most of the other cases; compare, however, Netophah, Michmash, &c.) of A. returned from the Captivity with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii. 23; Neh. vii. 27; 1 Esd. v. 18).

Anathoth lay on or near the great road from the north to Jerusalem (Is. x. 30); by Josephus (*Ant.* x. 7, § 3) it is placed at twenty stadia from the city, by Eusebius at three miles (*Onom.*), and by Jerome (*turris Anathoth*) at the same distance *contra septentrionem Jerusalem* (ad Jerem. cap. i.). The traditional site at *Kuryet el-'Enab* does not fulfil these conditions, being ten miles distant from the city, and nearer W. than N. But the real position has no doubt been discovered by Robinson at *'Anâta*, on a broad ridge 2½ miles N.N.E. from Jerusalem. The cultivation of the priests survives in tilled fields of grain, with figs and olives. There are the remains of walls and strong foundations, and the quarries still supply Jerusalem with building stone (Rob. i. 437, 438; *P. F. Mem.* iii. 7, 82). [G.] [W.]

ANCHOR. [SHIP.]

ANDREW, ST. (Ἀνδρέας; *Andreas*). The name is Greek, and occurs first in Hdt. vi. 126. It is borne by the physician of Ptolemy Philadelphus, quoted by Athenaeus (iii. p. 115), and elsewhere. A Jew of Cyrene named Andrew is mentioned by Dio Cassius (lxviii. 32) as living in the time of Trajan. St. Andrew was of BETHSAIDA (John i. 44), defined as Bethsaida of Galilee (John xii. 21). He was brother to Simon Peter (John i. 40), and dwelt in the same house with him (Mark i. 29) at Capernaum (Mark i. 21). He was a disciple of St. John the Baptist, and, accompanied by an unnamed disciple, was the first to follow Jesus (John i. 35–40). Again, when the same followers were called to a closer allegiance, he with Peter received the first summons (Matt. iv. 18; Mark i. 16). Hence arose his title of πρωτόκλητος, not infrequent in Greek ecclesiastical writers (Stephanus, ed. Hase, *s. v.*). He is a link between the first and second of the three sets of four in which the twelve Apostles are presented [APOSTLE]. On the one hand, he is included in the first four. In all the lists his name follows St. Peter's, or is only separated

[a] In A.V. there are irregularities in the orthography of the gentile name "Anathothite," due to the translators having reproduced certain modifications of form peculiar to the Hebrew, viz. Anethothite, 2 Sam. xxiii. 27; Anetothite, 1 Ch. xxvii. 12; Antothite, 1 Ch. xi. 28, xii. 3; R.V. in each case "Anathothite." "Jeremiah of A." (Jer. xxix. 27) should be, as in R. V., "J. the Anathothite."

from it by those of St. James and St. John. The solemn and private question as to the time of the end, which in each of the Synoptists leads to the great eschatological discourses, is according to St. Mark the question of the foremost Apostles only,—SS. Peter, James, John, and Andrew. On the other hand, St. Andrew is closely connected with the second quaternion of disciples through St. Philip, who is always placed at its head, and therefore in two lists (Mark iii. 18; Acts i. 13) immediately follows St. Andrew. There is the local connexion of the same original home, Bethsaida, although St. Andrew had latterly lived at Capernaum. There is the slight coincidence that both have Greek names. There is the evidence of two incidents, the feeding of the 5,000 (John vi. 7, 8) and the introduction of the Greeks to Jesus (John xii. 22), in both of which St. Andrew and St. Philip are associated. In the latter instance Philip seems to be unwilling to approach the Lord with an unprecedented request without the support of one of the first four. Yet our theories of acknowledged rank and priority in the college must be modified by the reflection that Jesus Himself gave no countenance to the assumption of them (Mark ix. 34).

In the Acts of the Apostles, St. Andrew, like the majority of his colleagues, falls into the background, and is never mentioned after the list in Acts i. The evidence as to his later history is conflicting, Origen (quoted by Euseb. iii. 1) assigning Scythia as the scene of his labours, whence Russia claims him as her patron saint. This tradition seems to be followed in the apocryphal account of his sojourn among the Anthropophagi (*Acta Andreae et Matthiae:* Tischendorf, *Acta Apocrypha*). On the other hand, there is the evidence of Jerome (*ad Marcellam*, lix. ed. Migne) and Theodoret (*ad Psalm.* cxvi.) in favour of Achaia. At any rate, all traditions agree in assigning Patrae in Achaia as the place of his martyrdom. Of his martyrdom there are two accounts deserving of notice, and differing widely in character. (1.) The third book of the *Historia Apostolica* of Abdias (Fabricius, *Cod. Apocr. N. T.*) contains the Acts of St. Andrew. This history is said to have been written in Hebrew by Abdias, Bishop of Babylon, a contemporary of the Apostles, and translated into Latin by Julius Africanus. It is, however, a forgery of the 6th or 7th century (see Herzog, *RE.*[2] s. n. Abdias.) Its interest lies in the fact that it represents those earlier *Acta Andreae* which Epiphanius (*Haeres.* xlvii. 1; lxi. 1; lxiii. 2) mentions as especially valued by the Encratitae, Apostolici, and Origeniani (cp. also Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 25). It is probably a Catholic adaptation in Latin from heretical Greek documents, suppressing the evident heresy, but retaining in a modified form much of the teaching which had been valued by the heretics, and now fell in with the ascetic tendencies of the age. The legends related constantly turn upon sins of the flesh, and the relations of married persons. Reference to the passages cited from Epiphanius will show the connexion between the topics treated and the sects which are mentioned by him. A crucial instance is afforded by the martyrdom of St. Andrew, which is said in the *Historia Apostolica* to have been in part occasioned by his supposed interference between Aegeas, the Roman governor of Patrae, and his wife Maximilla. (2.) But in the document which we have next to consider (*Acta Andreae:* Tischendorf, *Acta Apocrypha*) the condemnation of the Saint follows on his preaching the Cross; the doctrine of reserve to unbelievers comes forward as a cause of the special anger of Aegeas or Aegeates, and a reminiscence of St. Andrew's first sight of his Master comes back touchingly in his repeated mention of the "Lamb without blemish" (cp. John i. 36). These *Acta Andreae* purport to be a letter from the Presbyters and Deacons of the Churches of Achaia. It is throughout of a totally different character from the work of the pseudo-Abdias; it bears no traces of heretical origin, and probably has some historical value (see Tisch. Prolegg. in *Acta Apocr.* xl.–xlii.). A legend related in the *Muratorian Fragment* makes St. Andrew the recipient of a revelation about the composition of St. John's Gospel (see Tregelles' edit. note *ad loc.*). The "crux decussata" (X-shaped cross) assigned to St. Andrew has no early authority (Andrew, Festival of, *Dict. Chr. Antiq.*); but all accounts agree that he was bound, not nailed to the cross, in order to prolong his sufferings. The date of his martyrdom given in the *Letter* (Nov. 30) has been observed in the day assigned to him in the Calendar of the Church. Consult Lipsius, *Die Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten u. Apostellegenden*, i. p. 543 *sq.* [E. R. B.]

ANDRONICUS (Ἀνδρόνικος; *Andronicus*). **1.** A Christian at Rome saluted by St. Paul (Rom. xvi. 7), together with Junias. The two are called his kinsmen (συγγενεῖς). The same term is applied in *vv.* 11 and 21 to four other persons, two of whom, Jason and Sosipater, may probably be identified with Jason of Thessalonica and Sopater of Berea. It is improbable that these persons belonging to other provinces were all blood relations of St. Paul, and it is better to understand "kinsmen" as simply marking them out as Jews among the Gentiles saluted with them. For this use of συγγενεῖς cp. Rom. ix. 3, and Josephus, *B. J.* ii. 18, 4. Also see Godet, note *ad loc.* Secondly, they are called "my fellow-prisoners." Lightfoot (Phil. *Introd.* p. 11, and Col. iv. 10, note) suggests that the word (συναιχμάλωτος, not συνδέσμιος) may imply a spiritual captivity,—fellow-prisoners, as together taken captive by Christ. If a metaphorical interpretation be adopted at all, the foregoing explanation would be better than the regarding the captivity as the previous bondage of Judaism in which they had been shut up. A literal interpretation would imply a reference to an unrecorded imprisonment (ἐπτάκις δεσμὰ φορέσας, Clem. *ad* 1 Cor. v.). Thirdly, Andronicus and Junias are "of note among the Apostles" (see APOSTLE). Lastly, they were believers before St. Paul's own conversion. There is no tradition of any value respecting them. *Acta Sanctorum*, May 17, gives scarcely any additional circumstances. [E. R. B.]

2. An officer left as viceroy (διαδεχόμενος, 2 Macc. iv. 31) in Antioch by Antiochus Epiphanes during his absence (B.C. 171). Menelaus availed himself of the opportunity to secure his good offices by offering him some golden vessels which he had taken from the Temple. When Onias (ONIAS III.) was certainly assured

that the sacrilege had been committed, he sharply reproved Menelaus for the crime, having previously taken refuge in the sanctuary of Apollo and Artemis at Daphne. At the instigation of Menelaus, Andronicus induced Onias to leave the sanctuary, and immediately put him to death in prison (? *παρέκλεισεν*, 2 Macc. iv. 34). This murder excited general indignation; and on the return of Antiochus, Andronicus was publicly degraded and executed (2 Macc. iv. 30–38). Josephus places the death of Onias before the high-priesthood of Jason (*Ant.* xii. 5, § 1), and omits all mention of Andronicus; but there is not sufficient reason to doubt the truthfulness of the narrative, as Wernsdorf has done (*De fide libr. Macc.* pp. 90 f.). [B. F. W.]

3. Another officer of Antiochus Epiphanes who was left by him on Garizim (*ἐν Γαρ.* 2 Macc. v. 23), probably in occupation of the temple there. As the name was common, it seems unreasonable to identify this general with 2, and so to introduce a contradiction into the history (Wernsdorf, *l. c.*; Ewald, *Gesch. d. Volkes Isr.* iv. 335 n.; cp. Grimm and *Speaker's Comm.* on 2 Macc. iv. 38). [B. F. W.]

A'NEM (עָנֵם; A. *Ἀνάμ*, B. omits; *Anem*), a city of Issachar, with "suburbs," belonging to the Gershonites, 1 Ch. vi. 73 (Heb. *v.* 58). It is omitted in the lists in Josh. xix. 21 and xxi. 29, and instead of it we find En-gannim. Robinson (*Pal.* iii. 385) identifies it with *Genîn*. Major Conder (*P. F. Mem.* ii. 44, 51) proposes to identify it with *'Anîn*, a village 8¼ miles from *Jenin*, in the hills near *Umm el-Fahm*. [G.] [W.]

A'NER (עָנֵר; B. *Ἀμάρ*, A. *Ἐνήρ*; *Aner*), a city of Manasseh, west of Jordan, with "suburbs" given to the Kohathites (1 Ch. vi. 70). Some comparing the passage with Josh. xxi. 25 consider the name a corrupt reading of Taanach (תענך for ענר). Major Conder, however, suggests its identity with *'Ellâr*, a small village in the hills S.W. of Esdraelon (*P. F. Mem.* ii. 154). [G.] [W.]

A'NER (עָנֵר; *AD. Αὐνάν*; *Aner*), one of three Hebronite chiefs who, as "confederates," aided Abraham in the pursuit after the four invading kings (Gen. xiv. 13, 24). [R. W. B.] [F.]

ANETHO'THITE, THE (הָעַנְתֹתִי; the Gk. text has the name twice, (*a*) B. *ὁ Ἀνωθείτης*, A. *Ἀναθωθείτης*; (*b*) B. *τοῦ Ἀνωθείτου*, A. *τοῦ Ἀσωθείτου*; *de Anathoth*). An appellative of Abiezer, an inhabitant of Anathoth of the tribe of Benjamin (2 Sam. xxiii. 27). Called also ANETOTHITE and ANTOTHITE. [W. A. W.] [F.]

ANETO'THITE, THE (הָעַנְתוֹתִי, same as ANETHOTHITE, 1 Ch. xxvii. 12; B. *ἐξ Ἀναθώθ*, A. *ὁ Ἀ.*; *Anathothites*). Called also ANTOTHITE. [W. A. W.] [F.]

ANGELS (מַלְאָכִים; *οἱ ἄγγελοι*; often with the addition of יְהוָה, or אֱלֹהִים. In some Books [Job v. 1; Ps. lxxxix. 6, 8; Dan. iv. 13, viii. 13] the word קְדֹשִׁים, *οἱ ἅγιοι*, is used as an equivalent term). By the word "Angels" (*i.e.* "messengers" of God) we ordinarily understand a race of spiritual beings, of a nature exalted far above that of man, although infinitely removed from that of God, whose office is "to do Him service in heaven, and by His appointment to succour and defend men on earth." The object of the present article is threefold: 1st, to refer to any other Scriptural uses of this and similar words; 2ndly, to notice the revelations of the *nature* of these spiritual beings given in Scripture; and 3rdly, to derive from the same source, a brief description of their *office* towards man. It is to be noticed that its scope is purely Biblical, and that, in consequence, it does not enter into any extra-scriptural speculations on this mysterious subject.

I. In the first place, there are many passages in which the expression the "Angel of God," "the Angel of Jehovah," is certainly used for a manifestation of God Himself. This is especially the case in the earlier Books of the Old Testament, and may be seen at once, by a comparison of Gen. xxii. 11 with *v.* 12, and of Ex. iii. 2 with *vv.* 6, 14; where He, Who is called the "Angel of God" in one verse, is called "God" and even "Jehovah" in those which follow, and accepts the worship due to God alone. Contrast Rev. xix. 10, xxi. 9. See also Gen. xvi. 7, 13, xxxi. 11, 13, xlviii. 15, 16; Num. xxii. 22, 32, 35, and comp. Is. lxiii. 9 with Ex. xxxiii. 14, &c. The same mode of expression is used by St. Paul (see Acts xxvii. 23 as compared with xxiii. 11).

It is to be observed also, that, side by side with these expressions, we read of God being manifested in the form of *man*; as to Abraham at Mamre (Gen. xviii. 2, 22; cp. xix. 1), to Jacob at Penuel (Gen. xxxii. 24, 30), to Joshua at Gilgal (Josh. v. 13, 15), &c. It is hardly to be doubted, that both sets of passages refer to the same kind of manifestation of the Divine Presence.

This being the case, since we know that "no man hath seen God" (the Father) "at any time," and that "the only-begotten Son, Which is in the bosom of the Father, hath revealed Him" (John i. 18), the inevitable inference is that by the "Angel of the Lord" in such passages is meant He Who is from the beginning the "Word," *i.e.* the Manifester or Revealer of God. These manifestations are evidently "foreshadowings of the Incarnation." By these (that is) God the Son manifested Himself from time to time in that human nature, which He united to the Godhead for ever in the Virgin's womb.

This conclusion is corroborated by the fact, that the phrases used as equivalent to the word "Angels" in Scripture, viz. the "sons of God" [בְּנֵי־הָאֱלֹהִים, Job ii. 1, xxxviii. 7; Dan. iii. 25], or even in poetry, the "gods" (Elohim), the "holy ones," &c., are names which in their full and proper sense are applicable only to the Lord Jesus Christ. As He is "*the* Son of God," so also is He *the* "Angel," or "messenger" of the Lord. Accordingly it is to His Incarnation that all angelic ministration is distinctly referred, as to a central truth, by which alone its nature and meaning can be understood. See John i. 51, comparing it with Gen. xxviii. 11–17, and especially with v. 13.

Besides this, which is the highest application of the word "Angel," we find the phrase used of any messengers of God, such as the Prophets (Is. xlii. 19; Hag. i. 13; Mal. iii. 1), the priests

(Mal. ii. 7), and the rulers of the Christian Churches (Rev. i. 20); much as, even more remarkably, the word "Elohim" is applied, in Ps. lxxxii. 6, to those who judge in God's Name.

These usages of the word are not only interesting in themselves, but will serve to throw light on the nature and the method of the ministration of those whom we more especially term "the Angels."

II. In passing on to consider what is revealed in Scripture as to the angelic *nature*, we are led at once to notice, that the Bible deals with this and with kindred subjects exclusively in their practical bearings, only so far (that is) as they conduce to our knowledge of God and of ourselves, and more particularly as they are connected with the one great subject of all Scripture, the Incarnation of the Son of God. Little therefore is said of the nature of Angels as distinct from their office.

They are termed "spirits" (as *e.g.* in Heb. i. 14), although this word is applied more commonly, not so much to themselves, as to their power dwelling in man (*e.g.* 1 Sam. xviii. 10; Matt. viii. 16, &c.). The word is the same as that used of the soul of man, when separate from the body (*e.g.* Matt. xiv. 26; Luke xxiv. 37, 39; 1 Pet. iii. 19); but, since it properly expresses only that supersensuous and rational element of man's nature, which is in him the image of God (see John iv. 24), and by which he has communion with God (Rom. viii. 16); and since also we are told that there is a "spiritual body" as well as a "natural (ψυχικόν) body" (1 Cor. xv. 44), it does not assert that the angelic nature is incorporeal. The contrary seems expressly implied by the words in which our Lord declares that, *after the Resurrection*, men shall be "like the Angels" (ἰσάγγελοι, Luke xx. 36); because (as is elsewhere said, Phil. iii. 21) their bodies, as well as their spirits, shall have been made entirely like His. It may also be noticed that the glorious appearance ascribed to the Angels in Scripture (as in Dan. x. 6) is the same as that which shone out in our Lord's Transfiguration, and in which St. John saw Him clothed in heaven (Rev. i. 14–16); and moreover, that, whenever Angels have been made manifest to man, it has always been in human form (as *e.g.* in Gen. xviii., xix.; Luke xxiv. 4; Acts i. 10, &c.). The very fact that the titles "sons of God" (Job i. 6, xxxviii. 7; Dan. iii. 25 compared with *v.* 28[a]) and "gods" (Ps. viii. 5; xcvii. 7), applied to them, are also given to men (see Luke iii. 38; Ps. lxxxii. 6, and cp. our Lord's application of this last passage in John x. 34–37), points in the same way to a difference only of degree, and an identity of kind, between the human and the angelic nature.

The Angels are therefore revealed to us as beings, such as man might be and will be when the power of sin and death is removed, partaking in their measure of the attributes of God, Truth, Purity, and Love, because always beholding His face (Matt. xviii. 10), and therefore being "made like Him" (1 John iii. 2). This, of course, implies finiteness, and therefore (in the strict sense) "imperfection" of nature and constant progress, both moral and intellectual, through all eternity. Such imperfection, contrasted with the infinity of God, is expressly ascribed to them in Job iv. 18; Matt xxiv. 36; 1 Pet. i. 12: and it is this which emphatically points them out to us as creatures, fellow-servants of man, and therefore incapable of usurping the place of gods.

This finiteness of nature implies capacity of temptation (see Butler's *Anal.* Part i. c. 5); and accordingly we hear of "fallen angels." Of the nature of their temptation and the circumstances of their fall, we know absolutely nothing. All that is certain is, that they "left their first estate" (*τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀρχήν*): and that they are now "angels of the devil" (Matt. xxv. 41; Rev. xii. 7, 9), partaking therefore of the falsehood, uncleanness, and hatred, which are his peculiar characteristics (John viii. 44). All that can be conjectured must be based on the analogy of man's own temptation and fall.

On the other hand, the title especially assigned to the Angels of God, that of the "holy ones" (see *e.g.* Dan. iv. 13, 23, viii. 13; Matt. xxv. 31), is precisely that which is given to those men who are renewed in Christ's image, but which belongs to them in actuality and in perfection only hereafter (cp. Heb. ii. 10, v. 9, xii. 23). Its use evidently implies that the angelic probation is over, and their crown of glory won.

Thus much then is revealed of the angelic nature, as may make it to us an ideal of human goodness (Matt. vi. 10), or a beacon of warning as to the tendency of sin. It is obvious to remark that in such revelation is found a partial satisfaction of that craving for the knowledge of creatures, higher than ourselves and yet fellow-servants with us of God, which in its diseased form becomes Polytheism.[b] Its full satisfaction is to be sought in the Incarnation alone; and it is to be noticed, that after the Revelation of God in the flesh, the angelic ministrations recorded are indeed fewer, but the references to the Angels are far more frequent—as though the danger of Polytheistic idolatry had, comparatively speaking, passed away.

III. The most important subject, and that on which we have the fullest revelation, is the office of the Angels.

Of their office in heaven, we have, of course, only vague prophetic glimpses (as in 1 K. xxii. 19; Is. vi. 1–3; Dan. vii. 9, 10; Rev. vi. 11, &c.), which show us nothing but a never-ceasing adoration, proceeding from the vision of God, through the "perfect love which casteth out fear."

Their office towards man is far more fully described to us. They are represented as being, in the widest sense, agents of God's Providence, natural and supernatural, to the body and to the soul. Thus the operations of nature are spoken of, as under angelic guidance fulfilling

[a] Gen. vi. 2 is omitted here and below, as being a controverted passage; although many MSS. of the LXX. have οἱ ἄγγελοι instead of οἱ υἱοὶ here.

[b] The inordinate subjectivity of German philosophy on this subject (see, *e.g.*, Winer's *Realw.*), of course, hastens to the conclusion that the belief in Angels is a mere consequence of this craving, never (it would seem) so entering into the analogy of God's Providence as to suppose it possible that this inward craving should correspond to some outward reality.

the Will of God. Not only is this the case in poetical passages, such as Ps. civ. 4 (commented upon in Heb. i. 7), where the powers of air and fire are referred to them, but in the simplest prose history, as where the pestilences which slew the firstborn (Ex. xii. 23; Heb. xi. 28), the disobedient people in the wilderness (1 Cor. x. 10), the Israelites in the days of David (2 Sam. xxiv. 16; 1 Ch. xxi. 16), and the army of Sennacherib (2 K. xix. 35), as also the plague which cut off Herod (Acts xii. 23), are plainly spoken of as the work of the "Angel of the Lord." Nor can the mysterious declarations of the Apocalypse, by far the most numerous of all, be resolved by honest interpretation into mere poetical imagery (see especially Rev. viii. and ix.). It is evident that angelic agency, like that of man, does not exclude the action of secondary, or (what are called) "natural" causes, or interfere with the directness and universality of the Providence of God. The personifications of poetry and legends of mythology are obscure witnesses of its truth, which, however, can rest only on the revelations of Scripture itself.

More particularly, however, Angels are spoken of as ministers of what is commonly called the "supernatural," or perhaps, more correctly, the "spiritual" Providence of God; as agents in the great scheme of the spiritual redemption and sanctification of man, of which the Bible is the record. The representations of them are different in different Books of Scripture, in the Old Testament and in the New; but the reasons of the differences are to be found in the differences of scope attributable to the Books themselves. As different parts of God's Providence are brought out, so also arise different views of His angelic ministers.

In the Book of Job, which deals with "Natural Religion," they are spoken of but vaguely, as surrounding God's throne above, and rejoicing in the completion of His creative work (Job i. 6; ii. 1; xxxviii. 7). No direct and visible appearance to man is even hinted at.

In the Book of Genesis, there is no notice of angelic appearance till after the call of Abraham. Then, as the Book is the history of the *chosen family*, so the Angels mingle with and watch over its family life, entertained by Abraham and by Lot (Gen. xviii., xix.), guiding Abraham's servant to Padan-aram (xxiv. 7, 40), seen by the fugitive Jacob at Bethel (xxviii. 12), and welcoming his return at Mahanaïm (xxxii. 1). Their ministry hallows domestic life, in its trials and its blessings alike, and is closer, more familiar, and less awful than in after-times (contrast Gen. xviii. with Judg. vi. 21, 22; xiii. 16, 22).

In the subsequent history, that of a *chosen nation*, the Angels are represented more as ministers of wrath and mercy, messengers of a King, rather than common children of the One Father. It is, moreover, to be observed, that the records of their appearance belong especially to two periods, that of the Judges and that of the Captivity, which were transition periods in Israelitish history, the former one destitute of direct revelation or prophetic guidance, the latter one of special trial and unusual contact with heathenism. During the lives of Moses and Joshua there is no record of the appearance of created Angels, and only obscure reference to Angels at all. In the Book of Judges Angels appear at once to rebuke idolatry (ii. 1–4), to call Gideon (vi. 11, &c.), and consecrate Samson (xiii. 3, &c.) to the work of deliverance.

The prophetic office begins with Samuel, and immediately angelic guidance is withheld, except when needed by the prophets themselves (1 K. xix. 5; 2 K. vi. 17). During the prophetic and kingly period, Angels are spoken of only (as noticed above) as ministers of God in the operations of nature. But in the Captivity, when the Jews were in the presence of foreign nations, each claiming its tutelary deity, then to the Prophets Daniel and Zechariah, Angels are revealed in a fresh light, as watching, not only over Jerusalem, but also over heathen kingdoms, under the Providence, and to work out the designs, of the Lord (see Zech. *passim*, and Dan. iv. 13, 23; x. 10, 13, 20, 21, &c.). In the whole period, they, as truly as the Prophets and kings themselves, are seen as God's ministers, watching over the *national life* of the subjects of the Great King.

The Incarnation marks a new epoch of angelic ministration. "*The* Angel of Jehovah," the Lord of all created Angels, having now descended from heaven to earth, it was natural that His servants should continue to do Him service there. Whether to predict and glorify His birth itself (Matt. i. 20; Luke i. ii.), to minister to Him after His temptation and agony (Matt. iv. 11; Luke xxii. 43), or to declare His Resurrection and triumphant Ascension (Matt. xxviii. 2; John xx. 12; Acts i. 10, 11)—they seem now to be indeed "ascending and descending on the Son of Man," almost as though transferring to earth the ministrations of heaven. It is clearly seen, that whatever was done by them for men in earlier days, was but typical of and flowing from their service to Him (see Ps. xci. 11; cp. Matt. iv. 6).

The New Testament is the history of the *Church of Christ*, every member of which is united to Him. Accordingly, the Angels are revealed now, as "ministering spirits" to each *individual* member of Christ for his spiritual guidance and aid (Heb. i. 14). The records of their visible appearance are but[b] infrequent (Acts v. 19; viii. 26; x. 3; xii. 7; xxvii. 23); but their presence and their aid are referred to familiarly, almost as things of course, ever after the Incarnation. They are spoken of as watching over Christ's little ones[c] (Matt. xviii. 10), as rejoicing over a penitent sinner (Luke xv. 10), as present in the worship of Christians (1 Cor. xi. 10)[d] and (perhaps) bringing their prayers before God (Rev. viii. 3, 4), and as bearing the souls of the redeemed into Paradise (Luke xvi. 22). In one word they are Christ's ministers of grace now, as they shall be of judgment hereafter (Matt. xiii. 39, 41, 49; xvi. 27; xxiv. 31, &c.). By what method they act we cannot know of ourselves, nor are we told, perhaps lest

[c] The notion of special guardian Angels, watching over individuals, is consistent with this passage, but not necessarily deduced from it. The belief of it among the early Christians is shown by Acts xii. 15.

[d] The difficulty of the passage has led to its being questioned, but the wording of the original and the usage of the N. T. seem almost decisive on the point. See *Speaker's Comm.* in loco.

we should worship them, instead of Him, Whose servants they are (see Col. ii. 18; Rev. xxii. 9); but of course their agency, like that of human ministers, depends for its efficacy on the aid of the Holy Spirit.

Such is the action of God's Angels on earth, as disclosed to us in the various stages of Revelation; that of the evil angels may be better spoken of elsewhere [SATAN]: here it is enough to say that it is the direct opposite of their true original office, but permitted under God's overruling Providence to go on until the judgment day.

That there are degrees of the angelic nature, fallen and unfallen, and special titles and agencies belonging to each, is clearly declared by St. Paul (Eph. i. 21; Rom. viii. 38); but what their general nature is, it is needless for us to know, and therefore useless to speculate. For what little is known of this special nature see CHERUBIM, SERAPHIM, MICHAEL, GABRIEL. [A. B.]

On the subject generally consult Oehler, *Theology of the Old Testament* (index, *s. n.*); Schultz, *A. T. Theologie*[4] (index, *s. n.*); Cremer, *Bibl. theol. Wörterbuch d. N. T. Grăcitat*,[4] s. v. ἄγγελος (N. T. usage); Everling, *Die Paulinische Angelologie u. Dämonologie*; article "Angel" in *Dict. of Christian Antiqq.*, *Dict. of Christian Biography*, and in Kitto's *Cyclopedia*[3]; "Engel" in Riehm's *HWB.* (Delitzsch), Herzog, *RE.*[2] (Kübel), Hamburger, *RE.*, Weber, *System der altsynagogalen Palästinischen Theologie* (index, *s. n.* The last two writers give also the Rabbinic opinions); Wetzer u. Welte's *Kirch. Lex.* (which gives the R. C. teaching); Martensen, *Christian Dogmatics*, §§ 68–71 (Clark's For. Theol. Lib.); and the Excursus on *Angelology* in the *Speaker's Commentary* on Tobit, p. 171, &c. (which brings together the development of this subject in the O. T., the Apocrypha, pseud-epigraphic writings, later Jewish writings, and Assyrian documents). Consult also the list of works in *D. B.*, Amer. edit. [F.]

ANGLING. [FISHING.]

ANI'AM (אֲנִיעָם, Ges. = *lamentation of the people*; A. Ἀνιάμ, B. Αλιαλείμ; *Aniam*), name of a Manassite, and son of Shemidah (1 Ch. vii. 19). [F.]

A'NIM (עֲנִים, perhaps *springs* or *fountains* = עֲיָנִים[a]; A. Ἀνειμ, B. Αἰσάμ; *Anim*), a city in the mountains of Judah, named with Eshtemoh (*es-Semû'a*) and Goshen (Josh. xv. 50). Eusebius and Jerome (*OS.*[2] pp. 129. 18, 240. 19, Ἀνείμ, *Anim*) mention a place of this name in Daroma, nine miles south of Hebron (cp. also *Anea*, s. v. *Anab*). It is now possibly *Ghuwein*, about eleven miles south of Hebron and not far from *es-Semû'a* (Knobel; *P. F. Mem.* iii. 403; Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, i. 354). [G.] [W.]

ANISE [3 syll.] (ἄνηθον; *anethum*). This word occurs only in Matt. xxiii. 23, "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye pay tithe of mint and anise and cummin." Ἄνηθον should probably be translated "dill" (*Anethum graveolens*); so R. V. margin—a common garden herb of the order *Umbelliferae*, which is found both wild and cultivated in Palestine. Another claimant is the Anise (*Pimpinella anisum*), belonging to the same order, and also found in the country wild, though not so generally cultivated. They are inconspicuous plants, resembling the caraway, and are much alike in external character; the seeds of both, moreover, are and have been long employed in medicine and cookery, as condiments and carminatives. Celsius (*Hierob.* i. 494 *sq.*) quotes several passages from ancient writers to show that the dill was commonly so used. Pliny uses the term *anisum* to express the *Pimpinella anisum*, and *anethum* to represent the common *dill*; he enumerates as many as sixty-one diseases that the *anisum* is able to

Pimpinella anisum.

cure, and says that on this account it is sometimes called *aniectum*.[b] The best anise, he adds, comes from Crete; and next to it that of Egypt is preferred (Plin. *H. N.* xx. 17). Forskâl (*Descript. Plant.* 154) includes the anise (*Janisun*, Arabic[c]) in the Materia Medica of Egypt. Dr. Royle is decidedly in favour of the dill[d] being the proper translation, and says that the *anethum*[e] is more especially a genus of Eastern cultivation than the other plant. The strongest argument in favour of the dill is the fact that the Talmud (Tract *Massroth*, c. iv.

[a] Though this would normally be עֵינוֹת.

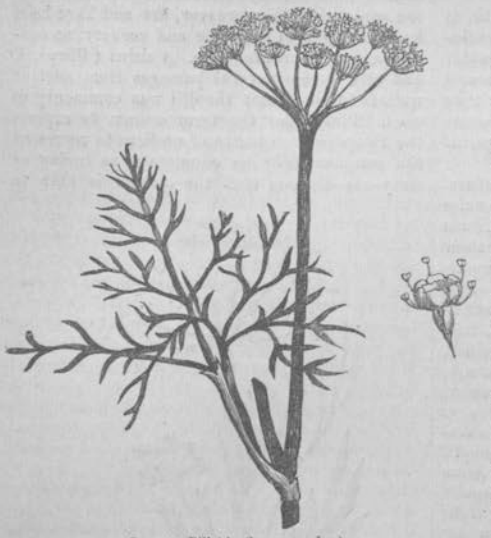
[b] From ἀ, *not*, and νικάω, *to conquer*. It should be noted that Dioscorides uses ἀνίκητον, for *dill*, and not *anise*.

[c] يَانِيسون, *anisum*, v. Gol. *Arab. Lex.* s. v.

[d] *Dill*, so called from the old Norse word, the nurse's lullaby, *to dill* = *to soothe*. Hence the name of the carminative plant, *the dilling* or *soothing herb* (see Wedgw. *Dict. Engl. Etymol.*).

[e] ἄνεθον: according to an absurd etymology, παρὰ τὸ ἄνω θεῖν, διὰ τὴν ἐν τάχει αὔξησιν (*Etym. Mag.* ed. Gaisford).

§ 5) uses the word *shâbâth* to express the dill, "The seeds, the leaves, and the stem of dill are, according to Rabbi Eliezer, subject to tithe;" and in connexion with this it should be



Common Dill (*Anethum graveolens*).

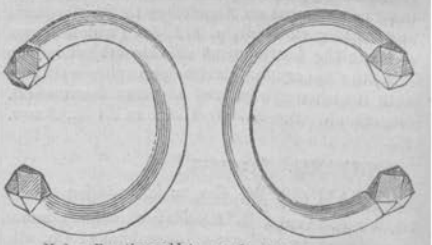
stated, that Forskâl several times alludes to the *Anethum graveolens* as growing both in a cultivated and a wild state in Egypt, and he uses the Arabic name for this plant, which is identical with the Hebrew word, viz. *Sjoebet*, or *Schibt* (*Descr. Plant.* 65, 109).

Celsius remarks upon the difference of opinion amongst the old authors who have noticed this plant, some maintaining that it has an agreeable taste and odour, others quite the opposite; the solution of the difficulty is clearly that the matter is simply one of opinion.

There is another plant very dissimilar in external character to the two named above, the leaves and capsules of which are powerfully carminative. This is the *aniseed-tree* (*Illicium anisetum*), which belongs to the natural order *Magnoliaceae*. In China this is frequently used for seasoning dishes, &c.; but the species of this genus are not natives of the Bible lands, and must not be confused with the Umbelliferous plants noticed in this article. [W. H.] [H. B. T.]

ANKLET (περισκελίδες, πέδαι περισφύριοι, Clem. Alex.). This word only occurs in Is. iii. 18, עֲכָסִים, A. V. "tinkling ornaments," R. V. "anklets" (and as a proper name, Josh. xiii. 16); unless such ornaments are included in אֲצַעֲדָה, Num. xxxi. 50, which word etymologically would mean rather an anklet than a bracelet. Indeed, the same word is used in Is. iii. 20 (without the Aleph prosthetic) for the "stepping-chains worn by Oriental women, fastened to the ankle-band of each leg, so that they were forced to walk elegantly with short steps" (Gesen. *s. v.*). They were as common as bracelets and armlets, and made of much the same materials; the pleasant jingling and tinkling which they made as they knocked against each other, was no doubt one of the reasons why they were admired (Is. iii. 16, 18, "the bravery of their tinkling ornaments"). To increase this pleasant sound pebbles were sometimes enclosed in them (Calmet, s. v. *Periscelis* and *Bells*). The Arabic name "khulkhâl" seems to be onomatopoean, and Lane (*Mod. Egypt.* App. A) quotes from a song, in allusion to the pleasure caused by their sound, "the ringing of thine anklets has deprived me of reason." Hence Mohammed forbade them in public: "Let them not make a noise with their feet, that their ornaments which they hide may [thereby] be discovered" (*Koran*, xxiv. 31, quoted by Lane). No doubt Tertullian discountenances them for similar reasons: "Nescio an crus de periscelio in nervum se patiatur arctari. . . . Pedes domi figite et plus quam in auro placebunt" (*de cult. femin.* ii. 13). Clemens Alexandrinus further objects to anklets because amatory inscriptions, &c. were sometimes engraved on them (*Paed.* ii. 11).

They were sometimes of great value. Lane speaks of them (although they are getting uncommon) as "made of solid gold or silver" (*Mod. Egypt.* l. c.); but he says that the poorer village children wear them of iron. For their use among the ancient Egyptians, see Wilkinson, ii. 339 (1878); and among the ancient Greeks and Romans, Plin. *H. N.* xxxiii. 12, *Dict. of Gk. and Rom. Ant.* art. *Periscelis*. They do not, we believe, occur in the Nineveh sculptures.



Modern Egyptian anklets—one-fourth of the real size. (Lane, *Mod. Egypt.*)

Livingstone writes of the favourite wife of an African chief, "She wore a profusion of iron rings on her ankles, to which were attached little pieces of sheet iron to enable her to make a tinkling as she walked in her mincing African style" (p. 273). On the weight and inconvenience of the copper rings worn by the chiefs themselves, and the odd walk it causes them to adopt, see *id.* p. 276.

Consult Ges. *Thesaur.* s. v. עֶכֶס: Schröder, *de Vest.* p. 127; Rosenmüller, *Das alte u. h. Morgenl.* iv. 212; id. *Scholia in Iesaiam*, iii. 16; Bynaeus, *de Calceis Hebraeorum*, i. c. viii. [F. W. F.]

AN'NA (חַנָּה, *grace*; Ἄννα; *Anna*). The name occurs in Punic as the sister of Dido. **1.** The mother of Samuel (1 K. i. 2 sq.). [HANNAH.] **2.** The wife of Tobit (Tob. i. 9 sq.). **3.** The wife of Raguel (Tob. vii. 2 sq.; עַדְנָה, Heb. and Chald. [ed. Neubauer]; Ἐδνά; Itala, *Anna*). **4.** A "prophetess" in Jerusalem at the time of our Lord's birth (Luke ii. 36). [B. F. W.]

AN'NAAS (A. Ζανάας, B. Ζαμά; *Anaas*), 1 Esd. v. 23. [SENAAH.]

AN'NAS. 1. Ἄννας or Ἅννας, shortened form of the fuller Ἅνανος employed by Josephus; Heb. חָנָן, *merciful*, same name as HANAN. He was the son of Seth, and was appointed high-priest by Quirinius (CYRENIUS), A.D. 6 (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 2, 1). He was displaced by Valerius Gratus at the beginning of the reign of Tiberius, about A.D. 15, and Ismael, son of Phabi, was appointed in his stead (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 2, 1). During this period the Romans appointed and removed the high-priests, either directly as was done by Quirinius and Gratus, or by delegation of their power to a native prince. Annas was considered "very fortunate" in that he had five sons, all[a] of whom filled the high-priestly office (Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 9, 1). They were (1) Eleazar, A.D. 16–17; (2) Jonathan, A.D. 36–37; (3) Theophilus, A.D. 37; (4) Matthias, three or four years later; and lastly, (5) Ananus, A.D. 62, who only retained office for three months. The office was also held by his son-in-law, Joseph Caiaphas, A.D. 18–36 (John xviii. 13). The notices of Annas in the New Testament by (1) St. Luke, (2) St. John, present some difficulty. (1) St. Luke (Luke iii. 2, and Acts iv. 6) gives him the title of high-priest (ἀρχιερεύς) at periods both of which fall after his removal from office; and in the earlier passage the year is dated as that of his high-priesthood in conjunction with Caiaphas, though the illogical form of expression (ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Ἅννα καὶ Καιάφα) is such as to give the notion that there were two conflicting ideas in the writer's mind; namely, one actual officiating high-priest, and two men exercising conjointly the influence of the office. (2) St. John, though not quite certainly describing Annas as high-priest (John xviii. 15, 19), yet assigns to him the first examination of Christ after His arrest (John xviii. 13. On the place and division of the examinations, see Westcott's *Commentary*, ad loc.; and for another view, Edersheim's *Life and Times of the Messiah*, Bk. V. xiii.). The part assigned by St. John to Annas is held by objectors (Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*) to be inconsistent with the historical fact of the high-priesthood of Caiaphas, and with the narratives of the Synoptists which omit Annas entirely. The difficulties arising from St. Luke (the title of high-priest) and from St. John (the part taken by Annas) will be best treated separately. (1) The title ἀρχιερεύς—only once (Lev. iv. 3) in LXX., excluding the Apocrypha—is ambiguous in Josephus. It may mean the acting high-priest, or it may mean one of that body collectively called "the chief priests" (οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς) both in Josephus and the N. T. *passim* (but see especially Mark xiv. 53, where sing. and plur. occur in the same verse). It was a large body (πολλοὺς τῶν ἀρχιερέων, Joseph. *Vit.* 38), and rank was probably taken in it by age (*B. J.* iv. 4, 3). Thus Josephus mentions together as "high-priests," or rather "chief priests," one who had filled the office (Jonathan), and was then an influential member of "the chief priests," and Ananias, the high-priest actually in office at the time (τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς Ἰωνάθην καὶ Ἀνανίαν, *B. J.* ii. 12, 6). He assigns the first place not to the actual high-priest, but to the (probably) elder man. We have here an exact parallel to "Annas and Caiaphas" (Luke iii. 2). Another probable instance occurs (Joseph. *Vit.* 38). Annas is called chief priest (ἀρχιερεύς) as *one* of the chief priests (ἀρχιερεῖς), and not simply as a past high-priest, though that alone would be sufficient explanation. The qualifications for being reckoned one of the ἀρχιερεῖς cannot be discussed here, but see Schürer, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*, pp. 420–3; id. *Gesch. d. Jüdischen Volkes*,[2] ii. pp. 166–174. (2) The part taken by Annas (John xviii.) in the trial of Christ was due to his dominant influence in the aristocratic (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 10) Jewish constitution. This influence was not given him by the advancement of his sons as described above, but was the cause of their advancement. Schürer instances three other past high-priests who continued after their removal to exercise an influence like that of Annas; namely, Jonathan, Ananias, and Ananus (see his reff. to Josephus). Hence there is no occasion with Wieseler (Herzog, *RE.*[2] *s. v.* Annas) to contend for a president of the Sanhedrin other than the high-priest, to assign this office to Annas, and to base on this his claim to the title of ἀρχιερεύς, and to the first examination of Christ.

On the booths of the sons of Annas, their situation, and their identification with the Temple Market, see Edersheim, *Life and Times of the Messiah*, Bk. III. v. On the general question, see Schürer, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*, § 23, whose view has on the whole been adopted above, and comp. art. CAIAPHAS. See for Wieseler's view art. Annas in Herzog, *RE.*[2] [E. R. B.]

2. B. Ἀννάν, A. Ἀννάς; *Nuas.* In the parallel lists called HARIM (1 Esd. ix. 32; cp. Ezra x. 31).

ANNU'US (B. [*v.* 47] omits, A. Ἀννουνος; *Amin* [*v.* 49], 1 Esd. viii. 48). Probably a misreading of אִתּוֹ (A.V. "with him") in Ezra viii. 19. The translator may have read אָנוּ.

[W. A. W.] [F.]

ANOINT (מָשַׁח, or סוּךְ; χρίω, ἀλείφω; *ungo*). Of the two Hebrew words the former is used chiefly, though not exclusively (*e.g.* Amos vi. 6), of religious or official anointings, whereas the latter appears to be confined to the ordinary anointing of the body. The LXX. use χρίω and ἀλείφω as the rendering of both Hebrew words, though they more frequently render מָשַׁח by χρίω and סוּךְ by ἀλείφω. In the N. T. χρίω and its derivatives (χρίσμα, χριστὸς) are used exclusively in a metaphorical or spiritual sense, ἀλείφω being reserved for material unction. Once (Mark xiv. 8) μυρίζω is used. In Ps. xxiii. 5, "Thou anointest my head with oil," the Hebrew is דִּשַּׁנְתָּ, "Thou hast made fat;" LXX., ἐλίπανας; Vulg., *impinguasti*. In Ps. xcii. 10 (Heb. *v.* 11) it is בָּלָּחִי, lit. "I am drenched" (Kay: R. V. "anointed"); the word being elsewhere rendered "mingled" (Lev. ii. 4, 5; Num. vii. 13, 19).

The word "anoint" is used in Holy Scripture,

[a] The frequent changes may have been partly due to the fact that the office involved the practice of austerities which rich and aristocratic persons did not care to undertake for more than a year (see Derenbourg, *Essai sur l'Histoire et la Géographie de la Palestine*, xiii. p. 215, note).

I. Of a personal and social custom; II. Of a religious or inaugural rite; and III. In a metaphorical or spiritual sense.

I. *A personal and social custom.*— Amongst the Jews, as amongst other ancient nations, the practice of anointing the body by rubbing in oil or other unguents prevailed commonly (Deut. xxviii. 40; Ruth iii. 3; Mic. vi. 15). Such anointing appears to have been regarded, not only as contributing to health and comfort, and invigorating the body (comp. the use of oil in the gymnasium by the Greeks, Thucyd. i. 6; and the names ὁ ἀλείπτης, the trainer, *oi* ἀλειφόμενοι, the gymnasts), but as conducing to personal comeliness: "to make the face to shine with oil" (Ps. civ. 15. Cp. Prov. xxvii. 9).

1. *Festal.*—Hence the practice came to have a *festal* character, and to take its place among the rites of hospitality. With the Egyptians, though "it is probable that like the Greeks they anointed themselves before they left home, yet still it was customary for a servant to attend every guest, as he seated himself, and to anoint his head; and this was one of the principal tokens of welcome" (Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, i. 77, 78 [1878], who adds that the ointment was "sweet-scented," and "was contained sometimes in an alabaster, sometimes in an elegant porcelain vase"). In like manner with the Jews, anointing the head with oil or ointment was a mark of respect and welcome paid by a host to his guests (Ps. xxiii. 5; Matt. xxvi. 7; John xi. 2, xii. 3). The designed omission of this customary attention by the Pharisee, whose guest He was, is noticed by our Lord (Luke vii. 46). From this festal and luxurious usage, to be anointed with oil came to signify metaphorically to be in the enjoyment of success or prosperity (Ps. xcii. 10 [Heb. *v.* 11]. Cp. Eccles. ix. 8; Wisd. ii. 7). On the other hand, the festal character of anointing is shown by the discontinuance of it being looked upon as a sign of mourning (2 Sam. xii. 20, xiv. 2; Dan. x. 3; Matt. vi. 17).

2. *Funereal.*—The use of anointing as a mark of honour and respect, together with the desire to preserve the body from corruption, led to the practice of anointing a corpse with ointment, as well as to strewing with spices the folds of linen in which the limbs were wound. Both these processes are spoken of as "anointing" in connexion with the burial of our Lord. When the woman poured the precious ointment upon His head, He said, "In that she poured this ointment upon My body, she did it to prepare Me for burial" (Matt. xxvi. 12, R.V.). Of the holy women who came to the sepulchre we read that they "prepared spices and ointments" (Luke xxiii. 56), and that they "bought spices that they might come and anoint Him" (Mark xvi. 1).

3. *Medicinal.*—The beneficial effect of anointing with oil or ointment was not restricted to the body in health. Oil was universally believed to have curative properties in disease or sickness [Oil]. And the Jews did not differ from other nations in this particular. Thus Isaiah speaks of wounds and sores which have not been "mollified with oil" (i. 6), and the Good Samaritan pours "oil and wine" (the approved remedies of both Greek and Roman physicians) into the wounds of him who had fallen among robbers (Luke x. 34). There was consequently a certain appropriateness, though we cannot suppose that there was any virtue, inasmuch as the cure was entirely supernatural, in the symbol chosen by our Lord and His Apostles, when they anointed the blind with clay (John ix. 6, 11), or the sick with oil (Mark vi. 13), and by St. James in his well-known direction to the elders of the Church (v. 14).

4. *Anointing the shield.*— Before going into battle it was customary to rub oil or grease into the leather or hide which was stretched over the framework of the shield, in order to make it supple, and that the strokes which fell upon it might the more readily glide off. If the shield were of metal, it was anointed to cleanse and furbish it. Cp. Virg. *Aen.* vii. 626, 627:

> "Pars leves clypeos et spicula lucida tergunt
> Arvinâ pingui."

To this custom Isaiah refers, in describing the sudden call to arms, in the midst of feasting, when Babylon was taken: "Rise up, ye princes, anoint the shield" (xxi. 5; LXX. ἑτοιμάσατε θυρεούς; Vulg., *arripite clypeum*). Another allusion to it is to be found in 2 Sam. i. 21, where the words "not anointed with oil" are taken by modern commentators to refer not to Saul but to his shield, which was "cast away, not anointed with oil" [so R. V.], *i.e.* left stained and polluted with the blood of its owner (cp. *Speaker's Comm.* or Keil), no longer polished and ready to be worn, but lying neglected upon the mountains.

II. *Religious or inaugural.*—The earliest example in the Bible of consecration by anointing is when Jacob, awaking from his dream at Bethel, "took the stone that he had put for his pillows, and set it up for a pillar, and poured oil upon the top of it" (Gen. xxviii. 18. Cp. xxxv. 14). "In all ages of primitive history, such monuments are, if we may so call them, the earliest ecclesiastical edifices. In Greece there were rude stones at Delphi, still visible in the second century, anterior to any temple, and, like the rock of Bethel, anointed (Paus. vii. 22; x. 24) with oil by the pilgrims who came thither. In Northern Africa, Arnobius, after his conversion, describes the kind of fascination which had drawn him towards one of those aged stones, streaming and shining with the sacred oil which had been poured upon it" (Arnobius *adv. Gent.* i. 39. Cp. Stanley, *Jewish Church*, i. 60). At the introduction of the Mosaic economy, the Tabernacle and all its furniture were dedicated to the service of Almighty God by being anointed with an "oil of holy ointment," for the composition of which special directions were given (Exod. xxx. 22–29), and the employment of which for any secular purpose was to be visited with the penalty of death (*vv.* 31–33). No mention is made of any such anointing in the case either of the first or second Temple: but as the "anointing oil" was reckoned a part of the standing furniture of the Tabernacle (Exod. xxxix. 38), and was given perpetually in charge to the high-priest; and as moreover it was in the Tabernacle in the time of Solomon (1 K. i. 39), and was "made" by "some of the sons of the priests" (1 Ch. ix. 30) after the Captivity, it would seem probable that the ceremony was not omitted. It is, however, in the official consecration of *persons* that the act of

anointing attains its highest significance in the O. T. Anointing with oil was a rite of inauguration into each of the three typical offices of the Jewish Commonwealth. As anointed, the tenants of those offices were types of the Anointed One (מָשִׁיחַ, χριστός).

1. *Priests.*—The holy oil, which was specially compounded and used for the dedication of the Tabernacle and its furniture, was also employed in the consecration of Aaron and his sons to the priesthood (Exod. xxx. 30). At the first institution of the office, all the priests were in some sense anointed (Exod. xxviii. 41, xl. 15; Num. iii. 3), though, according to the best Hebrew authorities, the high-priest alone had the oil *poured* on his head (see Lev. iv. 3); and his sons were only anointed with the oil applied by the finger on the forehead (see Reland, *Antiq.* ii. 1, 5; Selden, *de Success. Pontif.* ii. 2; Keil, p. 56; Wordsworth on Lev. viii. 13). This distinction between the original anointing of Aaron and of his sons appears to be borne out by the narrative in Lev. viii., where the oil is said to have been poured upon the head of Aaron only (*v.* 12), whereas in the second and different action of sprinkling it upon the person and the garments (*v.* 30) his sons are included. That each succeeding high-priest was anointed to his office is undoubted (Lev. xvi. 32), but it has been questioned whether, after the first inauguration, the ceremony was repeated in the case of ordinary priests. The title "the priest that is anointed" (הַכֹּהֵן הַמָּשִׁיחַ; LXX., ὁ ἀρχιερεύς, ὁ κεχρισμένος), by which the high-priest is distinguished (Lev. iv. 3, 5, 16; vi. 22 [Heb. *v.* 15]), may belong to him either as the sole anointed priest, or (as seems more probable from its being used at a time when we know that the common priests were anointed) in consequence of the additional anointing which we have seen that he received.

2. *Kings.*—We learn from Jotham's parable that the Jews were familiar with the idea of making a king by anointing, before the establishment of their own monarchy (Judg. ix. 8, 15; cp. 1 Sam. ii. 10). Their sojourn in Egypt would have taught them, that in that country, "one of the principal ceremonies connected with the coronation was the anointing of the king, and his receiving the emblems of majesty from the gods." The sculptures represent the gods themselves as anointing the king, but it was no doubt done by the high-priest, clad in his official robe, a leopard skin, who thus conferred upon the king the title of "The anointed of the gods" (cp. "The anointed of Jehovah," 1 Sam. xxiv. 6. Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* i. 275 [1878]). The first king of Israel was anointed to his office by the express command of God (1 Sam. ix. 16; x. 1). On David, his immediate successor, the ceremony was thrice performed: first, privately by Samuel, before the death of Saul, by way of conferring on him a right to the throne (1 Sam. xvi. 1, 13); again, as king over Judah at Hebron (2 Sam. ii. 4); and finally, as king over the whole nation (2 Sam. v. 3). Whether anointing was practised on the accession of each new king has been doubted. Besides Saul and David, Solomon, Jehu, and Joash (1 K. i. 39; 2 K. ix. 6, xi. 12) are distinctly said to have been anointed. But in these cases it is contended that disputed title to the throne, or change of dynasty, may account for the fact (Jahn, *Archaeol. Bibl.* 223). Even, however, if we admit, in accordance with Jewish tradition, that after the separation into two kingdoms the kings of Israel were not ordinarily anointed, for lack of the sacred oil which was kept in the Temple at Jerusalem, it seems much more probable that the custom still obtained with the kings of Judah. The designation of the king as "The Lord's anointed," which began with the institution of the monarchy (1 Sam. xii. 3, 5, xvi. 6, xxiv. 6, 10; 2 Sam. i. 14, xix. 21), was maintained, as it scarcely would have been if the practice of anointing had been discontinued, even to the time of the Babylonian Captivity (Ps. lxxxix. 38, 51; Lam. iv. 20). Besides Jewish kings, Hazael was to be anointed king over Syria (1 K. xix. 15), *i.e.* not necessarily by performance of the outward rite, but by the declared will of Jehovah (2 K. viii. 13). Similarly, Cyrus is called the Lord's "anointed," as having been raised by God to the throne for the special purpose of delivering the Jews out of Captivity (Is. xlv. 1).

3. *Prophets.*—To the remaining typical order among the Jews, that of Prophets, admission by anointing is not so clearly defined. Only one instance, that of Elisha, occurs in which it is distinctly spoken of (1 K. xix. 16); and even there the expression may perhaps be used metaphorically. Casting his mantle upon him (*v.* 19) is the only action which Elijah is stated to have performed, in appointing Elisha to be his successor. Elsewhere the phrase, "Mine anointed," is found in the parallelism of Hebrew poetry, as the equivalent of "My Prophets" (Ps. cv. 15; 1 Ch. xvi. 22. Cp. Gen. xx. 7).

III. *Metaphorical or spiritual sense.*—A fit emblem in itself of spiritual influences, both by its invigorating and exhilarating effects, and by its gentle and penetrating action, anointing with oil became intimately associated with such influences, through its constant and divinely appointed use, as the symbol of consecration and equipment for the service of God. Thus the N. T. writers found the term ready to their hand when they came to speak of the bestowal of the Holy Spirit, either (1) upon Christ, or (2) upon Christians.

1. As regards our Lord Himself, He was both foretold (Dan. ix. 25, 26) and recognised (John i. 41) as the Messiah, or Christ, or Anointed. In many cases the O. T. prophecy which so describes Him is quoted and applied to Him by the writers of the N. T. (cp. Ps. ii. 2 with Acts iv. 26, 27; Ps. xlv. 7 [Heb. *v.* 8] with Heb. i. 9; Is. lxi. 1 with Luke iv. 18). The historical fact that the Holy Ghost came upon Him is asserted (Matt. iii. 16. Cp. John iii. 34), and is interpreted to mean that God "anointed" Him "with the Holy Ghost and with power" (Acts

* Another point of contact with the Jewish ordinance which Wilkinson points out is, that "as the Jewish lawgiver mentions the ceremony of pouring oil upon the head of the high-priest, *after* he had put on his entire dress, with the mitre and crown (Exod. xxix. 6, 7), so the Egyptians represent the anointing of their priests and kings *after* they were attired in their full robes, with the cap and crown upon their head" (cp. 2 Kings ix. 3).

x. 38). To prove that Jesus is Christ was a chief aim of the first preachers of Christianity when they dealt with Jews (Acts ix. 22; xvii. 2, 3; xviii. 5, 28). By His official name of Christ or Anointed our Lord claimed for and gathered up into Himself, as their rightful owner and true exponent, all those typical offices of the earlier dispensation to which their occupants had been admitted by the ceremony of anointing.

2. To Christians the same spiritual anointing descends from and is imparted by Him, the Head. The Psalmist already anticipates the truth, when he likens the spirit of unity among brethren to "the precious oil upon the head, that ran down upon the beard, even Aaron's beard; that came down upon the skirt of his garments" (Ps. cxxxiii. 2, R. V.). The followers of Christ are said to be "anointed" by God (2 Cor. i. 21), and to "have an unction," or "anointing," "from the Holy One" (χρίσμα, 1 John ii. 20, 27). With a reference to the medicinal properties of oil or ointment, those who lack spiritual perception are exhorted to "anoint their eyes with eye-salve" (κολλούριον ἐγχρῖσαι τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, Rev. iii. 18). The actual use of anointing with oil as a material symbol of spiritual gifts, by the Christian Church at Baptism, or confirmation, or in "extreme unction," does not fall within the scope of this article. The reader is referred to the several articles in the *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.* and to Bingham's *Origines Ecclesiast.* [T. T. P.]

A'NOS (Ἄνως; *Jonas*). One of the sons of Maani, who had taken "strange wives," and put them away (1 Esd. ix. 34). [VANIAH.] [F.]

ANT (נְמָלָה, *nemâlâh*; μύρμηξ; *formica*[a]). The ant is twice mentioned in the Book of Proverbs. In one passage it is held forth as a pattern of industry, in the other as a model of wisdom. As a pattern of industry, "Go to the ant, thou sluggard; consider her ways, and be wise: which having no guide, overseer, or ruler, provideth her meat in the summer, and gathereth her food in the harvest" (Prov. vi. 6–8). As a model of wisdom: "There be four things which are little upon the earth, but they are exceeding wise: the ants are a people not strong, yet they prepare their meat in the summer" (xxx. 24, 25). The natural interpretation of both these passages is that the ant proves her industry and wisdom by storing up in summer a supply for winter use. It is well known that not only the Jews, but the ancient Greeks and Romans, were acquainted with the habit of certain ants of storing up food, which it collected in the summer, for the winter's consumption.

The earliest classical writers speak of the storing habits of the ants. Thus Hesiod (*Days*, l. 14) writes, ὅτε τ' ἴδρις σῶρον ἀμᾶται, "when the provident collects its heap." Horace alludes to its foresight (*Sat.* i. 1, 33–35).[b] So Aesop, in his familiar fable of the Ant and the Grasshopper. Plautus (*Trin.* ii. 4) speaks of money vanishing in a twinkling, like poppy-seeds thrown to the ants. Virgil, in a familiar passage (*Aen.* iv. 402–407), compares the Trojans hurrying their departure to the busy trains of harvesting ants. In fact, "As provident as an ant" was as familiar a proverb as with us "As busy as a bee." Aelian, a writer on natural history in the time of Hadrian, gives a very full and detailed account of the habits of the ant (*de Nat. Anim.* ii. 25, and vi. 43), describing, among other particulars, two very curious examples of provident instinct, which have been verified by recent observation, viz. the biting off the radicle of the root of the seed when it begins to germinate; and also the fact of some of the ants, when harvesting, climbing up the stalks and nibbling off the seed capsules, which fall among the workers below, who then detach the husk or chaff, before carrying off the grain and storing it in their subterranean granaries.

But to the Bible student the most interesting evidence of the observed habits of ants among ancient writers is to be found in the Mishna, compiled by Hillel, the Jewish Rabbi, about the time of our Saviour, and which is valuable as a record of a multitude of very ancient customs and observances, which, but for it, would probably have been long ago forgotten. The first section, called *Zeraim*, is occupied about seeds and crops. In the chapter "de Angulo" in the Latin Version, which treats of the *corner* of the fields bearing crops, which should be set aside for the poor, and of the rights of the gleaners, we are told that the granaries of ants (*formicarum cavernulae*) which may be found in the midst of a growing crop of corn, shall belong to the owner of the crop; but if these granaries are found after the reapers have passed, the upper part of each heap shall go to the poor, and the lower part to the owner. It is added that Rabbi Meir was of opinion that the whole should go to the poor, because whenever any doubt arose about a question of gleaning, the decision should be in favour of the gleaner. The reason for this quaint piece of legislation seems to have been this: If the stores were found among the standing corn or while the reapers were at work, the owner might undoubtedly claim them; but if they were discovered after the reapers had

[a] From נָמַל, *abscissus* (Simon. *Lex. Heb.* ed. Winer). The derivation of the word is uncertain. Gesenius (*Thes.*) is inclined to derive it from the Arabic نَمَلَ, "conscendit, pec. proreptando arborem *reptandi* vim habuisse videtur, unde obtrectandi potestas profecta est." Vid. Gol. *Arab. Lex.* s. v. V. conj. "moti inter sese permistique sicut *formicarum reptantium* more." Cf. Michaelis, *Sup. Lex. Heb.* ii. 1644, and Rosenmüll. not. ad Bochart, iii. 480. Is it not probable that the name *nemâlâh* (from נָמַל, "to cut") was given to the ant from its extreme tenuity at the junction of the thorax and abdomen? If the term *insect* is applicable to any one living creature more than to another, it certainly is to the *ant*. *Nemâlâh* is the exact equivalent to *insect*. Parkhurst—*s. v.* מָל (IV.)—gives a similar derivation. Another may be seen in Delitzsch on Prov. vi. 6. The English word *ant* appears to be an abbreviation of the form *emmet* (Sax. *aemmet*).

[b] "Parvula (nam exemplo est) magni formica laboris
Ore trahit quodcunque potest, atque addit acervo
Quem struit, haud ignara ac non incauta futuri."
Hor. *Sat.* i. 1, 33.
Cp. also Ovid, *Met.* vii. 624; Virg. *Georg.* i. 186, *Aen.* v. 402; Plin. xi. 30; Aelian, *H. A.* ii. 25, vi. 43, &c.

passed, it was presumable that the ants, who had never ceased their labours, might have collected some grains of fallen corn, which would pertain of right to the gleaners. These grains would be the last gathered, and therefore would lie on the top of the store. The regulation is not only interesting as an illustration of the microscopic habit of mind of those who "tithed mint and anise and cummin," but as proving that the harvesting ants of Syria had earned a place among these laws by amassing stores of sufficient size and so deposited as to make them worth collecting.

But why has there been any difficulty on the subject? The language of the wise man is in accordance not only with the universal belief of his time, but with the accurately ascertained facts of natural history. Much is due to the late Mr. J. T. Moggridge, who studied and elucidated the habits of the harvesting ants in his interesting volumes *Harvesting Ants and Trapdoor Spiders*, London, 1873–4. Kirby and Spence stated accurately enough that none of the *northern* European ants made any hoard or magazine of grain for winter use. All the English, French, and German naturalists have repeated the statement without question, of *all* European ants. Latreille, Huber, and others added the weight of their authority, drawn only from northern experiences; and subsequent compilers like Blanchard, and commonplace objectors to the accuracy of Holy Writ, have caught it up and generalized upon it. The result of further investigation has shown with what care the *generalizations* of even the ablest observers are to be received, and how often they dogmatize from insufficient data, while, as has often happened in other cases, the accuracy of Scripture and of ancient authorities has been in the end triumphantly vindicated. It is true that of the 104 species known to inhabit Europe, only three—*Atta barbara*, *Atta structor*, and *Pheidole megacephala*—are known to lay up stores for winter. How then, it may be asked, does it come that the ancients were familiar with the storing habits of the ant, while the moderns remained in ignorance of them? Simply because these species are commonest on the Mediterranean shores, and have not been noticed in the north of Europe. The long trains of harvesters remain conspicuous in the fields in the south for hours together, while *Atta structor* is in the habit of frequenting the neighbourhood and even the interior of towns, and is a familiar object to everyone on the Mediterranean coasts. Contrary to their habits in colder climates, the ants are not there dormant in winter, and among the tamarisk trees by the Dead Sea they may be seen in January actively engaged in collecting aphides and saccharine exudations, in long file passing and repassing up and down the branches. But it is said the ants are not graminivorous, but animal feeders. True of the great family *Formica*, with the species of which we are familiar here, but the most common species of the Holy Land, *Atta barbara* and *Atta structor*, are strictly seed-feeders, and in summer lay up large stores of grain for winter use. Even recently M. G. de St. Pierre (*Ants and Spiders*, p. 29) mentions the depredations made among the corn crops at Hyères by these ants. Col. Sykes (*Trans. Ent. Soc. Lond.* ii. 103) records the harvesting habits of an Indian species, *Atta providens*, and gives a detailed account of his observations, being, as he states, the more careful in his notes, from the denial of this habit by European naturalists. Dr. Jerdon, too, describes (*Madras Jour. Lit. and Sci.* 1851) similar storing habits in *Atta rufa* and *Oecodoma diffusa*. Mr. C. Horne (*Science Gossip*, 1872, p. 109) gives similar details of another Indian species, and Dr. Buchanan White corroborates Mr. Moggridge's account of the Italian ants (*Trans. Ent. Soc. Lond.* 1872, p. 5). The writer has been repeatedly an eye-witness of this habit in Syria.

Beyond the providence of the ant, modern research has proved its wisdom and instinct to be far in advance of that of any other known insect, not even excepting the bee. Its skill in architecture is wonderful and varied. Some species build their labyrinths of pellets of kneaded clay, arched and fitted like the most skilful masonry; others employ rafters and beams for their roofs, others cut leaves into neat circular tiles and thatch their roofs with this shingling (Bates, *Amazon*, 1–3), others excavate the trunks of trees. They fortify their passages against rain and enemies, closing them every night and opening them in the morning. Like the bees and wasps, their communities are composed of males, females, and neuters, the latter being both the workers and the rulers. These receive the eggs, watch over them with unceasing care, bring the *larvae* to enjoy the sun's warmth, and in the evening carry them back to their chambers. They gather food for them, and supply them incessantly; they tear the cases away from the cocoons when the *imago* is ready to emerge; they spread and dry the wings, which the males and females alone possess; they afterwards tend the females, feed them, wash them, and keep continual guard. They rear myriads of *aphides* or small plant parasites from the egg to supply food for the young, and keep them like cows. Some species, as the Amazon ants, organise regular marauding expeditions, attack the colonies of other ants, and carry off the *larvae* to be their slaves. In fact, had not the habits of the ants been verified by the observations of the most careful and truthful naturalists, they would have been incredible. Truly, indeed, did Agur pronounce them to be "exceeding wise."

Modern observers have recorded the extraordinary habit of the harvesting ants, of occasionally bringing their stores to the surface, and then burying them again. Many ancient writers have noticed this habit, Aelian, Plutarch, Epiphanius, and others, as well as Arabic authorities, quoted at length by Bochart (*Hieroz.* iii. 596). Whether this be to check germination, or merely to dry and preserve the seeds, is not yet ascertained. But it has been proved that the seeds do not germinate in an ant's granary; although if the place be deserted by the insects they will immediately begin to sprout. The ants have been often noticed to bite off the radicle of a sprouting seed. The observations of Mr. Moggridge led him to conclude that the ants, by this treatment, and by the exposure of the grain, actually malt it before eating it; waiting till the sprouting seed is ready to grow and has developed the saccharine matter so grateful to the tribe; not merely

keeping it till the seed has become soft and more accessible to their mandibles.

A small cricket, *Gryllus myrmecophilus*, inhabits the nests of harvesting ants, who carry it about with them in their migrations (Savi, *Bibliot. Ital.* tom. xv. p. 217).

Ants are hymenopterous insects of the family *Formicariae*, of which there are two great divisions, *Formica*, stingless, and *Myrmica*, armed with a sting. Of each sub-family there are many genera. Most of the European species belong to *Formica*. *Formica rufa* affords the formic acid, a peculiar secretion from the glands of the abdomen. *Atta* and *Pheidole*, to which genera most of the harvesting ants belong, come under the sub-family *Myrmica*.

The Arabians held the wisdom of the ant in such estimation, that they used to place one of these insects in the hands of a newly-born infant, repeating these words, "May the boy turn out clever and skilful." Hence in Arabic, with the noun *nemleh*, "an ant," is connected the adjective *nemil*, "quick," "clever" (Bochart, *Hieroz.* iii. 494). In Rajputana to this day, the Hindoos scatter ceremonially dry rice and sugar for the ants. The Talmudists, too, attributed great wisdom to this insect. It was, they say, from beholding the wonderful ways of the ant that the following expression originated: "Thy justice, O God, reaches to the heavens" (*Chulin*, 63. See a collection of Jewish sayings on the ant in *PSBA.* iii. 68, &c.). [H. B. T.]

ANTELOPE, in R. V. (Deut. xiv. 5; Is. li. 20); in A. V. "wild ox" (Deut.) and "wild bull" (Is.). [See BULL, WILD.]

ANTICHRIST (ὁ ἀντίχριστος). The word Antichrist is used by St. John in his *first* and second Epistles, and by him alone. Elsewhere it does not occur in Scripture. Nevertheless, by general consent, the term has been applied to the Man of Sin of whom St. Paul speaks in the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians, to the Little Horn and to the fierce-countenanced King of whom Daniel prophesies, and to the two Beasts of the Apocalypse, as well as to the false Christs whose appearance our Lord predicts in His prophetic discourse on the Mount of Olives. Before we can arrive at any clear and intelligent view of what Scripture teaches us on the subject of Antichrist, we must decide whether this extension of the term is properly made; whether the characteristics of the Antichrist are those alone with which St. John makes us acquainted in his Epistles, or whether it is his portrait which is drawn, darker, fuller, and larger, in some or all of the other passages to which we have referred.

(A.) The following are the passages in Scripture which ought to be carefully compared for the elucidation of our subject:—I. Matt. xxiv. 3–31. II. 1 John ii. 18–23, iv. 1–3; 2 John 5, 7. III. 2 Thess. ii. 1–12; 1 Tim. iv. 1–3; 2 Tim. iii. 1–13. IV. Dan. viii. 8–25; xi. 36–39. V. Dan. vii. 7–27. VI. Rev. xiii. 1–8; xvii. 1–18. VII. Rev. xiii. 11–18; xix. 11–21. The first of these passages contains the account of the false Christs and false prophets predicted by our Lord; the second, of the Antichrist as depicted by St. John; the third, of the Adversary of God as portrayed by St. Paul; the fourth and fifth, of the fierce-countenanced King and of the Little Horn foretold by Daniel; the sixth and seventh, of the Beast and the False Prophet of the Revelation.

I. *The False Christs and False Prophets of* Matt. xxiv.—The purpose of our Lord in His prophetic discourse on the Mount of Olives was at once to predict to His disciples the events which would take place before the capture of Jerusalem, and those which would precede the final destruction of the world, of which the fall of Jerusalem was the type and symbol. Accordingly, His teaching on the point before us amounts to this, that (1) in the latter days of Jerusalem there should be sore distress, and that in the midst of it there should arise impostors who would claim to be the promised Messiah, and would lead away many of their countrymen after them; and that (2) in the last days of the world there should be a great tribulation and persecution of the saints, and that there should arise at the same time false Christs and false prophets, with an unparalleled power of leading astray. In type, therefore, our Lord predicted the rise of the several impostors who excited the fanaticism of the Jews before their fall. In antitype He predicted the future rise of impostors in the last days, who should beguile all but the elect into the belief of their being God's prophets, or even His Christs. We find no direct reference here to the Antichrist. Our Lord is not speaking of any one individual (or polity), but rather of those forerunners of the Antichrist who are his servants and actuated by his spirit. They are ψευδόχριστοι, and can deceive almost the elect, but they are not ὁ ἀντίχριστος; they are ψευδοπροφῆται, and can show great signs and wonders, but they are not ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης (Rev. xvi. 14). However valuable, therefore, the prophecy on Mount Olivet is, as helping us to picture to ourselves the events of the last days, it does not elucidate for us the characteristics of the Antichrist, and must not be allowed to mislead us, as though it gave information which it does not profess to give.

II. *The Antichrist of St. John's Epistles.*—The first teaching with regard to the Antichrist and to the antagonist of God (whether these are the same or different we leave as yet uncertain) was oral. "*Ye heard* that the Antichrist cometh," says St. John (1 Ep. ii. 18, R. V.); and again, "This is the spirit of the Antichrist *whereof ye have heard* that it should come" (1 Ep. iv. 3, R. V.). Similarly St. Paul, "Remember ye not, that when I was yet with you *I told you these things?*" (2 Thess. ii. 5, R. V.). We must not therefore look for a full statement of the "doctrine of the Antichrist" in the Apostolic Epistles, but rather for allusions to something already known. The whole of the teaching of St. John's Epistle with regard to the Antichrist himself seems to be confined to the words "Ye heard," or "Ye have heard that the Antichrist cometh." The verb ἔρχεται here employed has a special reference, as used in Scripture, to the first and second Advents of our Lord. Those whom St. John was addressing had been taught that, as Christ was to come (ἔρχεται), so the Antichrist was to come likewise. The rest of the passage in St. John appears to be rather a practical application of the doctrine of the Antichrist than a formal statement of it. He warns his

readers that the spirit of the Antichrist could exist even then, though the coming of the Antichrist himself was future, and that all who denied the Messiahship and Sonship of Jesus were Antichrists, as being types of the final Antichrist who was to come. The teaching of St. John's Epistles therefore amounts to this, that *in type*, Cerinthus, Basilides, Simon Magus, and those Gnostics who denied Christ's Sonship, and all subsequent heretics who should deny it, were Antichrists, as being wanting in that divine principle of love which he has declared to be the essence of Christianity; and he points on to the final appearance of the Antichrist that was "to come" in the last times, according as they had been orally taught, who would be the *antitype* of these his forerunners and servants.

III. *The Adversary of God of St. Paul's Epistles.*—St. Paul does not employ the term Antichrist, but there can be no hesitation in identifying the Adversary (ὁ ἀντικείμενος, 2 Thess. ii. 4) of God with the Antichrist who was "to come." Like St. John, he refers to his oral teaching on the subject; but as the Thessalonians appeared to have forgotten it and to have been misled by some passages in his previous Epistle to them, he recapitulates what he had taught them. Like St. John, he tells them that the spirit of Antichrist or Antichristianism, called by him "the mystery of iniquity," was already working; but Antichrist himself he characterizes as "the Man of Sin," "the Son of Perdition," "the Adversary to all that is called God," "the one who lifts himself above all objects of worship;" and assures them that he should not be revealed in person until some present obstacle to his appearance should have been taken away, and until there should have occurred an ἀποστασία.

From St. John and St. Paul together we learn (1) that the Antichrist should come: (2) that he should not come until a certain obstacle to his coming was removed: (3) nor till after the occurrence of the ἀποστασία: (4) that his characteristics would be (α) open opposition to God and religion; (β) a claim to the incommunicable attributes of God; (γ) iniquity, sin, and lawlessness; (δ) a power of working lying miracles; (ε) marvellous capacity of beguiling souls: (5) that he would be actuated by Satan: (6) that his spirit was already at work manifesting itself partially, incompletely, and typically, in the teachers of infidelity and immorality already abounding in the Church.

IV. *The fierce-countenanced King of Daniel.*—This passage is universally acknowledged to be primarily applicable to Antiochus Epiphanes. Antiochus Epiphanes is recognised as the chief prototype of the Antichrist. The prophecy may therefore be regarded as descriptive of the Antichrist. The point is fairly argued by St. Jerome:—"Down to this point (Dan. xi. 21) the historical order is preserved, and there is no difference between Porphyry and our own interpreters. But all that follows down to the end of the book he applies personally to Antiochus Epiphanes, brother of Seleucus, and son of Antiochus the Great; for, after Seleucus, he reigned eleven years in Syria, and possessed Judaea; and in his reign there occurred the persecution about the Law of God, and the wars of the Maccabees. But our people consider all these things to be spoken of Antichrist, who is to come in the last time. . . . It is the custom of Holy Scripture to anticipate in types the reality of things to come. For in the same way our Lord and Saviour is spoken of in the 72nd Psalm, which is entitled a Psalm of Solomon, and yet all that is there said cannot be applied to Solomon. But in part, and as in a shadow and image of the truth, these things are foretold of Solomon, to be more perfectly fulfilled in our Lord and Saviour. As, then, in Solomon and other saints the Saviour has types of His coming, so Antichrist is rightly believed to have for his type that wicked king Antiochus, who persecuted the saints and defiled the Temple" (S. Hieron. *Op.* tom. i. p. 523, Col. Agr. 1616; tom. iii. p. 1127, Paris, 1704).

V. *The Little Horn of Daniel.*—Hitherto we have been dealing with a person, not a kingdom or a polity. This is evident from St. John's words, and still more evident from the Epistle to the Thessalonians. The words used by St. Paul could not well have been more emphatic, had he studiously made use of them in order to exclude the idea of a polity. "The Man of Sin," "the Son of Perdition," "the one who opposeth himself to God," "the one who exalteth himself above (R. V. 'against') God," the one "setting himself forth as God" (R. V.), "the lawless one . . . whose coming is according to the working of Satan with all power and signs and lying wonders" (R. V.): if words have a meaning, these words designate an individual. But when we come to Daniel's prophecy of the Little Horn this is all changed. We there read of four beasts, which are explained as four kings, by which expression is meant four kingdoms or empires. These kingdoms, represented by the four beasts, are [according to the traditional opinion] the Assyrian empire, the Persian empire, the Grecian empire, and the Roman empire. The Roman empire is described as breaking up into ten kingdoms, amongst which there grows up another kingdom which gets the mastery over nearly a third of them (three out of ten). This kingdom, or polity, is the little horn of the fourth beast, before which three of the first ten horns are plucked up. If the four "kings" (vii. 17) represented by the four beasts are really empires, if the ten "kings" (vii. 24) are monarchies or nationalities, then the other "king" who rises after them is, in like manner, not an individual but a polity. It follows that the "Little Horn" of Daniel cannot be identified with the Antichrist of St. John and St. Paul. The former is a polity, the latter is an individual.

VI. *The Apocalyptic Beast of St. John.*—A further consequence follows. For the first Beast of the Apocalypse is clearly identical with the Little Horn of Daniel. The Beast whose power is absorbed into the Little Horn has ten horns (Dan. vii. 7) and rises from the sea (Dan. vii. 3): the Apocalyptic Beast has ten horns (Rev. xiii. 1) and rises from the sea (ibid.). The Little Horn has a mouth speaking great things (Dan. vii. 8, 11, 20): the Apocalyptic Beast has a mouth speaking great things (Rev. xiii. 5). The Little Horn makes war with the saints, and prevails (Dan. vii. 21): the Apocalyptic Beast makes war with the saints, and overcomes them (Rev. xiii. 7). The Little Horn speaks great

words against the Most High (Dan. vii. 25): the Apocalyptic Beast opens his mouth in blasphemy against God (Rev. xiii. 6). The Little Horn wears out the saints of the Most High (Dan. vii. 25): the woman who rides on, *i.e.* directs, the Apocalyptic Beast, is drunken with the blood of saints (Rev. xvii. 6). The persecution of the Little Horn is to last a time and times and a dividing of times, *i.e.* three and a half times or years (Dan. vii. 25): power is given to the Apocalyptic Beast for forty-two months, *i.e.* three and a half times or years (Rev. xiii. 5). These and other parallelisms cannot be accidental. Whatever was meant by Daniel's Little Horn must also be meant by St. John's Beast. Therefore St. John's First Beast is not the Antichrist. It is not an individual like the Antichrist of St. John's and St. Paul's Epistles, but a polity like the Little Horn of Daniel.

But, though not identical, it is quite evident, and it has been always recognised, that the Antichrist of the Epistles and the Beast of the Apocalypse have some relation to each other. What is this relation? and in what relation to both does the second Apocalyptic Beast, called the False Prophet, stand? To answer this question we must examine the imagery of the Apocalypse. Shortly stated, it is, so far as concerns our present purpose, as follows. The Church is represented (Rev. xii. 5) as a woman bringing forth "a son, a man-child," who is "caught up unto God and unto His throne" from the dragon that had desired to devour him. Repelled by Christ's angelic guards (*vv.* 7–10), the dragon persecutes the woman, so that she is compelled to fly from him into the wilderness, where she remains for 1260 days, or three and a half times (*vv.* 13, 14). Foiled in his attempt to destroy the woman, as he had been foiled in his attempt against Christ, the dragon sets himself to make war with "the rest of her seed," that is, the brethren of Christ, "which keep the commandments of God and hold the testimony of Jesus" (*v.* 17, R. V.). At this time the Beast arises from the sea, and Satan gives to him his power, and his seat, and great authority. The length of time during which the Beast prevails is three and a half times, the same period as that during which the sufferings and trials of the woman last. During a certain part of this three and a half times the Beast takes upon its back, as its guide and ruler, a woman named "Mystery, Babylon the great, the mother of the harlots and of the abominations of the earth," by whom, as it is explained, is figured "that great city which reigneth over the kings of the earth" (xvii. 18, R. V.) from her seven hills (xvii. 9). After a time Babylon the great falls (ch. xviii.), but the Beast on whom she had ridden still survives, joins with the kings of the earth in a final desperate conflict with Christ, and, being taken, is cast into the lake of fire (xix. 19–21).

Can we harmonize this picture with the prediction of St. Paul, always recollecting that his Man of Sin is an individual, and that the Apocalyptic Beast is a polity?

As we have here reached that which constitutes the great difficulty in mastering the conception of the Antichrist as revealed by the inspired writers, we shall now turn from the text of Scripture to the comments of annotators and essayists to see what assistance we can derive from them. We shall then resume the consideration of the scriptural passages at the point at which we now leave them. We shall classify the opinions which have been held on the Antichrist according as he is regarded as an individual, or as a polity, or as a principle. The individualists, again, must be subdivided, according as they represent him as one to come or as one already come. We have, therefore, four classes of writers on the Antichrist:—(1) those who regard him as an individual yet future; (2) those who regard him as a polity now present; (3) those who regard him as an individual already passed away; (4) those who consider that nothing is meant beyond antichristian and lawless principle, not embodied either in an individual or in a special polity.

1. The first opinion held in the Church was that the Antichrist was a real person who would appear in the world when the time of his appearance was come. The only point on which any question arose was, whether he should be a man armed with Satanic powers or Satan himself. That he would be a man armed with Satanic powers was the opinion of Justin Martyr, A.D. 108 (*Dial.* 371, 20, 21; Thirlbii, 1722); of Irenaeus, A.D. 140 (*Op.* v. 25, 437; Grabii, 1702); of Tertullian, A.D. 150 (*De Res. Carn.* c. 24; *Apol.* c. 32); of Origen, A.D. 184 (*Op.* i. 667; Delarue, 1733); of his contemporary, Hippolytus (if the treatise *De Antichristo* be his; Hamburgi, 1716); of Cyprian, A.D. 250 (*Ep.* 58; *Op.* 120, Oxon. 1682); of Victorinus, A.D. 270 (*Bibl. Patr. Magna*, iii. p. 136; Col. Agrip. 1618); of Lactantius, A.D. 300 (*Div. Inst.* vii. 17); of Cyril of Jerusalem, A.D. 315 (*Catech.* xv. 4); of Jerome, A.D. 330 (*Op.* iv. pars i. 209; Parisiis, 1693); of Chrysostom, A.D. 347 (*Comm. in 2 Thess.*); of Hilary of Poitiers, A.D. 350 (*Comm. in Matt.*); of Augustine, A.D. 354 (*De Civit. Dei*, xx. 19); of Ambrose, A.D. 380 (*Comm. in Luc.*). The authors of the Sibylline Oracles, A.D. 150, and of the Apostolical Constitutions, Celsus (see *Orig. c. Cels.* lib. vi.), Ephrem Syrus, A.D. 370, Theodoret, A.D. 430, and a few other writers seem to have regarded the Antichrist as Satan himself rather than as his minister or an emanation from him. But they may, perhaps, have meant no more than to express the identity of his character and his power with that of Satan. Each of the writers to whom we have referred gives his own judgment with respect to some particulars which may be expected in the Antichrist, whilst they all agree in representing him as a person about to come shortly before the glorious appearance of Christ, and to be destroyed by His Presence. Justin Martyr speaks of him as the man of the apostasy, and dwells chiefly on the persecutions which he would cause. Irenaeus describes him as summing up the apostasy in himself; as having his seat at Jerusalem; as identical with the Apocalyptic Beast (c. 28); as foreshadowed by the unjust judge; as being the man who "should come in his own name;" and as belonging to the tribe of Dan (c. 30). Tertullian identifies him with the Beast, and supposes him to be about to arise on the fall of the Roman Empire (*De Res. Carn.* c. 25). Origen describes him in Eastern phrase as the child of the Devil and the counterpart of Christ. Hippolytus

understands the Roman empire to be represented by the Apocalyptic Beast, and the Antichrist by the False Prophet who would restore the wounded Beast by his craft and by the wisdom of his laws. Cyprian sees him typified in Antiochus Epiphanes (*Exhort. ad Mart.* c. 11). Victorinus, with several others—misunderstanding St. Paul's expression that the mystery of iniquity was in his day working—supposes that the Antichrist will be a revivified Nero—an idea taken up and enlarged upon in modern times; Lactantius, that he will be a king of Syria, born of an evil spirit; Cyril, that he will be a magician, who by his arts will get the mastery of the Roman empire. Jerome describes him as the son of the Devil sitting in the Church as though he were the Son of God; Chrysostom, as ἀντίθεός τις sitting in the Temple of God, that is, in all the Churches, not merely in the Temple at Jerusalem; St. Augustine, as the adversary holding power for three and a half years—the Beast, perhaps, representing Satan's empire. The primitive belief may be summed up in the words of St. Jerome. In his Commentary on Daniel he writes: "Let us say that which all ecclesiastical writers have handed down, viz. that at the end of the world, when the Roman empire is to be destroyed, there will be ten kings who will divide the Roman world amongst them; and there will arise an eleventh little king, who will subdue three of the ten kings, that is, the king of Egypt, of Africa, and of Ethiopia, as we shall hereafter show. And on these having been slain, the seven other kings will also submit. 'And behold,' he says, 'in the ram were the eyes of a man.' This is that we may not suppose him to be a devil or a demon, as some have thought, but a man in whom Satan will dwell utterly and bodily. 'And a mouth speaking great things,' for he is 'the man of sin, the son of perdition, who sitteth in the Temple of God, making himself as God'" (*Op.* vol. iv. p. 511; Col. Agrip. 1616). In his Comment. on Dan. xi., and in his reply to Algasia's eleventh question, he works out the same view in greater detail. The same line of interpretation continued. Andreas of Caesarea, A.D. 550, explains him to be a king actuated by Satan, who will reunite the old Roman empire and reign at Jerusalem (*in Apoc.* c. xiii.); Arethas, A.D. 650, as a king of the Romans who will reign over the Saracens in Bagdad (*in Apoc.* c. xiii.); John Damascene, A.D. 800, repeats the primitive belief (*Orth. Fid.* l. iv. c. 26); Adso, A.D. 950, says that a Frank king will reunite the Roman empire, and that he will abdicate on Mount Olivet, and that, on the dissolution of his kingdom, the Antichrist will be revealed. The same writer supposes that he will be born in Babylon, that he will be educated at Bethsaida and Chorazin, and that he will proclaim himself the Son of God at Jerusalem (*Tract. in Antichr. apud August. Opera*, tom. ix. p. 454; Paris, 1637). Theophylact, A.D. 1070, speaks of him as a man who will carry Satan about with him. Albert the Great, Cardinal Hugo, and Alexander de Hales repeat the received tradition in the 13th century. So also Thomas Aquinas, A.D. 1260, who recurs to the tradition with regard to the birth of Antichrist at Babylon, saying that he will be instructed in the Magian philosophy, and that his doctrine and miracles will be a parody on those of the Lamb. The received opinion of the 12th century is brought before us in a striking and dramatic manner at the interview between King Richard I. and the Abbot Joachim at Messina, as the king was on his way to the Holy Land. "I thought," said the king, "that Antichrist would be born in Antioch or in Babylon, and of the tribe of Dan; and would reign in the Temple of the Lord in Jerusalem; and would walk in that land in which Christ walked; and would reign in it for three years and a half; and would dispute against Elijah and Enoch, and would kill them; and would afterwards die; and that after his death God would give sixty days of repentance, in which those might repent which should have erred from the way of truth, and have been seduced by the preaching of Antichrist and his false prophets." This seems to have been the view defended by the archbishops of Rouen and Auxerre and by the bishop of Bayonne, who were present at the interview: but it was not Joachim's opinion. He maintained the seven heads of the Beast to be Herod, Nero, Constantius, Mahomet, Melsemut, who were past; Saladin, who was then living; and Antichrist, who was shortly to come, being already born in the city of Rome, and about to be elevated to the Apostolic See (Roger de Hoveden in *Richard I.*, anno 1190).[a] In his own work on the Apocalypse Joachim speaks of the second Apocalyptic beast as being governed by "some great prelate who will be like Simon Magus, and as it were universal pontiff throughout the world, and be that very Antichrist of whom St. Paul speaks." These are very noticeable words. Gregory I. had long since (A.D. 590) declared that any man who held the power which the popes of Rome soon after his time began to arrogate to themselves as Universal Bishops of the Church, would be the precursor of Antichrist. Arnulphus, bishop of Orleans (or perhaps Gerbert), in an invective against John XV. at the Council of Rheims, A.D. 991, had declared that if the Roman pontiff was destitute of charity and puffed up with knowledge, he was Antichrist—if destitute both of charity and of knowledge, he was a lifeless stone (Mansi, tom. ix. p. 132; Ven. 1774); but Joachim is the first to suggest, not that such and such a pontiff was Antichrist, but that the Antichrist would be a *Universalis Pontifex*, and that he would occupy the Apostolic See. Still, however, we have no hint of an order or succession of men being the Antichrist. It is an actual living individual man that Joachim contemplates.

The master had said that *a* Pope would be the Antichrist; his followers began to whisper that it was *the* Pope. Amalric, professor of logic and theology at Paris at the end of the 12th century, appears to have been the first to have put forth the idea. It was taken up by three different classes: by the moralists, who were scandalized at the laxity of the Papal Court; by the Imperialists, in their temporal

[a] The Bollandists regard the story of this interview as an invention. "But this," says Bishop Stubbs, "is extremely improbable." See *Chronicle of Roger de Hoveden*, vol. iii. p. 76, ed. Master of the Rolls.

struggle with the Papacy; and, perhaps independently, by the Waldenses and their followers in their spiritual struggle. Of the first class we may find examples in the Franciscan enthusiasts Peter John of Olivi, Telesphorus, Ubertinus, and John of Paris, who saw a mystic Antichrist at Rome, and looked forward to a real Antichrist in the future; and again in such men as Grossetête, whom we find asking, as in despair, whether the name of Antichrist has not been earned by the Pope (Matt. Par. in *An.* 1253, p. 871, 1640). Of the second class we may take Eberhard, archbishop of Salzburg, as a specimen, who denounces Hildebrand as "having, in the name of religion, laid the foundation of the kingdom of Antichrist 170 years ago." He can even name the ten horns. They are the "Turks, Greeks, Egyptians, Africans, Spaniards, French, English, Germans, Sicilians, and Italians, who now occupy the provinces of Rome; and a little horn has grown up with eyes and mouth, speaking great things, which is reducing three of these kingdoms—*i.e.* Sicily, Italy, and Germany—to subserviency, is persecuting the people of Christ and the saints of God with intolerable opposition, is confounding things human and divine, and is attempting things unutterable, execrable" (Aventinus, *Annal. Boiorum*, p. 651; Lips. 1710). The Waldenses eagerly grasped at the same notion, and from that time it has never been lost sight of. Thus we slide from the individualist view, which was held unanimously in the Church for upwards of a thousand years, to the notion of a polity, or a succession of rulers of a polity, that polity being the Church of Rome. The hitherto received opinion now vanishes, and does not appear again until the excesses and extravagances of the new opinion produced a reaction against itself.

2. The Waldenses did not deny that an individual and personal Antichrist was to be expected in the future, but they recognised many Antichrists, and by the end of the 14th century they had learnt to identify Antichrist, Babylon, the Fourth Beast, the Harlot, and the Man of Sin, with the system of Popery.[b] In 1383 Wickliffe wrote his treatise On Christ and His Adversary Antichrist (*De Christo et suo adversario Antichristo*), in which he identifies the Pope with Antichrist for twelve reasons, most of which are applicable not only to the individual Pope with whom he was at strife, but to the Pope as such. They are as follows:—1. Christ is the Truth, the Pope is the principle of Falsehood; 2. Christ was poor, the Pope is rolling in wealth; 3. Christ was meek, the Pope is proud; 4. Christ forbade adding to His Law, the Pope adds cruel laws; 5. Christ commanded to go about and preach, the Pope sits in his palace; 6. Christ despised secular power, the Pope seeks it; 7. Christ submitted to Caesar, the Pope has stolen away half the Roman Empire; 8. Christ had twelve simple disciples, the Pope has more than twelve ambitious cardinals; 9. Christ forbade to strike with the sword, the Pope gets up wars; 10. Christ confined Himself to Judaea, the Pope intrudes wherever gain calls him; 11. Christ was humble, the Pope is full of pomp; 12. Christ sought not fame or gold, the Pope seeks both. Huss (*De Antichristo et membrorum ejus anatomiâ*, and *Sermones de Antichristo*) held similar language. Lord Cobham declared at his trial that the Pope was Antichrist's head. Walter Brute, brought before the Bishop's Court at Hereford at the end of the 14th century, pronounced the Antichrist to be "the high Bishop of Rome calling himself God's servant and Christ's chief vicar in this world" (Foxe, iii. p. 131; Lond. 1844). Thus we reach the Reformation. Walter Brute (A.D. 1393), Bullinger (1504), Chytraeus (1571), Aretius (1573), Foxe (1586), Napier (1593), Mede (1632), Jurieu (1685), Bp. Newton (1750), Cunninghame (1813), Faber (1814), Woodhouse (1828), Habershon (1843), identify the False Prophet, or Second Apocalyptic Beast, with Antichrist and with the Papacy; Marlorat (A.D. 1574), King James I. (1603), Daubuz (1720), Galloway (1802), the First Apocalyptic Beast; Brightman (A.D. 1600), Pareus (1615), Vitringa (1705), Gill (1776), Bachmair (1778), Fraser (1795), Croly (1828), Fysh (1837), Elliott (1844), both the Beasts. That the Pope and his system are Antichrist, was taught by Luther, Calvin, Zwingle, Melancthon, Bucer, Beza, Calixtus, Bengel, Michaelis, and by almost all Protestant writers on the Continent. Nor was there any hesitation on the part of English theologians to seize the same weapon of offence. Bp. Bale (A.D. 1491), like Luther, Bucer, and Melancthon, pronounces the Pope in Europe and Mahomet in Africa to be Antichrist. The Pope is Antichrist, say Cranmer (*Works*, vol. ii. p. 46; Camb. 1844), Latimer (*Works*, vol. i. p. 149; Camb. 1844), Ridley (*Works*, p. 53; Camb. 1841), Hooper (*Works*, vol. ii. p. 44; Camb. 1852), Hutchinson (*Works*, p. 304; Camb. 1842), Tyndale (*Works*, vol. i. p. 147; Camb. 1848), Sandys (*Works*, p. 11; Camb. 1841), Philpot (*Works*, p. 152; Camb. 1842), Jewell (*Works*, vol. i. p. 109; Camb. 1845), Rogers (*Works*, p. 182; Camb. 1854), Fulke (*Works*, vol. ii. p. 269; Camb. 1848), Bradford (*Works*, p. 435; Camb. 1848). Nor is the opinion confined to these 16th century divines, who may be supposed to have been specially incensed against Popery. King James held it (*Apol. pro Juram. Fidel.*; Lond. 1609) as strongly as Queen Elizabeth (see Jewell, *Letter to Bulling.* May 22, 1559, *Zürich Letters*, First Series, p. 33, Camb. 1842); and the theologians of the 17th century did not repudiate it, though they less and less dwelt upon it as their struggle came to be with Puritanism in place of Popery. Bp. Andrewes maintains it as a probable conclusion from the Epistle to the Thessalonians (*Resp. ad Bellarm.* p. 304; Oxon. 1851); but he carefully explains that King James, whom he

[b] "E esser mot avisa, cant venre l' Antexrist,
Que nos non crean, ni a son fait, ni a son dit:
Car, segont l' escriptura, son ara fait moti Antexrist;
Car Antexrist son tuit aquilh que contrastan a Xrist."
—*La Nobla Leyczon*, l. 456. It was long thought that this treatise was of the 12th century, owing to its containing two lines which seemed to run as follows:—
"Ben ha mil e cent an compli entierament
Que fo scripta lora, Car son al derier temp."
"A thousand and a hundred years are already quite run out
Since these words were written, 'It is the last time.'"
Mr. Bradshaw, late Librarian of the Cambridge University Library, discovered by help of a magnifying-glass that the right reading was "a thousand and four hundred years."

was defending, had expressed his private opinion, not the belief of the Church, on the subject (*ib.* p. 23). Bramhall introduces limitations and distinctions (*Works*, iii. p. 520; Oxf. 1845); significantly suggests that there are marks of Antichrist which apply to the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland as much as to the Pope or to the Turk (*ib.* iii. 287); and declines to make the Church of England responsible for what individual preachers or writers had said on the subject in moments of exasperation (*ib.* ii. 582). From this time forward the Papal-Antichrist theory is seldom found in theologians of name in the English Church, nor indeed in the 16th century does it seem to have taken root in England. Hard names were bandied about; and the hardest of all being Antichrist, it was not neglected. But the idea of the Pope being Antichrist was not the main idea of the English Reformation, nor was it ever applied to the Pope in his Patriarchal or Archiepiscopal, but solely in his distinctively Papal, character. But though the sober and learned divines of the 17th century for the most part gave up this application of the term, it was insisted upon by a string of writers who added nothing to the interpretation of prophecy, but found each the creation of his own brain in the sacred Book of the Revelation, grouping history in any arbitrary manner that they chose around the central figure of the Papal Antichrist.

3. A reaction followed. Some returned to the ancient idea of a future individual Antichrist, as Ribera (A.D. 1592), Lacunza or Benezra (A.D. 1810), De Burgh, Samuel Maitland, Newman (*Tracts for the Times*, No. 83), and Charles Maitland (*Prophetic Interpretation*). Others preferred looking upon him as long past, and fixed upon one or another persecutor or heresiarch as the man in whom the predictions as to Antichrist found their fulfilment. There seems to be no trace of this idea for more than 1600 years in the Church. But it has been taken up by two opposite classes of expounders, —by those who were anxious to avert the application of the Apocalyptic prophecies from the Papacy, by showing that they were fulfilled before the Papal power had come into being; and by others, who were disposed, not indeed to deny the prophetic import of the Apocalypse, but to confine the seer's ken within the closest and narrowest limits that were possible. Alcasar, a Spanish Jesuit, taking a hint from Victorinus, seems to have been the first (A.D. 1634) to have suggested that the Apocalyptic prophecies did not extend further than to the overthrow of Paganism by Constantine. This view, with variations by Grotius, is taken up and expounded by Bossuet, Calmet, De Sacy, Eichhorn, Hug, Herder, Ewald, De Wette, Bleek, Moses Stuart, Davidson, Renan, Reuss, &c. The general view of the school is that the Apocalypse describes the triumph of Christianity over Judaism in the first, and over Heathenism in the third and fourth centuries. Mariana sees Antichrist in Nero; Bossuet in Diocletian and in Julian; Grotius in Caligula; Wetstein in Titus; Hammond in Simon Magus (*Works*, vol. iii. p. 620; Lond. 1631); Whitby in the Jews (*Comm.* vol. ii. p. 431; Lond. 1760); Le Clerc in Simon, son of Giora, a leader of the rebel Jews; Schöttgen in the Pharisees; Nössett and Krause in the Jewish zealots; Hardouin in the High Priest Ananias; F. D. Maurice in Vitellius (*On the Apocalypse*, Camb. 1860), Renan and Reuss (adopting the Nero fable) in Nero.

4. The same spirit that refuses to regard Satan as an individual, naturally looks upon the Antichrist as an evil principle not embodied either in a person or in a polity. Thus Koppe, Storr, Nitzsch, and Pelt (see Alford, *Gk. Test.* iii. 69). Westcott also considers that "the term expresses the embodiment of a principle, and is not to be confined to one person" (*The Epistles of S. John*, ii. 22); "the personification of the principle shown in different Antichrists" (*ibid.* ii. 13).

We do not gain much by a review of the opinions of the commentators. In the case of prophecy, partially at least unfulfilled, little is to be expected. Of the four opinions which we have exhibited, the last is in accordance neither with St. Paul nor St. John, for St. Paul distinctly describes the Adversary as being a man; St. John speaks of the coming of Antichrist in terms similar to those used for the coming of Christ, and describes Antichristianism as τὸ τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου, thereby showing that Antichristianism is Antichristianism because it is the spirit of the concrete Antichrist. The third opinion is plainly refuted by the fact that the persons fixed upon as the Antichrist have severally passed away, but Christ's glorious Presence, which is immediately to succeed the fall of Antichrist, has not yet been vouchsafed. The majority of those who maintain the second opinion are shown to be in the wrong because they represent as a polity what St. Paul distinctly describes as a man. The majority of those who hold the first opinion are in like manner shown to be in the wrong, because they represent as an individual what the Apocalypse demonstrably pictures as a polity. We are unable to follow any one interpreter or any one school of interpreters. The opinions of the last two of the four schools we regard as erroneous: the first two appear to contain the truth between them, but so divided as to be untrue in the mouth of almost any individual expositor who has entered into details. We return to Scripture.

St. Paul says (2 Thess. ii. 3) that there are two things which are to precede the Day of Christ, the ἀποστασία and the revelation of the Adversary; he does not say that these two things are contemporary: but, on the contrary, seems to imply that there was to be a succession of events. First, it appears that an unnamed and to us unknown obstacle has to be removed: then was to follow the "Apostasy;" after this, the Adversary was to arise, and then was to come his destruction. We need hardly say that the word "apostasy," as ordinarily used, does not give the exact meaning of ἡ ἀποστασία. The A. V. has most correctly rendered the original by "falling away," having only failed of entire exactness by omitting to give the value of the article, which is supplied in the R. V.—"the falling away."[c] An open and unblushing denial and rejection of all belief, which is implied in our "apostasy," is not implied in ἀπο-

[c] For the force of the article, see Bp. Middleton *ad loc.* (*Gk. Art.* p. 382; Camb. 1833).

στασία. It means one of two things: (1) Political defection (Gen. xiv. 4; 2 Chron. xiii. 6; Acts v. 37); (2) Religious defection (Acts xxi. 21; 1 Tim. iv. 1; Heb. iii. 12). The first is the common classical use of the word. The second is more usual in the N. T. Cyril of Jerusalem seems to understand the word rightly when he says in reference to this passage: Νῦν δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ ἀποστασία· ἀπέστησαν γὰρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι τῆς ὀρθῆς πίστεως . . . ἀπέστησαν γὰρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας . . . Αὕτη τοίνυν ἐστὶν ἡ ἀποστασία· καὶ μέλλει προσδοκᾶσθαι ὁ ἔχθρος (Cyril. *Catech.* xv. 9, *Op.* p. 228; Paris, 1720). And St. Ambrose, "A verâ religione plerique lapsi errore desciscent" (*Comm. in Luc.* xx. 20). This "falling away" implies persons who fall away; the ἀποστασία consists of ἀπόστατοι. Supposing the existence of an organized religious body, some of whom should fall away from the true faith, the persons so falling away would be ἀπόστατοι, though still formally unsevered from the religious body to which they belonged; and the religious body itself, while from one side and in respect to its faithful members it would retain its character and name as a religious body, might yet from another side and in respect to its other members be designated an ἀποστασία. It is such a corrupted religious body as this that St. Paul seems to mean by the ἀποστασία which he foretells in the Epistle to the Thessalonians.[d] In the Epistles to Timothy he describes this religious defection by some of its peculiar characteristics. "In the latter times some shall depart from the faith (ἀποστήσονταί τινες τῆς πίστεως), giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils; speaking lies in hypocrisy; having their conscience seared with a hot iron; forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats" (1 Tim. iv. 1–3, A. V.). "In the last days perilous times shall come. For men shall be lovers of their own selves, . . . having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof. . . . Evil men and seducers shall wax worse and worse, deceiving and being deceived" (2 Tim. iii. 1–13, A. V.).[e] It has been usual, as we have seen, to identify the First Beast of the Apocalypse with St. Paul's Man of Sin. It is impossible, as we have said, to do so. But it is possible, and more than possible, to identify the Beast and the ἀποστασία. Can we find anything which will serve as the antitype of both? In order to be the antitype of St. John's Beast it must be a polity, arising, not immediately, but shortly, after the dissolution of the Roman Empire, gaining great influence in the world, and getting the mastery over a certain number of those nationalities which like itself grew out of that empire (Dan. vii. 24). It must last three and a half times; *i.e.* nearly twice as long as the empire of Assyria, of Persia, or Grecia, to which only two times seem to be allotted (Dan. vii. 12). It must blaspheme against God; *i.e.* it must arrogate to itself or claim for creatures the honour due to God alone.[f] It must be an object of wonder and worship to the world (Rev. xiii. 6). It must put forward unblushing claims on behalf of itself, and be full of its own perfections (Rev. xiii. 5). At a certain period in its history it must put itself under the guidance of Rome (Rev. xviii. 3), and remain ruled by her until the destruction of the latter (Rev. xviii. 2); its own existence being still prolonged until the coming of Christ in glory (Rev. xix. 20). To satisfy the requirements of St. Paul's description, its essential features must be a falling away from the true faith (2 Thess. ii. 3; 1 Tim. iv. 1), and it must be further characterized by the specific qualities already transcribed from the Epistles to Timothy.

The antitype may be found, it has been held, in the corrupted Church of Christ, in so far as it was corrupted. According to this view the same body, in so far as it maintained the faith and love, was the bride and the spouse, and, in so far as it "fell away" from God, was the ἀποστασία, just as Jerusalem of old was at once Sion the beloved city, and Sodom the bloody city—the Church of God and the Synagogue of Satan. On this theory the three and a half times of the Beast's continuance (Rev. xiii. 5), and of the Bride's suffering in the wilderness (Rev. xii. 6), would necessarily be conterminous, for the persecuted and the persecutors would be the faithful and the unfaithful members of the same body. These times would have commenced when the Church lapsed from her purity and from her first love into unfaithfulness to God, exhibited especially in idolatry and creature-worship. It is of the nature of a religious defection to grow up by degrees; we should not therefore be able to lay the finger on any special moment at which it commenced. Cyril of Jerusalem considered that it was already existing in his time. Having quoted 2 Thess. ii. 3–10, he continues: "Thus wrote Paul, and *now* is the 'falling away' (ἀποστασία), for men fell away (ἀπέστησαν) from the right faith. . . . This then is the ἀποστασία, and the Enemy has soon to be looked for; already he

[d] "It is an 'apostasy' indeed, but the same Greek word is used in Heb. iii. 12 and in 1 Tim. iv. 1, in neither of which cases will it suit the context to understand the word of an outward leaving of the Christian Church. The persons must at any rate have been Christians, or they could not be apostates. And the apostasy is all the more terrible if, while the form of the Church is kept to, there is a departure from the inward spirit. And in this case several points seem to indicate an apostasy within the Church" (Mason, *Excursus on 2 Thess.* ii. 3–12, in Ellicott's *N. T. Comm.*).

[e] The R. V. of these extracts is as follows:—

1 Tim. iv. 1, &c.	2 Tim. iii. 1, &c.
"In later times some shall fall away from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils, through the hypocrisy of men that speak lies, branded in their own conscience as with a hot iron," &c.	"In the last days grievous times shall come. For men shall be lovers of self, . . . holding a form of godliness, but having denied the power thereof. . . . Evil men and impostors," &c.

[f] The word "blasphemy" has come to bear a secondary meaning, which it does not bear in Scripture. Schleusner (*in voc.*) rightly explains it, *Dicere et facere quibus majestas Dei violatur.* The Jews accused our Lord of blasphemy because He claimed divine power and the divine attributes (Matt. ix. 2, xxvi. 64; John x. 33). There was nothing in our Lord's words which the most bitter malignity could have called blasphemous in the later sense which the word has come to bear. It is of course in the scriptural, not in the modern, sense that St. John attributes blasphemy to the Beast (see Wordsworth, *On the Apocalypse*, p. 528).

has begun to send his forerunners, that the prey may be ready for him at his coming."[g] As time went on in the centuries succeeding Cyril, the ἀποστασία manifested itself still more clearly, until at length the number of the ἀπόσταται who had fallen away surpassed the number of those who were faithful to the primitive faith. When this had occurred, St. Paul's "falling away" had come, and St. John's First Beast had emerged from the sea. On the same principle of interpretation the after acquiescence of the Church in the Hildebrandine theory of the Roman Supremacy is typified by the Beast taking the woman, Babylon, who represents the seven-hilled city, on its back as its guide and director. From the 12th to the 16th century, and partially to the present day, this Hildebrandine idea has reigned over and has been the governing spirit of the corrupted Church. The fall of Babylon, rich with its spiritual wares, is according to this view in part past, in part future. After that fall has been fully accomplished, the corrupted Church will still subsist down to the day of the coming of Christ, when the three and a half times—the period of the suffering of the faithful Church—will come to an end with and by the destruction of the apostate Church.[h]

VII. *The Apocalyptic False Prophet.*—There is a second Apocalyptic Beast: the Beast from the Earth (Rev. xiii. 11), or the False Prophet (Rev. xix. 20). Can we identify this Beast either with the individual Adversary predicted by St. Paul, or with a corrupt polity such as has been described? We were compelled to regard the First Beast as a polity by its being identical with that which clearly is a polity, the Little Horn of Daniel. There is no such necessity here, and there is no reason for regarding the Second Beast as a polity, beyond the fact of its being described under a similar figure to that by which a polity had been just previously described. This presumption is more than counterbalanced by the individualizing title of the False Prophet which he bears (Rev. xvi. 13; xix. 20). His characteristics are—(1) "doing great wonders [R. V. "signs"], so that he maketh fire to come down from heaven on the earth in the sight of men" (Rev. xiii. 13). This power of miracle-working, we should note, is not attributed by St. John to the First Beast; but it is one of the chief signs of St. Paul's Adversary, "whose coming is with all power and signs and lying wonders" (2 Thess. ii. 9). (2) "He deceiveth them that dwell on the earth by the means of those miracles which he had power to do [R. V. "by reason of the signs which it was given him to do"] in the sight of the Beast" (Rev. xiii. 14). "He wrought miracles [R. V. "the signs"] with which he deceived them that had received the mark of the Beast and them that worshipped his image" (Rev. xix. 20). In like manner, no special power of beguiling is attributed to the First Beast; but the Adversary described by St. Paul is possessed of "all deceivableness [R. V. "deceit"] of unrighteousness in them that perish [R. V. "for them that are perishing"], because they received not the love of the truth that they might be saved" (2 Thess. ii. 10). (3) He has horns like a lamb, *i.e.* he bears an outward resemblance to the Messiah (Rev. xiii. 11); and the Adversary sits in the Temple of God showing himself that he is God (2 Thess. ii. 4). (4) His title is The False Prophet, ὁ Ψευδοπροφήτης (Rev. xvi. 13; xix. 20); and our Lord, Whom Antichrist counterfeits, is emphatically ὁ Προφήτης. The Ψευδοπροφῆται of Matt. xxiv. 24 are the forerunners of ὁ Ψευδοπροφήτης, as John the Baptist of the True Prophet. On the whole, it would seem that if the Antichrist appears at all in the Book of the Revelation it is by this Second Beast or the False Prophet that he is represented. If this be so, it follows that he is an individual person who will at some future time arise, who will ally himself with the corrupted Church, represent himself as her minister and vindicator (Rev. xiii. 12), compel men by violence to pay reverence to her (xiii. 14), breathe a new life into her decaying frame by his use of the secular arm in her behalf (xiii. 15), forbidding civil rights to those who renounce her authority and reject her symbols (xiii. 17), and putting them to death by the sword (xiii. 15), while personally he is an atheistical blasphemer (1 John ii. 22), and sums up in himself the evil spirit of unbelief which has been working in the world from St. Paul's days to his (2 Thess. ii. 7). That it is possible for a professed unbeliever and atheist to make himself the champion of a corrupt system of religion, and to become on political grounds as violent a persecutor in its behalf as the most fanatical bigot could be, has been proved by events which have already occurred, and which might again occur on a more gigantic and terrible scale. The Antichrist would thus combine the forces, generally and happily antagonistic, of Infidelity and Superstition. In this would consist the special horror of the reign of the Antichrist. Hence also the special sufferings of the faithful believers until Christ Himself once again appeared to vindicate the cause of Truth and Liberty and Religion.[i]

The sum of Scripture-teaching with regard to the Antichrist, then, appears to be as follows. Already in the times of the Apostles there was the mystery of iniquity, the spirit of Antichrist, at work. It embodied itself in various shapes—in the Gnostic heretics of St. John's days, in

[g] *Catech.* xv. 9. This lecture of Cyril's contains a very clear statement of the Patristic view of the Antichrist.

[h] The only other interpretation of the First Beast and Babylon that deserves notice here is that which is maintained with considerable learning by the late Archdeacon Lee, who considers the First Beast to represent the World-power, the constant adversary of the Church, and Babylon to represent the World-city, whether that be Babylon or Rome, or any other city which concentrates in itself the power of the world at any particular period of history (*Speaker's Commentary: New Test.*, vol. iv., p. 671 sq.).

[i] Archdeacon Lee, in accordance with his system of interpretation, understands the unsanctified intellect of the world to be symbolized by the Second Beast. "The First Beast is a material political world-power; the Second Beast is a spiritual world-power—the power of learning and knowledge, of ideas, of intellectual cultivation. Both are from below, both are beasts, and therefore they are in close alliance. The worldly antichristian wisdom stands in the service of the worldly antichristian power" (*Speaker's Commentary: New Test.*, vol. iv., p. 679).

the Jewish impostors who preceded the fall of Jerusalem, in all heresiarchs and unbelievers, especially those whose heresies had a tendency to deny the Incarnation of Christ, and in the great persecutors who from time to time afflicted the Church. But this Antichristian Spirit was then, and is still, diffused. It had not, and it has not yet, gathered itself into the one person in whom it will be one day completely and fully manifested. There was something which prevented the open manifestation of the Antichrist in the Apostles' days which they spoke of by word of mouth, but were unwilling to name in letters. What this obstacle was, or is, we cannot now know for certain. The general statement of the early writers and fathers is that it was the power of secular law existing in the Roman Empire. The Roman Empire fell, and upon its fall, and in consequence of its fall, there arose a secularization and corruption of the Church, which would not have been so secularized and corrupted had it been kept in check by the jealousy of the imperial power. The secularization and corruption increasing, the Church, which from one point of view and in respect to some of its members was considered as the Church of Christ, from another point of view and in respect to others of its members came to be regarded as no better than an ἀποστασία. Time passing on, the corrupt element, getting still more the mastery, gave itself up to be directed from the city of the seven hills, indicated by the mystical Babylon. So far of the past. It would appear further that there is to be evolved from the corrupt Church an individual Antichrist, who, being himself a scoffer and contemner of all religion, will yet act as the Patron and Defender of the corrupt Church, and compel men to submit to her sway by the force of the secular arm and by means of bloody persecutions. He will unite the old foes Superstition and Unbelief in a combined attack on Liberty and Religion. He will have, finally, a power of performing lying miracles and beguiling souls, being the embodiment of Satanic as distinct from brutal wickedness. How long his power will last we are wholly ignorant, as the three and a half times do not refer to his reign (as is usually imagined), but to the continuance of the ἀποστασία. We only know that his continuance will be short. At last he will be destroyed together with the corrupt Church, in so far as it is corrupt, at the glorious appearance of Christ, which will usher in the millennial triumph of the faithful and hitherto persecuted members of the Church.

(B.) There are points which require further elucidation:—

1. *The meaning of the name Antichrist.* Mr. Greswell argues at some length that the only correct reading of the word is Counterfeit-Christ or *Pro-Christo*, and denies that the idea of Adversary to Christ is involved in the word. Mr. Greswell's authority is great; but he has been in this case too hasty in drawing his conclusion from the instances which he has cited. It is true that "ἀντὶ is not synonomous with κατά," but it is impossible to resist the evidence which any Greek Lexicon supplies, that the word ἀντί, both in composition and by itself, and still more in composition than alone, will bear the sense of "opponent to." It is probable that the word Antichrist combines both senses, like the word Antipope, which is very exact in its resemblance, but the primary notion which it conveys would seem rather to be that of antagonism than rivalry (see Greswell, *Exposition of the Parables*, vol. i. p. 372 sq.; Wordsworth, *On the Apocalypse*, p. 512). "It describes one who assuming the guise of Christ opposes Christ" (Westcott, *On the First Epistle of S. John*, ii. 12).

2. *The meaning of* τὸ κατέχον. What is that thing which withholdeth (2 Thess. ii. 6, R. V. "restraineth")? and why is it apparently described in the following verse as a person (ὁ κατέχων, A. V. "he who now letteth," R. V. "there is one that restraineth now")? There is a remarkable unanimity among the early Christian writers on this point. They explain the obstacle, known to the Thessalonians but unknown to us, to be the Roman Empire. Thus Tertullian, *De Resur. Carn.* c. 24, and *Ap. l.* c. 32; St. Chrysostom and Theophylact on 2 Thess. ii.; Hippolytus, *De Antichristo*, c. 49; St. Jerome on Dan. vii.; St. Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, xx. 19; Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.* xv. 6 (see Dr. H. More's Works, bk. ii. c. 19, p. 690; Mede, bk. iii. c. xiii. p. 656; Alford, *Gk. Test.* iii. 57; Wordsworth, *On the Apocalypse*, p. 520). Theodoret and Theodore of Mopsuestia hold it to be the determination of God. Theodoret's view is embraced by Pelt; the Patristic interpretation is accepted by Wordsworth. Ellicott and Alford so far modify the Patristic interpretation as to explain the obstacle to be the restraining power of human law (τὸ κατέχον) wielded by the Empire of Rome (ὁ κατέχων) in the time of the Apostles, but now by the several governments of the civilized world. The explanation of Theodoret is untenable on account of St. Paul's further words, "until he be taken out of the way," which are applied by him to the obstacle. There is much to be said for the Patristic interpretation in its plainest acceptation. How should the idea of the Roman Empire being the obstacle to the revelation of Antichrist have originated? There was nothing to lead the early Christian writers to such a belief. They regarded the Roman Empire as idolatrous and abominable, and would have been more disposed to consider it as the precursor of than as the obstacle to the Wicked One. Whatever the obstacle was, St. Paul says that he told the Thessalonians what it was. Those to whom he had preached knew; and every time that his Epistle was publicly read (1 Thess. v. 27), questions would have been asked by those who did not know, and thus the recollection must have been kept up. It is very difficult to see whence the tradition could have arisen except from St. Paul's own teaching. It may be asked, Why then did he not express it in writing as well as by word of mouth? St. Jerome's answer is sufficient: "If he had openly and unreservedly said, 'Antichrist will not come unless the Roman Empire be first destroyed,' the infant Church would have been exposed in consequence to persecution" (*Ad Algas.* Qu. xi. vol. iv. p. 209; Paris, 1706). Remigius gives the same reason, "He spoke obscurely for fear a Roman should perhaps read the Epistle, and raise a persecution against him and the other Christians,

for they held that they were to rule for ever in the world" (*Bib. Patr. Max.* viii. 1018; see Wordsworth, *On the Apocalypse*, p. 343). It would appear then that the obstacle was probably the Roman Empire, whose very existence served as an obstruction to the development of the ἀποστασία: and on its being taken out of the way, that is, when the Byzantine Empire could no longer exercise a dominant sway in the West, its place being taken by the novel creation of Charlemagne, which, owing to the vice of its origin, had not the restraining and withholding force of the old Empire, there did occur the "falling away;" Zion the beloved city became Sodom the bloody city—still Zion though Sodom, still Sodom though Zion. According to the view given above, this would be the description of the Church in her present estate, and this will continue to be her estate until the time, times, and half time, during which the evil element is allowed to remain within her, shall have come to their end.[k]

3. *What is the Apocalyptic Babylon?* There is not a doubt that by Babylon is figured Rome. The "seven mountains on which the woman sitteth" (Rev. xvii. 9), and the plain declaration, "the woman which thou sawest is that great city which reigneth" (*i.e.* in St. John's days) "over the kings of the earth" (Rev. xvii. 18), are too strong evidence to be gainsaid. There is no commentator of note, ancient or modern, Romanist or Protestant, who does not acknowledge so much. But *what* Rome is it that is thus figured? There are four chief opinions:—(1) Rome Pagan; (2) Rome Papal; (3) Rome having hereafter become infidel; (4) Rome as a type of the world. That it is old Pagan Rome is the view ably contended for by Bossuet and held in general by the *praeterist* school of interpreters. That it is Rome Papal was held by the Protestants of the 16th century, and by those who preceded and have followed them in their line of interpretation. That it is Rome having lapsed into infidelity is the view of some of the *futurists*. That it is Rome as the type of the world is suggested or maintained by Tichonius, Primasius, Albert the Great, and in our own days by Dr. Arnold (*On the Interpretation of Prophecy*) and Dr. Newman (*Tracts for the Times*, No. 83). That it must be an unfaithful Church is argued by Bishop Wordsworth, from the uniform use of the word πόρνη (*e.g.* "How is the faithful city become a harlot!" Is. i. 21) in Scripture (*On the Apocalypse*, p. 376), and it is no less decisively maintained by Isaac Williams (*The Apocalypse*, p. 335). A close consideration of the language and import of St. John's prophecy appears, says Mr. Williams, to leave no room for doubt on this point. If this be so, the conclusion seems almost necessarily to follow that the Babylon of the Apocalypse is Papal Rome which gradually raised and enthroned herself on the corrupted Church represented by the First Beast. A very noticeable conclusion follows from hence, which has been little marked by many who have been most anxious to identify Babylon and Rome, viz., that it is impossible that the Pope can be the Antichrist, for Babylon the great, who is seated on the Beast, and the Antichrist are wholly distinct. After Babylon is fallen and destroyed (Rev. xviii.) the Antichrist is still found (Rev. xix.). Indeed there are but few features in the Papal system which recall the portrait of Antichrist as drawn by St. John, however close may be its resemblance to the Apocalyptic Babylon.

4. *What are we to understand by the two Witnesses?* The usual interpretation given in the early Church is that they are Enoch and Elijah, who are to appear in the days of Antichrist, and by him to be killed. St. Hilary of Poitiers substitutes Moses for Enoch; Victorinus, Jeremiah. Joachim would suggest Moses and Elijah taken figuratively for some persons, or, perhaps, orders, actuated by their spirit. Bullinger, Bale, Chytraeus, Pareus, Mede, Vitringa, and Newton understand by them the line of Antipapal remonstrants. Foxe takes them to be Huss and Jerome of Prague; Bossuet, the early Christian martyrs; Herder and Eichhorn, the chief priests Ananus and Jesus slain by the Zealots; Maurice, the priest Jeshua and the judge Zerubbabel as representing Law and Sacrifice; Tichonius and Bede among the more ancient writers, Bishops Andrewes and Wordsworth among the more modern, understand the two Testaments; others the two Sacraments. Archdeacon Lee suggests that one of the witnesses symbolises the Church's outward organization and polity, the other her spiritual and evangelical teaching. Züllig (*Die Offenbarung Johannis*, 1834), Stern (*Commentar über die Offenbarung*, 1854), Bleek (*Vorlesungen über die Apocalypse*, 1862), Reuss (*L'Apocalypse*, 1878), and Professor Sanday (*Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*) return to the idea of Moses and Elijah. Bishop Carpenter (*New Testament Commentary*) regards them as "typical representatives of those who in the strength of God have through the long ages borne witness for Christ against all wrong and falsehood, against a world in arms, or a Church in arms, or against a nominal Christianity in danger of becoming as corrupt and as cruel as heathenism." All that we are able to say is this. The time of their

[k] The latest view on this mysterious subject is one put forth with great ability by Bishop Harold Browne. Considering Antichristianism to be an approaching outburst of the "volcanic fire of communistic anarchy, joined in close affinity with agnosticism and atheism, lying hidden, or scarcely hidden, beneath all government, and waiting to subvert and submerge all," he accepts the Patristic exposition of the τὸ κατέχον: for "the system of law which had its origin in the Roman Republic, which developed in the Roman Empire, and which was finally stamped, sealed, and codified in the Christian Empire, may well have been esteemed a power able to restrain lawlessness of life and even atheism in religion;" but he regards the Roman Empire as not, even formally, dissolved till 1806, and lasting in its law-abiding effects to the present time, whereas "it would be no great prodigy if those who witness the birth of the twentieth century after Christ were to see us bereft of that power of social order and of iron law tempered by Christian faith, which has come down to us through nineteen centuries from Augustus, in whose reign the Christ was born, through Constantine and Justinian and Charles the Great, and of which even Napoleon coveted the inheritance: 'that which letteth' is apparently in the process of being 'taken out of the way,' and a spirit is growing up, silently gaining strength and ascendency, which has well-nigh every characteristic of St. Paul's Man of Sin and of St. John's Antichrist" (*The Antichrist—a Sermon preached at the Reading Church Congress*, Oct. 2, 1883).

witnessing is 1260 days, or a time, times, and half a time. This is the same period as that during which the ἀποστασία and the power of the Beast continue. They would seem therefore to represent all those who in the midst of the faithless are found faithful throughout that time. Their being described as "candlesticks" would lead us to regard them perhaps as Churches. The place of their temporary death, "the great city, which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where also our Lord was crucified," would appear to be Jerusalem, as typifying the corrupted Church. The Beast that kills them is not Antichrist, but the faithless Church.

5. *The Number of the Beast.* Nothing whatever is known about it. No conjecture that has been made is worth mentioning on the ground of its being likely even to approximate to the truth. The usual method of seeking the solution of the difficulty is to select the name of an individual and to count the numerical values of its constituent letters. The extravagant conclusions which have been made to result from this system have naturally brought it into disrepute, but it is certain that it was much more usual, at the time that St. John wrote, to make calculations in this manner than most persons are now aware. On this principle Mercury or Ilnuth was invoked under the name of 1218, Jupiter under that of 717, the Sun of 608 or XH; and our Lord's name, Jesus, in Greek letters forms 888. Mr. Elliott quotes an enigma from the Sibylline verses in some way expressing the Name of God, strikingly illustrative of the challenge put forth by St. John, and perhaps formed in part on its model:

'Εννέα γράμματ' ἔχω· τετρασύλλαβός εἰμι· νόει με.
Αἱ τρεῖς αἱ πρῶται δύο γράμματ' ἔχουσιν ἑκάστη.
Ἡ λοιπὴ δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ· καὶ εἰσὶν ἄφωνα τὰ πέντε.
Τοῦ παντὸς δ' ἀριθμοῦ ἑκατοντάδες εἰσὶ δὶς ὀκτὼ
Καὶ τρεῖς τρισδεκάδες, σύν γ' ἑπτά· γνοὺς δὲ τίς εἰμι,
Οὐκ ἀμύητος ἔσῃ θείης παρ' ἐμοί γε σοφίης.

Sibyll. Orac. p. 171; Paris, 1599.

supposed by Mr. Clarke to be Θεὸς σωτήρ. The conjecture made on this principle with respect to the number of the Beast, most worthy of mention, is one which dates as early as the time of Irenaeus, and has held its ground down to the time of Dean Alford and Bishop Wordsworth. Irenaeus suggests, though he does not adopt, the word Λατεινος. Bishop Wordsworth (1860) thinks it possible, and Dean Alford (1861) has "the strongest persuasion that no other can be found approaching so near to a complete solution." Of other names the chief favourities have been Τειταν (Irenaeus), Αρνουμε (Hippolytus), Λαμπετις, Αντεμος (Tichonius), Γενσηρικος (Rupertus), Κακος Οδηγος, Αληθης Βλαβερος, Παλαι Βασκανος, Αμνος ἀδικος (Arethas), Οὐλπιος (Grotius), Μαομετις, Αποστατης, ἡ Λατινη Βασιλεια (Clarke), DIOCLES AUGUSTUS (Bossuet): Ewald constructs "the Roman Caesar" in Hebrew; Benary, Hitzig, Reuss, Renan, "the Caesar Nero" in the same language. Any one who wishes to know the many attempts that have been made to solve the difficulty—attempts seldom even relieved by ingenuity—may consult Wolfius, Calmet, Clarke, Wrangham, and Thorn.

Men have looked for Antichrist among their foes, and have tortured the name of the person fixed upon into being of the value of 666 in Greek, Hebrew, or Latin. Hence Latinus under the Roman Emperors, Mahomet at the time of the Saracenic successes, Luther at the Reformation, Napoleon at the French Revolution. The name to be found is not that of Antichrist, but the name of the Beast, which, as we have argued, is not the same as Antichrist—a point in favour of Λατεινος. A different method of interpretation is adopted by Mr. Isaac Williams, Bishop Wordsworth, Mr. Maurice, Lange (in Herzog's *Real-Encyklopädie*), and Bishop Carpenter (*N. T. Commentary*). There is clearly a symbolical meaning in the numbers used in the Apocalypse; and they would explain the three sixes as a threefold declension from the holiness and perfection symbolised by the number seven.[1] Similarly Dean Vaughan hazards a conjecture that the threefold reiteration of half twelve may be "the symbol of the world, as the full and perfect Twelve is of the Church" (*The Revelation of St. John*). We will add an ingenious suggestion by an anonymous writer, and will leave the subject in the same darkness in which it is probably destined to remain: "At his first appearance," says this writer, "he will be hailed with acclamations and hosannahs as the Redeemer of Israel, another Judas Maccabaeus: and either from the initials of his name, or from the initial letter of some scriptural motto adopted by him, an artificial name will be formed, a cipher of his real name. And that abbreviated name or cipher will be ostentatiously displayed as their badge, their watchword, their shibboleth, their 'Maccabi,' by all his adherents. This artificial name, this mark or symbol of the real name, will be equal by Gematria to 666" (*Jewish Missionary*, p. 52, 1848).

(C.) *Jewish and Mohammedan traditions respecting Antichrist.* The name given by the Jews to Antichrist is אַרְמִילוּס (Armillus[m]). There are several Rabbinical books in which a circumstantial account is given of him, such as the "Book of Zerubbabel," and others printed at Constantinople. Buxtorf gives an abridgment of their contents in his Lexicon, under the head "Armillus," and in the fiftieth chapter of his *Synagoga Judaica* (p. 717; cp. also reff. in Levy, *Chald. Wörterbuch*, and Jastrow's *Talmudic Dict.* s. n.). The name is derived from the Targum of Isaiah xi. 4, which gives "By the word of his mouth the wicked Armillus shall die," for "with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked." There will, say the Jews, be ten signs connected with the coming of the Messiah:—1. The appearance of three apostate kings who have fallen away from the faith, but in the sight of men appear to be worshippers of the true God. 2. A terrible heat of the sun. 3. A dew of blood (Joel ii. 30). 4. A healing

[1] An argument for this explanation of the three sixes may be drawn from the fact already mentioned, that the name Ἰησοῦς forms 888 (ι = 18, σ = 200, ο = 70, υ = 400, ς = 200), which is at the same distance above 777 that 666 is below it.

[m] Explained as equivalent to Romulus or Ahriman, or in other ways (see Dalman, *Der leidende u. d. sterbende Messias*, [1888,] p. 14.

dew for the pious. 5. A darkness will be cast upon the sun (Joel ii. 31) for thirty days (Is. xxiv. 22). 6. God will give universal power to the Romans for nine months, during which time the Roman chieftain will afflict the Israelites; at the end of the nine months God will raise up the Messiah Ben-Joseph, that is, the Messiah of the tribe of Joseph, named Nehemiah, who will defeat the Roman chieftain and slay him. 7. Then there will arise Armillus, whom the Gentiles or Christians call Antichrist. He will be born of a marble statue in one of the churches in Rome. He will go to the Romans and will profess himself to be their Messiah and their God. At once the Romans will believe in him and accept him for their king, and will love him and cling to him. Having made the whole world subject to him, he will say to the Idumaeans (*i.e.* Christians), "Bring me the law which I have given you." They will bring it with their book of prayers; and he will accept it as his own, and will exhort them to persevere in their belief of him. Then he will send to Nehemiah, and command the Jewish Law to be brought him, and proof to be given from it that he is God. Nehemiah will go before him, guarded by 30,000 warriors of the tribe of Ephraim, and will read, "I am the Lord thy God: thou shalt have none other gods but Me." Armillus will say that there are no such words in the Law, and will command the Jews to confess him to be God as the other nations had confessed him. But Nehemiah will give orders to his followers to seize and bind him. Then Armillus in rage and fury will gather all his people in a deep valley to fight with Israel, and in that battle the Messiah Ben-Joseph will fall, and the Angels will bear away his body and carry him to the resting-place of the Patriarchs. Then the Jews will be cast out by all nations, and suffer afflictions such as have not been from the beginning of the world, and the residue of them will fly into the desert, and will remain there forty and five days, during which time all the Israelites who are not worthy to see the Redemption shall die. 8. Then the great Angel Michael will rise and blow three mighty blasts of a trumpet. At the first blast there shall appear the true Messiah Ben-David and the prophet Elijah, and they will manifest themselves to the Jews in the desert, and all the Jews throughout the world shall hear the sound of the trump, and those that have been carried captive into Assyria shall be gathered together; and with great gladness they shall come to Jerusalem. Then Armillus will raise a great army of Christians and lead them to Jerusalem to conquer the new king. But God shall say to Messiah, "Sit thou on My right hand," and to the Israelites, "Stand still and see what God will work for you to-day." Then God will pour down sulphur and fire from heaven (Ezek. xxxviii. 22), and the impious Armillus shall die, and the impious Idumaeans (*i.e.* Christians), who have destroyed the house of our God and have led us away into captivity, shall perish in misery, and the Jews shall avenge themselves upon them, as it is written: "The house of Jacob shall be a fire, and the house of Joseph a flame, and the house of Esau (*i.e.* the Christians) for stubble, and they shall kindle in them and devour them: there shall not be any remaining of the house of Esau, for the Lord hath spoken it" (Obad. 18). 9. On the second blast of the trumpet the tombs shall be opened, and Messiah Ben-David shall raise Messiah Ben-Joseph from the dead. 10. The ten tribes shall be led to Paradise, and shall celebrate the wedding-feast of the Messiah. And the Messiah shall choose a bride amongst the fairest of the daughters of Israel, and children and children's children shall be born to him, and then he shall die like other men, and his sons shall reign over Israel after him, as it is written, "He shall prolong his days" (Is. liii. 10), which Rambam explains to mean, "He shall live long, but he too shall die in great glory, and his son shall reign in his stead, and his sons' sons in succession" (Buxtorf, *Synagoga Judaica*, p. 717; Basil. 1661).

The Mohammedan traditions are an adaptation of Christian prophecy and Jewish legend without any originality or any beauty of their own. They, too, have their signs which are to precede the final consummation. They are divided into the greater and lesser signs. Of the greater signs the first is the rising of the sun from the West (cf. Matt. xxiv. 29). The next is the appearance of a Beast from the earth, sixty cubits high, bearing the staff of Moses and the seal of Solomon, with which he will inscribe the word "Believer" on the face of the faithful, and "Unbeliever" on all who have not accepted Islam (comp. Rev. xiii.). The third sign is the capture of Constantinople: while the spoil of which is being divided, news will come of the appearance of Antichrist (*Al Dajjal*), and every man will return to his own home. Antichrist will be blind of one eye and deaf of one ear, and will have the name of Unbeliever written on his forehead (Rev. xiii.). It is he that the Jews call Messiah Ben-David, and say that he will come in the last times and reign over sea and land, and restore to them the kingdom. He will continue forty days, one of these days being equal to a year, another to a month, another to a week, the rest being days of ordinary length. He will devastate all other places, but will not be allowed to enter Mecca and Medina, which will be guarded by Angels. Lastly, he will be killed by Jesus at the gate of Lud. For when news is received of the appearance of Antichrist, Jesus will come down to earth, alighting on the white tower at the east of Damascus, and will slay him: Jesus will then embrace the Mahometan religion, marry a wife, and leave children after him, having reigned in perfect peace and security, after the death of Antichrist, for forty years (see Pococke, *Porta Mosis*, p. 258, Oxon. 1655; and Sale, *Koran, Preliminary Discourse*).

Literature.—On the subject of the Antichrist and of the Apocalyptic visions the following is a condensed list of the writers most deserving of attention:—Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.* xv. p. 220; Paris, 1720: S. Jerome, *Explan. in Daniel.* v. 617; Veron. 1734. These two writers are expounders of the Patristic view. Andreas, *Comm. in Apoc.*, Bibl. Patr. Max. v. 590; Arethas, *Comm. in Apoc.*, Bibl. Patr. Max. ix. 741; Abbas Joachim (founder of the Antipapal school), *Exp. Apoc.*, Venet. 1519; Wickliffe, *De Christo et suo adversario Antichristo*, Works, vol. ii. Lond. 1883; Ribera (founder of the later school of Futurists), *Comm. in Apoc.*,

Salam. 1591; Alcasar (founder of the Praeterist school), *Vestigatio Arcani Sensûs in Apoc.*, Antv. 1614; Pareus, *Comm. in Apoc.*, Heidelb. 1618; Cornelius a Lapide, *Comm. in Apoc.* Antv. 1627; Mede, *Clavis Apocalypt.*, Cantab. 1632; Bossuet, *L'Apocalypse, avec une Explication*, Œuvres, vol. iii. Paris, 1819; Vitringa, *Anacrisis Apocalyps.*, Amst. 1719; Daubuz, *Comm. on Rev.*, Lond. 1720; Hug, *Einleitung in die Schriften des Neuen Test.*, Stuttg. 1821; Bengel, *Erklärte Offenbarung Johannis*, Stuttg. 1834; Herder, *Johannis Offenbarung*, Werke, xii. Stuttg. 1827; Eichhorn, *Comm. in Apoc.*, Götting. 1791; Ewald, *Comm. in Apoc.*, Lips. 1828; Lücke, *Vollständige Einleitung in die Offenbarung und die Apocalypt. Literatur*, Comm., iv., Bonn. 1834; *Tracts for the Times*, v. No. 83, Lond. 1839; Greswell, *Exposition of the Parables*, vol. i. Oxf. 1834; Moses Stuart, *Comm. on the Apoc.*, Edinb. 1847; Wordsworth, *On the Apocalypse*, Lond. 1849, and *Gk. Test.*, Lond. 1860; Elliott, *Horae Apocalypticae*, Lond. 1862; Clissold, *Apocalyptical Interpretation* (Swedenborgian), Lond. 1845; C. Maitland, *Prophetic Interpretation*, Lond. 1849; Williams, *The Apocalypse*, Lond. 1852; S. R. Maitland, *Attempt to elucidate the Prophecies concerning Antichrist*, Lond. 1853; Alford, *Greek Test.* (*Proleg. in Thess. et in Apoc.*), Lond. 1866; Ellicott, *Comm. in Thess.*, Lond. 1862; Düsterdieck, *Handbuch über die Offenbarung Johannis*, 1859; Renan, *L'Antichrist*, Paris, 1873; Gebhardt, *The Doctrine of the Apocalypse* (Eng. tr., Edinb.), 1873; Reuss, *L'Apocalypse*, 1878; Mason, *Notes and Excursus on the Interpretation of the Prophecy* 2 *Thess.* ii. 3–12, in Ellicott's *New Testament Commentary*, Lond. (without date); Carpenter, *Notes and Excursus B. on the Revelation*, in the same; Alexander, Note on the Man of Sin, 2 Thess. ii. 3, in the *Speaker's Commentary*, Lond. 1881; Lee, *The Revelation of St. John the Divine*, in the same; Harold Browne, *The Antichrist*, Lond. 1883. See also article on THESSALONIANS, SECOND EPISTLE TO THE, in this *Dictionary*, and ANTICHRIST in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*. [F. M.]

ANTILIB'ANUS (Ἀντιλίβανος; *Antilibanus*). Only occurs in Judith i. 7. The easternmost of the two parallel ranges which enclose Coele-Syria; elsewhere (Josh. xiii. 5) described as "all Lebanon, toward the sunrising." [LEBANON.] [W.]

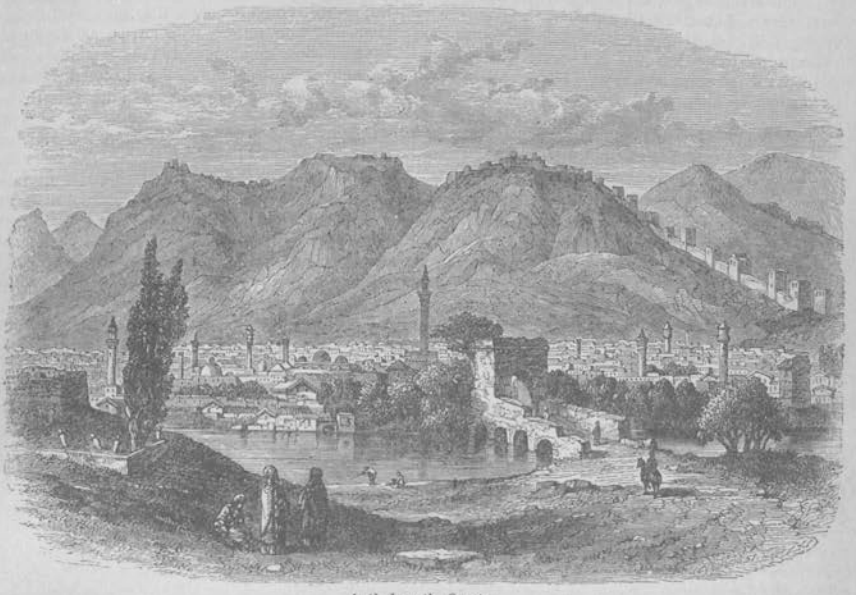
AN'TIOCH (Ἀντιόχεια). **1.** IN SYRIA. The capital of the Greek kings of Syria, and afterwards the residence of the Roman governors of the province which bore the same name. This metropolis was situated where the chain of Lebanon, running northwards, and the chain of Amanus, running southwards from the Taurus, are brought to an abrupt meeting. Here the Orontes breaks through the mountains; and Antioch was placed at a bend of the river, partly on an island, partly on the level which forms the left bank, and partly on the steep and craggy ascent of Mount Silpius, which rose abruptly on the south. In the immediate neighbourhood was Daphne, the celebrated sanctuary of Apollo (2 Macc. iv. 33); whence the city was sometimes called ANTIOCH by DAPHNE, to distinguish it from other cities of the same name.

No city, after Jerusalem, is so intimately connected with the history of the Apostolic Church. Certain points of close association between these two cities, as regards the progress of Christianity, may be noticed in the first place. One of the seven deacons, or almoners appointed at Jerusalem, was Nicolas, a proselyte of Antioch (Acts vi. 5). The Christians, who were dispersed from Jerusalem at the death of Stephen, preached the Gospel at Antioch (ib. xi. 19). It was from Jerusalem that Agabus and the other prophets, who foretold the famine, came to Antioch (ib. xi. 27, 28); and Barnabas and Saul were consequently sent on a mission of charity from the latter city to the former (ib. xi. 30, xii. 25). It was from Jerusalem again that the Judaizers came, who disturbed the church at Antioch (ib. xv. 1); and it was at Antioch that St. Paul rebuked St. Peter for conduct into which he had been betrayed through the influence of emissaries from Jerusalem (Gal. ii. 11, 12).

The chief interest of Antioch, however, is connected with the progress of Christianity among the heathen. Here the first Gentile Church was founded (Acts xi. 20, 21); here the disciples of Jesus Christ were first called Christians (xi. 26); here St. Paul exercised (so far as is distinctly recorded) his first systematic ministerial work (xi. 22–26; see xiv. 26–28; also xv. 35, xviii. 23); hence he started at the beginning of his first missionary journey (xiii. 1–3), and hither he returned (xiv. 26). So again after the Apostolic Council (the decrees of which were specially addressed to the Gentile converts at Antioch, xv. 23), he began and ended his second missionary journey at this place (xv. 36, xviii. 22). This too was the starting-point of the third missionary journey (xviii. 23), which was brought to a termination by the imprisonment at Jerusalem and Caesarea. Though St. Paul was never again, so far as we know, at Antioch, it did not cease to be an important centre for Christian progress; but it does not belong to this place to trace its history as a patriarchate, and its connexion with Ignatius, Chrysostom (see *Dict. of Christian Biography*, s. nn.), and other eminent names.

Antioch was founded in the year 300 B.C. by Seleucus Nicator, with circumstances of considerable display, which were afterwards embellished by fable. The situation was well chosen, both for military and commercial purposes. Jews were settled there from the first in large numbers, were governed by their own ethnarch, and allowed to have the same political privileges as the Greeks (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 3, § 1; *c. Ap.* ii. 4). Antioch grew under the successive Seleucid kings, till it became a city of great extent and of remarkable beauty. Some of the most magnificent buildings were on the island. One feature, which seems to have been characteristic of the great Syrian cities,—a vast street with colonnades, intersecting the whole from end to end,—was added by Antiochus Epiphanes. Some lively notices of the Antioch of this period, and of its relation to Jewish history, are supplied by the Books of Maccabees (see especially 1 Macc. iii. 37, xi. 13; 2 Macc. iv. 7–9, v. 21, xi. 36).

It is the Antioch of the Roman period with which we are concerned in the N. T. By Pompey it had been made a free city, and such it continued till the time of Antoninus Pius. The early emperors raised there some large and important structures, such as aqueducts, amphitheatres, and baths. Herod the Great contributed a road and a colonnade (Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 5, § 3; *B. J.* i. 21, § 11). Here should be mentioned that the citizens of Antioch under the Empire were noted for scurrilous wit and the invention of nicknames. This perhaps was the origin of the name by which the disciples of Jesus Christ were designated, and which was probably given by Romans to the despised sect, and not by Christians to themselves.



Antioch on the Orontes.

The great authority for all that is known of ancient Antioch is C. O. Müller's *Antiquitates Antiochenae* (Gött. 1839). Modern *Antakia* is a shrunken and miserable place. Some of the

Gate of St. Paul, Antioch on the Orontes.

walls, shattered by earthquakes, have a striking appearance on the crags of Mount Silpius. They are described in Chesney's account of the *Euphrates Expedition*, where also is given a view of a gateway which still bears the name of St. Paul. One error, however, should be pointed out, which has found its way into the above-named volumes from Calmet: namely, Jerome's erroneous identification of Antioch with the Riblah of the Old Testament (see *Dict. G. and R. Geog.*, art. "Antiocheia").

2. ANTIOCH IN PISIDIA (Acts xiii. 14, xiv. 19, 21; 2 Tim. iii. 11). The position of this town is clearly pointed out by Strabo in the following words (xii. p. 577):—"In the district of Phrygia called Paroreia, there is a certain mountain-ridge, stretching from E. to W. On each side there is a large plain below this ridge; and it has two cities in its neighbourhood: Philomelium on the north, and on the other side Antioch, called Antioch near Pisidia. The former lies entirely in the plain; the latter (which has a Roman colony) is on a height." The relations of distance also between Antioch and other towns are known by the Peutingerian table. Its site was discovered by Mr. Arundell, the British chaplain at Smyrna, who undertook a journey in 1833 for the express purpose of identifying the Pisidian Antioch (Arundell's *Asia Minor*, chs. xii. xiii. xiv.). The ruins are very considerable, and include those of a temple, theatre, church, and fine aqueduct. This discovery was fully confirmed by Mr. Hamilton (*Res. in Asia Minor*, vol. i. ch. 27; Vaux, *Gk. Cities and Islands of Asia Min.* p. 111). Antioch corresponds to *Yalovatch*, which is distant from *Ak-shehr* (Philomelium) six hours over the mountains.

This city, like the Syrian Antioch, was founded by Seleucus Nicator. Under the Romans it became a *colonia*, and was also called Caesarea, as we learn from Pliny (v. 24). The former fact is confirmed by the Latin inscriptions and other features of the coins of the place; the latter by inscriptions discovered on the spot by Mr. Hamilton.

The occasion on which St. Paul visited the city for the first time (Acts xiii. 14) was very interesting and important. His preaching in the synagogue led to the reception of the Gospel by a great number of the Gentiles: and this resulted in a violent persecution on the part of the Jews, who first, using the influence of some of the wealthy female residents, drove him from Antioch to Iconium (*vv.* 50, 51), and subsequently followed him even to Lystra (Acts xiv. 19). St. Paul, on his return from Lystra, revisited Antioch for the purpose of strengthening the minds of the disciples (*v.* 21). These events happened when he was on his first missionary journey, in company with St. Barnabas. He probably visited Antioch again at the beginning of his second journey, when Silas was his associate, and Timotheus, who was a native of this neighbourhood, had just been added to the party. The allusion in 2 Tim. iii. 11 shows that Timotheus was well acquainted with the sufferings which the Apostle had undergone during his first visit to the Pisidian Antioch. See *Dict. G. and R. Geog.*, art. "Antiocheia," 7. [PHRYGIA; PISIDIA.] [J. S. H.] [W.]

ANTIO'CHIA (ℵA. [usually] Ἀντιοχία, B. [1 Macc. iv. 35] Ἀντιωχία; *Antiochia*). ANTIOCH 1 (1 Macc. iv. 35, vi. 63; 2 Macc. iv. 33, v. 21). [W. A. W.] [F.]

ANTIO'CHIANS (Ἀντιοχεῖς; *Antiocheni*). Partisans of Antiochus Epiphanes, including Jason and the Hellenizing faction (2 Macc. iv. 9, 19). In the latter passage the Vulgate has *viros peccatores*. [W. A. W.] [F.]

ANTI'OCHIS (Ἀντίοχις; *Antiochis*). The concubine of Antiochus Epiphanes (2 Macc. iv. 30). [W. A. W.] [F.]

ANTI'OCHUS (Ἀντίοχος; A. Ἀντίμαχος in 1 Macc. xii. 16; *Antiochus*). Father of Numenius, one of the ambassadors from Jonathan to the Romans (1 Macc. xii. 16, xiv. 22). [W. A. W.] [F.]

ANTI'OCHUS II. (Ἀντίοχος, *the withstander*), king of Syria, surnamed *the god* (Θεὸς) "in the first instance by the Milesians, because he overthrew their tyrant Timarchus" (App. *Syr.* 65), succeeded his father Antiochus (Σωτήρ, *the Saviour*) in B.C. 261. During the earlier part of his reign he was engaged in a fierce war with Ptolemaeus Philadelphus, king of Egypt (*totis viribus dimicavit*, Hieron. *ad Dan.* xi. 6), in the course of which Parthia and Bactria revolted and became independent kingdoms. At length (B.C. 250) peace was made, and the two monarchs "joined themselves together" (Dan. xi. 6), and Ptolemy ("the king of the south") gave his daughter Berenice in marriage to Antiochus ("the king of the north"), who set aside his former wife, Laodice, to receive her. After some time, on the death of Ptolemy (B.C. 247), Antiochus recalled Laodice and her children Seleucus and Antiochus to court. Thus Berenice was "not able to retain her power;" and Laodice, in jealous fear lest she might a second time lose her ascendency, poisoned Antiochus (him "that supported her," *i.e.* Berenice), and caused Berenice and her infant son to be put to death, B.C. 246 (Dan. xi. 6; Hieron. *ad Dan.* l. c.; App. *Syr.* 65).

After the death of Antiochus, Ptolemaeus Euergetes, the brother of Berenice ("out of a branch of her root"), who succeeded his father, Ptol. Philadelphus, exacted vengeance for his sister's death by an invasion of Syria, in which Laodice was killed, her son Seleucus Callinicus driven for a time from the throne, and the whole country plundered (Dan. xi. 7–9; Hieron. *l.* c.; hence his surname "*the benefactor*"). The hostilities thus renewed continued for many years; and on the death of Seleucus B.C. 226, after his "return into his own land" (Dan. xi. 9), his sons Alexander (Seleucus), Keraunos, and Antiochus "assembled a great multitude of forces" against Ptol. Philopator, the son of Euergetes, and "one of them" (Antiochus) threatened to overthrow the power of Egypt (Dan. xi. 9, 10; Hieron. *l. c.*). [B. F. W.] [R.]

ANTI'OCHUS III., surnamed *the Great* (μέγας), succeeded his brother Seleucus Keraunos, who was assassinated after a short reign in B.C. 223. He prosecuted the war against Ptol. Philopator with vigour, and at first with success. In B.C. 218 he drove the Egyptian forces to Sidon, conquered Samaria and Gilead, and wintered at Ptolemais, but was defeated next year at Raphia, near Gaza (B.C. 217), with immense loss, and in consequence made a peace with Ptolemy, in which he ceded to him the disputed provinces of Coele-Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine (Dan. xi. 11, 12; Polyb. v. 40 ff., 53 ff.). During the next thirteen years Antiochus was engaged in strengthening his position in Asia Minor and on the frontiers of Parthia, and by his successes gained his surname of *the Great*. At the end of this time, B.C. 205, Ptolemaeus Philopator died, and left his kingdom to his son Ptol. Epiphanes, who was only five years old. Antiochus availed himself of the opportunity which was offered by the weakness of a minority and the unpopularity of the regent, to unite with Philip III. of Macedon for the purpose of conquering and dividing the Egyptian dominions. The Jews, who had been exasperated by the conduct of Ptol. Philopator both in Palestine and Egypt, openly espoused his cause, under the influence of a short-sighted policy ("the factions among thy people shall rise," *i.e.* against Ptolemy; Dan. xi. 14). Antiochus succeeded in occupying the three disputed provinces, but was recalled to Asia by a war which broke out with Attalus, king of Pergamus; and his ally Philip was himself embroiled with the Romans. In consequence of this diversion Ptolemy, by the aid of Scopas, again made himself master of Jerusalem (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 3, 3) and recovered the territory which he had lost (Hieron. *ad Dan.* xi. 14). In B.C. 198 Antiochus reappeared in the field and gained a decisive victory "near the sources of the Jordan" (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 3, 3; Hieron. *l. c.* "ubi *Paneas* nunc condita est"), and afterwards captured Scopas and the remnant of his forces which had taken refuge in Sidon

(Dan. xi. 15). The Jews, who had suffered severely during the struggle (Joseph. *l. c.*), welcomed Antiochus as their deliverer, and "he stood in the glorious land which by his hand was to be consumed" (Dan. xi. 16). His further designs against Egypt were frustrated by the intervention of the Romans: and his daughter Cleopatra (Polyb. xxviii. 17), whom he gave in marriage to Ptol. Epiphanes, with the Phoenician provinces for her dower (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 4, § 1), favoured the interests of her husband rather than those of her father (Dan. xi. 17; Hieron. *l. c.*). From Egypt Antiochus turned again to Asia Minor, and after various successes in the Aegean crossed over to Greece, and by the advice of Hannibal entered on a war with Rome. His victorious course was checked at Thermopylae (B.C. 191), and after subsequent reverses he was finally defeated at Magnesia in Lydia, B.C. 190.[a] By the peace which was concluded shortly afterwards (B.C. 188) he was forced to cede all his possessions "on the Roman side of M. Taurus," and to pay in successive instalments an enormous sum of money to defray the expenses of the war (15,000 Euboic talents: App. *Syr.* 38). This last condition led to his ignominious death. In B.C. 187 he attacked a

Tetradrachm (Attic talent) of Antiochus III.

Obv.: Head of King to right. Rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ. In field, two monograms. Apollo, naked, seated on cortina, to left.

rich temple of Belus in Elymais, and was slain by the people who rose in its defence (Strab. xvi. 744; Just. xxxii. 2). Thus "he stumbled and fell, and was not found" (Dan. xi. 19).

The policy of Antiochus towards the Jews was liberal and conciliatory. He not only assured to them perfect freedom and protection in the exercise of their worship, but according to Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 3, § 3), in consideration of their great sufferings and services in his behalf, he made splendid contributions towards the support of the Temple ritual, and gave various immunities to the priests and other inhabitants of Jerusalem. At the same time imitating the example of Alexander and Seleucus, and appreciating the influence of their fidelity and unity, he transported two thousand families of Jews from Mesopotamia to Lydia and Phrygia, to repress the tendency to revolt which was manifested in those provinces (Joseph. *Ant.* l. c.). Two sons of Antiochus occupied the throne after him,—Seleucus Philopator, his immediate successor, and Antiochus IV., who gained the kingdom upon the assassination of his brother.

[B. F. W.] [R.]

[a] The statement in 1 Macc. viii. 6, that Antiochus was taken prisoner by the Romans, is not supported by any other testimony.

ANTI'OCHUS IV. EPIPHANES (Ἐπιφανής, *the Illustrious*, also called Θεός, and in mockery ἐπιμανής, *the frantic*: Athen. x. 438; Polyb. xxvi. 10) was the youngest son of Antiochus the Great. He was given as a hostage to the Romans (B.C. 188), after his father's defeat at Magnesia. In B.C. 175 he was released by the intervention of his brother Seleucus, who substituted his own son Demetrius in his place. Antiochus was at Athens when Seleucus was assassinated by Heliodorus. He took advantage of his position, and, by the assistance of Eumenes and Attalus, easily expelled Heliodorus, who had usurped the crown, and himself "obtained the kingdom by flatteries" (Dan. xi. 21; cp. Liv. xli. 20), to the exclusion of his nephew Demetrius (Dan. viii. 7).

The accession of Antiochus was immediately followed by desperate efforts of the Hellenizing party at Jerusalem to assert their supremacy. Jason (Jesus: Jos. *Ant.* xii. 5, § 1, see JASON), the brother of Onias III., the high-priest, persuaded the king to transfer the high-priesthood to him, and at the same time bought permission (2 Macc. iv. 9) to carry out his design of habituating the Jews to Greek customs (2 Macc. iv. 7, 20). Three years afterwards Menelaus, of the tribe of Benjamin [SIMON], who was commissioned by Jason to carry to Antiochus the price of his office, supplanted Jason by offering the king a larger bribe, and was himself appointed high-priest, while Jason was obliged to take refuge among the Ammonites (2 Macc. iv. 23–26). From these circumstances and from the marked honour with which Antiochus was received at Jerusalem very early in his reign (*c.* B.C. 173; 2 Macc. iv. 22), it appears that he found no difficulty in regaining the border provinces which had been given as the dower of his sister Cleopatra to Ptol. Epiphanes. But his ambition led him still further, and he undertook four campaigns against Egypt, B.C. 171, 170, 169, 168, with greater success than had attended his predecessor, and the complete conquest of the country was prevented only by the interference of the Romans (Dan. xi. 24; 1 Macc. i. 16 ff.; 2 Macc. v. 11 sq.: cp. the story of Popilius Laenas, Liv. xlv. 11, 12; Polyb. xxix. 11). The course of Antiochus was everywhere marked by the same wild prodigality as had signalised his occupation of the throne (Dan. *l. c.*). The consequent exhaustion of his treasury, and the armed conflicts of the rival high-priests whom he had appointed, furnished the occasion for an assault upon Jerusalem on his return from his second Egyptian campaign (B.C. 170), which he had probably planned in conjunction with Ptol. Philometor, who was at that time in his power (Dan. xi. 26). The Temple was plundered, a terrible massacre took place, and a Phrygian governor was left with Menelaus in charge of the city (2 Macc. v. 1–22; 1 Macc. i. 20–28). Two years afterwards, at the close of the fourth Egyptian expedition (Polyb. xxix. 1, 11; App. *Syr.* 66; cp. Dan. xi. 29, 30), Antiochus detached a force under Apollonius to occupy Jerusalem and fortify it, and at this time he availed himself of the assistance of the ancestral enemies of the Jews (1 Macc. iv. 61, v. 3 sq.; Dan. xi. 41). The decrees then fol-

lowed which have rendered his name infamous. The Temple was desecrated, and the observance of the Law was forbidden. "On the fifteenth day of Cisleu [the Syrians] set up the abomination of desolation (*i.e.* an idol altar: 1 Macc. v. 59) on the altar."[a] Ten days afterwards an offering was made upon it to Jupiter Olympius. At Jerusalem all opposition appears to have ceased; but Mattathias and his sons organised a resistance ("holpen with a little help," Dan. xi. 34), which preserved inviolate the name and faith of Israel. Meanwhile Antiochus turned his arms to the East, towards Parthia (Tac. *Hist.* v. 8) and Armenia (App. *Syr.* 45; Diod. *ap.* Müller, *Fragm.* ii. p. 10; Dan. xi. 40). Hearing not long afterwards of the riches of a temple of Nanaea ("the desire of women," Dan. xi. 37) in Elymais, hung with the gifts of Alexander, he resolved to plunder it. The attempt was defeated; and though he did not fall like his father in the act of sacrilege, the event hastened his death. He retired to Babylon, and thence to Tabae in Persia, where he died B.C. 164, the victim of superstition, terror, and remorse (Polyb. xxxi. 2; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 8, § 1), having first heard of the successes of the Maccabees in restoring the Temple-worship at Jerusalem (1 Macc. vi. 1–16; cp. 2 Macc. i. 7–17?). "He came to his end, and there was none to help him" (Dan. xi. 45. Cf. App. *Syr.* 45; Liv. xli. 24–5, xlii. 6, xliv. 19, xlv. 11–13; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5, 8).

The reign of Antiochus, thus shortly traced, was the last great crisis in the history of the Jews before the coming of our Lord. The prominence which is given to it in the Book of Daniel fitly accords with its typical and representative character (Dan. vii. 8, 25, viii. 11 sq.). The conquest of Alexander had introduced the forces of Greek thought and life into the Jewish nation, which was already prepared for their operation [ALEXANDER]. For more than a century and a half these forces had acted powerfully both upon the faith and upon the habits of the people; and the time was come when an outward struggle alone could decide whether Judaism was to be merged in a rationalised Paganism, or to rise not only victorious from the conflict, but more vigorous and more pure. There were many symptoms which betokened the approaching struggle. The position which Judaea occupied on the borders of the conflicting empires of Syria and Egypt, exposed equally to the open miseries of war and the treacherous favours of rival sovereigns, rendered its national condition precarious from the first, though these very circumstances were favourable to the growth of freedom. The terrible crimes by which the wars of "the North and South" were stained, must have alienated the mind of every faithful Jew from his Grecian lords, even if persecution had not been superadded from Egypt first and then from Syria. Politically nothing was left for the people in the reign of Antiochus but independence, or the abandonment of every prophetic hope. Nor was their social position less perilous. The influence of Greek literature, of foreign travel, of extended commerce, had made itself felt in daily life. At Jerusalem the mass of the inhabitants seem to have desired to imitate the exercises of the Greeks; and a Jewish embassy attended the games of Hercules at Tyre (2 Macc. iv. 9–20). Even their religious feelings were yielding; and before the rising of the Maccabees no opposition was offered to the execution of the king's decrees. Upon the first attempt of Jason the "priests had no courage to serve at the altar" (2 Macc. iv. 14; cp. 1 Macc. i. 43); and this not so much from wilful apostasy, as from a disregard of the vital principles involved in the conflict. Thus it was necessary that the final issues of a false Hellenism should be openly seen that it might be discarded for ever by those who cherished the ancient faith of Israel.

The conduct of Antiochus was in every way suited to accomplish this end; and yet it seems to have been the result of passionate impulse rather than of any deep-laid scheme to extirpate a strange creed. At first he imitated the liberal policy of his predecessors; and the occasion for his attacks was furnished by the Jews themselves. Even the motives by which he was finally actuated were personal, or at most only political. Able, energetic (Polyb. xxvii. 17), and liberal to profusion, Antiochus was reckless and unscrupulous in the execution of his plans. He had learnt at Rome to court power and to dread it. He gained an empire, and he remembered that he had been a hostage. Regardless himself of the gods of his fathers (Dan. xi. 37), he was incapable of appreciating the power of religion in others; and, like Nero in later times, he became a type of the enemy of God [comp. LXX. Version of Dan. xi. 36 with 2 Thess. ii. 4], not as the Roman emperor by the perpetration of unnatural crimes, but by the disregard of every higher feeling. "He magnified himself above all." The real deity whom he recognised was the Roman war-god, and fortresses were his most sacred temples (Dan. xi. 38 ff.; Ewald, *Gesch. des Volkes Isr.* iv. 340).[b]

Tetradrachm (Attic talent) of Antiochus IV. Epiphanes.

Obv.: Head of King, to right. Rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ. Jupiter, seated to left, holding a Victory. In field, monogram.

[a] This altar is generally identified with the abomination of desolation (שִׁקּוּץ שֹׁמֵם) spoken of in Dan. ix. 27, xi. 31, xii. 11 (cp. Matt. xxiv. 15), where the LXX. rendering βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεων is the same as that which in 1 Macc. i. 54 is applied to the altar of Zeus erected by Antiochus Epiphanes. The enormity of this insult was intensified by the fact, that Antiochus had accepted Νικηφόρος as his own title, appropriating to himself the attributes of the Olympian Zeus (cp. Dan. xi. 36, 39), whose altar he erected (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. § 5). At Gerizim, the Samaritan sanctuary, he instituted the worship of Zeus Xenios. [ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION.]

[b] By the Jews he was regarded as the typical Antichrist, the union of power with the defiance of every-

Confronted with such a persecutor, the Jew realized the spiritual power of his faith. The evils of heathendom were seen concentrated in a personal shape. The outward forms of worship became invested with something of a sacramental dignity. Common life was purified and ennobled by heroic devotion. An independent nation asserted the integrity of its hopes in the face of Egypt, Syria, and Rome. Cp. Schürer, *Gesch. d. Jüdischen Volkes*,[2] i. 147, &c.
[B. F. W.] [R.]

ANTI'OCHUS V. EU'PATOR (Εὐπάτωρ, *of noble descent*) succeeded his father Antiochus IV. B.C. 164, while still a child, under the guardianship of Lysias (App. *Syr.* 46; 1 Macc. iii. 32 f., vi. 17), though Antiochus had assigned this office to Philip, his own foster-brother, on his death-bed (1 Macc. vi. 14 f., 55; 2 Macc. ix. 29). Shortly after his accession he marched against Jerusalem with a large army, accompanied by Lysias, to relieve the Syrian garrison, which was hard-pressed by Judas Maccabaeus (1 Macc. vi. 19 ff.). He repulsed Judas at Bethzacharia, and took Bethsura (Bethzur) after a vigorous resistance (1 Macc. vi. 31–50). But when the Jewish force in the Temple was on the point of yielding, Lysias persuaded the king to conclude a hasty peace that he might advance to meet Philip, who had returned from Persia and made himself master of Antioch (1 Macc. vi. 51 sq.; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 9, § 5). Philip was speedily overpowered (Joseph. *l. c.*); but in the next year (B.C. 162) Antiochus and Lysias fell into the hands of Demetrius Soter, the son of Seleucus Philopator, who caused them to be put to death in revenge for the wrongs which he had suffered from Antiochus Epiphanes (1 Macc. vii. 2–4; 2 Macc. xiv. 1, 2; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 10, § 1; Polyb. xxxi. 19). [B. F. W.] [R.]

ANTI'OCHUS VI. (Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ νόθου, App. *Syr.* 68; surnamed Θεός, Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 7, § 1; and ἐπιφανὴς Διόνυσος on coins) was the son of Alexander Balas and Cleopatra (App. *Syr.* l. c.). After his father's death (146 B.C.) he remained in Arabia; but though still a child (παιδίον, App. *l. c.*; παιδάριον νεώτερον, 1 Macc. xi. 54), he was soon afterwards brought forward (*c.* 45 B.C.) as a claimant to the throne of Syria against Demetrius Nicator by Tryphon or Diodotus (1 Macc. xi. 39; App. *Syr.* 68; Strab. xiv. p. 668, xvi. p. 752), who had been an officer of his father. Tryphon succeeded in gaining Antioch (1 Macc. xi. 56); and afterwards the greater part of Syria submitted to the young Antiochus. Jonathan, who was confirmed by him in the high-priesthood (1 Macc. xi. 57) and invested with the government of Judaea, contributed greatly to his success [ALEXANDER BALAS], occupying Ascalon and Gaza, and reducing the country as far as Damascus (1 Macc. xi. 60–2). He afterwards defeated the troops of Demetrius at Hazor (1 Macc. xi. 67; cp. *Speaker's Comm.* l. c.) near Cadesh (*v.* 73); and repulsed a second attempt which he made to regain Palestine (1 Macc. xii. 24 sq.). Tryphon having now gained the supreme power in the name of Antiochus, no longer concealed his design of usurping the crown. As a first step he took Jonathan by treachery and put him to death, B.C. 143 (1 Macc. xii. 40 sq.); then he murdered the young king, and ascended the throne (1 Macc. xiii. 31; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 5, § 6; App. *Syr.* 68. Livy [*Epit.* 55] says incorrectly *decem annos admodum habens . . .*; Diod. *ap.* Müller, *Fragm.* ii. 19; Just. xxxvi. 1). [B. F. W.] [R.]

Tetradrachm (Attic talent) of Antiochus VI.

Obv.: Head of King, radiate, to right. Rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΕΠ[ΙΦΑΝΟ]ΥΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΥ. In field, ΤΡΥΦ (Tryphon), and date ΘΞΡ (169 Ær. Seleucid).

ANTI'OCHUS VII. SIDE'TES (Σιδήτης, *of Side*, in Pamphylia: not from צַיִד, *a hunter*: Plut. *Apophth.* p. 34; called also Εὐσεβής, *the pious*, Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 8, § 2; Euseb. *Chron. Arm.* i. 349), king of Syria, was the second son of Demetrius I. When his brother, Demetrius Nicator, was taken prisoner (*c.* 141 B.C.) by Mithridates I. (Arsaces VI., 1 Macc. xiv. 2) king of Parthia, he married Cleopatra (App. *Syr.* 68; Just. xxxvi. 1) and obtained possession of the throne (137 B.C.), having expelled the usurper Tryphon (1 Macc. xv. 1 sq.; Strab. xiv. p. 688). At first he made a very advantageous treaty with Simon, who was now "high priest and prince of the Jews;" but when he grew independent of his help, he withdrew the concessions which he had made and demanded the surrender of the fortresses which the Jews held, or an equivalent in money (1 Macc. xv. 26 sq.; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 7, § 3). As Simon was unwilling to yield to his demands, he sent a force under Cendebaeus against him, who occupied a fortified position at Cedron (?) (1 Macc. xv. 39), near Azotus, and harassed the surrounding country. After the defeat of Cendebaeus by the sons of Simon and the destruction of his works (1 Macc. xvi. 1–10), Antiochus, who had returned from the pursuit of Tryphon, undertook an expedition against Judaea in person. He laid siege to Jerusalem, but according to Josephus granted honourable terms to John Hyrcanus (B.C. 133), who had made a vigorous resistance (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 8; yet comp. Porphyr. *ap.* Euseb. *Chron. Arm.* i. 349, *muros urbis demolitur atque electissimos eorum trucidat*).

thing that was divine. It has been observed that the period of three and a half years, during which the Antichrist of St. John's Apocalypse (xiii. 5) is permitted to work evil, agrees with the interval of time which, according to some Jewish traditions, elapsed between the pollution of the Temple and the death of the persecutor, or, according to others, between the pollution of the Temple and its dedication.

Antiochus next turned his arms against the Parthians, and Hyrcanus accompanied him in the campaign. But after some successes, he was entirely defeated by Phraortes II. (Arsaces VII.), and fell in the battle *c.* B.C. 127–6 (Joseph. *l. c.*; Just. xxxvi., xxxviii. 10; App. *Syr.* 68, ἔκτεινεν ἑαυτόν. For the year of his death, cp. Niebuhr, *Kl. Schrift.* i. 251 sq.; Clinton, *F. H.* ii. 332 sq.). [B. F. W.] [R.]

AN'TIPAS (Ἀντίπας; *Antipas*). A martyr at Pergamos, and, according to tradition, Bishop of that place (Rev. ii. 13. See note in *Speaker's Commentary*). He is said to have been martyred under Domitian by being cast into a burning brazen bull (*Menol. Gr.* iii. 51). His day in the Greek calendar is April 11. [W. A. W.] [F.]

AN'TIPAS. [HEROD.]

ANTI'PATER (Ἀντίπατρος; *Antipater*), son of Jason, ambassador from the Jews to the Lacedaemonians (1 Macc. xii. 16, xiv. 22). [G.]

ANTI'PATRIS (Ἀντίπατρις), a town on the military road from Jerusalem to Caesarea, to which St. Paul was "brought by night" (Acts xxiii. 31), when Claudius Lysias sent him, under escort, from Jerusalem to the governor of Caesarea. The escort, a mixed force of horse and foot, paraded at the third hour of the night, and, marching throughout the night, reached Antipatris next morning; the footmen then returned to Jerusalem, whilst the horsemen escorted St. Paul across the plain to Caesarea.

According to Josephus (*Ant.* xvi. 5, § 2), Antipatris was built by Herod "in the plain called Capharsaba" (Καφαρσαβᾶ or Χαβαρζαβᾶ in xiii. 15, § 1), and named after his father, Antipater. Though situated in the plain, it was near the mountains; it was abundantly supplied with water, "rivers in abundance;" the soil was fertile; and it was a point in the line of defence taken up by Alexander Jannaeus across the Maritime Plain to prevent the march of Antiochus southwards (*Ant.* xiii. 15, § 1; xvi. 5, § 2;—*B. J.* i. 4, § 7; i. 21, § 9). At a later period he mentions the place again in connexion with the march of Cestius to Jerusalem and his disastrous retreat (*B. J.* ii. 19, § 1; 19, § 9); and also with the military movement of Vespasian from Caesarea towards Jerusalem (*B. J.* iv. 8, § 1). Josephus states (*Ant.* xiii. 15, § 1) that Alexander's line of defence commenced at Capharsaba, "which is now called Antipatris," and this has led some authors to identify the place, erroneously, with *Kefr Sâba*, a small village in the open plain, badly supplied with water, and between seven and eight miles from the point at which the Roman road, from Jerusalem to Caesarea, leaves the mountains. Capharsaba and Antipatris are both mentioned in the Talmud, and Neubauer infers (*Géog. d. Talmud.* 86–89), from the manner in which they are mentioned, that they were two separate and distinct places; and this view is supported by a comparison of *Ant.* xiii. 15, § 1, with xvi. 5, § 2.

Eusebius and Jerome (*OS.*[2] pp. 159. 25, 254. 32) place Antipatris six miles south of Galgula, *Kalkilieh*; and in the Jerusalem Itinerary its distance from Lydda is given as ten miles. These indications are sufficient to identify Antipatris with a mound, crowned with the ruins of a mediaeval castle, which rises above the great springs of *Râs el 'Ain* (see *PFQS.* 1874, 192–6; and *P. F. Mem.* ii. 258–62).

Jerome (*Per. S. Paulae*, v.) calls Antipatris *semirutum oppidulum*; but in the 8th century a large number of Christians resided there, whose massacre by the Arabs in 744 A.D. is alluded to by Theophanes. During the period of the Crusades *Arsûf* was supposed to be Antipatris. Like so many other foreign names of towns in Palestine, the name is now lost. [W.]

ANTO'NIA, a fortress built by Herod on the site of the more ancient Baris, on the N.W. of the Temple, and so named by him after his friend Antonius. [JERUSALEM.] The word nowhere occurs in the Bible, but the fortress is referred to in Acts xxi. 31, &c. [G.]

ANTOTHI'JAH (Ges. *Thes.* = עֲנָתוֹתִיָּה, *prayers accepted of Jehovah*; B. Ἀνωθαίθ, A. Ἀναθωθία; *Anathothia*). A Benjamite, one of the sons of Shashak (1 Ch. viii. 24). [W. A. W.] [F.]

ANTO'THITE, THE (הָעֲנֹתֹתִי; B. ὁ Ἀναθωθεί, A. -θι; *Anathothites*). A native of ANATHOTH (1 Ch. xi. 28, xii. 3). [W. A. W.] [F.]

A'NUB (עָנוּב, Ges. *Thes.* = *delicate, tender*, MV.[10], from a root preserved in Aramaic = *bound together*; B. Ἐννών, A. Ἐγνώβ; *Anob*). Son of Coz, and descendant of Judah, through Ashur, father of TEKOA (1 Ch. iv. 8). [W. A. W.] [F.]

A'NUS (*Banaeus*), a Levite (1 Esd. ix. 48 = Neh. viii. 7). [BANI.]

AP'AME (Ἀπάμη; *Apeme*), daughter of Bartacus and concubine of Darius (1 Esd. iv. 29). [G.]

APE'LLES (Ἀπελλῆς; *Apelles*), a Christian greeted by St. Paul in Rom. xvi. 10, and honoured by the designation "the approved in Christ" (ὁ δόκιμος ἐν Χριστῷ). Horace takes Apella (the usual Latin form) as a representative Jewish name. He is ridiculing a supposed miracle, and says it is only fit for a Jewish Apella to believe (Hor. *Sat.* I. v. 100). Apelles is one of the names occurring in Rom. xvi., which Bp. Lightfoot proves by inscriptions to have been borne at different times by members of the imperial household. See his detached note on "Caesar's household," Philipp. iv. 22. [E. R. B.]

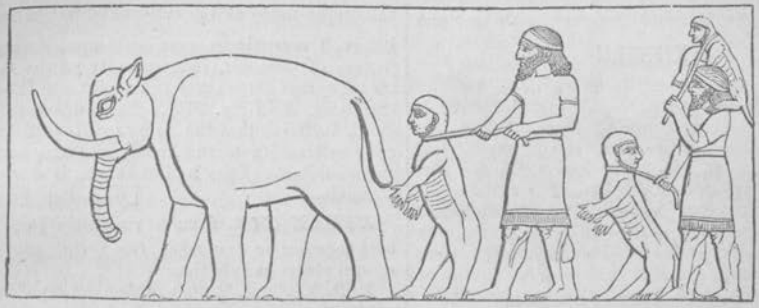
APES (קוֹפִים, *kôphîm*; πίθηκοι; *simiae*) occurs in 1 K. x. 22, "once in three years came the navy of Tharshish, bringing gold, and silver, ivory, and apes, and peacocks," and in the parallel passage of 2 Ch. ix. 21. B., the Vat. Version of the LXX., in the first-mentioned passage omits the words "ivory, and apes, and peacocks," while A., the Alexand. Version, has them; but both these Versions have the words in the passage of the Book of Chronicles.

It would be vain to attempt to identify the Hebrew *Kôphîm* with any particular species of ape or monkey. No animal of the class *Simia* is found either in Western Asia or in Egypt; though—since they were frequently brought into

the latter country, as may be seen by monuments (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* i. p. 382, ed. 1878), and are very numerous in the regions

Monkeys assisting in gathering fruit. (Beni-Hassan, Wilkinson.)

immediately south of Egypt and throughout Eastern Africa—they must have been well known to the Jews. The text, however, appears to point to Indian and not African apes. The word *kôphîm* is of foreign, not Hebrew origin, and is the representative of the Sanskrit *kapi* (ape), which is also identical with the modern Tamil word. As the words used in the same passage for "ivory" and "peacocks" are also modern Tamil, we have a very clear indication of the country whence Solomon obtained these curiosities, and that it must have been either Southern India or Ceylon. The only difficulty is that the ships which brought them are called ships of Tarshish, and Tarshish is generally identified with Tartessus near the mouth of the Guadalquivir in South-Western Spain, which was a Phoenician colony. It is true that the Barbary ape, *Inuus sylvanus*, might have been procured from the neighbourhood of the Pillars of Hercules, but certainly neither ivory nor peacocks. Nor can we place this Tarshish in East Africa, for no peacock exists in Africa, and the Tamil name forbids us to suggest any other bird. But ships for long voyages may have been spoken of as ships of Tarshish, just as the term East Indiamen was often applied to ships of that class with other destinations. Sir E. Tennent has argued, with much probability, in favour of Point de Galle, in Ceylon, as the rendezvous of Solomon's eastern navy.



Elephant and Ape, from Assyrian Monuments. (Obelisk, Nimrud.)

The most common monkeys of South India and Ceylon belong to the genus *Presbytis*, of which five species are recognised from that region. There are also three species of baboon —*Inuus*, which is not uncommon, one *Macacus*, and two *Lemuridae*—in which the tail is absent or rudimentary only.

For some attempts to identify the various kinds of Quadrumana which were known to the ancients, see A. A. H. Lichtenstein's work,

Baboon and Ape, from Assyrian Monuments. (Obelisk, Nimrud.)

entitled *Commentatio philologica de Simiarum quotquot veteribus innotuerunt formis* (Hamb. 1791); and Ed. Tyson's *Homo sylvestris, or the Anatomy of a Pigmie* (Lond. 1699), to which he has added a Philosophical Essay concerning the Cynocephali, the Satyrs, and Sphinxes of the ancients. Aristotle (*de Anim. Hist.* ii. 5, ed. Schneider) appears to divide the Quadrumana order of Mammalia into three tribes, which he characterises by the names πίθηκοι, κῆβοι, and κυνοκέφαλοι. The last-named family are no doubt identical with the animals that

form the African genus *Cynocephalus* of modern zoologists. The κῆβοι Aristotle distinguishes from the πίθηκοι, by the fact of the former possessing a tail.[a] This name, perhaps, may stand for the whole tribe of tailed monkeys, excluding the *Cynocephali* and the *Lemuridae*, which latter, since they belong principally to the island of Madagascar, were probably wholly unknown to the ancients.

The πίθηκοι, therefore, would stand as the representative of the tailless apes, such as the Chimpanzee, &c. Although, however, Aristotle perhaps used these terms respectively in a definite sense, it by no means follows that they are so employed by other writers. The name πίθηκοι, for instance, seems to have been sometimes used to denote some species of Cynocephalus (see a Fragment of Simonides in Schneider's *Annot. ad Arist. Hist. Anim.* iii. 76). The LXX. in all probability used the word in an extended sense as the representative of the Hebrew word *Kôph*, to denote any species of Quadrumanous Mammalia.

In the engraving which represents the Lithostrotum Praenestinum (that curious mosaic pavement found at Praeneste), in Shaw's Travels (ii. 294, 8vo ed.), is to be seen the figure of some animal in a tree, with the word KHIΠEN over it. Of this animal Dr. Shaw says (p. 312),

Monkey, from the Praenestine Mosaic.

"It is a beautiful little creature, with a shaggy neck like the *Callithrix*, and shaped exactly like those monkeys that are commonly called Marmosets. The KHIΠEN, therefore, may be the Ethiopian monkey, called by the Hebrews *Kouph*, and by the Greeks ΚΗΠΟΣ, ΚΗΦΟΣ, or ΚΕΙΠΟΣ, from whence the Latin name *Cephus*." This description will be found to apply better to the figure in the 4to ed. of Dr. Shaw's Travels than to that in the 8vo ed. Perhaps, as Col. Hamilton Smith has suggested, the *Keipen* of the Praenestine mosaic may be the *Cercopithecus griseoviridis*, Desmar., which is a native of Nubia, the country represented in that part of the mosaic where the figure of the *keipen* occurs.

It is very probable that some species of baboons is signified by the term *Satyrs*, which occurs in the A. V. in the prophet Isaiah [SATYR]. Bishop Coverdale, or the author of the first English translation of the Bible, seems to have been a better naturalist than the company of the A. V.; for in the 1st edition, A.D. 1537, as well as in all subsequent editions, he reads (Is. xiii. 21)—where the A. V. has, "satyrs [R. V. marg. *he-goats*] shall dance there"—"apes shall daunce there." The ancients were no doubt acquainted with many kinds of Quadrumana, both of the tailed and tailless kinds (see Plin. viii. c. 19, xi. 44; Aelian. *Nat. An.* xvii. 25, 39; Strab. xvii. 827; Bochart, *Hieroz.* ii. 398; cf. Mart. *Epig.* iv. 12). [W. H.] [H. B. T.]

[a] "Si mihi cauda foret cercopithecus ero."

APHAR'SATHCHITES, APHAR'SITES, APHAR'SACITES (אַפַרְסַתְכָיֵא, אַפַרְסָיֵא; in Ezra iv. 9, B. Φαρεσθαχαῖοι . . . Ἀφρασαῖοι, A. Ἀφαρσαθαχαῖοι . . . Ἀφαρσαῖοι; *Apharsathachoei . . . Apharsoei*; in v. 6, B. Ἀφαρσακκαῖοι, A. -χαιοι; *Arphasachoei*), the names of certain tribes, colonies from which had settled in Samaria under the Assyrian leader ASNAPPER (Ezra iv. 9, v. 6). The first and last are regarded as the same. Whence these tribes came is entirely a matter of conjecture (see Riehm, *HWB.* s. n.). The initial א is regarded as *prosthetic*; and the remaining portion of the first two names has been considered to bear some resemblance (a very distant one) to Paraetacae, or Paraetaceni (Herod. i. 101), a tribe living on the borders of Media and Persia. Fried. Delitzsch (Baer's ed. of Ezra, p. ix.) finds the original form of the names in אַפַרְתַּכְיֵא, *Partakka* or *Partukka*, two Median cities mentioned by Sennacherib. The second name has been referred to the Parrhasii in Eastern Media, and by Gesenius to the Persae. The presence of the proper name of the Persians (פָּרָס) in Ezra i. 1, iv. 3, must throw some doubt upon the conjecture of Gesenius, independently of the fact that Assyrian kings never penetrated into Persia (Schrader, *KAT.*[2] p. 376). The conjecture of Fried. Delitzsch that the name recalls a Median tribe referred to in the Annals of Sennacherib and inhabitants of the land of Parsua, is at least plausible. [W. L. B.] [F.]

A'PHEK (אֲפֵק, from a root signifying to hold together or strengthen, Ges.), the name of several places in Palestine.

1. B. Ὀφέκ, A. Ἀφέκ; *Aphec*. A royal city of the Canaanites, the king of which was killed by Joshua (Josh. xii. 18). As this is named with Tappuah and other places in the mountains of Judah, it is very probably the same as the Aphekah of Josh. xv. 53. A trace of the name may perhaps exist in *Wâd Fûkin*, a small village in the hills west of Bethlehem.[a]

2. In Josh. xiii., B. Ταφέκ, A. Ἀφεκά; *Apheca*. A city, apparently in the extreme north of Asher (Josh. xix. 30; Ἀφέκ, *Aphec*), from which the Canaanites were not ejected (Judg. i. 31; though here it is Aphik, אֲפִיק; A. Ἀφέκ, B. omits or has a different reading [see APHIK]; *Aphec*). This is probably the same place as the Aphek (Josh. xiii. 4) on the extreme north "border of the Amorites," and apparently beyond Sidon, and which is identified by Gesenius (*Thes.* 140 *a*) with the Aphaca of classical times, famous for its temple of Venus and now *Afka* (Rob. iii. 606; Porter, ii. 295–6). *Afka*, however, lies beyond the ridge of Lebanon, on the north-western slopes of the mountain, and consequently much further up than the other towns of Asher which have been identified. On the other hand, it is hardly more to the north of the

[a] The LXX. reading (B.) is βασιλέα Ὀφὲκ τῆς Ἀρώκ (A. om. τ. A.). Ἀρώκ is taken to be a corruption of Σαρων (cp. the Heb. text), and the place here is considered the same as No. 4 (cp. Dillmann, and *QPB.*[3] i. l.).

known limits of the tribe, than Kadesh and other places named as in Judah were to the south; and Aphek may, like many other sanctuaries, have had a reputation at a very early date, sufficient in the days of Joshua to cause its mention in company with the other northern sanctuary of Baal-gad. The northerly position is supported by the opinion that in the reign of Sethi I., Kadesh on the Orontes was an Amorite town under the jurisdiction of the Hittites.

3. A place at which the Philistines encamped, while the Israelites pitched in Ebenezer, before the fatal battle in which the sons of Eli were killed and the ark taken (1 Sam. iv. 1; Ἀφέκ, *Aphec*). M. Cl. Ganneau (*PFQy. Stat.* 1877, 154–6) proposes to identify Ebenezer with *Deir 'Abân* near Bethshemesh, supposing that the ark would be carried back to the place where it was captured. There is much in favour of this view; but the distance, though not so great as to be impossible, is rather too remote from Shiloh and Mizpeh. Major Conder has suggested, doubtfully, *Merj Fikieh*, near *Bâb el-Wâd*, and *Deir el-'Azar* near *Kuryet el-'Enab* for the Aphek and Ebenezer of 1 Sam. iv. 1. Josephus (*B. J.* ii. 19, 1) mentions a Πύργος Ἀφεκοῦ near Antipatris.

4. The scene of another encampment of the Philistines, before an encounter not less disastrous than that just named,—the defeat and death of Saul (1 Sam. xxix. 1; Ἀφέκ, *Aphec*). By comparison with ver. 11, it seems as if this Aphek were not necessarily near Shunem, though on the road thither from the Philistine district. It is possible that it may be the same place as the preceding; and if so, the Philistines were marching to Jezreel by the present road along the "backbone" of the country. *Fukûâ*, on the southern slope of Mount Gilboa, has been suggested (*PF. Mem.* ii. 84) as a possible site for this Aphek; but from this place the Philistines could not have "gone up" to Jezreel (1 Sam. xxix. 11). Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 14, 1) has Ἐγγὰ for Aphek.

5. In 1 K. xxi. (LXX.) B. Ἀφεκά, A. -αν; *Aphec*. A city on the military road from Syria to Israel (1 K. xx. 26). It was walled (*v.* 30), and was apparently a common spot for engagements with Syria (2 K. xiii. 17; Ἀφέκ, *Aphec*). The use of the word הַמִּישֹׁר (A. V. "the plain") in 1 K. xx. 25 fixes the situation of this Aphek in the level down-country east of the Jordan [MISHOR]; and there, accordingly, it is now found in *Fik*, at the head of the *Wâdy Fik*, six miles east of the Sea of Galilee, the great road between Damascus, *Nâbulus*, and Jerusalem, still passing (Kiepert's map, 1857), with all the permanence of the East, through the village, which is remarkable for the number of inns that it contains (Burckh. 280). By Josephus (viii. 14, § 4) the name is given as Ἀφεκά. Eusebius (*Onom.* Ἀφεκά) says that in his time there was, beyond Jordan, a κώμη μεγάλη (Jer. *castellum grande*) called Apheca, near (περὶ) Hippes (Jer. Hippus); but he apparently confounds it with (1). Hippos was one of the towns which formed the Decapolis. *Fik*, or *Feik*, has been visited by Burckhardt, Seetzen, and others (Ritter, *Pal.* 348–353), and is the only one of the places bearing this name that has been identified with certainty. The name appears as *Apḳu* in an inscription of Esarhaddon (Schrader, *KAT.*[2] p. 204). [G.] [W.]

APHE'KAH (אֲפֵקָה; B. Φακουά, A. Ἀφακά; *Apheca*), a city of Judah in the mountains (Josh. xv. 53), probably the same as APHEK (1). [G.] [W.]

APHE'REMA (T.[7] Ἀφαίρεμα, A. Ἀφέρεμα; Ἀφερειμά, Jos.), one of the three "governments" (νόμους, and once τοπαρχίαι) added to Judaea from Samaria and Galilee by Demetrius Nicator, and confirmed by Nicanor (1 Macc. xi. 34: see Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 4, § 9, and Reland, 178). The word, omitted in the Vulgate, is probably the same as Ephraim (Ophrah, *Taiyibeh*). [G.] [W.]

APHER'RA (Ἀφφερρά; *Eura*), one of the sons of the "servants of Solomon" who returned with Zerubbabel (1 Esd. v. 34) His name does not occur in the parallel lists of Ezra and Nehemiah. [G.] [W.]

APHI'AH (אַפִּיחַ; B. Ἀφέκ, A*. Ἀφάχ, A.[1] Ἀφίχ; *Aphia*), one of the forefathers of Saul (1 Sam. ix. 1). [W. A. W.] [F.]

APHI'K (אֲפִיק; A. Ἀφέκ, B. Ναεί; *Aphec*), a city of Asher from which the Canaanites were not driven out (Judg. i. 31). Probably the same place as APHEK (2). [W. A. W.] [F.]

APH'RAH, the house of (בֵּית לְעָפְרָה; R.V. *Beth-le-Aphrah*, marg. "a house of dust," so MV.[10]), a place mentioned in Mic. i. 10, and supposed by some (Winer, p. 172) to be identical with Ophrah. But this can hardly be, inasmuch as all the towns named in the context are in the low country to the west of Judah, while Ophrah would appear to lie E. of Bethel [OPHRAH]. LXX. ἐξ οἴκου κατὰ γέλωτα; Vulg. *in domo pulveris*. [G.] [W.]

APH'SES (הַפְּצִיץ, Ges. = *dispersion*; B. Αφεσή, A. Ἰεζείρ; *Aphses*; R. V. "Happizzez"), chief of the 18th of the 24 courses in the service of the Temple (1 Ch. xxiv. 15). [W. A. W.] [F.]

APOC'ALYPSE. [REVELATION.]

APOC'RYPHA. This article deals with the collection of books to which the term "Apocrypha" is familiarly applied in England at the present day. In other words, it treats of the fragments of Jewish literature not included in the Hebrew Canon of Scripture, which have nevertheless been preserved in the Greek and Latin Versions of the Old Testament.

Although the terms "Deutero-Canonical" and "Ecclesiastical," which are sometimes by preference given to these writings, are, as we shall see, more strictly accurate, they are never likely to supplant the less correct and now generally accepted name. But it will sometimes be necessary to make use of them, in order to avoid needless ambiguity.

The titles of the Books of the Apocrypha, according to the order in which they are placed in the English Version, are:—

I. 1 Esdras.
II. 2 Esdras.
III. Tobit.
IV. Judith.

V. The rest of the chapters in the Book of Esther, which are found neither in the Hebrew nor in the Chaldee.
VI. The Wisdom of Solomon.
VII. The Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach, or Ecclesiasticus.
VIII. Baruch.
IX. The Song of the Three Holy Children.
X. The History of Susanna.
XI. The History of the Destruction of Bel and the Dragon.
XII. The Prayer of Manasses king of Judah.
XIII. 1 Maccabees.
XIV. 2 Maccabees.

To these may here be added 3 and 4 Maccabees, both of which appear in the LXX. of the Codex Alexandrinus, the 3rd being given also in the Codex Vaticanus, the 4th in the Codex Sinaiticus.*

In this list No. VIII., The Book of Baruch, contains as its sixth chapter "The Epistle of Jeremy:" Nos. IX., X., XI. constitute the so-called "Additions to Daniel:" "The Prayer of Azariah" is included in "The Song of the Three Holy Children." The separate books of the Apocrypha are treated of under their respective titles.

In the course of the present article the references are made from O. F. Fritzsche's *Libri Apocryphi Veteris Testamenti*, Lips. 1871.

It has been impossible to include within the limits of this article the important pseudepigraphic Apocrypha represented by such writings as the Psalms of Solomon, the Book of Enoch, the Book of Jubilees, the Assumption of Moses, &c.

The following gives in brief outline the contents of this article:—

I. The History of the word "Apocrypha" and of its special application.
II. The Relation of the Apocrypha to the History of the Canon in—
(1) the Jewish Church, p. 166.
(2) the Christian Church.
(*a*) to 600 A.D., p. 169.
(*b*) to the close of the 16th century, p. 173.
(*c*) to the present time, p. 175.
III. Classification and Description of the books of the Apocrypha, p. 179.
IV. The Apocrypha, in relation to
(1) Jewish Literature, p. 182.
(2) Jewish Theology, p. 186.
V. The Text of the Apocrypha, p. 195.
VI. The Literature upon the Apocrypha, p. 197.

I. *The History of the word "Apocrypha" and of its special application.*—The word ἀπόκρυφος, in classical writers, though not common, is found with (*a*) the simple meaning of "hidden," "concealed" (*e.g.* Eurip. *Herc. Fur.* 1070); (*b*) the secondary meaning of "recondite," "obscure," "hid from knowledge" (*e.g.* Xen. *Mem.* iii. 5, 14, τί ἂν ποιοῦντες ἀναλάβοιεν τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀρετήν; ... καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, Οὐδὲν ἀπόκρυφον δοκεῖ μοι εἶναι: cf. *Callimachi Fragmata*, 242, γράμματα ἀπόκρυφα).

In the LXX. it appears (*a*) rarely, as a strict adjective = "hidden," "concealed" (*e.g.* Isa. xlv. 3; 1 Macc. i. 23; Ecclus. xxiii. 19, xlii. 9): (*b*) generally with ἐν, as an adjectival substantive, meaning "a place of concealment" (*e.g.* Ps. ix. 29, xvi. 12, lxiii. 5; Ecclus. xvi. 19; Isa. iv. 6; Deut. xxvii. 15; Job xxxix. 28). (*c*) The neuter plural ἀπόκρυφα is used as a substantive for "hidden resources," sometimes of material wealth (*e.g.* Dan. xi. 43 [Theod.], κυριεύσει ἐν τοῖς ἀποκρύφοις τοῦ χρυσοῦ, where it translates מַכְמַנֵּי). In this form it is especially applied to materials of knowledge, hidden from the human understanding (*e.g.* Dan. ii. 22 [Theod.], αὐτὸς ἀποκαλύπτει βαθέα καὶ ἀπόκρυφα (מַסְתָּרָתָא), γινώσκων τὰ ἐν τῷ σκότει, καὶ τὸ φῶς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐστί: Ecclus. xiv. 21; xxxix. 3, 7; xlii. 19; xlviii. 25; cf. xliii. 32). In these passages the prevailing idea of the word may be illustrated by the "depths" (βάθη: cf. 1 Cor. ii. 10, Rev. ii. 24), afterwards used by Gnostics to express the mysteries of knowledge.

In the New Testament the word occurs only three times: Mark iv. 22; Luke viii. 17; Col. ii. 3, ἐν ᾧ εἰσὶν πάντες οἱ θησαυροὶ τῆς σοφίας καὶ γνώσεως ἀπόκρυφοι. St. Paul, in this last passage, speaking of the "treasures" of wisdom and knowledge "hidden away in Christ," perhaps contrasts them with the esoteric doctrines on which the leaders of the Colossian heresy prided themselves (see Lightfoot's *Colossians* in loco). There is, however, no evidence to show that the word had as yet been applied in any technical sense to *writings*.

In Patristic Literature the word ἀπόκρυφος is technically applied to writings, Jewish, Christian and heretical. But its history is hard to trace, owing to the variety of meanings under which it appears in different authors, and even in the writings of the same author.

At the close of the 2nd century A.D., we find that books could be termed "Apocryphal" because they treated of "esoteric doctrines" or "knowledge *hidden* from the uninitiated." An example of this occurs in the writings of Clemens Alexandrinus (circ. 200 A.D.), who mentions that the followers of Prodicus boasted of possessing "Apocryphal books" (*i.e.* books containing the esoteric teaching) of Zoroaster (βίβλους ἀποκρύφους τἀνδρὸς τοῦδε οἱ τὴν Προδίκου μετίοντες αἵρεσιν αὐχοῦσι κεκτῆσθαι, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 15, p. 357, ed. Potter). This distinction between the sacred books of a religious community, according as they were intended for the use of the uninitiated many or of the initiated few, was not uncommon during the early centuries of the Christian era. A well-known illustration is afforded by a passage in the Jewish pseudepigraphic work, 2 Esdras (xiv. 44-47), "In the course of forty days were written four and ninety" (undoubtedly the correct reading) "books. And it came to pass, when the forty days were fulfilled, that the Most High spake, saying, The first which thou hast written publish openly; and let the worthy and the unworthy read. But thou shalt keep the seventy last, that thou mayest deliver them to such as be wise among thy people; for in them is the vein of understanding, and the fount of wisdom, and the stream of knowledge." By the twenty-four Books here mentioned are meant the Books of the Hebrew Canon. The remaining "seventy" probably re-

* For other additions to the canonical Books of the O. T. to be found in the LXX. see in that Version, Ps. cli., Job ii. 9, xlii. 17; Prov. vi. 6, ix. 12, xxiv. 22.

presented, under a symbolical number, the class of mystical and Apocalyptic writings of which the Second Book of Esdras, the Book of Enoch, &c., are specimens. Whether this "seventy" included any of the books of our Apocrypha need not here be discussed. It is sufficient to observe that they were *βίβλοι ἀπόκρυφοι*, "apocryphal books of esoteric teaching," which only the "wise" of a religious community were permitted to read or deemed capable of understanding. When Gregory of Nyssa and Epiphanius, in the 4th century, speak of the Apocalypse as an "apocryphal" writing (Greg. Nyss. *Or. de Ordin.* ii. 44; Epiphan. *Haer.* 51), they are using the word in this originally technical sense, and only desire to imply that the book contained mysteries unintelligible to the masses.

The Christian Church afforded no scope for esoteric writings. The fullest revelation of God had been made in the writings of the Apostles and Prophets, which were read publicly in the churches. Books purporting to contain more transcendental truths, which were unintelligible to the masses and appealed only to the wise and learned, aroused suspicion. The general use, not the secrecy of a book, stamped it with the approbation of the Church (cf. Luke viii. 17). Origen, who frequently refers to "apocryphal" writings, contrasts them in a tone of depreciation with the Books of acknowledged worth or public circulation (*e.g.* Origen, *Comm. in Matth.* tom. x. c. 18; *Epist. ad African.* c. 9; *Comm. in Matth.* [Lat.] § 28 libri secretiores, § 117 secreta Scriptura).[b]

Many of the writers of the apocryphal books, alluded to by Origen and his contemporaries, seem to have been Gnostics or visionaries, who hoped by literary forgeries to disseminate their views, without openly betraying their conflict with Scriptural doctrine. This circumstance alone was sufficient to compromise the whole class of pseudepigraphic literature. Its name became a byword of odium: Christian Fathers included the whole range of apocryphal literature in their denunciation of certain heretical writers and views (*e.g.* Hegesippus *ap.* Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 22. 8: *καὶ περὶ τῶν λεγομένων δὲ ἀποκρύφων διαλαμβάνων, ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ χρόνων πρός τινων αἱρετικῶν ἀναπεπλάσθαι τινὰ τούτων ἱστορεῖ.* Tertull. *de Animâ*, cap. ii.: "Quid autem, si philosophi etiam illa incursaverunt, quae penes nos apocryphorum confessione damnantur").

Partly from the unsound character of the books, partly too from the Church's condemnation of their writers, the adjective "apocryphal" (*ἀπόκρυφος*) is found at the close of the 2nd century with the meaning of "false" or "supposititious:" *e.g.* Iren. *Haer.* i. 20, *πλῆθος ἀποκρύφων καὶ νόθων γραφῶν*; Tertull. *de Pudicit.* cap. x., "(Scriptura Pastoris) si non ab omni concilio ecclesiarum vestrarum etiam inter apocrypha et falsa judicaretur;" Clem. *Strom.* iii. 4 (p. 524, ed. Potter), *ἐῤῥύη δὲ αὐτοῖς τὸ δόγμα ἔκ τινος ἀποκρύφου· καὶ δὴ παραθήσομαι τὴν λέξιν τήν τε τούτων ἀσελγείας μητέρα*; Orig. *Prol. in Cant.* sub fin. "(Scripturae) quae appellantur apocryphae pro eo quod multa in iis corrupta et contra fidem veram inveniuntur a majoribus tradita."

The special application of the term *ἀπόκρυφα* to spurious and heretical works is common in the Nicene age. Athanasius, in his threefold division of ecclesiastical writings into books "canonical," books "read in the churches," and books "apocryphal" (*βιβλία κανονιζόμενα, βιβλία ἀναγινωσκόμενα*, and *ἀπόκρυφα*), characterizes the last class as the arbitrary inventions of heretics, who falsified dates in order to give their writings an appearance of antiquity (Athan. *Epist. ad Amun. Mon.*, Opp. i. 768 D; ed. Migne, tom. ii. p. 1179).

Athanasius's use of "apocryphal" corresponds with Eusebius's application of "spurious" (*νόθα*) to the lowest grade of ecclesiastical books. The majority of these compositions were pseudepigraphic. Their authors were not known, but, according to the general belief in the Church, their object had been to introduce erroneous doctrines under the authority of revered names. Cp. *Apostol. Constit.* vi. 16.

In process of time, perhaps as the danger of heretical books becoming incorporated with the Canon of Holy Scriptures was no longer felt, the term "apocryphal" began to be associated with pseudepigraphic rather than with heretical writings. This was especially the case in the Western Church, where the term "apocryphal" was generally explained as denoting obscurity of origin or uncertainty of authorship: *e.g.* Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, xv. 23, "Apocryphae nuncupantur eo quod earum occulta origo non claruit patribus;" *c. Faust.* xi. 2, "Apocryphi non quod habendi sunt in aliquâ auctoritate secretâ, sed quia nullâ testificationis luce declarati, de nescio quo secreto nescio quorum praesumtione prolati sunt;" Jerome, *Ep.* 107, *ad Lactam*, "(Laeta) sciat non eorum esse (Apocrypha) quorum titulis praenotentur."

The application of "apocryphal" to books excluded from the Canon is the next stage to be recorded. This was an easy transition. The word had lost its original meaning. It denoted sometimes obscurity of origin, sometimes doubtful authenticity, sometimes heretical doctrine. Now *obscurity of origin* was a characteristic of the second or "ecclesiastical" (*ἀναγινωσκόμενα*) as well as of the third or "spurious" division (*ἀπόκρυφα*) of books according to the Athanasian classification. When therefore it was found convenient, if not necessary, to define by a single phrase the non-canonical writings of the Church, it was natural to make use of a term like "Apocryphal" which could embrace both of these divisions. The use of "Apocrypha," in the

[b] The suggestion that the early Christian use of the word *ἀπόκρυφος* has been influenced by the Rabbinical word גנז. Syr. *gnaz*, "to hide," is not without evidence in its favour. The Hebrew word was technically used for the declaration that a book was uncanonical (Levy, *Neuhebr. u. Chald. Wörterbuch*, Bd. i. 1876). In this sense it was used by the Rabbins of writings excluded from public use upon moral or doctrinal grounds. It may be questioned whether any official condemnation is conveyed by Origen's use of the word "apocryphal." The connexion between גנוז and *ἀπόκρυφος* rests chiefly on the similarity of their primary meanings, and on the fact that both words, technically applied to writings, convey a disparaging sense. Jewish *g'nuzim* were writings authoritatively removed from the use of the community, Origen's *ἀπόκρυφα* were books not read publicly in the churches, being either esoteric in teaching or private in circulation. See Zahn, *Ntl. Kanon*, pp. 125, 126 (1888).

sense of "non-canonical writings read in the Churches," may be illustrated by a passage from Basil, where he enjoins that the monk should read the Canonical Books, and by no manner of means meddle with "Apocrypha:" *τὰ ἐνδιάθετα βιβλία ἀναγινώσκειν, ἀποκρύφοις ὅλως μὴ ἐντυγχάνειν* (Serm. *περὶ ἀσκήσεως*, tom. ii. 247). But, as a general rule, the fathers of the Eastern Church, influenced by the opinion of Athanasius, took care to discriminate between the writings of his second and third divisions, restricting *ἀπόκρυφα* to the latter.

In the Western Church, however, the word "Apocrypha" began to be technically used of the non-canonical ecclesiastical writings. As there was a conflict of opinion with regard to the limits of the Canon itself (see below), there arose a parallel confusion with regard to the application of the word "Apocrypha."

Jerome and the divines who adhered to the Hebrew Canon of the Old Testament, used the word "Apocrypha" not only of *supposititious* works, but also of the *ecclesiastical* books, "libri ecclesiastici" as they were called by Ruffinus, which were included in the LXX. Version and its Latin derivatives. The words of Jerome which exercised the most powerful influence over subsequent writers upon the subject, occur in his prologue to the Books of Samuel, the *Prologus Galeatus*. He there asserts that any book not included in the four-and-twenty Hebrew Books of the O. T. must be classed as apocryphal, "ut scire valeamus, quidquid extra hos est, inter *ἀπόκρυφα* esse ponendum." Cp. Jerome, *Praef. ad Judith*, "Apud Hebraeos liber Judith inter Apocrypha (*v. l.* Hagiographa) legitur." Augustine, on the other hand, and his followers, who regard the "libri ecclesiastici" as Canonical Books, never refer to them as "apocryphal." They restrict the term to spurious and pseudepigraphic writings.[c] And thus it happened that both Jerome and Augustine — the one accepting the shorter Palestinian, the other the longer Alexandrine Canon of the Old Testament — assigned to *ἀπόκρυφα* the same meaning of "non-canonical writings." Unfortunately their difference of starting-point contributed to great confusion of thought among Western divines, who were accustomed to base opinion and phraseology upon the utterances of the two great doctors. The perplexity of mind which sought to reconcile the rival views gave rise to still more vague and inaccurate definitions. Isidore of Seville (600) introduces the previous explanations of "secret," "uncertain of origin," "untruthful," "pseudonymous," in his own definition (*Etymol.* vi. 2, §§ 51, 52): "Apocrypha autem dicta id est secreta, quia in dubium veniunt. Est enim occulta origo nec patet patribus, ex quibus usque ad nos auctoritas veracium scripturarum certissima successione pervenit. In iis apocryphis etsi invenitur aliqua veritas, tamen propter multa falsa nulla est in iis canonica auctoritas, quae recti a prudentibus judicantur non esse eorum credenda quibus adscribuntur. Nam multa sub nominibus prophetarum et recentiorum sub nominibus apostolorum ab haereticis proferuntur, quae omnia sub nomine apocryphorum auctoritate canonica diligenti examinatione remota sunt." His own preference for the meaning "of doubtful authorship" is shown by his description of Judith, Tobit, and Maccabees, "quibus auctoribus scripti sint minime constat" (*Etymol.* vi. 2, § 33). The variety of uses to which the word was put in the Middle Ages may be exemplified by the following quotations (see Hody, *De Bibliorum Textibus*, &c., 1705):—Alcuin (800): "Quem librum (Jesum f. Sirach) B. Hieronymus atque Isidorus inter *Apocryphas id est dubias Scripturas* deputatum esse absque dubitatione testatur" (*adv. Elepantum*, Tolet. i. 1). Petrus Comestor (1170): "Job, David, 3 libri Salomonis, Daniel, Paralipomena, Esdras, Hester, Sapientia, Ecclesiasticus, Judith, Tobias, Pastor, Machabaeorum, *Apocrypha sunt, quod auctor ignoratur eorum*" (*Praef. in Jos.*). "Recole supra in principio Josue dictum quod *Apocryphum* dicitur, vel *cujus auctor incertus, vel cujus materia incerta*" (*Praef. in Tob.*). Hugo de Santo Caro (1240): "*Apocryphorum* triplex est diversitas, scilicet *cujus auctor ignoratur sed patet veritas* ut Judith, et tales recipit Ecclesia. Vel *cujus veritas ignoratur*; et tales non recipit Ecclesia. Vel utroque modo, et neque tales recipit Ecclesia" (*Prooem. in Jud.*). Gul-Brito (1325): "Libri, qui a quibusdam secundus Esdrae, ab aliis tertius inscribitur, cum *non sit in Canone, utpote Apocryphus.*" MS. Bodl. Hatton, 64, manu vet. (?): "Volumina, *quae non sunt de Ebraica Bibliotheca, et ideo dicuntur Apocrypha*, quia a synagoga non confirmantur ut *quorum autores ignorantur.*" Alph. Tostatus (1450): "Dicuntur *Apocrypha*, quia sunt *istae Scripturae secretae id est veritas eorum secreta est*, quia nescitur an verae an falsae sint. Sciendum tamen, quod Scriptura vocatur *Apocrypha vel non est in Canone* S. Scripturae propter duo, scilicet vel quia *dubitatur de veritate ejus*, vel *quia dubitatur de auctore.*"[d]

In the Middle Ages we find no trace of any deliberate intention to limit the term "Apocrypha" to the "Ecclesiastical" books, to the exclusion of books which would seem to have a better title to the name (such as the Book of Enoch, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Apocryphal Gospels and Apocalypses). But these last-named books were little known and little used. Moreover, with rare exceptions, they were not included in copies of the Bible. It was therefore inevitable that a tendency to narrow the application of "Apocrypha" to the Ecclesiastical books should arise.

The way was thus prepared for the special use of the word, which, having been adopted by

[c] A good illustration is supplied by a passage from Leo (450), *Ep.* xv. § 15: "Apocryphae autem Scripturae quae sub nominibus Apostolorum multarum habent seminarium falsitatum non solum interdicendae sunt sed etiam penitus auferendae sunt, atque ignibus concremandae," where the context shows that the heretical writings of Priscillianists are referred to.

[d] A characteristic definition is given by Hugo de St. Victore († 1141): "Apocryphus, id est dubius et absconditus, liber duobus modis dicitur; vel quia auctor ejus incertus, vel quia communi assensu fidelis synagogae vel ecclesiae non est receptus et confirmatus, et si nihil in eo [pavi] reperiatus. Unde et liber Job Apocryphus est, quia dubii auctoris; in canone tamen confirmatus est auctoritate fidelis synagogae" (*De Scriptur. et Scriptor. Sac.*, cap. xii.).

the leading Reformers, has ever since obtained familiar acceptance in England and America, and in the Reformed Churches on the Continent.

The Reformers used the term "Apocrypha" to represent the books which they found in their Bibles, but which they excluded from their Canon of Holy Scripture. In this usage they were influenced partly, no doubt, by the fact that they were here supported, in their controversy with Rome, by an authority of so much weight and eminence as Jerome. The earliest and best known definition proceeding from this quarter, that of Bodenstein of Carlstadt in his *De Canonicis Scripturis libellus*, Wittenberg, 1520, expresses dissatisfaction with Augustine's explanation of the word (cited above), and adopting Jerome's position pronounces that exclusion from the Hebrew Canon constitutes the true test of an apocryphal work: "Constat incertitudinem autoris non facere apocrypha scripta, nec certum autorem reddere canonicas Scripturas, sed quod solus canon libros quos respuit Apocryphos facit sive habeant autores et nomina sive non."

Luther's complete edition of the German Bible (1534) contained the books Judith, Wisdom, Tobias, Ecclesiasticus, 1 & 2 Maccabees, Additions to Esther and Daniel, and the Prayer of Manasseh, grouped together as a distinct collection under the general title of "Apocrypha; *i.e.* Books which are not of like worth with Holy Scripture, yet are good and useful to be read." From that time the special application of the word came into general use among the Reformers.

The decision of the Council of Trent in 1546 (see below) led to several counter dogmatic definitions from the Reformed Churches, in which the "Apocryphal" are identified with the "Ecclesiastical" or "Deutero-Canonical" books of the Latin Bible, e.g. *Belgic Confession*, Art. vi. (1561): "We distinguish these sacred books from the Apocryphal, viz. the third and fourth Book of Esdras, the Books of Tobias, Judith, Wisdom, Jesus Syrach, Baruch, the Appendix to the Book of Esther, the Song of the Three Children in the Furnace, the History of Susanna, of Bel and the Dragon, the Prayer of Manasses, and the two Books of Maccabees." Cp. *Second Helvetic Confession* (1566), cap. i. 9: "Interim nihil dissimulamus, quosdam Veteris Testamenti libros a veteribus nuncupatos esse apocryphos, ab aliis *ecclesiasticos*." *Irish Articles*, Art. iii. (1615): "The other books (cp. Art. vi. in the XXXIX. of the Church of England and *Confess. Gal.* iv. 'alii libri'), commonly called 'Apocryphal,' such are these following: 'The Third Book of Esdras, the Fourth Book of Esdras, the Book of Tobias, the Book of Judith, Additions to the Book of Esther, the Book of Wisdom, the Book of Jesus the Son of Sirach called Ecclesiasticus, Baruch with the Epistle of Jeremiah, the Song of the Three Children, Susanna, Bel and the Dragon, the Prayer of Manasses, the First Book of Maccabaeus, the Second Book of Maccabaeus.'"

At the close of the 16th century the title of "Apocrypha" had in England and in the Reformed Churches on the Continent become so firmly attached to the "Ecclesiastical" or "Deutero-Canonical" books, that no doubts expressed as to its fitness on the score of either past history or original signification could have availed to alter its application. Theologians found themselves compelled to acquiesce in a popular usage, which they knew to be inaccurate, as may be shown by the well-known passage in Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, bk. v. xx. 7 (ed. Keble), the importance of which will justify its quotation in this place: "Now, besides the Scripture, the books, which they called Ecclesiastical, were thought not unworthy sometimes to be brought into public audience, and with that name they entitled the books, *which we call Apocryphal*. Under the selfsame name they also comprised certain no otherwise annexed unto the New than the former unto the Old Testament, as a Book of Hermas, Epistles of Clement, and the like. According, therefore, to the phrase of antiquity, these we may term the New and the other the Old Ecclesiastical books or writings. For we, being directed by a sentence (I suppose) of St. Jerome, who saith 'that all writings not canonical are apocryphal' (Hieron. *Prolog. Galeat.*), use not now the title 'apocryphal' as the rest of the Fathers ordinarily have done, whose custom is so to name for the most part only such as might not publicly be read or divulged."

In the *Eastern* Church, during the Middle Ages, the title of "Apocrypha" continued to be reserved for Athanasius's third division of ecclesiastical writings, such as the Book of Enoch and the Apocryphal Gospels. But early in the 17th century the influence of Western controversies began to make itself felt in the Greek Church. The Confession of Cyril Lucar (Latin, 1629; Greek, 1633), Patriarch of Constantinople, who was well known for his Western predilections, defines "Apocrypha" as "books not having the ratification from the all-holy Spirit in the manner of the genuinely and indisputably Canonical Books." This description did not, however, continue long in favour, and in 1672 it was condemned by the Council of Jerusalem. From that date onward the Greek Church returned to the Athanasian use, applying the title of "Apocrypha" to a class distinct from and inferior to the Deutero-Canonical books (*ἀναγινωσκόμενα*).

By the Church of Rome also the word "Apocrypha," though not occurring in the Decrees of the Council of Trent, is used without fear of ambiguity, in reference to books not included in the Tridentine Canon. Dens' *Theologia* (*de Virtute Fid.* No. 61, *de Divis. Script. Sacr.*) gives the following definition of Apocryphal books: "To the Canonical Books are opposed the *apocryphal* books, which are so called because the Church has failed to find a sufficiently sure foundation for the tradition respecting them, although some Fathers have at times hesitated as to their divine origin. Such are the 3rd and 4th Books of Esdras, 3rd and 4th of Maccabees, the Prayer of King Manasses the captive, &c. Among *apocryphal* books some are *positively* apocryphal or condemned (*reprobati*), such as those which Pope Gelasius condemns, *Can. Sancta Rom.* dist. 15; others are *negatively* apocryphal, that is, by the Church neither approved nor condemned in their claim to be of divine origin (*tanquam divini*)." It is further asserted that a positively apocryphal book is always apocryphal; but a negatively apocry-

phal book may be apocryphal only through the ignorance of the Church, and is capable of becoming canonical at a subsequent time, as had been the case with Esther and Judith.

It will be seen then that (1) the title "Apocrypha," in its technical application by the Reformed Churches to the Ecclesiastical or Deutero-Canonical books, differs from the usage of both Greek and Roman Churches, and is inaccurate,* if judged by the standard of historical criticism; (2) in its wider application to "uncanonical" books it is used by the Reformed and Roman Churches alike, with so much difference only as is caused by the difference in their Canons of Scripture; (3) lastly, it is used by Reformed, Greek, and Roman Churches, as by Athanasius of old, with reference to the forgeries and the supposititious writings that at an early time flooded the Church.

To sum up the foregoing sketch, it appears that the word "Apocrypha" has at different times in the history of the Church been applied to *writings* in the sense of (1) "secret," "mysterious," "not to be read by the profane public;" (2) "false," "sham," "supposititious;" (3) "obscure," "doubtful," "pseudonymous," "of unknown origin;" (4) "uncanonical," *i.e.* (*a*) ecclesiastical writings not included in the LXX. and Vulgate Canon (so Augustine and Roman Church); (*b*) ecclesiastical writings not included in the Hebrew Canon (so Jerome and his followers); (5) "Deutero-Canonical," *i.e.* the books of the Greek and Latin Bibles which were not included in the Hebrew Canon (so Reformed Churches). Under this last and historically least accurate meaning, the word "Apocrypha" is most familiar to English readers.

It is a matter of regret that the word, applied in the 16th century to the "Ecclesiastical" or "Deutero-Canonical" collection of books, should have possessed so depreciatory a meaning. The adjective "apocryphal" imparted its sense of "sham," "fictitious," to the name "Apocrypha," and helped to hinder the impartial treatment of the books at the hands of the Reformers, while the controversy with Rome respecting their canonicity added to their unpopularity.

To this day the title has had the effect of repelling, where there has rather been the need of inviting, the study of books, which, as the next section will show, the Church of Rome reckons as canonical, and which the Greek and the Reformed Churches have recommended to be read for edification and instruction.

II. *The Relation of the Apocrypha to the History of the Canon of the Old Testament.*—This branch of the subject will come more fully under consideration in the article CANON. But the present description of "the Apocrypha" would be incomplete without some notice of its history in relation to (1) the Canon of the Jewish Church, (2) the Canon of the Christian Church.

1. *The Apocrypha and the Jewish Canon.*—Under this head has to be considered (*a*) whether any of the books of the Apocrypha were ever admitted into the Hebrew or Palestinian Canon, (*b*) the cause of their exclusion, (*c*) their treatment by Alexandrian Jews.

(*a.*) The theory that books of the Apocrypha were at any time reckoned as Canonical by the Palestinian Jews seems to be contradicted by the statement of Josephus, who (*contr. Apion.* i. 8) speaks of the books "justly believed divine" as twenty-two in number, probably classing Ruth with Judges and Lamentations with Jeremiah. His testimony tallies with the lists of the Old Testament Scriptures given by Melito (who, however, omits Esther), Origen (*ap.* Eus. *H. E.* iv. 26; vi. 25), and Jerome (*Prolog. Galeat.*)—men who professed to derive their information from contemporary Jews. It is supported by the list of the Hebrew Scriptures contained in the *Baba Bathra*, 14 b, 15 a, and by the common Talmudic title "The Twenty-four" (ואר בעה עשרים), applied to the complete Jewish Scriptures of Law, Prophets, and Writings. The testimony of Josephus is the more important, inasmuch as there is no doubt that he was well acquainted with some of the books of our Apocrypha. He quotes them and makes use of them in his history (*e.g.* 1 Macc., 1 Esdras, Additions to Esther), but shows no sign of including them in the Jewish Canon. Such evidence as there is, corroborates the view favoured by the words of Josephus. Even if, as is very possible, the Jewish Canon was not finally determined until the Synod of Jamnia, A.D. 90 (?), there still remains no satisfactory proof that the Jewish Canon in its incomplete stage ever contained books in excess of or different from those which have been handed down to us as canonical. We take the evidence supplied by the writings of the New Testament, by 2 Esdras, and by Jewish tradition.

(*a*) The Books of the New Testament in all probability contain no *direct citations* from the Apocrypha, although, as will be seen below, the books of Ecclus., Wisd., and 1 Macc. may have been familiar to some of the apostolic writers. Taken by itself, this absence of citation would no more be an argument for excluding books of the Apocrypha from the Jewish Canon than it would be for excluding Judges, the Song of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Ezra, and Nehemiah, which also are not quoted in the New Testament. But the fact acquires fresh significance when viewed in conjunction with other considerations, *i.e.* (1) the testimony of Josephus already referred to; (2) the numerous citations made by Christian writers from Ecclus., Wisd., 1 Macc., Bar., and Tob. as soon as the Alexandrine Version of the O. T. began to receive recognition; (3) the strong presumption, based on the writings of the New Testament, that the Canon of the Jews was complete, even if not authoritatively defined, in our Lord's time. This last point deserves especial attention. It is the impression produced as much by the terms in which the authority of the Jewish Scriptures as a whole is invoked, as by the testimony afforded by individual passages. On the one hand, it is natural to see in "the Scriptures," which are so frequently and reverently cited, a final collection of writings, whose pre-eminent authority was universally acknowledged, and

* It is worthy of remark that in the Old Catholic Agreement, 1874, signed at Bonn by Old Catholics, Greeks, English and American Episcopalians, the words of the first Article, "the Apocryphal or Deutero-Canonical books of the Old Testament," explain the Reformers' usage by a more accurate alternative title which would commend itself both to the Greek Church and to the reforming party of the Roman Church.

the limits of whose contents were also popularly known and generally recognised (cf. Matt. xxii. 29; Mark xiv. 49; Luke xxiv. 27, 32, 45; John v. 39; Acts xvii. 2, 11, xviii. 24, 28). There is no hint of their incompleteness. The appeal to them is final. Their unique position in the estimation of the people placed them out of reach of rivalry, and precluded the possibility of change either by addition or removal. On the other hand, although the reference in Luke xxiv. 44 to "the Law of Moses and the Prophets and the Psalms" does not *necessarily* imply that the collection of the Hagiographa was complete, the citation from Daniel (Matt. xxiv. 15, cp. Dan. ix. 27, xii. 11) and the allusion to the Book of Chronicles (Matt. xxiii. 35; 2 Ch. xxiv. 21) favour the presumption that this was the case.

(β) The passage in the Second Book of Esdras xiv. 44–47, quoted above (p. 162, col. 2), supplies, according to the true reading (94 not 104), clear testimony that the Jewish writer, who lived probably at the close of the 1st century A.D., knew of no more than four-and-twenty books included in the Jewish Canon.

(γ) Jewish tradition, taken as a whole, disappoints us with the meagre character of its evidence. The contents of the Canon were evidently frequently discussed, though on most uncritical principles, by the Jewish Rabbis. Fragmentary notices of these discussions have recorded the doubts that were felt by some as to the authenticity of certain Books of the O. T. (*e.g.* Ecclesiastes and the Song of Solomon, see article CANON); but, in the scanty allusions to the books of the Apocrypha, their existence is as a rule only mentioned for the purpose of rejecting their authority. The one book about which a doubt seems at any time to have been seriously entertained is Ecclesiasticus, and the earnestness of the protest made against its canonicity leads us to suspect how favourably it must have been regarded in some quarters; perhaps it indicates an actual dispute whether or no it should be numbered among the sacred Books: "Neither the books of Sira (Ecclesiasticus) nor any of the books which were written from that time onward defile the hands" (*i.e.* are canonical: see art. CANON. *Yadaim*, iii. fol. 141 a). With this *dictum* may be compared the harsh saying of Rabbi Akiba (circ. 130 A.D.), recorded by the Jerusalem Talmud, that the man who read the "extraneous" (*i.e.* the apocryphal) books has no part in the world to come.

The fact that no early Targum or Chaldee paraphrase of an apocryphal book (save possibly that of the Book Tobit) has been preserved, is strongly confirmatory of the general tenor of Jewish tradition, that neither the Book of Ecclesiasticus (though for some time its claims may have been seriously canvassed), nor any other book of our Apocrypha, found a footing in the Palestinian Canon.[f]

(*b.*) In the case of the majority of the apocryphal books, no difficulty is raised by their exclusion from the Canon. Their character and contents sufficiently account for the position which they held in the estimation of the Jews. But with regard to the most important writings of the collection—Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom, and 1 Maccabees—the case is different. The question may well be asked, how these books were excluded from the Jewish Canon, when the books of Esther, Song of Solomon, and Ecclesiastes were admitted.

Two explanations, which have popularly been given at different times, have proved to be insufficient for their purpose. (*a*) The first of these explanations, based upon the Jewish legend, that the Canon of the Old Testament was concluded by the labours of Ezra, Nehemiah, and "the men of the Great Synagogue," supposed that all books written at a later date than the Book of Malachi were necessarily excluded. This legend, however, is now generally abandoned [see art. CANON], as devoid of historical worth; and along with it, the explanation referred to falls to the ground. On its own merits it was inadequate; for it assumed an early date of composition for such disputed Books as Daniel, Esther, Ecclesiastes, Chronicles; it left unexplained the order of Books in the Jewish Bible; it ignored the evidence for a later revision of the Canon supplied by *e.g.* the Psalter and the Book of Nehemiah. (*b*) The second explanation, based on the very probable supposition that only Hebrew books were admitted into the Jewish Canon, assumed that the apocryphal books were excluded on the ground either of their having been originally written in Greek, or of their Hebrew originals having dropped out of sight at an early date. It might be conceded that the Jewish Canon would probably only contain books written in the sacred language of the nation, and that therefore the Book of Wisdom, which was written in Greek, could never take rank among the canonical Scriptures. But there is undoubted proof that both the Book of Ecclesiasticus and the First Book of Maccabees were composed in Hebrew, while there is no sufficient evidence for the assertion that their originals must have been lost at an early date. The very opposite might be inferred from the Rabbinical quotations respecting the Book of Ecclesiasticus, and from the positive statements of Origen and Jerome respecting either a Hebrew original or an Aramaic Version of 1 Maccabees.

An explanation for the exclusion of these books is to be sought for on other grounds. In all probability it is to be found in the internal condition of the Jewish nation at and after the time of their composition; and, as a consequence, in the relation of the books themselves to the religious thought of the people.

[f] It may be mentioned that Jul. Fürst is of opinion that the Additions to Esther and Daniel originally belonged to the Jewish Canon; that having been removed thence on the occasion of a strict revision by the Jerusalem Sanhedrin, they have only been preserved to us by the Alexandrian Version, in consequence of the laxer notions prevalent among the Egyptian Jews (*Kan. A. T.* p. 142, § 102). A comparison of the Additions to Esther, in which the title of "(God" (ὁ θεὸς) occurs twenty-one times, "the Lord" (ὁ Κύριος) four times, "Lord" (Κύριος) eleven times, "Lord God" (Κύριος θεὸς) once, "Lord the God" (Κύριος ὁ θεὸς) once, with the Canonical Book, where the name of the Deity does not occur, does not favour Fürst's view in the one case. In the other case, there is no sort of proof that the Additions to Daniel were ever ranked by the Jews along with the Canonical Book. The style is very different. External evidence to support the theory is wholly wanting.

If it be granted that Ecclesiasticus was written about 180 B.C., 1 Maccabees between 110 B.C. and 60 B.C., Wisdom between 100 B.C. and 50 B.C., it will be seen that this period produced the development of Judaism, which culminated in the division of the people into the opposing factions of Pharisees and Sadducees. The persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, followed by the heroic Maccabaean revolt, revived in the heart of the people a jealous watchfulness over the national Scriptures. The power of the scribes who belonged to either faction, was in the ascendant. The schools of the Rabbins multiplied rapidly. Veneration for the letter was exaggerated into idolatrous superstition. At a time of faction and controversy, all parties would appeal to the national Scriptures. A new book issuing with the favour of one party would be greeted with the keenest criticism from the other. Its inclusion within the Canon, except under favouring circumstances of an altogether exceptional character, amounted to an impossibility. The books of the Hagiographa, which had been the last to be admitted into the Jewish Canon, had all enjoyed some exceptional cause of recommendation. In each case some distinctive religious element, connected with either the faith, the worship, the patriotism, or the antiquities of the people, prepared the way for their public recognition, and facilitated their admission into the Canon. On the other hand, the three apocryphal books made no fresh addition to the religious conceptions of the people. The Books of Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom were regarded as having been written upon similar lines of thought to the Books of Proverbs, Job, and Ecclesiastes. The First Book of Maccabees was a patriotic chronicle of recent events; it lacked the warrant of antiquity, it conveyed no fresh revelation of the Divine economy towards the chosen race. Not only, however, did they fail to introduce any distinctive religious conception, but two out of the three failed to satisfy the doctrinal test of the most powerful faction. Thus the Book of Ecclesiasticus, which, as perhaps earliest in date and most Jewish in tone of all the apocryphal books, stood the best chance of admission into the Canon, possibly owed its exclusion not merely to its evidently recent composition but also to the antipathy of the Pharisees, on the ground that it nowhere mentions the doctrine of the resurrection from the dead, and even seems to dispute the doctrine of man's immortality (*e.g.* xvii. 30). The First Book of the Maccabees, which glorifies the deeds of the patriotic brothers, and whose silence on the subject of the resurrection stands in such marked contrast to the tone of the Second Book of the Maccabees, was even less likely to become regarded as canonical, so long as the Pharisaic faction, bitterly incensed against the Asmonaean house, continued to maintain their ascendency over the people. The Book of Wisdom, written originally in Greek, at a late date, for the benefit of Alexandrian Jews, tinged also with the influence of Greek philosophical schools, would from the first be viewed with suspicion by the stricter Jews on account of its foreign origin, and, whatever its intrinsic merits, had never any prospect of being received among the sacred Books of the Palestinian Canon.

Such, then, were some of the causes which tended to exclude the most eminent of the apocryphal books from the limits of the Jewish Canon. It would be unnecessary to pursue the inquiry into the claims of the other books, for the most part signally inferior both in actual power and in public estimation.

(*c.*) In Alexandria, the relation of the apocryphal books to the writings of the O. T. was very different. Little or no direct evidence is forthcoming in pre-Christian times. But at the first emergence of the Christian Church, its Greek Old Testament Scriptures, which it had received from Alexandrian Jews, already contained the apocryphal additions to the Palestinian Canon. Some have conjectured that the Jews of Alexandria acknowledged a different Canon from that of the Jews of Palestine; and the conjecture is so far rendered plausible by the fact, that the LXX. Version from the earliest time, at which we have accurate knowledge of its collective existence, not only contains apocryphal writings added to and interspersed among those of the Jewish Canon, but also presents us with the Books of the Jewish Canon subjected to a re-arrangement of order. The order of the Books, however, in the MSS. of the LXX. Version varies so greatly, that it would be unsafe to rest any theory of a separate Canon upon such uncertain evidence. Moreover, the writings of Philo lend no countenance to the conjecture. Philo's quotations are chiefly drawn from the Pentateuch, but he refers also with special deference to at least *twelve* other Books of the Old Testament. Although he was acquainted with some of the apocryphal books, he treats them with no special veneration (cf. Hornemann, *Observat. ad illustrat. doctr. de Can. Vet. Test. ex Philone*, 1775; Siegfried's *Philo*, Jena, 1875).

But while there is no sufficient ground for supposing the existence of an independent Jewish Canon at Alexandria, there is no doubt that the national Scriptures were handled in a more lax spirit by the Jews in Egypt than by the Jews in Palestine, and that the Books of the Apocrypha certainly obtained a recognition in the colony, which in the mother-country would have been impossible. A view of inspiration — an offshoot of Greek philosophy — which took root among the Alexandrine Jews, not only countenanced the admission of the apocryphal books to higher consideration, but practically set no limits of time to the possible extension of the Canon. This thought, first hinted at in the Book of Wisdom (vii. 27), appears as an important element of Philo's teaching (cp. *Quis rer. div. Haer.* § 52; *de Cherub.* § 9; *de Praem. et Poen.* § 16). According to Philo, Moses was the true Arch-Prophet (ἀρχιπροφήτης) of God: David, Solomon, and all other holy men of ancient or recent time, were his disciples and followers (ἑταῖροι, φοιτηταὶ Μωϋσέως). The Pentateuch was the one true authoritative canon. Around it as a nucleus might be collected the writings of Prophets and holy men of every age, inspired by the ever-present wisdom of God to form a wider and more comprehensive canon, which would receive Alexandrine as well as Palestinian writings, and would welcome Apocrypha as freely as Hagiographa.

Greek language, no less than Greek thought,

favoured the cause of the apocryphal books at Alexandria. The influence of the Septuagint Version broke down one of the chief safeguards of the Palestinian Canon. As the original language of the Hebrew Scriptures became lost to view, there disappeared simultaneously a principal feature of distinction between the more ancient and the more recent writings incorporated in the Alexandrine Version. The Hebrew arrangement of the Books was partially abandoned; the traditional order of the Books in the second and third divisions (the N'biim and C'thubim) was broken up. Popular Graeco-Judaic books were intermingled with the Books of the Palestinian Canon (cp. Codd. ℵ, A, and B). No indication seems to have been given that the more recent books were considered to occupy a lower footing than the older books of the collection. The result seems to have been precisely what might have been expected. The Greek-speaking Jews of the Dispersion of the 1st century A.D., who were dependent upon the Septuagint for their acquaintance with their national Scriptures, having learned to recognise the whole contents of the Alexandrian Version as equally inspired and authoritative, transmitted them as such into the hands of the infant Church of Christ.

2. *The Apocrypha and the O. T. Canon in the Christian Church.* — (*a.*) *To* 600 A.D. The majority of the Fathers in the early Christian Church seem to have known the Old Testament in the LXX. Version only, and practically to have drawn no distinction between the Books of the Palestinian Canon and the apocryphal writings.

Thus in the earliest age Clement of Rome (circ. 95 A.D.) quotes Judith (1 *Ep. ad Cor.* lv., Ἰουδὶθ ἡ μακαρία) as an example of patriotic courage, mentioning her before Esther, and combines a citation from Job with another from the Book of Wisdom (xxvii. 5; cp. Job xi. 12 and Wisd. xi. 22). The *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (iv. 5, circ. 100 A.D. ?) and the *Epistle of Barnabas* (xix. 9, circ. 80–120 A.D. ?), drawing probably from the same intermediate source, use the same words, μὴ γίνου πρὸς μὲν τὸ λαβεῖν ἐκτείνων τὰς χεῖρας πρὸς δὲ τὸ δοῦναι συσπῶν, while they cite (? a proverbial saying recorded in) the Book of Ecclesiasticus (iv. 31). Polycarp's "Quia eleemosyna de morte liberat" (*Ep. ad Phil.* c. x.) is clearly taken from Tobit xii. 9, which he quotes in the same way as a passage from 1 Peter in the succeeding sentence.

In such passages the absence of any formula of citation agrees with the prevailing habit of the age. It cannot at any rate be adduced as a proof that the apocryphal books were *not* regarded as of equal authority with the Books of the Hebrew Canon. This is confirmed by the writers of the following age, who show conclusively that they regarded some apocryphal books as inspired, and employ in their quotations from them the regular formulae of citation from Holy Scripture. The following instances exemplify their practice.

Irenaeus (circ. 180) refers to the Additions to Daniel and the Book of Baruch as he does to the authoritative writings of Daniel and Jeremiah: cp. *adv. Haer.* iv. 5, "Daniel propheta significavit," quoting LXX. Dan. xiv. 4, 5; *adv. Haer.* v. 35, "significavit Jeremias propheta," quoting Baruch iv. v. Wisdom (vi. 19) is quoted *adv. Haer.* iv. 38.

Clement of Alexandria (circ. 200) uses the words "the divine wisdom saith" when he is quoting the Book of Wisdom (iii. 2–4), quotes Ecclus. as Solomon, and speaks of "the divine scripture" when he is quoting from Baruch iii. (cp. *Strom.* iv. p. 609, and *Paedag.* ii. 3, p. 189, ed. Potter). Clement also cites Tobit as "Scripture" (*Strom.* ii. 23, vi. 12), and quotes as Daniel's the Song of the Three Children (*ex Script. Prop. Ecgl.* cap. i.).

Tertullian (ii. 5, p. 441, circ. 160–240) prefaces a quotation from Ecclesiasticus with the words "sicut scriptum est," and appeals to Wisdom as the writing of Solomon, "ut docet sophia non quidem Valentini sed Salomonis" (*Exhort. ad Cast.* c. 29; *adv. Valent.* c. 2). He quotes Baruch as Jeremiah (*Scorp.* viii.), and refers to the Song of the Three Children as Daniel (*adv. Hermog.* xliv.).

It is noteworthy that such quotations can generally be explained by the incorporation of Baruch with Jeremiah, and by the pseudonymous authorship of the Additions to Daniel, Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus. But in the works of Cyprian († 254) we seem to advance further. We find, as might be expected, many such expressions as "per Hieremiam quoque haec eadem spiritus sanctus suggerit et docet dicens" (*de Orat. Dominit.*), and "apud Ieremiam" (*Test.* ii. 6), where the reference is to the Book of Baruch, "per Salomonem spiritus sanctus ostendit" (*Exhort. ad Mart.* xii. *de Mortal.* sub fin.), "secundum fidem sanctae scripturae" (*Ep. ad Demetr.* xxiv.), where the reference is to the Book of Wisdom. Ecclesiasticus, too, is quoted as Scripture, "cum scriptum sit" (*Ep.* v. 2), "scriptura divina" (*de Mortal.* ix.). "Susanna" (*Ep.* xl. 4) and the Song of the Three Children (*de Unit. Eccl.* xii.) are also cited as Scripture. But Cyprian goes further, when he uses the words "scriptura divina" of 1 Maccabees (*Ep.* lix.) and "scriptura divina instruit" (*de Orat. Dom.* xxxii.) of the Book of Tobit; and his use of the Apocrypha shows that he drew no line of distinction between the canonicity of the various books of the Alexandrine Version.

Of the Ante-Nicene Fathers only one or two seem to have known of the shorter Hebrew Canon, and to have resisted the unquestioning and uncritical recognition of all the books contained in the Alexandrine Version.

And here the testimony of Justin Martyr († circ. 145), though negative, is of the greatest importance, on account both of his residence in Palestine and of his acquaintance with Jewish thought. He makes no reference to any apocryphal books of the Old Testament, and, if from his silence we are to understand that he did not rank them with Holy Scripture, his evidence derives peculiar importance from his well-known reverence for the Septuagint Version.

Melito, bishop of Sardis (circ. 170), adopted, as the result of his personal investigations in the East, the Hebrew Canon of the O. T. (with the possible omission of the Book of Esther), and in his list makes no allusion to the Apocrypha (*ap.* Eus. *H. E.* iv. 26).

Origen's list of Old Testament Books given by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* vi. 25) agrees with the

Hebrew Canon. His own writings, however, give no sign of his having excluded the Apocrypha from the rank of Holy Scripture. Thus he appeals to the Books of Maccabees as if they were Scripture (*de Principiis*, ii. 1; Opp. i. 79: "ut ex Scripturarum auctoritate hoc ita se habere credamus, audi quoque in Maccabaeorum libris"). The Books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus he calls "the divine word" (*ὁ θεῖος λόγος, contr. Cels.* iii. 72, viii. 50); "scripture" ("scriptura," *Cant. Cant.* iii. p. 49; *Hom. in Ezech.* ix. 2; *in Jud.* iii. 1; *Ep. ad Rom.* lib. iii. 2 and 7: *γραφή, Hom. in Jer.* xvi. 6). The Book of Tobit is called "scripture" (*Comm. in Rom.* viii. 11; *de Orat.* xi.). He quotes Baruch (*in Ier.* xxxi.). The History of Susanna is cited as the writing of Daniel, *ἡ τοῦ Δανιὴλ γραφή* (*Ep. ad African.*). In his Epistle to Africanus, Origen defends the Septuagint Canon generally, and the retention of the History of Susanna in particular. He suggests that it had been struck out of the Canon by the Jewish doctors as being likely to depreciate the authority of elders in the eyes of the people. The inconsistency of these expressions with his adhesion to the Hebrew Canon (quoted by Eusebius) cannot entirely be attributed to unguarded writing. It implies rather that though personally, as a scholar and a theologian, he preferred the shorter Hebrew Canon of the O. T., he yet accepted as Scripture the Septuagintal additions in deference to general ecclesiastical usage. This principle he seems to avow in another part of the same letter. "Touching which matter, it were expedient for us to know that the Hebrews make no use of Tobit nor even of Judith, for they do not even include them among apocryphal writings in the Hebrew tongue; and this we know by actual inquiry from them. *But inasmuch as the Churches make use of Tobit*, we must know," &c.

The testimony, therefore, of Origen (186–253) shows that the apocryphal books were generally, though loosely, accepted by the Church, and that, although his own scientific judgment was adverse to their full recognition, he practically acquiesced in the custom of referring to all the contents of the LXX. as inspired Scripture.

In the 4th century, under the influence of Athanasius, more definite efforts were made to determine the limits of the Canon of Holy Scripture. If the number of apocryphal and heretical Gospels, Acts, Epistles, &c., had made this necessary in the case of the N. T., it was not less necessary in the case of the O. T. Even supposing that the majority of divines accepted the scriptural authority of the Books of Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom, of Tobit and of Baruch, could these books be separated from *e.g.* 1 Esdras, and the Additions to Daniel? And further, what position should be assigned to works such as the Book of Enoch, and the Psalms of Solomon? To such questions an answer had sooner or later to be given either by the tacit usage of Churches or by the direct utterance of theologians. The investigations of Melito and Origen, as reported by Eusebius in his History, appear to have drawn attention to the difference that existed between the Hebrew and the Septuagintal Canon. The scholarly judgment of Origen carried immense weight in this as in all Biblical questions. From the point of view also of practical expediency, the Hebrew Canon, with its fixed number of Books, as enumerated by Origen, compared favourably with the Septuagintal list, which admitted of an indefinite enlargement. But, as a rule, the fact of inclusion within the Greek Scriptures was a presumption in favour of the disputed Books outweighing every other consideration.

In the Eastern Churches, the lists of the O. T. Canonical Books drawn up during the 4th century are found sometimes to exclude the books of the Apocrypha (*e.g.* Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory of Nazianzum, and Amphilochius), sometimes to enumerate them as a subordinate class. This latter method was adopted by Athanasius, and was afterwards generally received in the East, and in the West by the supporters of the Hebrew Canon (cp. Ruffinus and Jerome). Athanasius divided the ecclesiastical writings of his day into three classes: (1) Canonical Books, (2) books read in the Churches, (3) apocryphal books. The books of the Apocrypha he relegated to the second class with the title of *ἀναγινωσκόμενα*, distinct from the *κανονικὰ* on the one side, and from the *ἀπόκρυφα* on the other. In his 39th Festal Letter (Migne's ed., tom. ii. p. 1177) he specifies under this second class "the Wisdom of Solomon and the Wisdom of Sirach, and Esther and Judith and Tobias, and the Teaching of the Apostles and the Shepherd" (*i.e.* of Hermas).

It is clear, however, from the writings of the Greek Fathers themselves, that they did not consider themselves bound by their more scholarly utterances upon the subject of the apocryphal books. Cyril of Jerusalem (†386) (*Catech.* iv. 35) lays down the precept, "Read the two-and-twenty books, but meddle not with the apocryphal writings," with which his own practice is far from being consistent. Both Cyril and Athanasius practically accepted the LXX. Version as their O. T., and treated all the books of this Version as divinely inspired Scripture. They quoted from apocryphal books, and based arguments upon apocryphal quotations, just as if they drew no distinction between them and the books of the Hebrew Canon.

The 59th Canon of the Council of Laodicea, about 360, gives (in a list of doubtful authenticity, though probably of the same century) the Hebrew Canon of the O. T., with the addition of the Book of Baruch. This addition makes it probable that the Greek Additions to Daniel, Esther, and Ezra, were also included in the list. The Apostolical Canons (Canon LXXXVI.) include the Book of Judith and three Books of the Maccabees in the O. T. Canon of Scripture, and recommend Ecclesiasticus for the education of the young.

Epiphanius (†403), who sometimes follows the Hebrew Canon (cp. *de Mens. et Pond.*, § 23), elsewhere (according to Dindorf's text), reckons Tobit and Judith with Esther as the last or 27th book, and includes under Jeremiah, Baruch and "the Epistle" (*Haer.* 8, i. 6); and although he speaks of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus as *ἐν ἀμφιλέκτῳ χωρὶς ἀλλων τινῶν βιβλιῶν ἐναποκρυφιῶν* (*Haer.* 8, i. 6), in another place he calls them "Divine Scriptures," classing them strangely enough as an appendage to the N. T. (compare the position of *Wisdom* in the Muratorian Fragment. *Haer.* 76, i. 941).

The views of the Antiochene school may perhaps be represented by the *Synopsis Sacr. Scriptur.* (Chrys. *Opp.* tom. vi. pp. 313–386). But the text of that document is so corrupt in its present state, that we can only for certain gather that it included Ecclesiasticus, and that in all probability the Book of Daniel included Bel and the Dragon.[g]

Chrysostom (†407) himself speaks of Wisdom as the writing of Solomon, and constantly quotes the Books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus as "Scripture." He quotes Baruch as the writing of Jeremiah (*Hom. in Isa.* cap. i. tom. vi. p. 17). He refers to the Song of the Three Children and the Story of Bel and the Dragon as the works of Daniel (e.g. *Hom. in* 1 *Cor.* xv. 4; *Hom.* 38. 4).

The Peshitto (Syriac) Version of the O. T. was originally a translation from the Hebrew books only. The apocryphal books were probably not added until the 4th century, when most of them were rendered from the LXX. into Syriac (Eccius. being from the Heb.). The Ambrosian MS. (probably of the 6th century) contains various apocryphal books, *i.e.* Wisdom, Ep. of Jeremiah, 1 and 2 Epp. of Baruch, Additions to Daniel, Judith, Ecclesiasticus, Apocalypse of Baruch, 2 Esdras, I. II. III. IV. V. Maccabees.

It appears, therefore, that the Eastern Church followed no very definite principle with respect to the apocryphal books. Being generally ignorant of Hebrew, the Greek Fathers made almost exclusive use of the Greek Version, and their use of the *βίβλια ἀναγινωσκόμενα* shows a preference for those books which either were associated with an honoured name (*e.g.* Wisdom of Solomon, Letter of Jeremiah, Baruch, Additions to Daniel), or inculcated special virtues (*e.g.* almsgiving in Tobit), or contributed to the knowledge of God's dealings with the Jewish people (*e.g.* Additions to Esther and Books of Maccabees).

In the West, a few of the most learned theologians upheld the Hebrew Canon, and in so doing opposed the general usage. The O. T. was popularly read in the *Vetus Itala* or some similar translation into Latin, of which the LXX. Version had been the original. No distinction was preserved in these Versions between the books of the Apocrypha and those of the Hebrew Canon. Jerome, Hilary, and Ruffinus are the chief representatives of those who preferred the shorter list of Scripture; but even in them we find inconsistencies of expression, which betray how generally the LXX. Version had accustomed the Church to receive the apocryphal books.

Jerome (†420), as we have seen above, expressed his view, destined to be so often repeated as to be almost authoritative, in his *Prologus Galeatus in libr. Reg.*, that the Books of the O. T. were the Hebrew twenty-four, which he specified; that all others were "Apocrypha;" and therefore that Wisdom, Ecclus., Judith, Tobit, Shepherd (*i.e.* of Hermas), and Maccabees were not canonical: "Hic prologus scripturarum quasi galeatum principium omnibus libris quos de Hebraeo vertimus in Latinum convenire potest, ut scire valeamus, quicquid extra hos est inter apocrypha seponendum. Igitur Sapientia, quae vulgo Solomonis inscribitur et Iiesu filii Sirach liber et Judith et Tobias et Pastor non sunt in Canone. Macchabaeorum primum librum Hebraicum reperi, secundus Graecus est, quod ex ipsa quoque phrasi probari potest," &c. In other important passages he affirms his preference for the Hebrew as distinguished from the Septuagint Canon. *Praefat. in Ezram* (Div. Biblioth.): "Let no one be enamoured of the d-eamings of the apocryphal third and fourth books (of Esdras); ... and all that does not belong to the four-and-twenty elders is to be absolutely rejected (*procul abjicienda.*" Cp. ii. 420, "apocryphorum deliramenta"; vii. 660, "apocryphorum ineptiae"). *Ep.* cvii. *ad Laetam:* "Let her (Laeta) beware of all apocryphal writings; and if at any time she should wish to read them, for the confirmation not so much of her faith as of her reverence for the men of old time,[h] let her know that they are not the writings of those by whose names they are designated, and that much that is harmful is mixed with them, and that it requires great skill to seek for 'gold in the dirt.'"

On the other hand, he often refers to Ecclesiasticus (e.g. *twice* in *Ep.* cxlviii.; cp. lxvi.) as "Scriptura." The Books of Judith and Wisdom are frequently referred to and quoted, but the scriptural authority of both is qualified by the phrase, "if however you please to accept the book" (*si cui tamen placet librum recipere:* cp. *Comment. in Zech.* lib. iii. cap. xii. § 902). In his Preface to the Book of Tobit, he points out that it was excluded from the Canon by the Jews, and that not being written in Hebrew it did not strictly fall within the scope of his translation ("librum Tobiae quem Hebraei de catalogo divinarum Scripturarum secantes, his quae apocrypha [v. l. hagiographa] memorant manciparunt"). In his Preface to the Book of Judith he first states the fact that it was placed by the Jews among the Apocrypha, and then accounts for his acceding to a pressing demand for its translation, though the book was extant in Chaldee only and not in Hebrew, on the ground that the Council of Nicaea was said to have reckoned it among the Books of Holy Scripture ("sed quia hunc librum Synodus Nicaena in numero sanctarum Scripturarum legitur computasse"), a statement which appears to be devoid of foundation.

Hilary (†368), whose devotion to Origen perhaps accounts for the fact, also upheld the Hebrew Canon, reckoning "the Epistle" with Jeremiah; but he testifies to the desire on the part of some to augment it with the Books of Tobit and Judith to make the number up to 24 (*Prolog. in Ps.* § 15).

Ruffinus (†410) designates Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Tobit, Judith, and Maccabees as a class distinct from the Canonical Books by the title of

[g] There is good reason to suppose that the portions of this document relating to *Wisdom*, *Tobit*, and *Judith* are interpolations. There is no allusion made to these three books in the "Protheoria." And while the "Protheoria" is wanting in the Cod. Lugdunensis, the other text Cod. Coislinianus, which contains the "Protheoria," lacks several of the Synopses, *e.g.* on Chron., Esd., Esth., Tob., Jud., Job, Wisd., Prov. (see Introd. in Migne's Ed.).

[h] Reading "seniorum." "Signorum" of the text is untranslatable.

"libri ecclesiastici" (*Comm. in Symb.*). But he must have received the 3ooks of the Hebrew Canon in the form derived from the LXX. Version, as we find him delivering an assault upon Jerome for having cancelled the History of Susanna from the list of canonical writings (*cp.* Jerome's *Apologia adv. Ruff.*).

The reverence for the traditional Canon of the LXX. Version remained too firmly seated in men's minds to be upset by the judgment of the few, who either knew a little Hebrew or were acquainted at second hand with the existence of the Hebrew Canon. The prevalent opinion finds expression in the writings of Augustine, and was first authoritatively confirmed by the councils of Hippo (393) and Carthage (397), which were held under the shadow of his commanding influence.

Augustine, in his *de Doctrinâ Christ.* ii. 8, discusses the "whole Canon of Scripture." He divides the Books of the Old Testament into historical, miscellaneous, and prophetical classes. In the miscellaneous class he places Job, Tobit, Esther, two Books of the Maccabees and two of Esdras; the prophetical class he begins with the Book of Psalms, three Books of Solomon, and the Books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus.

The Council of Hippo, 393 (see Hefele, *Conc. Hippon. 393.*

Genesis.
⋮
Chronicles 1, 2.

Job.
Psalms.
Solomon, 5 Books of.

12 Minor Prophets.
Isaiah.
Jeremiah.
Daniel.
Ezekiel.

Tobias.
Judith.
Esther (*? with Additions*).
Esdras, 2 *Books of.*
Maccabees, 2 Books of.

cilien), giving a list of canonical Scriptures, speaks of *five* Books of Solomon, and includes also Tobit, Judith, and two Books of Maccabees. This Canon was ratified by the Council of Carthage (397), and appears in a letter "Ad Exsuperium," attributed to Pope Innocent I. (†416), and in the problematical "Decretum Gelasii."

Leo (450) constantly quotes Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus as "scripture." Referring to Ecclus. xviii. 30, he says it is declared "by the Holy Spirit" (*Sermo* lxxxi. 2). In another passage he calls it the writing of "sapientissimus Salomon" (*Sermo* xxxix. 3, quoting Ecclus. ii. 4).

It is most reasonable to suppose that this Canon of the O. T., being virtually that of the LXX. Scriptures, reckoned the Book of Baruch with the prophecy of Jeremiah, and included the apocryphal Additions in the Books of Daniel and Esther. This ascription of canonicity to the apocryphal books was most generally accepted at the close of the 4th century, and receives confirmation from the earliest extant MSS. of the O. T. (see below), which present us with the apocryphal books intermingled with and undistinguished from the other books of the O. T. But a degree of uncertainty is betrayed by the want of uniformity in the arrangement and order of the books.

Cod. Vat. (4th cent.).

Genesis.
⋮
Chronicles 1, 2.
1 *Esdras Graecus.*
2 Esdras (Ezra-Nehemiah).

Psalms (151).
Proverbs.
Ecclesiastes.
Canticles.
Job.
Wisdom of Solomon.
Wisdom of Sirach.
Esther with Additions.
Judith.
Tobit.

12 Minor Prophets.
Isaiah.
Jeremiah.
Baruch.
Lamentations.
Ep. of Jeremiah (=vi. of Bar.)
Ezekiel.
Daniel (*with Additions*).

Maccabees 1, 2, 3.

Cod. Alex. (5th cent.).

Genesis.
⋮
Chronicles 1, 2.

12 Minor Prophets.
Isaiah.
Jeremiah (*with Baruch*, Lamentations, *and Epistle*).
Ezekiel.
Daniel (*with Additions*).

Esther (*with Additions*).
Tobit.
Judith.
Esdras the priest (1 Esdras).
2 Esdras (Ezra and Nehemiah).
Maccabees 1, 2, 3, 4.

Psalms (151) with *Songs.*
Job.
Proverbs.
Ecclesiastes.
Canticles.
Wisdom of Solomon.
Wisdom of Jesus, Son of Sirach.

—

After the N. T.
Psalms of Solomon.

"Decretum Gelasii" (age uncertain).

Genesis.
⋮
Chronicles 1, 2.
Psalms.
Proverbs.
Ecclesiastes.
Canticles.
[*Wisdom.*]
[*Ecclesiasticus.*]

Isaiah.
Jeremiah, with Lamentations [and Baruch].
Ezekiel.
Daniel (*? with Additions*).

Cod. Ephraemi (5th cent.).

* * *

Job.
Proverbs.
Ecclesiastes.
Canticles.
Wisdom of Solomon.
Wisdom of Jesus, Son of Sirach.

* * *

Cod. Clarom. (7th cent., but from a much earlier source).

Genesis.
⋮
Psalms.
Proverbs.

Latin List of A.D. 359.
(Mommsen, *Hermes*, 1886, pp. 144 sq.)

Genesis.
⋮
Chronicles 1, 2.
Maccabees 1, 2.

Job.
Tobit.
Esther (*? with Additions*).
Judith.

Psalms (151).
Solomon's [Books] (not distinguished: but the number of lines shows *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus* to be included).

"Decretum Gelasii"—*continued.*
12 Minor Prophets.

Job.
Tobit.
Esdras, *one [or two] Books of.*
Esther (? *with Additions*).
Judith.

Maccabees, *one [or two] Books of.*

Cod. Sinait. (4th cent.).

* * *
1 Chronicles (frag.).
* * *
2 Esdras (frag.).
Esther (*with Additions*).
Tobit.
Judith.
1 *Maccabees.*
4 *Maccabees.*
—
Isaiah.
Jeremiah.
Lamentations.
* * * (? Baruch).
12 Minor Prophets.
Psalms (151).
Proverbs.
Ecclesiastes.
Canticles.
Wisdom of Solomon.
Wisdom of Jesus, Son of Sirach.
Job.

Cod. Clarom.—*continued.*
Ecclesiastes.
Canticles.
Wisdom of Solomon.
Wisdom of Jesus.
16 Prophets.
3 *Books of Maccabees* (1, 2, 4).
Judith.
Ezra and Nehemiah.
Esther (*? with Additions*).
Job.
Tobit.

MS. of Syriac Bible.
(Univ. Lib. Camb.: date doubtful.)
Pentateuch.
Job.
Jos.
Jud.
Samuel 1, 2.
Psalms.
Kings 1, 2.
Chronicles 1, 2.
Proverbs.
Ecclesiastes.
Canticles.
Wisdom of Solomon.
Isaiah.
Jeremiah.
Lamentations.
1*st Epistle of Baruch.*
2*nd Epistle of Baruch.*
Epistle of Jeremiah.
Ezekiel.
12 Minor Prophets.
Daniel (*with Bel and the Dragon*).
Ruth.
Susanna.
Esther.
Judith.
Ezra-Neh.
Ecclesiasticus.
Maccabees 1, 2, 3, 4.
1 *Esdr.*
Tobit.

Latin List of A.D. 359—*continued.*

Isaiah.
Jeremiah (*? with Baruch*).
Daniel (*? with Additions*).
Ezekiel.
(The omission of Esdras may be only a slip in the carelessly-written tenth-century MS. The end is *not defective, but followed* by a sentence on the number of books, and then by the N.T. list.)

Cod. Amiatinus (about 700).

Genesis.
⋮
Chronicles 1, 2.

Psalms.
Proverbs.
Ecclesiastes.
Canticles.
Wisdom.
Ecclesiasticus.

Isaiah.
Jeremiah, Lamentations.
Ezekiel.
Daniel (*with Additions*).
12 Minor Prophets.

Job.
Tobit.
Judith.
Esther (*with Additions*).
Ezra, Nehemiah.
Maccabees 1, 2.

(*b.*) *To the Age of the Reformation.*—In the interval between the 6th century and the age of the Reformation, little or no change is to be observed in the relation of the apocryphal books to the Canon of Old Testament Scripture.

In the *East* the opinion of Athanasius acquired increasing influence, and seems to have been regarded as little less than authoritative.

Junilius (6th century ?), who by freely translating Paul of Nisibis practically represents Theodore of Mopsuestia, furnishes testimony of peculiar interest. After enumerating the books containing the "Divina historia" (Gen.–Kings), he says, "Adjungunt plures Paralipomena II., Job I. [Tobiae I.], Hesdrae primum (or I.), Judith I., Hesther I., Macchabeorum II." In the "proverbialis species" he includes only Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus. Some, he says, add Wisdom and Canticles. Ecclesiastes he places in the Canon among books which simply *teach.* (*De part. div. leg.* lib. i. § 2.)

Leontius of Byzantium (about 590) maintained the Hebrew Canon, omitting the Book of Esther (*De Sectis Act.* ii.).

Anastasius Sinaita (?) divided ecclesiastical books into three classes—Biblical, Extra Biblical, and Apocryphal—and reckoned in his second class Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, four Books of Maccabees, Esther, Judith, and Tobit.

John of Damascus (†750), paraphrasing Epiphanius, calls the apocryphal books Wisdom-Ecclus. "excellent and beautiful, but they are not numbered (in the Canon), nor were they laid up in the ark" (*ἐνάρετοι καὶ καλοὶ ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐναριθμοῦνται οὐδὲ ἐκεῖντο ἐν τῇ κιβώτῳ. De Fid. Orth.* lib. iv. § 17).

Nicephorus (†828), who maintains the number of twenty-two Canonical Books, admits Baruch, 1 Esdras (? and Additions to Daniel), and excludes Esther. He gives the title of "Antilegomena" to 3 Books of Maccabees, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Psalms of Solomon, Esther, Judith, along with certain Apocalypses of Peter and John, the Epistle of Barnabas, and Gospel according to the Hebrews.

Zonaras (1150), commenting on the 85th Apostolic Canon, mentions that "some" allow to be read "the Wisdom of Solomon and Judith and Tobias and the Apocalypse of the Θεολόγος."

Alexius Aristenus (about 1160), dealing with the subject of the same Canon, includes in his O. T. three books of Maccabees, and adds, "Moreover, besides these (*ἔξωθεν δὲ τούτων*), also the Wisdoms of the learned Sirach."

In the *West*, theologians were divided in opinion. They were perplexed by the opposition between Augustine and Jerome, the two most influential Fathers of the Church. They were

unwilling to run counter to the *dicta* of either the one or the other. The claims of the Hebrew Canon were always well represented by scholars and divines, who relied on the learning of Jerome. But the influence of the Latin Version (in which, in spite of Jerome's well-known views, ecclesiastical usage had caused the insertion of the apocryphal books), the popularity of Augustine's works, and the general ignorance of Hebrew, combined to procure the more general assent to the use of the LXX. Canon, and to the recognition of the apocryphal books.

The following are some of the scholars whose testimony may be cited in favour of the Hebrew Canon, to the exclusion of the Apocrypha.[1]

Gregory the Great (†604), speaking of the Books of the Maccabees, uses the words "from books which, although not canonical, were nevertheless composed for the edification of the Church" ("ex libris licet non canonicis sed tamen ad ecclesiae aedificationem editis," *Moral. in Job* xxx., chap. xxix.). With respect to the Books of Tobit, Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus, he quotes them at times as "Scripture" and of Solomonic authorship; at other times as the writings of "wise men."

Notker, of St. Gall (†912), speaks of "(the Book of) Wisdom as wholly rejected by the Hebrews and held uncertain among us; still because our forefathers were accustomed to read it for the usefulness of its teaching, while the Jews have it not, it is called an ecclesiastical book also among us. It is right, too, that you should hold the same opinion about the Book of Jesus the Son of Sirach, except that that is read and quoted by the Hebrews" (quoted in Westcott's *Bible in the Church*, p. 207). He classes Judith along with Esther and Chronicles as books whose text had no authority save as a record to keep alive the reverent recollection of the past; and he hints that the Books of the Maccabees fell under a similar suspicion: "quum etiam in eis littera non pro auctoritate sed tantum pro memoria et admiratione habeatur ... idem de libris Machabaeorum suspicari poteris" (*De Vir. illustr.*).

Hugo de St. Victore (†1141) says: "There are besides (*i.e.* not in the Canon) certain other books—such as the Wisdom of Solomon, the Book of Jesus the Son of Sirach, and the Book of Judith and Tobias, and the Books of the Maccabees—which are indeed read, but are not written in the Canon;" *i.e.* read in the Churches, but are not strictly Canonical Scripture ("qui leguntur quidem sed non scribuntur in Canone," *De Scripturis et Scriptoribus sacris*, c. 6). Cp. c. 12, "leguntur tamen et ad Vetus Testamentum pertinent, sed non sunt confirmati in Canone."

Peter of Clugny (†1146) says: "After these authentic Books there remain six Books (Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Judith, Job, 1 and 2 Maccabees) which must not be passed over in silence; for although they could not attain the lofty dignity of those mentioned above, they have nevertheless deservedly been received by the Church on account of their admirable and most indispensable teaching" (*Ep. contr. Petrob.* ed. Migne, p. 751).

John of Salisbury (†1172), after recording the Hebrew Canon of twenty-two Books, adds: "Now the Books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, Judith, Tobias, and 'the Shepherd' (Hermas) are not reckoned in the Canon; nor again is the Book of the Maccabees, which is divided into two volumes" (*Ep.* 172).

Hugo de Santo Caro (†1260), after detailing the three divisions of Law, Prophets, and Hagiographa, adds: "Still there remain the Apocrypha—Jesus, Wisdom, and Shepherd, the Books of Maccabees, and Judith, and also Tobias. These, because they are doubtful, are not to be held of the Canon; but because their song is true, the Church receives them" ("hi quia sunt dubii sub Canone non numerantur, sed quia vera canunt Ecclesia suscipit illos," *Prol. Jos.*).

Thomas Aquinas (†1274) speaks rather hesitatingly of the Book of Wisdom: "from which it is clear that the Book of Wisdom is not yet reckoned among the canonical Scriptures." He also raises the question as to the Book of Ecclesiasticus, "because it is not reckoned by the Jews among 'canonical Scriptures'" (*In Dionys. de div. Nom.* c. 4, lect. 9).

Nicolaus de Lyra (†1340) condemns the canonicity of Tobit, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, and the Additions to Daniel and Esther (*Praef. in Tob.*).

John Wycliffe's (†1384) Preface to his Translation says, "Whatever book in ye elde Testament ys out of yes xxv. byfore sayd, shall be sette among apocrifa, that ys withoute autorite of byleue;" mentioning Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Tobit and Judith and Maccabees, along with Jerome's words in his *Prologus Galeatus*.

Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence (†1459), in one passage uses the words: "They (the Jews) make twenty-two authentic Books. The fourth part they call Apocrypha, to wit, the Book of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Tobit, and 1 and 2 Maccabees. The Holy Church, however, also receives them as true ... and reveres them as useful and moral works, although for controversy upon the things which belong to the faith not conclusive in proof" (*Chron. Pont.* 1, tit. 3, cap. 9, § 12). In another passage, after quoting Jerome upon the subject, he adds, "And the same thing is said also by Thomas (ii. 2) and by Nicolaus de Lyra concerning Tobias; namely, that they are not of such authority that an effectual argument could be drawn from them in the matters which concern the faith, as could be drawn from the other Books of Holy Scripture. Hence they have perhaps the like authority to the sayings of the holy doctors approved by the Church."

On the other hand, the great mass of testimony is found to support the LXX. Canon, which had been upheld by Augustine and confirmed by the Council of Carthage (393).

Throughout the whole of this long period, the ignorance of the real question can hardly be overstated. Even men with the highest claims to learning contributed little but the reiteration of former views. Attempts at combining the Hieronymian and Augustinian positions were constantly made. At one time, though the canonicity of the Apocrypha is denied, its Books are declared to be received by the Church: at another, though the Apocrypha is regarded as

[1] For a full list of passages from representative Scholars of the Middle Ages, the reader should refer to Hody's great work, *De Textibus*, &c., and Westcott's *Bible in the Church*.

Canonical Scripture, it occupies a lower level of canonicity than the Books of the Hebrew Canon. It was recognised by the few supporters of the Hebrew Canon that the apocryphal Books were useful for edification, although without authority for purposes of controversy. On the other side, an interpolation of "Agiographa" for "Apocrypha" in Jerome's Prefaces to Judith and Tobit (still to be found in the margin of the text) helped to modify Jerome's unfavourable estimate of the Apocrypha. The question was really removed from the sphere of argument by the influence of the Latin Vulgate, in which it was customary to include the apocryphal Books. According to the MSS. there seems to have been little uniformity in their order of arrangement. In some copies they appear as an appendix to the O. T. Scripture. In others they are interspersed amongst the other Books. When Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus were, as was very generally the case, placed after the Book of Ecclesiastes, Tobit and Judith next to Esther or Job, the Book of Baruch after the prophet Jeremiah, the two Books of the Maccabees after the Minor Prophets, only the learned few could distinguish between the acknowledged and the disputed books of the O. T. Canon; and even when the Apocrypha was added as an appendix to the O. T., there was usually no indication given of any distinction in value or authority.

(*c.*) *The Reformation.*—The age of the Renaissance, with the revival of Greek and Hebrew learning, introduced a healthier phase of biblical study. The position of the Apocrypha with respect to the Canon of Scripture was very early brought under discussion.

Roman Catholic divines and men of the New Learning alike treated the subject with courage and independence. Cardinal Ximenes (1517) in his edition of the Complutensian Polyglott keeps the Apocrypha separate from the other Books, and speaks of them as Books outside the Canon of Scripture, received by the Church for edification, not for authority in matters of doctrine (*Prolog.* iii. 6). Cardinal Cajetan (Thomas del Vio, 1532), defending his exclusion of the Apocrypha from his Commentary on the Scriptures, uses the remarkable words: "Nor be ye disturbed by the strangeness of the thing, if ye find anywhere those Books (*i.e.* Judith, Tobit, Maccabees, Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus) reckoned among the canonical writings either in the holy councils or in the works of holy doctors. For the words of councils and doctors alike must be brought back to Jerome's file," *i.e.* criticised upon Jerome's principles (*ad fin. Comm. in Esther*). Again in another place (*Comm. in Ep. ad Hebr.* cap. 1) he says, "In order not to err in our discrimination of Canonical Books, we follow the rule of St. Jerome. What he handed down as canonical we accept as canonical; what he separated from the canonical we hold outside the Church" (quoted by Salmon, Gen. Introd. to Apoc., *Speaker's Comm.*).

Erasmus censures the prevalent ecclesiastical usage with respect to the apocryphal books. In the year 1516 we find him saying in his *Scholia in Hieron. Prol. in Esdram:* "Strange, when Jerome reckons the 3rd and 4th Books of Esdras among the Apocrypha, and terms what is written in them dreams, how it should have come to pass that the same Books are now read by us and no question asked" ("citra discrimen ullum," *Schol. ad Prol. in Tob.*). "Although this Book (Susanna) has no place among the Jews, and on the authority of Jerome is reckoned among the Agiographa (*sic*), it has nevertheless been received by us among the principal Books" (*Schol. in Prol. in Dan. de Hist. Susanne*). "Strange that what Jerome transfixes with his 'spit' (*i.e.* 'obelisk,' as uncanonical) is now generally read and sung in the Churches as fact of the first importance. . . . Verily we read without exercising discrimination ('nullo delectu legimus') Bel and the Dragon, which Jerome did not shrink from pronouncing a fable." In 1525 he says: "It is not yet agreed in what spirit the Church now holds in public use Books which the ancients with great consent reckoned among the Apocrypha. Whatever the authority of the Church has approved I embrace simply as a Christian man ought to do . . . . Yet it is of great moment to know in what spirit the Church approves anything. For allowing that it assigns equal authority to the Hebrew Canon and the Four Gospels, it assuredly does not wish Judith, Tobit, and Wisdom to have the same weight as the Pentateuch" (cited in Westcott's *Bible in the Church*, p. 252). He speaks more cautiously at a later date (1533) in his *Explan. Symbol. Cat.* 4: "But now there have been admitted into ecclesiastical usage both the Book of Wisdom and the Book of Ecclesiasticus; there have been admitted also the Books of Tobias and of Judith and of Esther, and the two Books of the Maccabees. There have been admitted also the two histories which are attached to the Book of Daniel, the one concerning Susanna, the other concerning Bel and the Dragon. But whether the Church has received these Books upon the same authority as she has the others, the spirit of the Church knoweth."

The Reformed Churches.—The leading Reformers shared the opinions of Erasmus, and excluded the Apocrypha from the Canon of the Old Testament. Their fundamental position was the rejection of human authority, and the assertion that the authority of Scripture was derived from God alone. They rejected the Apocrypha from their Canon of Scripture on the ground that it was not included in the Hebrew Canon, and that the contents of the Hebrew Canon alone had been divinely ratified by our Lord and the inspired Apostles. Proof of this last assertion was forthcoming from the quotations of the New Testament. The mistake has sometimes been made of supposing that the Reformers' position was rendered logically untenable by the analogous absence of reference in the New Testament to certain books included in the Hebrew Canon.. But the question turned upon the Apostolic appeal, not to *individual* books, but to *groups* of books. The fact, too, that no "Apocryphal" book is directly cited in the New Testament is unanswerable.

Luther assigned to the Apocrypha the position of an appendix to the Old Testament of his translation (1534). In his free criticisms upon Scripture, he expressed high approbation of the Books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus; he considered the Prayer of Manasses as useful for purposes of penitential devotion; he severely censured the Books of Baruch and 2 Maccabees,

and omitted altogether 1 and 2 Esdras in his translation, on the ground that they contained "nothing that could not be better found in Esop, or yet more trivial books." He said also that 2 Esdras consisted of "mere dreams."

The general view of the earlier Reformers was expressed in the inscription of the old Zürich Bibles (1529)—"These are the Books which with the men of old time were *not* counted among biblical writings, and moreover are not found among the Hebrews."

The early Genevan Bibles asserted that "the books called the Apocrypha were at all times distinguished from those which without difficulty were regarded as Scripture," and compared the former to "escritures privées et non pas authentiques comme sont les instrumentz publiques." The authoritative edition of 1588 defines the position of the Apocrypha thus:—"These books are not divinely inspired like the rest of the Holy Scripture, and being of private composition, they ought not to be received nor produced publicly in the Church, so as to serve, as a rule, for the articles of our faith. At the same time we may use them privately to draw instruction from them, as much because of several fine examples set forth in them, as because of notable passages which they contain."

In *England* the translations of the Bible will best illustrate the position assigned to the Apocrypha. Tyndale did not live to complete his translation of the Old Testament; but his rendering of certain apocryphal lessons was executed with as much care and skill as that of the Canonical Books (see Westcott's *Hist. of Eng. Bible*). Coverdale's Bible (printed at Zürich, 1535) appeals in the titlepage of the Apocrypha, which forms a separate collection at the close of the O. T., to the authority of the Fathers and of the Hebrew Canon: "Apocrifa. The bokes and treatises, which amonge the Fathers of olde are not rekened to be of like authorite with the other bokes of the Byble, neither are the foũde in the Canon of the Hebrew." The Prefaces to Coverdale's Bible, Matthew's Bible (1537), and the Great[k] Bible (1539), reproduce the opinions of the chief Reformers with moderation and clearness.

It is important to remember that, although the Reformed position showed a diminished reverence for the Apocrypha, there was no *departure from ecclesiastical usage*. The Reformers strongly expressed their sense of the inferiority of the books of the Apocrypha as compared with the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testaments. But they included the Apocrypha in the Bibles which they placed in the hands of the people. The Apocrypha stood between the Old and New Testaments. It was printed in the same type. Its value was thus admitted and its historical position recognised, although its canonicity was rejected.

In the Revision in 1553 of the Articles of Religion of the Church of England, Article VI. (formerly V.), which contained a definition of Holy Scripture, adds: "As for the other bookes (as Jerome saith) the Church doth reade them for example, and for good instruction of lyvyng, but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine. Such are these following. 3 and 4 of Esdras. Judith. The booke of Wisdome. Tobias. Jesus the sonne of Syrach. Machabies 2" (English edition of 1563 = Latin MS. 1562). The revision of the same clause in 1571 added certain other books, and runs as follows:—"And the other bookes (as hierom saith) the Church doth read for example of Lief and instruction of manners; But yet doth it not apply them to establyshe any doctrine. Such are these folowyng. The third book of Esdras. The booke of Wisdome. Of Bel and the Dragon. The forth book of Esdras, Jesus the Sonn of Sirack. The Praier of Manasses. The book of Tobias. Baruch, "the Prophet" added, Jewel, 1571. The first book of Machabies. The book of Judith. The song of the 3 Children. The second book of Machabies. The rest of the book of Hest'. The Storie of Susanna." (MS. of Convocation, 1571).

The decision of Article VI. was final as regards the Canon of the O. T. in the English Church. In the Authorized Version of 1611 it was unnecessary to append any further explanatory note as to the collection of apocryphal Books. Selections from the Apocrypha were admitted into the Book of Common Prayer, *e.g.* the Benedicite or the Song of the Three Children, two verses from Tobit iv. in the offertory sentences, the Daily Lessons from September 27 (morning) to November 23 (evening), when the Books of Tobit, Judith, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, History of Susanna, and Bel and the Dragon were ordained to be read in church; to which were added selections from the Apocrypha as Proper Lessons for the following Saints' Days: Innocents' Day, the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. Matthias, Annunciation of our Lady, St. Barnabas, St. Peter, St. James, St. Bartholomew, St. Matthew, St. Luke, and All Saints' Day. The reference to the story of Tobit in the Benediction of the Marriage Service appeared in the Prayer Book of 1549, but not in later editions.

The defence of the treatment of the Apocrypha by the Reformed English Church is to be found in Book v. chap. 20 of Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*. Hooker there vindicates the usage of the English Church against the great Elizabethan Puritan, Thomas Cartwright, who took exception to the reading in church of either Homilies or the Apocryphal Books. On three subsequent occasions—*i.e.* the Hampton Court Conference, 1603, the Savoy Conference, 1661, and in 1688—the Puritan objections were renewed (see Cardwell's Conferences: Hampton Court, chap. iv. pp. 193, 194; Savoy Conf. vii. pp. 274, 307; Reply, p. 341 [1688]; x. p. 430).[1]

[k] The third edition of the Great Bible (Tunstall and Heath's, Nov. 1540) omits the Preface to the Apocrypha, and there is no hint given that it is inferior in authority to the books of the Hebrew Canon. The later editions of the Great Bible generally have the word "Hagiographa" in the place of "Apocrypha." Taverner's translation, revised by Becke (J. Day, 1551), adds for the first time the 3rd Book of Maccabees.

[1] At the Synod of Dort (1618) a determined effort was made by Gomarus and certain others to procure the removal from the Bible of Esdras, Tobit, Judith, Bel and the Dragon (Session x.). The effort was unsuccessful. But the Synod expressed itself to the effect that a very careful distinction should be made in the printed Bibles between Canonical and apocryphal Books,

The substance of these objections is incorporated in the measured language of the Westminster Confession (1647), c. 1, § 3: "The Books commonly called Apocrypha, not being of Divine inspiration, are no part of the Canon of the Scripture; and therefore are of no authority in the Church of God, nor to be any otherwise approved or made use of than other human writings." The attempts in the 17th cent. to change the attitude of the English Church in respect of the public use of the Apocrypha failed. These attempts were clearly prompted and justified by a sincere regard for the highest edification of the people in Divine worship. It was honestly felt that the reading of chapters from what was not Holy Scripture tended to confuse human and Divine authority in the minds of the congregations. Unhappily the objections were not always very wisely or temperately stated, nor always listened to in a conciliatory spirit. By the Church it was held that so long as passages from the Apocrypha could honestly be read for example of life and instruction in manners, their retention in the kalendar was in accordance with the spirit of the Articles. It should, however, be remarked that Laud's Scottish Prayer Book (1637) so far recognised the existence of a legitimate grievance as to reduce the public use of the Apocrypha to six lessons for Saints' days, taken from Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus (see Procter, *History of the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 220 n.). The present century has seen the removal of the chief cause of offence. Recent concessions have been prompted by considerations of taste and public expediency. The compilers of the Revised Lectionary of 1867 recognised the manifest unsuitableness of many of the old apocryphal lessons for public reading. They retained only selected passages from the Books of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, and Baruch, for the Daily Lessons which are read from October 27 (evening) to November 17 (evening), and the old Proper Lessons for the festivals above mentioned.

The American Church has restricted the lessons from the Apocrypha to a few Holy Days; the Irish Church has struck out all apocryphal lessons from her Lectionary.

The Roman Church.—The attitude of the Reformed Churches towards the Apocrypha in the 16th and 17th centuries was in a great measure due to the action of the Roman Church. The 4th Session of the Council of Trent (held April 8, 1546), when only fifty-three members were present, declared by a small majority that all the Books contained in the Latin Vulgate were canonical Scripture. In the enumeration of the Books of the Old Testament, Nehemiah is followed by Tobit and Judith; Canticles by Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus; Jeremiah by Baruch; Malachi by 1 and 2 Maccabees. Here it should be noted (1) that the Books of the Vulgate include under Daniel and Esther the apocryphal additions to those two Books; (2) that no sort of distinction is drawn between the Apocrypha and the other writings of the Vulgate; (3) that 1 and 2 Esdras, the Prayer of Manasses, and 3 Maccabees are not included in the Tridentine Canon.

In accordance with the Tridentine decree, the official edition of the Vulgate (1592) contains, after Nehemiah, the Books of Tobit and Judith; after Esther, the apocryphal additions; after Canticles, Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus; after Jeremiah and Lamentations, the Book of Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremy; after Daniel, the apocryphal additions; after the Minor Prophets, 1 and 2 Maccabees; and, as an appendix to the whole Bible, after the New Testament, the Prayer of Manasses and 1 and 2 Esdras, with an explanatory note to the effect that they were placed there apart (in order to prevent their total loss) inasmuch as they were frequently found in MSS. and in printed copies of the Bible.

The controversy arising from the Tridentine decree, between Rome and the Reformed Churches, was maintained by Cardinal Bellarmine on the one side, by Rainolds and by Whitaker on the other. The Reformed Churches denied the right of the Church of Rome to add new Articles of faith or to authoritatively declare books canonical whose canonicity had always been opposed by learned Fathers of the Church, and had never been acknowledged by any of the Six Oecumenical Councils.

The Church of Rome claimed (1) that the Council was within its right when it declared the Apocrypha canonical; (2) that the gradual development of the N. T. Canon was a sufficient justification for the tardy recognition of the canonicity of the apocryphal Books; (3) that the indiscreet language of the Reformers made it necessary to affirm more stringently the general tradition of the Church.

The term "Deutero-Canonical," having been applied to the apocryphal books, proved to be convenient, on account of its ambiguity; for it implied canonicity of either later date or of less authority than the Books of the Hebrew Canon. No hint is given in the Tridentine decree or in recent authoritative utterances that the Deutero-Canonical Books are of inferior authority. This has, nevertheless, been asserted by some Roman Catholic divines, *e.g.* Bern. Lamy, *Apparat. bibl.* ii. c. 5, p. 333, ed. Lugdun., 1723: "Accordingly the Books which are in the second Canon, although united with the others of the first Canon, are nevertheless not of the same authority." Cp. Bellarmin. *de Verb. Dei*, i. 4, 10, 11; Jahn, *Einleit.* i. 119, 132, 140–143.

It is more generally maintained by Roman Catholic theologians that the Deutero-Canonical Books, which once were unequal, have become, since the Council of Trent, equal in authority to the Proto-Canonical Books. This is shown by the words of Anton. a Matre Dei, *Praelud. isag. Mogunt.* 1670 (p. 55): "Although these books (*i.e.* the proto-canonical and deutero-canonical) are now equally to be believed, yet their authority was not always the same." Dens' *Theologia* (Mechlin, 1809, vol. ii. *de Virtute Fid.*; No. 61, *de Divis. Script. Sacr.*), after mentioning that the Canon of the O. T. was twofold, Jewish and Christian, goes on to say that "the sacred Books, received as such by the Church,

by means of intermediate spaces, by explanatory titles, and by smaller type; and that notes of warning and explanation should be appended, wherever the Apocrypha contained errors of fact or doctrine. The Belgian section of the Synod decreed that the Apocrypha should be relegated to the last pages of the Bible, *i.e.* at the close of the New Testament.

are, some of them, called Proto-Canonical, others Deutero-Canonical. The latter are those Books which have recently been admitted into the Canon of sacred books, but about which it was disputed in old time, whether or no they were Holy Scripture." This class consisted of the O. T. Apocrypha and the N. T. Antilegomena. The writer does not admit that the deutero-canonical books are subordinate in authority to the proto-canonical.

The decision of the Council of Trent is defended by Vincenzi (*Sessio Quarta Conc. Trid. Vindicata*, Rom. 1842) as the opportune and necessary development of the Church's teaching (see Wordsworth "On Inspiration," Appendix): "For the Church in the earliest ages deferred the solution of this problem, and did not consider it opportune; . . . although the Church was fully persuaded thereon and held firmly the truth and divinity of the Deutero-Canonical Scriptures. . . . But when she perceived her opportunity for maintaining their divine inspiration and for confronting Luther and Calvin and their comrades, who openly denied that the Divine breath was in them (and at the present day they use every effort to oppose the idea), the Church gave her judgment against these same men; and resting upon a continuous and constant tradition, she declared in a public and general decree the authority of the Deutero-Canonical Scriptures (Deuterarum Scripturarum), and that their authors wrote by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit."

The Vatican Council, 1870, recognised no distinction between Proto-Canonical and Deutero-Canonical writings, and merely re-affirmed the Tridentine decree and the authority of the Vulgate: "And these Books of the Old and New Testament are to be received as sacred and canonical, in their integrity, with all their parts as they are enumerated in the decree of the said Council, and are contained in the ancient Latin edition of the Vulgate" (cap. ii.).

Kaulen (*Einleitung in d. heil. Schrift.* 1884) explains the "Deutero-Canonical" to be the Books which belonged to a *different* Canon from the Jewish, the contents of the Jewish being only called "Proto-Canonical" from a misunderstanding (p. 21). "The Church therefore has only expressed the invariable tradition when in her official utterances she makes no difference between Deutero-Canonical and Proto-Canonical Books, and in her teaching upon the Canon expressly reckons the former in the number of the inspired writings" (p. 24).

The Eastern Church.—In the Eastern Church the question of the O. T. Canon and the true position of the apocryphal books was revived in the 17th century. At first, under the influence probably of persons favourable to the Reformation movement of Western Europe, it was declared that the apocryphal books, though not rejected from use, were not to be accounted canonical. Thus Metrophanes Critopulus: "But the remaining books, which some desire to include in Holy Scripture, as the Book of Tobit, of Judith, the Wisdom of Solomon, the Wisdom of Jesus the son of Siri, Baruch, and the Books of the Maccabees, we do not indeed consider to be rejected, but as canonical the Church of Christ never received them (*ἀποβλητοὺς μὲν οὐχ ἡγούμεθα . . . ὡς κανονικὰς δὲ . . . οὐδέποτ' ἀπεδέξατο ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησία*). Cyril Lucar, Patriarch successively of Alexandria and Constantinople, published his "Orientalium Professio" (in Latin in 1629, in Greek in 1633), which illustrates the well-known sympathy of the writer with the Western Reformers. Of the apocryphal books he says: "But the writings which we call 'apocryphal' have not the ratification from the all-holy Spirit in the manner of the genuinely and indubitably Canonical Books." This "Profession," however, was too Reforming in tone. It was opposed by Synods at Constantinople (1638) and at Jaffa (1642); and was reversed by the Council at Jerusalem (1672) held under the presidency of Dositheus. Dositheus' own Confession went to the opposite extreme. It was directed against the Reformers; it adopted the teaching of the Tridentine decree, and declared the apocryphal Books to be canonical. In answer to question iii., "Which Books do you call by the name of Holy Scripture?" Dositheus' Confession begins, "Following the rule of the Catholic Church, we call by the name of Holy Scripture all those writings which Cyril (Lucar) borrowing from the Council of Laodicea enumerates, and in addition to them the books which he in stupidity and ignorance, or even in intentional malice, designated 'apocryphal;' to wit, the Wisdom of Solomon, Judith, Tobit, the Story of the Dragon, the Story of Susanna, the Maccabees, and the Wisdom of Sirach. For we judge these to be genuine parts of Scripture along with the other genuine Books of Scripture. . . . But if they do not all of them seem to be universally reckoned (among the Books of Scripture), they are, however, none the less reckoned and classed with the whole body of Scripture by Synods and many theologians, and they the most ancient and approved theologians of the Catholic Church; all of which Books we ourselves judge to be Canonical, and we confess them to be the Holy Scripture." Dositheus' appeal to "Synods" and "the most ancient and approved divines" was indefinite enough. But so great was his influence that his "Confession" was regarded as authoritative in the Greek Church until the beginning of the present century. Philaret's Longer Catechism of the Orthodox Catholic Eastern Church, published at Moscow, 1839, is reputed the chief standard of doctrine in the Russian Church, and represents by the two following questions and answers a complete change of opinion from the Confession of Dositheus: *Q.* "Why is there no notice taken in this enumeration (*i.e.* by Cyril and Athanasius) of the (22) Books of the O. T., of the Book of the Wisdom of the Son of Sirach, and of certain others?"—*Ans.* "Because they do not exist in the Hebrew." *Q.* "How are we to regard these last-named Books?"—*Ans.* "Athanasius the Great says that they have been appointed of the Fathers to be read by proselytes, who are preparing for admission into the Church" (*i.e.* 2 Macc. xii. 43, in support of prayers for the dead), although quotations from the Fathers are comparatively numerous. From the Catechism of Philaret it would appear that the Greek Church regards the Apocrypha in the same light as does the English Church. It excludes the Apocrypha from the Canon on the ground that it formed no part of the Hebrew Canon, and appeals in support of this view to the

authority of Athanasius, in the same way as the English Church makes her appeal to the authority of Jerome.

The Bible of the Greek Church of Russia (St. Petersburg, 1876) contains, besides the Books of the Hebrew Canon, the Prayer of Manasses at the close of 2 Chronicles, the LXX. 1 Esdras at the close of Nehemiah, followed by Tobit and Judith; after Canticles, the Books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus; after Lamentations, the Epistle of Jeremy and Baruch; after Malachi, three Books of the Maccabees and 4 Esdras.

The Old Catholic Union at Bonn in 1874 showed the degree of agreement existing at the present time between Old Catholics, Greeks, and Anglo-Catholics upon the subject of the Apocrypha. The first of the fourteen Theses agreed upon at the Conference contains the following statement:—"We agree that the apocryphal or Deutero-Canonical books of the Old Testament are not of the same canonicity as the Books contained in the Hebrew Canon."

The preceding sketch of the history of the apocryphal books, in their relation to the O. T. Canon, reveals the unsatisfactory character of the patristic and mediaeval testimony. In their references to apocryphal books, the Fathers and mediaeval divines make use of important words (*e.g.* "Scripture," "Canon") in a vague, loose, and often inconsistent manner. They had little appreciation of the issue, and made no attempt at careful definition. They had no principles of historical criticism to guide them. No amount of inferiority in style or subject-matter could, from their point of view, outweigh ecclesiastical usage and precedent. Criticism was powerless when the allegorical system of interpretation could exalt the Additions to Daniel to an equal degree of spiritual significance with the Psalter or the Pentateuch. The minds of all were prejudiced by the universal use of the LXX. and Vulgate Versions or by a belief in the fiction of Aristeas. Even the few who, like Melito, Origen, and Jerome, followed the Hebrew Canon and originated the tradition in its favour, were in no sense of the word Hebrew scholars; they derived their information at second hand. They imagined that the appeal to the Hebrew Canon closed the door to further investigation. In reality it was but pushed a step farther back.

The vital question remained to be asked, whether the Christian Church received the Old Testament Scriptures (1) on the ground of their definite citation by our Lord and His Apostles, or (2) on the ground of their recognition by the Fathers of the early Church, or (3) on the ground that the Hebrew Scriptures were accepted *en bloc* by the Christian Church because they were the recognised Canon of the Jewish Church?

According to (1), the books of the Hagiographa not quoted in the N. T. would have less claim to canonical recognition than the other Books of the O. T.; their place would belong more strictly to the collection of deutero-canonical Books. According to (2), the books of the Apocrypha cited by the Fathers of the first three centuries (especially Wisd., Ecclus., Bar., 1 Macc.) would have a stronger claim to canonical recognition than many of the books of the Hagiographa. Again, according to (1), a smaller O. T. would be selected from the Hebrew Canon. According to (2), the Hebrew Canon would be amplified by books whose position in the O. T., justified by no authority but Alexandrian usage, would be derived from the quite inadequate cause of temporary popularity among the members of a local Christian community.

According to (3) alone are we enabled to take a consistent position with regard to both the O. T. and the Apocrypha. The Hebrew Canon is the *authoritative* Scripture of the Judaism which prepared the way for the New Covenant, the record of the continuous Revelation made through the chosen people, the Canon of the Jewish Church acknowledged by our Lord and His Apostles. The apocryphal books illustrate, they do not add to its message. They testify to the close of the Old and to the need of the New Dispensation.

In the present day, the relation of the Apocrypha to the O. T. Canon is popularly judged, not by appeal to authority but by the character of the writings themselves. It is the same standard as was used by the Jews of old. The Jewish legend, that the tongue of prophecy was dumb after the days of Malachi, and that thenceforward Divine Revelation was no longer vouchsafed to the people of Israel (cf. 1 Macc. iv. 46; ix. 27; xiv. 41), poetically represents the result of comparison between the Books of the Hebrew Canon and the books of the Apocrypha. Nor could stronger confirmation be required for the Hebrew Canon, for the Athanasian view in the Eastern Church, for the Hieronymian view in the Western Church, for the decision of the Reformed Churches, than is afforded by an investigation of the books themselves, of their character and style, and of their place in the literature of the Jewish nation. "They prove by contrast that the Books of the Hebrew Canon, as a whole, are generically distinct from the ordinary religious literature of the Jews, and establish more clearly than anything the absolute originality of the Gospel." (Westcott, *Bible in the Church*, p. 291.)

III. *Classification and Description of the apocryphal books.*—The books of the Apocrypha have been preserved to us mainly on account of their incorporation with the Septuagint Version, as together making up the Greek Old Testament. Their history is for the most part buried in obscurity. With one exception (Ecclesiasticus) the names of the writers are unknown. The contents of the books and the style of the writing afford generally the only clue to the determination of their date, of their country, and of the circumstances under which they were composed. It is however clear, both from this internal evidence and from the quotations made from them in Jewish and early Christian literature, that they belong, roughly speaking, to the interval of three hundred and fifty years between 200 B.C. and 150 A.D. It is customary to describe the literary activity of the Jews, of which these apocryphal writings are the chief surviving specimens, as partly Palestinian, but mainly Egyptian, in character. In both types the influence of Greek life and thought makes itself very distinctly felt, though most prominently in the Egyptian. The Palestinian books reflect the Jewish reverence for the past and the

revived hope of national independence. In the Egyptian books, the desire to assimilate Mosaism with Greek Philosophy appears side by side with the assertion of Jewish Monotheism.

So vague and indefinite, however, is our information, so much room is left for speculation and conjecture, that no classification of the books according to date or place of composition can be safely relied upon. A chronological classification is unsatisfactory, since accurate data are forthcoming only in the case of Ecclesiasticus; and, if we may approximately determine the age of 1 Maccabees, Wisdom, and 2 Esdras, we are wholly dependent upon conjecture in the case of the other books. A geographical classification is hardly less unsatisfactory. The Babylonian origin of Baruch and the Persian origin of Tobit have at different times been maintained, but on insufficient grounds; and, although in some cases the Palestinian origin of a book (*e.g.* 1 Maccabees), and in others the Egyptian (*e.g.* of Wisdom), is indisputable, it frequently seems impossible to distinguish under what local or national influences other writings were composed, *e.g.* Additions to Daniel and Esther, Baruch (pt. ii.), 2 Esdras. (For the place and date of their composition, see the Articles upon the separate Books.)

The subject-matter of the books furnishes, on the whole, the most convenient means of classifying the Apocrypha. The only objection that can be raised against this method has arisen from the uncertainty which has been felt as to the true character of certain books, *e.g.* Judith, Tobit, and Susanna. At the present day, however, their unhistorical character is generally recognised by scholars. It is only in the quarter where their inspiration and canonicity are maintained, that the attempt is also made to insist upon their literal veracity (see the position of the Roman Church moderately and ably represented in Kaulen's *Einleitung*). According to the classification by subject-matter, the books may be divided into, (*a*) historical, (*b*) prophetical, (*c*) didactic writings.

(*a*) The *historical* books comprise: (1) the genuine history of 1 Maccabees; (2) the semi-legendary history of 2 Maccabees, 1 Esdras, and the Additions to Esther; (3) the fabulous narratives contained in the Additions to Daniel and 3 Maccabees.

(*b*) Under the head of *prophetical* books may be classed the writings which seek to reproduce varieties of ancient Israelite literature: *i.e.* (1) prophetical, the Book of Baruch (parts i. and ii.), the Epistle of Jeremy; (2) poetical, the Prayer of Manasses, the Song of the Three Children, and the 151st Psalm; (3) Apocalyptic, 2 Esdras.

(*c*) The *didactic* books fall into two minor groups, of which one consists of the strictly sapiential or gnomic books, Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom, and 4 Maccabees; the other of the two didactic romances, Judith and Tobit.

According to this classification, it will be seen that the First Book of Maccabees alone supplies us with exceptionally trustworthy information. It is singularly free from attempts to exaggerate facts or to obtrude the marvellous. The partisanship of the author for the Asmonean house is undisguised (*e.g.* v. 62; x. 17, 20; xi. 30, 47; xii.; xiv. 16–20; xv. 15–24). This will account for exaggerations in the number of the slain in certain passages; and very possibly we must attribute either to this cause or to the licence permitted by custom to ancient historians, the so-called treaties with Rome (ch. viii.) and with Sparta (ch. xii.), and such letters as those of kings Alexander and Demetrius (ch. x.), Arius (ch. xii.), and Antiochus (ch. xv.). But the fabrication of some of these documents may reasonably be supposed to rest upon a substratum of fact. And the same may be said of the suspicious account of Antiochus Epiphanes' repentance recorded in ch. vi. In the main, however, facts and dates are found to be corroborated by other testimony; and Josephus, who knows no other source of information for this period, appears to have been fully justified in the confidence which he reposed in the Book. Its excellence in chronology deserves particular mention. Its constant reference of facts to a particular foreign era (the Seleucid, *i.e.* 312 B.C.) adds greatly to the historical importance of the record, and marks a distinct advance upon the custom of earlier Jewish writers (*e.g.* i. 10, 54; ii. 70; iv. 52; vi. 16, 20; vii. 1; ix. 3; x. 1; xi. 19; xiii. 42; xiv. 1, 27; xv. 10; xvi. 14). It is clear from xiii. 42, that in the Maccabean era the nation was still accustomed to reckon chronology by the high-priesthood; while xiv. 27 indicates how the new secular era was beginning to emerge.

The Second Book of Maccabees is quite independent of the First Book, and is much inferior to it in historical merit. It is most improbable that the two letters prefixed to the Book (i.–ii. 18) are genuine. The rest of the work professes to be an epitome of five books written by one Jason of Cyrene, which sketches the chief events in Jewish history between 175 B.C. and 161 B.C. It is a valuable contribution to the history of this short period; but its credibility is marred by a large infusion of the legendary element (iii. 2; x. 29, 30; xi. 6, 8; xiv. 45, 46; xv. 11–16); by the wildest exaggerations of numbers (v. 14; viii. 24, 30; x. 17, 20, 31; xi. 4; xii. 23, 26, 28; xv. 27). The historical character of the work is further compromised by such rhetorical passages as the description of the martyrdoms in ch. vi., vii., the death and repentance of Antiochus Epiphanes in ch. ix., and the suicide of Razis in ch. xiv., partly too by the ferocity of the language directed against the foes of the Jews (cp. iv. 19; v. 8, 9; viii. 34, 36; ix. 8, 15; xiii. 8). Nevertheless, the Second Book of Maccabees, though inferior to the First Book, is of a stamp considerably superior to the other so-called historical books of the Apocrypha.

The First Book of Esdras is merely a loose revision of the canonical Book of Ezra, to which has been prefixed the legend of the Three Pages. The legend implies the influence of the sapiential literature of the period, and illustrates the tendency of Jewish writers to invest the events of their national history with a glamour of imaginary magnificence.

The Additions to Esther represent a revision of the canonical work, with numerous amplifications.

The Third Book of Maccabees represents pic-

torially the temper and feelings of the Alexandrian Jews at some unknown crisis; but otherwise it has little claim to be regarded as a work of history. The description of the persecution and the deliverance of the Jews in the days of Ptolemy IV. Philopator may possibly have been based upon events in the early imperial age, of which no other tradition has been preserved.

The Additions to the Book of Daniel are devoid of any historical value. Bel and the Dragon represents a class of Jewish fable, probably written with the intention of making idolatry ridiculous. The Story of Susanna was a favourite national legend, perhaps originally composed with no higher purpose than to illustrate the meaning of the name Daniel, by an event in the early life of the national hero. (On the theory of its being an "Anti-Sadducean *Tendenz-Schrift*," see *Speaker's Comm.*, Apocrypha, ii. 325–330.)

In the *prophetical* section of the classification given above, the Baruch literature, *i.e.* Parts 1 and 2 of Baruch and "The Epistle of Jeremy" (=Baruch vi.), is composed in imitation of the writings of Jeremiah and Daniel. The Book of Baruch itself is a vigorous reproduction of the thought, and frequently also of the phraseology, of the canonical Scriptures. The Epistle of Jeremiah is a monotonous rhetorical declamation against idolatry.

Of the poetical writings, the Prayer of Azarias and the Song of the Three Children are found among the Additions to Daniel, but they clearly have no connexion with either Bel and the Dragon, or the Story of Susanna. They are both lacking in originality, and are only a cento of scriptural phrases. The Song itself however (the "Benedicite"), by its recognition of the divine mission of the forces of nature, embodies an idea worthy of the highest flights of Hebrew poetry.

The Prayer of Manasses is a powerful psalm of repentance, which tradition has connected with the account given of Manasses the king in 2 Ch. xxxiii. 11–13, 18, 19. There is nothing in the Prayer to countenance the tradition of its origin beyond its penitential character and the allusion in ver. 10 to "the iron chain," while other expressions occur (*e.g.* ver. 8) which render such antiquity an impossibility. It was composed upon the model of the Penitential Psalms; but whether it originally belonged to some legendary history of Manasses' repentance, is a question which we have no means of deciding.

Psalm cli., preserved in the LXX. Version of the Psalms, purports to be David's song of triumph after his victory over Goliath. It does not exist in the Hebrew, and was composed in imitation of the canonical Psalms. Its preservation is due, not to any intrinsic merit, but to the popularity of the event which it celebrates.

The *apocalyptic* writings, which play so important a part in Jewish literature during the century succeeding the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, are represented in the Apocrypha by the so-called Second Book of Esdras. In this book, as in the lately discovered Apocalypse of Baruch, the more recent disasters of the nation are referred to under the image of the former overthrow by the Chaldaeans. By a series of seven visions, which recall the visions of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St. John, the mysteries of the last days are revealed to Ezra. It is acknowledged that the children of Israel have justly been punished for their sins. But a day of retribution is at hand. The coming and the reign of the Messiah upon earth is shortly to take place. The foes of Israel are to be consumed in terrible punishment. But the Twelve Tribes are to be restored to their country, and "the daughter of Sion" is to be reinstated in Jerusalem. The close similarity of the Book to the Apocalypse of Baruch deserves remark; it would seem not unlikely that the last-named work was known to the writer of the Second Book of Esdras.

It should be observed that the two introductory and the two concluding chapters in the Latin Version do not strictly belong to the Apocalypse of Esdras. Fritzsche places them together as the Fifth Book of Esdras. They represent a late accretion. The date of these interpolations cannot be earlier than the 3rd century A.D.

In the *didactic* group stand the two Books of Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom, which are, with the possible exception of 1 Maccabees, the most important works of the whole apocryphal collection. They mark the process of transition from the sapiential thought (the "Chokhmah" of the Jews) of Proverbs, Job, and Ecclesiastes, to the Graeco-Jewish philosophy of Philo. Ecclesiasticus represents purely Palestinian thought; Wisdom is almost as distinctly Alexandrian. In the latter, we find the strong influence of Greek philosophy beginning to make itself felt. Both books are rich in gnomic sayings of worldly prudence, based upon the Mosaic law. Both have many passages which are of great poetical beauty (*e.g.* Ecclus. xxiv. xliii. l.; Wisd. v. vii. ix.). Their impersonation of Divine Wisdom, as will be noticed below, almost anticipates in language, though not in thought, the Christian treatment of the Logos.

The so-called Fourth Book of Maccabees must be classed with the didactic books. It is of the nature of an oration in support of the "thesis" that "the religious faculty" (*ὁ εὐσεβὴς λογισμὸς*) is completely master of the passions. This is accordingly made the subject of a moral discourse in the earlier portion of the Book (i.–iii. 18), and is illustrated throughout the remaining portion by protracted descriptions of the martyrdoms of the Jews. The Book was for a long time believed to have been written by Josephus, but this theory has been proved to be quite baseless.

The Books Tobit and Judith it is best to place in a separate group representing romance written with a didactic purpose. Their historical accuracy (that of Judith more especially) has often been defended, but it is impossible to find either dates or facts which will correspond with either of the two narratives. It is of course possible, though not probable, that a nucleus of fact underlies each story. But the literary treatment belongs to the region of romance. Their power and interest lie in the vivid and natural description of the scenes; their value in their teaching. The Book of Tobit was, we may imagine, partly written for the sake of inculcating the duties of prayer and almsgiving. The Book of Judith, of which the story is morally indefensible, incites to a higher

standard of patriotism based on a simple trust in the power of Jehovah.

The Apocrypha may also be conjecturally divided into Jewish and Graeco-Jewish writings. The distribution may roughly be made as follows. Of the *historical* books, the First Book of Maccabees and the First Book of Esdras are Jewish in origin, the Second and Third Books of Maccabees are Graeco-Jewish. Of the *prophetical* books, Part 1 of Baruch and 2 Esdras are almost certainly Jewish in origin; Part 2 of Baruch, the Epistle of Jeremy, the Additions to Daniel and Esther, the Song of the Three Children, the Prayer of Manasses, and the 151st Psalm are probably Graeco-Jewish. Of the *didactic* books, Ecclesiasticus, Judith, and probably Tobit, are Jewish; Wisdom and the Fourth Book of Maccabees are Graeco-Jewish.

In hazarding this general distinction between the books we are partly guided by their character and subject-matter, but chiefly by the indications given of the language in which they were originally written. Thus, although, with the exception of the Second Book of Esdras, the Apocrypha was preserved to the Church in the Greek language, in numerous instances it can be shown that the Greek Version is merely a translation from a Hebrew or Aramaic original. The prologue to the Book of Ecclesiasticus expressly asserts, what is patent in other ways, that it is a translation from the Hebrew. The First Book of Maccabees, according to the probable testimony of Origen (*ap.* Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 25) and the direct statement of Jerome (*Prol. Gal. ad Lib. Reg.*), was extant in their day in Hebrew; and though it is possible, as some have asserted, that Origen and Jerome were acquainted with Chaldee Versions only, the theory of a Hebrew original is the most natural explanation of the style, both in its simplicity and in its difficulties. The Book of Judith was extant in Chaldee in Jerome's days; and, although there is no sufficient ground for supposing that the Chaldee Version, with which he was acquainted, was anything but a mere translation, the Hebraisms and manifest errors in rendering, apparent in the Greek, make its Hebrew origin almost incontestable. The Book of Tobit, likewise, was extant in Chaldee in Jerome's days. The undoubtedly Hebraistic character of the Greek makes it clear that we have in it only a translation. The Chaldee text which has recently been edited by Neubauer, is claimed by some to be the original. At any rate, the existence of a rival text in Chaldee by the side of a Hebrew text will go far to account for the great variations of reading in both Greek and Latin Versions.

The First Book of Esdras and the earlier portion of Baruch are also, in all probability, translations from the Hebrew.

On the other hand, 2, 3, 4 Maccabees, Wisdom, the Additions to Daniel and Esther, and the latter portion of Baruch, were all probably composed in Greek.

The translation of the Pentateuch into Greek supplied the Jews of Alexandria with the strongest, if not with the first, stimulus to turn the universal language to the advantage of their own religion.

The characteristic features of the LXX. Version left deep their impress upon all subsequent Graeco-Jewish literature. It was followed by a copious stream of Jewish writings, in which history and romance, polemics and apologetics, religion, morals, and philosophy, were severally represented, and often fantastically blended. Specimens of this phase of literature are preserved to us by several of the apocryphal Books, and by such varied writings as the so-called Epistle of Aristeas, the verses ascribed to Phocylides, the fragments of Aristobulus, no less than by the works of Philo and Josephus.

Whatever be the distinctive character of a Graeco-Jewish writing, its essentially Jewish form is never obscured by the Greek colouring. Sometimes it asserts itself in intellectual sympathy with Greek philosophy (*e.g.* with Plato in the Book of Wisdom, with the Stoics in the Fourth Book of the Maccabees); sometimes in religious polemic it champions the national Monotheism against pagan idolatry (*e.g.* in the latter portion of the Book of Wisdom, in the Epistle of Jeremy, and in the Additions to Daniel); sometimes in the form of an appeal to the sufferings and persecutions which the people had undergone in past times, the endeavour is made to keep alive the ardour of patriotism and to quicken the trust in Jehovah (*e.g.* in the Book of Baruch, the Second and Third Books of Maccabees).

IV. (1) *The Apocrypha in relation to Jewish Literature.*—The books of the Apocrypha help to depict for us the fusion of Jewish and Greek thought. They help to unfold the process of preparation, by which Graeco-Jewish thought and language grew to be the chief instrument, in the writings of the Apostles and in the preaching of the early Christians, for the spread and development of a new and a universal religion. They illustrate the condition of the Jewish people, their habits of thought, their literary taste and skill, their mental training, their historical judgment at or about the Christian era. Herein consists the real value of the Apocrypha. The intrinsic merits of the books bear no proportion to their value as a literary record of their time. The most cursory comparison with the writings of either the Old or the New Testament is sufficient to impress the reader with a sense of the feebleness which characterizes the greater part of the apocryphal collection.

The Apocrypha belongs to that class of Jewish literature which the Jewish teachers called Haggada in distinction from that which they called Halacha. While both terms express a position relative to the Canonical Scriptures, Haggada stands opposed to Halacha as "comment" to "definition," and as "illustration" to "formal rule." Under Haggadic literature are to be included writings so varied as comment, dogma, ethics, history, mysticism, allegory. The books of the Apocrypha present us with at least three prominent types of Haggada,—the historical, the ethical, and the allegorical,—all of which were employed to illustrate the text of Scripture and the multiple expansion of the law embodied in the Halacha. But the defects of the Haggadic literature are only too conspicuous in the apocryphal writings. They are lacking in spontaneity, simplicity, and moral earnestness.

Compared with the writings of the O. T. or the N. T., their style is for the most part artificial. When they reproduce the language or thought of the older Books, they rarely reproduce their spirit. The writers seem to be conscious of their own weakness, and acknowledge it (cp. 1 Macc. iv. 46, ix. 27, xiv. 41; Ecclus. xxxvi. 15). The want of creative power is indicated by imitations of the ancient literature, and by a rhetorical tone very different from the simplicity and robustness of the canonical Scriptures.

A serious moral blot, characteristic, however, of the writing of the age, is the apparent manufacture of false letters and false documents (*e.g.* the letters and treaties in 1 Esdras and (?) 1 Maccabees), and the embellishment of history by incidents, &c., calculated to magnify the importance of the nation and its rulers (*e.g.* 1 Esdras and 2 and 3 Maccabees). Under this head must be classed such distortions of fact and exaggerated descriptions as those connected with the Plagues of Egypt and the Wonders in the Desert, contained in the Book of Wisdom; and the details of the Additions to the Books of Esther and Daniel.

Another point which will strike the reader of the Apocrypha is the inferiority of the imaginative writings. The shallowness and moral feebleness of the fables preserved in Bel and the Dragon, and of the legend of Susanna, place them in the lowest level of literature. The absence of all higher moral feeling in the Book of Judith, and the admixture of the magical element in the Book of Tobit, detract from the merits attaching to the one as a vivid tale of patriotism, and to the other as a touching and in places humorous story of domestic life. In legend and in romance, we may possibly distinguish a reaction from the literature of mere legalism. Exaggeration and invention formed by contrast the natural extreme to the pedantic literalism of the Scribes.

No unprejudiced reader would attempt to maintain the moral or intellectual equality of the Apocrypha with the Canonical writings. The Canonical Books of the O. T. and N. T. spring from periods of creative power and life. The apocryphal books belong to the artificial and imitative period which intervenes. But while it is not hard to lay a finger upon defects in the apocryphal works, it is matter for congratulation that they have preserved to us Jewish historical records so valuable as those contained in the two Books of the Maccabees, Jewish poetry so noble and sentiments so lofty as are contained in the Books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, Jewish imaginative writing so natural and vivid as is found in the Books of Tobit and Judith.

There remain to be noticed very briefly three points of interest: (*a*) the influence of the Apocrypha upon the writings of the New Testament; (*b*) traces of its position in Jewish literature, (*c*) special instances of its estimation in Christian literature.

(*a*). Cp. *Speaker's Comm.* i. pp. xl.–xlii. It is a remarkable fact that the writers of the Greek Testament, although they constantly make citations from the LXX., never directly quote from any of the apocryphal books. The instances which have been adduced to prove the contrary (*e.g.* Luke xi. 49 with Wisdom ii. 12–20; Matt. xiii. 42–50 with Judith xvi. 17; Jas. i. 19 with Ecclus. v. 11), are very far from being convincing. They are chiefly resemblances in thought and expression, some of which might be due to a training in the same O. T. Scriptures and in the same schools of thought, others which might be paralleled in non-Jewish writings. Numerous expressions, especially in the Books of Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom, and Judith, will call to mind passages from the New Testament, and illustrate their meaning (*e.g.* Ecclus. vii. 14 with Matt. vi. 7; vii. 34 with Rom. xii. 15; xiv. 1 with Jas. iii. 2; Jud. ix. 12 with Acts iv. 24; Wisdom vi. 18 with John xiv. 21–24; Tobit iv. 15 with Luke vi. 31). This is only what we should expect from nearly contemporary writings of the same nation. On the other hand, it is certainly true, that (1) the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews (Heb. xi. 35) might with as much probability have derived his facts from 2 Macc. vi. and vii. as from other narratives or traditions, and have also perhaps been acquainted with the Book of Wisdom (vii. 26, cf. Heb. i. 3); (2) the Epistle of St. James contains coincidences of language with Ecclesiasticus, as also possibly with Wisdom; (3) the Epistles of St. Paul contain language so similar to that which is found in the Book of Wisdom, that it is not unnatural to suppose his familiarity with its contents (*e.g.* Wisd. v. 17, 18, cp. Eph. vi. 13; Wisd. ix. 15, cp. 2 Cor. v. 1–4; Wisd. xiii. 1, cp. Rom. i. 19, 20; Wisd. xv. 7, cp. Rom. ix. 21). The quotations in the so-called 5 Esdras (= 2 Esd. i., ii., xv., xvi.) are due to the late and Christian origin of the interpolated passages (*e.g.* 2 Esd. i. 30, cp. Matt. xxiii. 37; 2 Esd. xvi. 18, cp. Matt. xxiv. 8; 2 Esd. xvi. 44, cp. 1 Cor. vii. 29).

(*b*). Some doubt exists whether the apocryphal books were reckoned by the Jews among the "S'pharim g'nuzim, libri absconditi" (ספרים גנוזים), books withdrawn from public reading, or among the "S'pharim chitzonim, libri externi" (ספרים חצונים), "extraneous or foreign books," sometimes entitled "Siphre Minin, libri hæreticorum" (ספרי מינין), "books of the heretics," composed by Greeks, Jewish Christians, or Gnostic heretics.

In the former class seem to have been placed, at different times, the Song of Songs, Esther and Ecclesiastes, and such other books as from time to time gave rise to doubts among the Rabbinic doctors, on the ground that they contradicted the Law of Moses; they were then either temporarily (as in the case of Canonical Books above mentioned) or permanently withdrawn from public use. In the latter class seem to have been placed the poems of Homer, the books of certain Greek writers, of the Sadducees and of the Christians. On the one hand, on account of the similarity of the name, it would be natural to range the Apocrypha among the "g'nuzim" of which some were finally recognised as Canonical. On the other hand, it may be shown that the writings of the Son of Sirach (בן סירא) were classed among the "external books," and that to this group belong also other late Jewish writings, such as the "Megillath Taanith" or "Book of Fasting," the Sadducee "Megillath Asmon," &c. See Fürst's *Der Kanon d. A. T.*

During the first two centuries of the Christian era, many of the apocryphal books seem to have been known and read by the Jews. Thus, Josephus makes use of 1 Maccabees, 1 Esdras, and the Additions to Esther. The Book of Ecclesiasticus, or, at any rate, a different recension of the Hebrew original, was frequently quoted by the early Rabbins. The stories of Judith, Tobit, and the Additions to Daniel were accepted by Jewish writers; Judith and Tobit were known in Hebrew and Aramaic Versions; Hebrew MSS. preserve portions of the Additions to Esther, *e.g.* the Prayer of Mordecai, the Prayer of Esther, the Dream of Mordecai; the Song of the Three Children was received into the Jewish Liturgy. Not until the 2nd century A.D. were prohibitions uttered by the Palestinian Rabbis against the reading of the Apocrypha. Such sentences as "He who readeth a verse that is not of the twenty-four Books of Holy Scripture, his sin is as if he had read in the extraneous or foreign writings," and "He that bringeth into his house more than the twenty-four Books of the Bible, bringeth confusion into his house," testify to the determination of the Rabbis to exclude from use whatever literature was foreign in character to the strangely exaggerated Mosaism which they tried to guard in purity. In Babylon, where Judaism was stronger, there was not the same need for such stringent regulations; and in the 4th century, we hear of the words of the Son of Sira being read, *e.g.* "The good doctrines in the Book of Sirach we may moreover employ in our addresses" (*Sanh.* 100).

(*c*). In the Christian Church, the Apocrypha was generally received along with the other Books of the LXX. Version as equally inspired of God. The position of the Apocrypha in relation to the Canon of Scripture has been already discussed.

Especial reverence was paid to the Books of Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom, not only on account of their intrinsic interest and importance, but also on account of the Solomonic authorship traditionally ascribed to them, and on account of their treatment of the subject of Divine wisdom, in which the Fathers discerned a Messianic reference (see below). Certain passages in the Book of Baruch (iii. 36, 37; v. 1–3) and 1 Esdras (iv. 36) are constantly referred to for the same reason. The Second Book of Maccabees acquired a specially high repute in the 4th century, when the subject of honours paid to martyrdom began to attract attention. In later times prayers for the dead were defended by an appeal to 2 Macc. xii. 44, 45. The prominence given to the subject of almsgiving and fasting in the Books of Ecclesiasticus and Tobit caused particular passages to be frequently quoted by Christian writers. The 151st Psalm and the Song of the Three Children were included in the Appendix to the Ancient Latin Psalter. The 151st Psalm, the Prayer of Manasses, the Prayer of Azarias, and the Song of the Three Children appear in the Appendix to the Ancient Greek Psalter (see Churton, *Uncanonical and Apocryphal Scriptures*, pp. 364, 365).

Criticism upon the style and language of the apocryphal writings belongs more properly to a survey of the whole LXX. Version, or to a detailed examination of the separate Books. We will content ourselves therefore at this point with brief general observations.

1. *As to Style.*—The Books of the Apocrypha, as preserved to us, are, with the exception of 2 Esdras, written in the current popular form of Greek, representing generally the intermediate stage of dialect between the LXX. Version of the O. T. and the writings of the New Testament. The books that have been translated from the Hebrew are naturally more Hebraic in colouring than the writings of the N. T.; on the other hand, the purely Alexandrian books are written in a style of Greek less Hebraic, more free, and often more debased, than those of the N. T.

The books translated from the Hebrew (*e.g.* 1 Macc., Ecclus., Judith) are as a rule characterized by a greater simplicity in vocabulary and idiom than the books originally composed in Greek, such as Wisdom and 2 Maccabees. This simplicity of style is well illustrated by the Book of Judith, in which the absence of the ordinary particles and the connexion of sentences by the copula καί are particularly noticeable. In a less marked degree it may be observed in the Book of Tobit. In both Books the language is admirably adapted to the purposes of popular narrative. The Book of Ecclesiasticus adheres to the parallelism of the Hebrew gnomic writing, and as a rule sacrifices smoothness to faithfulness in translation. The First Book of Maccabees presents a most favourable specimen of rendering from the Hebrew; it combines purity of diction with vigour and ease of expression. The Hebraic colouring is unmistakable; but the style, always temperate and well-restrained, is rarely bald or clumsy: in some passages it becomes almost poetical (iii. 3–9; vii. 38, 39).

Errors of translation may be detected in the translated books. Well-attested instances are to be found in Bar. i. 10; Judith i. 8, iii. 9; Ecclus. xxiv. 27, xxv. 15, xlvi. 18, xlvii. 17; 1 Macc. ii. 8, iii. 3, iv. 19, 24.

The Graeco-Jewish books are smoother and more ornate in style than the books of Palestinian origin, but, in common with much of the Alexandrine writing of the age, lose in force by the tendency to be florid and rhetorical. This defect appears to an exaggerated degree in the bombastic royal rescripts of the Additions to Esther (*e.g.* ii. 1–7; vi. 2, &c.), and is conspicuous in the inflated writing of the Third Book of the Maccabees. Better Greek is found in the Books of Wisdom, 2 and 4 Maccabees. But even in the Book of Wisdom, which as a rule excels in poetical feeling and elegance of language, the style is frequently marred by far-fetched and fanciful expressions (especially from ch. xi. to end). The Second Book of Maccabees is sometimes disfigured (*e.g.* xiii. 9–26, xiv. 25) by condensed and confused writing, which is due probably to carelessness on the part of the epitomizer of Jason's five volumes. The philosophical style which prevails in the earlier part of the Fourth Book of Maccabees lapses into "fine writing" in the description of the martyrdoms, of which a striking example is to be found in ch. vii. 1–5.

2. *As to Language.*—The Hebrew and Alexandrine elements in the Hellenistic dialect are conspicuous for peculiarities, the one in idiom, the other in vocabulary.

Under the class of Hebraic idiom are to be classed such expressions as *ἐν χειρί, διὰ χειρός, ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου, ἐπὶ πρόσωπον, ἐν στόματι ῥομφαίας, ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἕως μεγάλου, ἐκ τούτων καὶ ἐκ τούτων*; idiomatic expressions such as *εἶναι* or *γίγνεσθαι εἰς, ἀρέσκειν ἐνώπιον, λαμβάνειν πρόσωπον, διδόναι εἰς ὄλεθρον, ὡς ἡ ἡμέρα αὕτη*; the otiose demonstrative following the relative (*e.g.* Ecclus. xiv 2; Judith v. 19, vii. 10; Bar. ii. 13, 17; 1 Esd. iii. 5, 9); the participle or cognate substantive added to the finite verb for emphasis, representing the Hebrew Infin. Absol. (*e.g.* Judith ii. 13, vi. 4; Ecclus. v 3; 1 Macc. ii. 67, 68, 70, iii. 13, v. 40); the common use of *τοῦ* with the infin.; the *ἤ* following the positive as the sign of the comparative (*e.g.* Tob. iii. 6; xii. 8); the infinitive of the main verb following the finite tense of the verb defining or limiting the action, *e.g.* with *προστίθεσθαι* (1 Macc. iii. 15, ix. 1; Tob. xiv. 2), *συντελεῖν* (1 Esd. i. 53); *ἀνακάμπτειν* (1 Esd. viii. 86), *ὑπομένειν* (1 Esd. ii. 18); the genitive of quality in the place of adjective, *e.g.* *ἀνὴρ βουλῆς* (1 Macc. ii. 65), *ὄνομα ἁγιασμοῦ* (Ecclus. xvii. 8); the negative before *πᾶς* (*e.g.* 1 Esd. iii. 19).

The vocabulary of the apocryphal Books, and particularly that of 2, 3, 4 Maccabees, Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus, abounds in strange compounds, many of them more suited for poetry than prose. The following are characteristic instances:—*ἀδρανής* (Wisd.), *αἱμοβόρος* (4 Macc.), *ἀκαριαῖος* (2 Macc.), *ἀκηλίδωτος* (Wisd.), *ἀκρωτηριάζω* (2 Macc.), *ἀκύμαντος* (Add. Esth.), *ἀλάστωρ* (2 Macc., 4 Macc.), *ἀλλοφυλισμός* (2 Macc.), *ἀμβρόσιος* (Wisd.), *ἀμμώδης* (Ecclus.), *ἀμφιλαφής* (Wisd.), *ἀναβράζω* (Wisd.), *ἐκβράζω, συμβράζω* (2 Macc.), *ἀναμοχλεύω* (4 Macc.), *ἀνομβρέω* (Ecclus.), *ἀντοφθαλμέω* (Ecclus.), *ἀντρωδής* (2 Macc.), *ἄπλετος* (3 Macc.), *ἀποκοσμέω* (2 Macc.), *ἀποσκυθίζω* (4 Macc.), *ἀποπρατίζομαι* (Tob.), *ἀρδαλόω* (Ecclus.), *ἀρθρέμβολος* (4 Macc.), *ἀσινής* (3 Macc.), *ἀσυρής* (4 Macc.), *ἀχανής* (Ecclus.), *βαρβαρόω* (2 Macc.) *βαρυηχής* (3 Macc.), *βυθοτρεφής* (3 Macc.), *γαλακτοποτέω* (4 Macc.), *γενεσιάρχης, -ουργός* (Wisd.), *γηγενής* (Tob.), *γλωσσώδης* (Ecclus.), *δαψιλής* (Wisd., 1 Macc.), *δειλανδρέω* (2 Macc.), *δεκαπλασιάζω* (Bar.), *δευτερολογέω* (2 Macc.), *δημοτελής* (3 Macc.), *διαμασάομαι* (Ecclus.), *δικαιοκρίτης* (2 Macc.), *δορυάλωτος* (2 Macc., 3 Macc.), *δυσίαικτος* (3 Macc.), *δωροκοπέω* (Ecclus., 3 Macc.), *ἑβδομοκωφέω* (Ecclus.), *ἑβνόπληκτος* (4 Macc.), *εἰδωλόθυτος* (4 Macc.), *εἰλικρίνης* (Wisd.), *ἔκβολος* (Judith), *ἐκδειματόω* (Ecclus.), *ἐκμυσής* (Wisd.), *ἐκτοπίζω* (2 Macc.), *ἐνάρετος* (4 Macc.), *ἐντρεχής* (Ecclus.), *ἐνωτίζομαι* (Wisd., Ecclus.), *ἕξαλλος* (Wisd., 3 Macc.), *ἐσχατίζω* (1 Macc.), *ἐσχατόγηρως* (Ecclus.), *εὐιλατεύω* (Judith), *ἠθολογέω* (4 Macc.), *θανατηφόρος* (4 Macc.), *θεομαχέω* (2 Macc.), *ἱεροπρεπής* (4 Macc.), *ἰοβόλος* (Wisd.), *ἰσοπάλις* (4 Macc.), *ἰσόπεδος* (2 Macc.), *καταβάσιος* (Wisd.), *κατανωτίζομαι* (Judith), *κρυσταλλοειδής* (Wisd.), *λαιμαργία* (4 Macc.), *λαογραφία* (3 Macc.), *μακροβίωσις* (Bar.), *μακροημερεύω, -σις* (Ecclus.), *μεγαλορρημονέω* (Judith), *μεσοπορέω* (Ecclus.), *μεταγενέστερος* (1 Esd.), *μετακιρνάω* (Wisd.), *μεταλλεύω* (Wisd.), *μιαροφαγία* (3 Macc.), *μικρολόγος* (Ecclus.), *μίσυβρις* (3 Macc.), *νηπιόκτονος* (Wisd.), *ξενολογέω* (1 Macc.), *ξενοτροφέω* (2 Macc.), *οἰστρηλάσια* (4 Macc.), *οἰωνόβρωτος* (2 Macc., 3 Macc.), *ὁλοσφύρητος* (Ecclus.), *ὁλοσχερῶς* (1 Esd.), *ὁμοιοπαθής* (Wisd.), *ὁπλοδοτέω* (1 Macc.), *ὁπλολογέω* (2 Macc.), *οὐραγέω* (Ecclus.), *ὀφιόδηκτος* (Wisd.), *παντεπίσκοπος* (Wisd.), *πηδαλιουχέω* (4 Macc.), *πολεμοτροφέω* (2 Macc.), *πολυπραγμονέω* (2 Macc.), *προαλής* (Ecclus.), *πυριφλεγής* (4 Macc.), *πύρπνοος* (4 Macc.), *προκατασκιρρόω* (4 Macc.), *πρωτόπλαστος* (Wisd.), *ῥοδοφόρος* (3 Macc.), *σαββατίζω* (1 Esd., 2 Macc.), *σαρκοφαγία* (4 Macc.), *σειρήνιος* (4 Macc.), *σιδηρόδεσμος* (3 Macc.), *σπλαγχνοφάγος* (Wisd.), *συγκεραυνόω* (Wisd.), *συμβολοκοπέω* (Ecclus.), *συμμισοπονηρέω* (2 Macc.), *σχεδιάζω* (Bar.), *τερατεύομαι* (2 Macc.), *τετράστιχος* (Wisd.), *τρισαλιτήριος* (2 Macc., Add. Esth.), *ὑακίνθινος* (Ecclus.), *φαντασιοσκοπέω* (Ecclus.), *χαμαιπετής* (1 Esd.), *ψηφολογέω* (Tob.), *ψυχουλκέω* (3 Macc.).

To this list we subjoin another, consisting of unusual substantives, which will help to illustrate the language of the apocryphal Books:—*ἄβρα* (Judith, Add. Esth.), *ἀκηδία* (Bar., Ecclus.), *ἀκινακής* (Judith), *ἀλογιστία* (Judith, 2 Macc., 3 Macc.), *ἀμιξία* (2 Macc.), *ἀναβίωσις* (2 Macc.), *ἀνάστεμα* (Judith), *ἀντίπτωμα* (Ecclus.), *ἀπαύγασμα* (Ecclus.), *αὐθεντία* (3 Macc.), *ἀφαίρεμα* (1 Macc.), *ἄφεμα* (1 Macc.), *ἀφόμοιος* (Prol. Ecclus.), *ἀχεί* (Ecclus.), *ἀωρία* (1 Esd.), *βελόστασις* (1 Macc.), *βιβλιοθήκη* (2 Macc.), *βόμβησις* (Bar.), *βρόμος* (Wisd.), *βῶλος* (Ecclus.), *γαυρίαμα* (Judith, Wisd., Ecclus.), *διάγνωσις* (Wisd.), *δοκιμασία* (Ecclus.), *ἐγκαινισμός* (1 Macc., 2 Macc.), *εἰδέχθεια* (Wisd.), *εἴδησις* (Ecclus.), *εἰρώνεια* (2 Macc.), *ἐμβίωσις* (Ecclus., 3 Macc.), *ἐνδελεχισμός* (Ecclus.), *ἐξεύρεσις* (Bar.), *ἐπαγωγή* (Ecclus.), *ἐργολάβεια* (Ecclus.), *ἑτοιμασία* (Wisd.), *ζιβύνη* (Judith), *ζωγρίας* (2 Macc.), *θειότης* (Wisd.), *θελητής* (1 Macc.), *θέσις* (Wisd., 3 Macc.), *θημωνία* (Ecclus., 1 Macc.), *ἰδιότης* (Wisd., 3 Macc.), *ἴνδαλμα* (Wisd.), *ἴλη* (2 Macc.), *ἰουδαϊσμός* (2 Macc.), *καθαριότης* (Ecclus.), *καμψάκης* (Judith), *καυθός* (Tob.), *κατάστασις* (Ecclus.), *κνώδαλον* (Wisd.), *κωνωπεῖον* (Judith), *λιτανεία* (2 Macc., 3 Macc.), *μαρσύπειον* (Ecclus.), *νομός* (1 Macc., 3 Macc.), *ὁμαλισμός* (Bar.), *παράστασις* (Ecclus.), *περισπασμός* (2 Macc.), *περίψημα* (Tob.), *πέτασος* (2 Macc.), *προμαχών* (Tob.), *ῥεμβασμός* (Wisd.), *σανίδωμα* (3 Macc.), *σέβασμα* (Wisd.), *σπλαγχνισμός* (2 Macc.), *ὑπερασπισμός* (Ecclus.), *ὑπόστασις* (Ecclus.), *φρικασμός* (3 Macc.), *ψυχαγωγία* (2 Macc.).

It may be interesting to illustrate by a few selected references the use, in the apocryphal Books, of some of the chief words which acquired a new significance in Christian writings:—

ἀποκάλυψις (Ecclus. xi. 25; xxii. 20; xli. 23).
ἀποστολή (1 Esd. ix. 54; Bar. ii. 25; 1 Macc. ii. 18, 2 Macc. iii. 2).
ἄφεσις (1 Esd. iv. 62; Judith xi. 14; 1 Macc. x. 34, xiii. 34).
βαπτίζω (Ecclus. xxxiv. 25; Judith xii. 7).
βασίλεια τοῦ θεοῦ (Wisd. x. 10; Song of the Three Holy Children, v. 31).
δαιμονίον (Bar. iv. 7, 35; Tob. iii. 8, 17; vi. 7, 14, 15; viii. 3).
διακονία (1 Macc. xi. 58).
δικαιόω (Tob. xii. 4; Ecclus. i. 19, xviii. 2, 21).
διοίκησις (Tob. i. 21).
ἐκκλησία (Judith vi. 16; 1 Macc. ii. 56; Ecclus. xxiv. 2, xxvi. 5, l. 13).
ἐκλεκτοί (Ecclus. xlix. 6; Wisd. iii. 9).
ἐπίσκοπος (1 Macc. i. 51).
ἐπιφάνεια (2 Macc. ii. 21, iii. 24, v. 4, xii. 22; 3 Macc. ii. 9; Add. Esth. v. 6).

εὐχαριστια (2 Macc. ii. 27).
ἱλασμός (2 Macc. iii. 33).
ἱλαστήριον (4 Macc. xvii. 22).
κανών (Judith xiii. 6; 4 Macc. vii. 21).
κλῆρος (Add. Esth. vii. 7, 8; Wisd. ii. 9; Ecclus. xlv. 15).
λειτουργία (Wisd. xviii. 21; Ecclus. l. 19; 2 Macc. iii. 3, iv. 14).
παρουσία (Judith x. 18; 2 Macc. viii. 12, xv. 21).
πίστις (Ecclus. xv. 15, xxii. 21; Wisd. iii. 14, 4 Macc. xv. 21).
σωτήρ (Wisd. xvi. 7; Ecclus. li. 1; 1 Macc. iv. 30; 3 Macc. vii. 16). σωτηρία (Wisd. xvi. 6; 2 Macc. iii. 29, 32; vii. 25).
χάρις (Ecclus. iii. 18, 29, xx. 12, xxix. 15, xxx. 6; Wisd. viii. 21; 4 Macc. xi. 12).
χριστός (2 Macc. i. 10).

(2.) *The Apocrypha in relation to Jewish Theology.*—In the light which they throw upon Jewish theology, the apocryphal books contain information of peculiar interest. We take in order the subjects of (i.) the Deity, (ii.) the doctrine of Angels, (iii.) the Messianic idea, (iv.) the Creation and the origin of evil, (v.) personal and national religion, (vi.) eschatology, as illustrated in the books of the Apocrypha.

(The limits of space compel us to employ the utmost condensation in the treatment of a most extensive subject.)

(i.) The teaching of the Apocrypha upon the subject of the Deity. The *unity* of God is often and very distinctly affirmed (*e.g.* Ecclus. xxxiii. 5 = xxxvi. 5, A. V.[m]; Bar. iii. 35; Pr. Azar. *v.* 22; 2 Macc. vii. 37; 3 Macc. ii. 2). From the idea of unity is derived that of perfect all-sufficiency (*e.g.* 2 Macc. xiv. 35; 3 Macc. ii. 9). The attributes of majesty and power are alluded to with specia distinctness, in contrast to the weak and depressed condition of the Jewish people. The God of the nation was the all-powerful God of the world; "the Lord of all" (ὁ πάντων δεσπότης, Ecclus. xxxiii. 1 = xxxv. 1, A.V.); "the Creator" (Judith ix. 12; Ecclus. xxiv. 8; 2 Macc. i. 24, vii. 23; cp. 1 Esd. vi. 13); "Highest" or "the Highest" (ὕψιστος or ὁ ὕψιστος, especially in Ecclus. some forty times; 2 Esd., "altissimus" some sixty-six times); "Almighty" (παντοκράτωρ, esp. in 2 Macc.; θεὸς σαβαὼθ παντοκράτωρ, 1 Esd. ix. 46); "Supreme" (μεγαλοκράτωρ, 3 Macc. vi. 2); "King of kings" (2 Macc. xiii. 4); "Lord of all might" (πάσης ἐξουσίας δυνάστης, 2 Macc. iii. 24); "the Great Sovereign of the world" (ὁ μέγας τοῦ κόσμου δυνάστης, 2 Macc. xii. 15).

Great stress is laid upon the attributes of *omnipresence* and *omniscience*. The former is expressed in the remarkable words of Wisdom xii. 1 (τὸ γὰρ ἄφθαρτόν σου πνεῦμα ἐστιν ἐν πᾶσι; cp. i. 7), and may be illustrated by a magnificent passage in Ecclesiasticus (xlii. 15—xliii. 33). The expressions made use of in these two Books sometimes border on pantheism (though Ecclus. xliii. 27 be excluded), and were destined to be still further developed in that direction by later Alexandrine Judaism (see Philo, *de Confus. Linguar.* i. 325). The more general statements of omnipresence (Ecclus. xvii. 13, 15 = 15, 19, A.V.; xxiii. 19) belong equally to the attribute of *omniscience*. That God both sees and knows all is a favourite thought (cp. Bar. iii. 32; Susann. *v.* 42; 2 Macc. ix. 5, xii. 22, xv 2; Judith ix. 5, 6; Ecclus. xlii. 18–21; Add. Esth. v 2).

Another attribute of the Deity is expressed by the title which describes the *eternal* existence, "the Eternal" (ὁ αἰώνιος). This title appears with special frequency in the Book of Baruch (iv 8, 10, 14, 20, 22, 24, 35; v 2), but occurs also repeatedly elsewhere (*e.g.* Hist. of Sus. *v.* 42; Wisd. xvii. 2; 2 Macc. i. 25; 3 Macc. vi. 12, vii. 16; Ecclus. xviii. 1, xxxvi. 22 = 17 A. V.). The essential Being of the Deity is spoken of as ὁ ὤν in Wisd. xiii. 1.

The title of "the Holy One" occurs frequently (*e.g.* Baruch iv. 22, 37, v. 5; Ecclus. iv. 14, xliii. 10, xlvii. 8, xlviii. 20; Tobit xii. 12, 15; 2 Macc. xiv. 36; 3 Macc. ii. 2, vi. 1). But the attribute of holiness is not asserted so prominently as that of power, although it is everywhere presupposed. In His relation to mankind, the Deity receives the attribute of *Fatherhood*, as the Author of all being and the God of the chosen race of Israel (*e.g.* Wisd. xiv. 3; Ecclus. xxiii. 1, 4, li. 10; Tob. xiii. 4; 3 Macc. vi. 3, 8). But in Wisd. ii. 16, where He is spoken of as the Father of the just, there is a hint of that wider conception which the New Covenant revealed.

The title of *Saviour* (σωτὴρ) is frequently used of God, generally carrying with it the idea of a material and strictly national deliverance (*e.g.* Baruch iv. 22; Jud. ix. 11; Additions to Esth. v. 2; 1 Macc. iv. 30; 3 Macc. vii. 16). In one passage (Ecclus. li. 1) God is addressed under this title as a personal Saviour; in another passage (Wisd. xvi. 7) as "the universal Saviour," ὁ πάντων σωτήρ (cp. 1 Tim. iv. 10); but in both instances the epithet seems to imply the preservation of life and health rather than spiritual deliverance.

The *goodness*, *mercy*, *and compassion* of God are constantly spoken of, perhaps most frequently in the Book of Ecclesiasticus (cp. ii. 18, v. 6, xvi. 12, xviii. 13, xxxi. = xxxiv. A.V. 16, xxxix. 22, xlvii. 22, xlviii. 20; cp. also Tob. vi. 17, vii. 12; 2 Macc. xi. 9; Wisd. xv. 1). There is, however, no advance here upon the language of the O. T. Scriptures; and although the Divine mercy is compared in Ecclus. xxxii. = xxxv. A.V. 20 to "clouds of rain in a season of drought" (ὡς νεφέλαι ὑετοῦ ἐν καιρῷ ἀβροχίας), reminding us of our Lord's words in Matt. v. 45, the stress of the metaphor is laid upon the reinvigorating, not upon the impartial, character of the gift. In another place, Ecclus. xxviii. 1–7, where the mercy of God is made dependent upon the merciful spirit of man, the forgiveness of heaven upon the forgiveness of earth, there is a resemblance to our Lord's words in Matt. vi. 14, 15, xviii. 35, but the context shows that the resemblance is in the letter and not in the spirit of the passage. In contrast to the mercy and compassion (ἔλεος) of God stands, as in the Old and New Testaments, the *wrath* (ἡ ὀργή) of God. By this phrase is expressed most frequently the strictly national view of God's attitude towards the foes of Israel, at other times the wider conception of His attitude towards sin generally, whether in the nation or in the individual. "The wrath" implied on the one hand the punishment of the heathen (cp.

[m] Ecclus. xviii. 2, xxiv. 24, are later insertions.

Ecclus. xxxix. 23; Judith ix. 9; Wisd. v. 20); on the other hand, the punishment of sin and impurity (cp. Wisd. xviii. 23, 25; Ecclus. v. 6, 7, vii. 16, xliv. 17; Pray. Manas. vv. 5, 10, 13). The disasters of Israel were regarded as God's just punishment for national sin (cp. 1 Esd. viii. 86; Tob. iii. 3, 6, xiii. 5; Judith xi. 10; 2 Macc. vi. 12, vii. 18, 32, x. 4) and the expression of the Divine retribution (1 Macc. i. 64; 2 Macc. viii. 5; Bar. i. 13, ii. 13). The perfect *justice* in the dispensation of reward and punishment, the equipoise of Almighty love and power, is expressed by the quality of equity or forbearance, ἐπιείκεια (cp. Wisd. xii. 18; 2 Macc. ii. 22, x. 4; Bar. ii. 27; Song of the Three Children, *v.* 18). Divine justice is a frequent subject of thankful praise (cp. Ecclus. xxxii. = xxxv. A.V. 12–20, xxxv. 15=xxxii. A.V. 16; Wisd. v. 18, xii. 21, 22; Tob. iii. 2; 2 Macc. vii. 36, xii. 6; 2 Esd. vii. 19), by comparison with the failure of earthly justice and the oppression of the innocent by the powerful and wealthy (*e.g.* Wisd. vi. 4, 5; Ecclus. viii. 14, xi. 9, xx. 3=4 A.V.; 1 Macc. ii. 29–38; 2 Macc. iv. 47; Sus. *v.* 53).

The anthropomorphic expressions of the Canonical writings which describe the being and operation of the Almighty, were necessarily reproduced in the books of the Apocrypha. "The hand of God" describes the power of His operation (*e.g.* Ecclus. ii. 18, x. 4, xxxiii. = xxxvi. A. V. 6, xxxvi.=xxxiii. A. V. 13, xliii. 12; Wisd. iii. 1, v. 16, vii. 16, x. 20, xiv. 6, xix. 8; Bar. ii. 11; 3 Macc. ii. 8): "the eye of God," His Almighty providence and wisdom (Ecclus. xi. 12, xv. 19, xvii. 15, xxiii. 19, xxxi. =xxxiv. A. V. 16; Bar. ii. 17; 2 Macc. iii. 39): "the voice or word of God," the declaration of His will (Ecclus. xliii. 26, xlvi. 17; Bar. i. 18, ii. 22, iii. 4). The use of "the word or 'Logos' (λόγος) of God" as the instrument of the Divine command (cp. Wisd. ix. 1, xii. 9; Ecclus. xxxix. 17, xlii. 15, xliii. 5, 10, 26; cf. xlviii. 3, 5) deserves especial notice, inasmuch as its more natural signification of the uttered Word gradually lost favour, and in later times, as the writings of Philo testify, became blended with that of the abstract personification of Divine Reason (see Wisd. xvi. 12, xviii. 15).

The tendency to avoid anthropomorphisms, to keep the Creator and the created more distinctly asunder, belongs to the whole period during which the books of the Apocrypha were written, and we can trace its influence (*a*) sometimes in the avoidance of the Sacred Name, (*b*) sometimes in the substitution of an abstract expression denoting quality, principle or force, (*c*) sometimes in the personification of a Divine attribute.

(*a*) The Divine Name nowhere, according to the best text, occurs in the First Book of Maccabees. In ch. iii. 18 the Name of God is omitted in three of the best MSS., and the following verse, where "heaven" and not "God" is the source of strength, makes the correctness of the omission highly probable. In xvi. 3 the rendering of the A. V., "by *God's* mercy," has introduced the Divine Name, which does not appear in the original (ἐν τῷ ἐλέει). The Name of "*Lord*," which is read by A. V. in vii. 37 and 41, is also omitted by four or five of the best MSS., and is in all probability due to the interpolation of a scribe. With these possible exceptions the First Book of Maccabees, like the canonical Book of Esther, has presumably, in a spirit of reverence, abstained from all use of the sacred Name. The Name of "God," which appears in the English Version of 1 Macc. ii. 21, iii. 53, 60, iv. 55, ix. 10, has no place in the original.

(*b*) In the place of the Sacred Name some indefinite expression was often introduced. Thus, in 1 Macc. iii. 19 the omission is supplied by "heaven" (οὐρανὸς) or "the heaven" (ὁ οὐρανός), as the personified recipient of prayer (cp. 1 Macc. iii. 50; iv. 10, 55; xii. 15. Cp. Landau, *Synonyma für Gott*, p. 14). Sometimes Justice (ἡ δίκη) seems to be so used (Wisd. i. 8; 2 Macc. viii. 13; and esp. 4 Macc. iv. 13, 21; viii. 13, 20; ix. 9, 15; xi. 3; xii. 12; xviii. 22). More frequently repetition of the Sacred Name is avoided by the usage of epithets: the most familiar are "the Most High" (esp. Ecclus. forty-three times; and 2 Esd. sixty-six times); "the Almighty" (ὁ παντοκράτωρ), "the Master" (ὁ δεσπότης, esp. 2 Macc.), "the Eternal" (ὁ αἰώνιος, esp. Baruch), "the Holy One," "the Creator" (ὁ ἅγιος, Tob. xii. 12, 15; Ecclus. iv. 14, xliii. 10, xlvii. 8, xlviii. 20; Bar. iv. 22, 37, v. 5). In later times the expression "the Name" (הַשֵּׁם) became with the Jews a common synonym for the sacred title of "Jehovah," which they shrank from uttering; and the frequent use of τὸ ὄνομα as the sum total of the Divine attributes, familiar to us in the N. T., foreshadowed the later usage. Indications of this may frequently be noticed in the O. T., and there are many examples of its occurrence in the apocryphal books: *e.g.* Wisd. x. 20; 3 Macc. ii. 9; Tob. xi. 14; Bar. ii. 11, iii. 5 (cp. Pr. Azar. *v.* 29; Pray. Manas. *v.* 3; Judith ix. 8, xvi. 2; 2 Macc. viii. 15; Ecclus. xvii. 8 =10 A. V., xxxix. 35, xlvii. 10, 18, li. 1). "The Name" (τὸ ὄνομα) was employed to convey the idea of Divine Majesty, and to obviate the necessity of using either the title of God or the repeated personal pronoun, *e.g.* 1 Macc. iv. 33.

(*c*) Anthropomorphism was also avoided by the personification of the Divine attributes. The prominence given to abstract agencies, coupled with the philosophical depreciation of matter, doubtless prepared the way for later Alexandrine theosophies, for Gnostic theories of aeons and emanations. In the apocryphal books this tendency, the germs of which may first be noticed in the language of Proverbs and Job, has just begun to emerge more distinctly. We may detect it in the references to "the Spirit of God," "the truth," "Wisdom," and "the Word." Thus "the Spirit of God," without attributes of personality, is, in its usage familiar to us from the canonical O. T. Scriptures, mentioned frequently in the Apocrypha (cp. Wisd. i. 7; Ecclus. xlviii. 12 (?); Judith, xvi. 14). But here it begins to receive a new character; "the spirit of holiness" is a principle or power distinct, yet emanating, from and sent forth by the Almighty (see Wisd. i. 5, vii. 22, ix. 17). Yet more striking is the identification of the attribute or quality of "Wisdom" with the operation of the Divine Will. Thus "Wisdom" is the first of creatures (Ecclus. i. 4, 7): she is a loving spirit (Wisd. i. 6): she came forth from the mouth of the Almighty (Ecclus. xxiv. 3); she is the instrument of

creation (Ecclus. xxiv.). She dwells with Israel, she is identified with the Spirit of the Law (Bar. iii. 36, 37), she is the effulgence of Divine glory (Wisd. vii.–viii. 3). To be allied unto her is immortality (Wisd. viii. 17). In other passages she appears as "the truth" (1 Esd. iv. 33–40; cp. Ecclus. iv. 25, xxvii. 9); and again, in another remarkable passage, the same Divine agency of might and glory is described as "the all-supreme word" (*παντοδύναμος λόγος*, Wisd. xviii. 15), where we may see an anticipation of Philo's use of *λόγος προφορικός* (*de Vita Mos.* iii. 672).

The personification of Divine attributes stands in close relation to the two points which come next under discussion, having been on the one hand somewhat rashly identified by Christian writers with the doctrine of the Messiah, with which it possesses remarkable though delusive points of resemblance; on the other hand, being a subject immediately allied to that of intermediate beings and the doctrine of Angels.

(ii.) Allusions to the *Messianic idea* in the Apocrypha are so few and meagre, that some have even denied their existence at all. But it will be seen that these allusions do exist; and that to a certain degree the very scantiness of reference to the doctrine is in accordance with the true position of the Apocrypha in the history of Jewish Theology.

In the Book of Ecclus. (*c.* 180 B.C.; *al.* 235) we find allusions to the promise made unto Abraham, xliv. 21 ("therefore He assured him by an oath that nations should be blessed in his seed"); to the Lord's covenant with David, xlvii. 11 ("He gave him [David] a covenant of kings and a throne of glory in Israel"); to the future coming of Elias, xlviii. 10, who was written of in reproofs for specified times, to pacify wrath before its outbreak, "to turn the heart of the father to the son, and to restore the tribes of Jacob" (cp. Mal. iv. 5, 6). We have in these passages reference to the Messianic economy generally; but not to the belief in a personal Messiah. It is also worthy of remark that in the commemorative list of famous men (xliv.–l.) there is no allusion made to One who might be looked for as the future Leader and Saviour of the nation. One passage (li. 10), "I called upon the Lord, the Father of my Lord"—the original text of which, as recovered from the Syriac (see *Speaker's Comm.* in loco), signified "I called unto the Lord, my father, O Lord"—is to be noted as a striking exception to the absence of personal allusion. The phrase is so exceptional in pre-Christian literature, that many have supposed it a mistranslation of the original, or a textual error; but it is best explained as a reminiscence of the language occurring in the Messianic Psalm cx. 1.

The Book of Wisdom presents no trace of any expectation of a personal Messiah. The expressions in ch. iii. and v. respecting the judgment are too vague in character to support such a view; and the most definite of the passages which have been adduced for the purpose (iii. 8), "And their Lord shall reign for ever," cannot, with any regard for the context, be connected with the Messiah of Jewish prophecy. The Christian Fathers delighted to regard the description (Wisd. ii. 12–21) of the sufferings of "the just man" (*ὁ δίκαιος*) at the hands of the wicked as an inspired prediction of the Saviour's Passion. The words "he calleth himself a child of the Lord" (v. 13) were seized on as a forecast of the Gospel narrative. For this view there is no warrant, except so far as the whole passage may be an imitation of the liii. chapter of Isaiah; or is to be considered as a sketch of an ideal Just One. In the latter case it may well be paralleled with Plato's immortal picture of the Just Man in the Republic, which was most probably well known to the author of Wisdom, although it may not necessarily have influenced his treatment of the passage in question. Again, Christian theologians have seen a personal Messianic reference in the noble personifications of "Wisdom" (*e.g.* Wisd. vii. 7–11; Ecclus. i. 1–9, 14–20, vii. 18–31, xiv. 20—xv. 8, xxiv. 1–34; 1 Esd. iv. 34–41; Bar. iii. 37, iv. 1) and in the mention of "the Logos" (Wisd. xviii. 15, *ὁ παντοδύναμός σου λόγος ἀπ' οὐρανῶν ἐκ θρόνων βασιλείων*). But the zeal of apologetics appears to have led them astray. Nowhere in these passages is the conception of a personal revelation hinted at. The importance of these and similar passages to the understanding of the Messianic doctrine does not consist in prognostication, but in the development of thought, which, having shaped the religion and enriched the speculation of Philo, became a life-giving message in the historical testimony of St. John's Gospel (*ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο*). The "Wisdom" and "Logos" of the Apocrypha are not prediction. They mark a climax in the preparation of thought and phrase for the description of the final Revelation in the Incarnate Word.

The First Book of Maccabees, pervaded though it is by the spirit of patriotism, contains no direct allusion to the Messianic hope. The passages iv. 46, "until there should come a prophet to give answer concerning them" (*μεχρὶ τοῦ παραγενηθῆναι προφήτην τοῦ ἀποκριθῆναι περὶ αὐτῶν*), and xiv. 41, "until there arise a trustworthy prophet" (*ἕως τοῦ ἀναστῆναι προφήτην πιστόν*), have at different times received a directly Messianic interpretation; and this reference to the "prophet" has been compared with the expectation of the coming of "the prophet" (*ὁ προφήτης*) in John i. 21 and vi. 14, who was looked for as the forerunner of the Messiah. But this view is most certainly incorrect. Even if it were not out of harmony with the whole spirit and character of the Book, the Greek in the above passages cannot admit of such an interpretation. In both cases the word "prophet" is used indefinitely (*προφήτης*—not *ὁ προφήτης*, as in the quotation from St. John's Gospel), and the most natural explanation is the most probable, according to which the cessation of the gift of prophecy is (cp. also ix. 27) alone remarked upon, and the yearning of the nation expressed for a new revelation. Any Messianic reference, therefore, is only obtainable indirectly, by implication (cf. also 1 Esd. v. 40; Pray. of Azarias, v. 14). One passage (ii. 57), "David through his mercy possessed the throne of an everlasting kingdom" (*Δαυὶδ ἐν τῷ ἐλέῳ αὐτοῦ ἐκληρονόμησε θρόνον βασιλείας εἰς αἰῶνα αἰῶνος*), may fairly be regarded as a half-unconscious echo of the general belief that the Messiah should be a king of David's seed, but the

vagueness of the words implies how little practical significance they were intended to convey. Otherwise, no other passage, not even the dying speech of Mattathias (ii. 49–69) nor the patriotic utterances of his sons (*e.g.* iii. 18–22; iv. 30–33; vii. 41, 42)—where, if anywhere, some Messianic allusion would be looked for—contains any reference to the doctrine. Strange as this appears at first sight, it admits of a natural explanation. The Messianic hope was bound up with the thought of deliverance from tyranny and oppression, with the idea of a material and national salvation. It was in the times of almost political annihilation, in the days of their most deep despair, that the Jewish prophets had foretold most clearly the coming of the Deliverer. Again, it was afterwards in the days of Herodian and Roman oppression that the apocalyptic literature of the nation pointed most clearly to the advent of a Messiah. But in the days of the Maccabean struggle for independence, the hopes of the people were personified in her living heroes. The doctrine of deliverance was being practically realized on the narrow platform of the combat with the powers of Syria. To the Maccabean chronicler the idea of national salvation was being fulfilled before his eyes by the successes of the Asmonean house both in diplomacy and in war. The Messianic hope of the Palestinian Jews was throughout this period centred in the efforts of living champions; their range of view was limited to the brief struggle, which typified the eternal truth.

In the Book of Baruch iv. 21, &c., there is a description of the people of Israel restored to their country and of the city of Sion rebuilt and beautified; in Tobit xiii. 8–18, xiv. 5, 7; Ecclus. xxxiii. 1–11 and xxxvi. 16–22 = xxxvi. 1–17, a picture of the conversion of the heathen. But none of these passages present us with any expectation of a personal Messiah; they reproduce in general terms the utterances of the old Prophets concerning the final glories of the chosen race; and if they can be said to refer to a Messianic future, it is only by an indefinite and indirect allusion.

With the exception of the Second Book of Esdras, no other Book of the Apocrypha throws light upon the teaching of a personal Messiah. The subject-matter and character of the Books in a large measure account for the omission. If in the writings of Palestinian origin the subject was overshadowed by the predominant hope of a political deliverance, in the writings of Graeco-Judaic origin the infusion of Hellenic philosophy tended to merge the Messianic idea in abstract speculation, recognising it, if at all, only in the attributes of self-manifestation inherent in the Divinity.

In the apocalyptic writings, the literature of the saddest century in the Jewish annals, it is quite otherwise. The coming of a personal Messiah to reinstate Israel and take vengeance on her foes is the one prevailing idea which runs through the Second Book of Esdras, and forms a prominent feature in the Books of Enoch, of Jubilees, the Apocalypse of Baruch, and the Sibylline Oracles. The Second Book of Esdras is the one most pervaded by a spirit of gloom and bitterness. The coming of the Messiah is to be preceded by untold misery, calamity and crime—the woes of the Messiah. In the third vision the reign of the Messiah is described as lasting for 400 years, at the end of which period the Messiah himself should die (vii. 28, 29). In the fifth vision the Messiah, the Anointed, is depicted as the lion (xi. 37) with a man's voice, who should rebuke unrighteousness and restore his people (*vv.* 31–34). In the sixth vision he is described as a man arising out of the sea and flying with the clouds of heaven, who hewed for himself a mountain (*i.e.* Sion) and overthrew the multitudes that came against him, and defended his people that remained (cf. ch. xiii.). The statement that the Messiah should die "along with all the men that have breath" (vii. 29) is most startling, and more especially surprising in a Jewish writing. It is perhaps best explained as a crowning expression of the despair which characterizes this Apocalypse.

Except in certain well-recognised passages of 2 Esdras, the Apocrypha has no trace of Christian interpolation in support of the Messianic character of Jesus. The passage in Wisdom xiv. 7, "For blessed is the wood whereby cometh righteousness" (*εὐλόγηται γὰρ ξύλον δι' οὗ γίνεται δικαιοσύνη*), has indeed been claimed on the one side as predictive of the Cross of Christ, and has been in consequence assailed on the other side as a Christian gloss. We may, however (cp. *Speaker's Comm.* l. c.), as seems more natural, see in "the wood" an allusion to "the ark," and in "righteousness" a reference to Noah, who is elsewhere described (Wisd. x. 4; Ecclus. xliv. 17) as the "righteous," and in Heb. xi. 7 as "becoming the heir of the righteousness that is by faith" (*τῆς κατὰ πίστιν δικαιοσύνης ἐγένετο κληρονόμος*). The words of Baruch iii. 37, "Afterwards did it show itself upon the earth and held converse with men" (*μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὤφθη καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συνανεστράφη*), have a striking resemblance to Christian teaching, and many scholars have suspected it of being a Judaeo-Christian interpolation. The verse does not refer to "the Messiah," but to "Wisdom," who, after being given by God to Israel, became thenceforward manifested among men in the chosen race (see *Speaker's Comm.* in loco).

(iii.) The Jewish *doctrine of Angels*, which in later times was destined to take so prominent a part in Rabbinic teaching, received a powerful impulse at the period of the Captivity. This may be recognised in the writings of Ezekiel, the post-exilic Zechariah, and in the Book of Daniel. The Apocrypha, although two Palestinian books (1 Maccabees and Judith) show no trace of it, presents us with a more fully-developed stage of this belief than any which may be found in the canonical writings. To a certain degree the angelology of the Apocrypha is due to the tendency which has already been noticed; the ministration of angelic beings formed a useful safeguard against anthropomorphism. Thus the Angel of the Lord is frequently mentioned (as in the O. T.) as the instrument of Divine justice or the agent of Divine protection (cp. Ecclus. xlviii. 21; Song of the Three Children, *v.* 26; Susan. *vv.* 55, 59; Bel, *vv.* 34, 36, 39; Bar. vi. 7; 1 Esd. i. 48; Additions to Esth. v. 12; Pray. of Azar. *vv.* 25, 35). The Second Book of Maccabees refers to angelic

manifestations as "the manifest signs that came down from heaven unto those that made it their pride to deal manfully for Judaism" (ii. 21); and the history of this Book is plentifully embellished with legendary deliverances effected by angelic interposition (cf. iii.; v. 2; x. 29, 30; xi. 6, 8; xiv. 15; xv. 11–16). An exaggerated instance of this use of angelology is to be found in 4 Macc. iv. 10, where the sudden apparition of the forces of heaven, mounted and clad in glittering armour, seems to be a materialistic reminiscence of the passage in 2 K. vi. 17. The title which is given to the Almighty in 2 Macc. iii. 24, by some MSS., "the Lord of Spirits," is probably another illustration of the prevalent belief (cp. Heb. xii. 9). The word *πνεύματα* in Ecclus. xxxix. 28 is by some translated, "There are winds which have been created for vengeance," &c., rather than as the A. V. "There be spirits," &c. (cp. Pray. of Azar. *vv.* 42, 63); but the A. V. rendering is supported by the list of such spirits in *vv.* 29, 30. Certain natural phenomena and the like are personified (cp. *Speaker's Comm.* in loco).

The Jewish belief of the post-Captivity period that each nation had its guardian Angel, which finds so distinct expression in the Book of Daniel, ch. x., and forms the point of the remarkable reading of the LXX. Version in Deut. xxxii. 8, 9, is perhaps alluded to in the Apocrypha, *e.g.* in Ecclus. xvii. 14 (= 17 A. V.), "He appointed a ruler for every nation, and Israel is the Lord's portion" (*ἑκάστῳ ἔθνει κατέστησεν ἡγούμενον, κ.τ.λ.*), where by the "ruler" some understand the guardian Angel; others, however, refer the expression to secular princes (cp. *Speaker's Comm.* in loco). With greater probability, the same idea is found in Baruch vi. 7, "for my Angel is with you and himself (not as A. V. 'I myself') caring for (*ἐκζητῶν*) your souls," where the people of Jehovah are reminded of the continual presence of their guardian Angel, "the Angel of the Lord."

The foregoing references are not different in kind from O. T. narratives of angelic appearances. But the angelology of the Book of Tobit may bear traces of a new and possibly Persian influence. At any rate its most marked feature is the prominence which it gives to the current belief in opposing spiritual powers of good and evil. The idea underlying the story of the Book is that the care of individuals as well as of nations is committed to the charge of angelic beings. The description of Raphael, who was one of "the seven Angels who stand in the presence of the glory of the Lord" (xii. 15), and who is sent upon earth to act as the guardian and protector of Tobias and to restore the eyesight of Tobit, will illustrate the words which our Lord Himself uses in Matt. xviii. 11, "Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones; for I say unto you that [in heaven] their Angels do always behold the face of My Father Which is in heaven." The name of Raphael is clearly connected with his healing power (cp. ii. 17, *ἰασάσθαι*), and the formation of the word must be compared with the names of Uriel (2 Esd. iv. 1), Jeremiel (2 Esd. iv. 36), "Ramiel," who is over the visions of truth (Apoc. Bar. lv.), and Michael the Archangel (Jude *v.* 9). The opposition between the spirits of good and the spirits of evil is brought out in the course of the same book; thus, while in v. 21 we have the mention of a "good Angel" (*ἄγγελος ἀγαθός*; cp. also 2 Macc. xi. 6, xv. 23), in other passages we find also mention of "the evil daemon" (*τὸ δαιμόνιον τὸ πονηρόν*, iii. 8, 17; vi. 7) or "the daemon" (*τὸ δαιμόνιον*, vi. 15, 17; viii. 3). The name of this "evil spirit" is given, *i.e.* Asmodeus, and is supposed to be derived either from the Hebrew שמד, in which case its meaning would be "the Destroyer" (= Apollyon), or from some doubtful Persian root. The description of this daemon in ch. iii. agrees with the New Testament term of "unclean spirit;" and the fanciful account of his baleful influence over Sara (Tobit vi. 13, 14) may have arisen from the Jewish legends concerning the "loves of the angels," based upon Gen. vi. 2. The power of the evil spirit is subdued by a charm revealed by the good Angel Raphael. The evil spirit flies to the upper parts of Egypt and is there bound by the Angel (viii. 3). Desolate places were tenanted according to Jewish views of demonology by evil spirits (cp. Matt. xii. 43). The punishment of banishment from the country should be compared with the words of St. Mark v. 10, "they besought Him much that He would not send them away out of the country;" and that of "binding" with the words of Rev. xx. 2, "he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, and bound him a thousand years."

The personal spirit of evil is rarely alluded to in the apocryphal books. The name of "Satan" occurs in Ecclus. xxi. 27 (*ἐν τῷ καταρᾶσθαι ἀσεβῆ τὸν σατανᾶν, αὐτὸς καταρᾶται τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχήν*), but the context is thought by some to leave it uncertain whether "the spirit of evil" or a man's individual adversary (cf. Additions to Esther, *ὁ διάβολος*, vii. 4) is intended. The former view (cp. *Speaker's Comm.* in loco) seems preferable for the following reasons. (1) The fact that the word *σατανᾶς* appears nowhere else in the apocryphal writings favours the view that it occurs here as a proper name. (2) In the LXX. Version of the O. T. the word *σατανᾶς* does not occur, but the word *σατάν* is found three times in one chapter (1 K. xi. 14, 23, 25) for a human adversary, but without the article. In the New Testament the word occurs some thirty-five times (twenty-seven times with the article) in the sense of a spiritual adversary. (3) It was the natural transliteration of השטן, as soon as the idea of a personal Spirit of Evil had become established. We are therefore inclined to translate the word in this its usual sense, and to compare the whole passage, which is somewhat obscure, with our Lord's words recorded in John viii. 44. Another passage (Wisd. ii. 24) repeats the Rabbinical belief that death entered into the world through the envy of the devil (*φθόνῳ διαβόλου*). Again, in 4 Macc. xviii. 8, the Evil One is spoken of as "the pestilent serpent of deceit" (*λυμεὼν ἀπάτης ὄφις*; cp. Apoc. xx. 2).

In conclusion, it may be remarked that the general tone of the allusions to angelic beings in 2 and 3 Maccabees, Tobit, and the Additions to Daniel, seems to presuppose that they were of bodily shape and of material substance.

(iv.) *Creation and man's nature.* The work of Creation, according to the Palestinian books of the Apocrypha, is a creation of the whole uni-

verse out of nothing by the absolute power of God. The Genesis account is distinctly affirmed in the Book of Ecclesiasticus xvi. 24–27, xvii. 1, xviii. 1 (the words of which, *ἔκτισε τὰ πάντα κοινῇ*, do not support the theory of simultaneity in the work of Creation; cp. *Speaker's Comm.* in loco); in Wisdom ii. 23; and in 2 Esd. iii. 4–6, vi. 38.

In the Alexandrine books two passages bearing upon this subject have received more especial attention. In 2 Macc. vii. 28 where we read, "God made them (*i.e.* heaven and earth) of things that were not" (*ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐποίησεν αὐτὰ ὁ θεός*), we should probably adopt the variant reading supported by good authorities (*οὐκ ἐξ ὄντων*, MSS.), and compare for the transposition of the negative the well-known passage in Heb. xi. 3. It is a mistake to see in these words an allusion to the Platonic terminology, which spoke of "the things that are not" (*τὰ μὴ ὄντα*) as the matter out of which the universe was formed.

The case is different with the Book of Wisdom, the writer of which was deeply imbued with Hellenic thought. In xi. 17 (*ἡ παντοδύναμός σου χεὶρ . . . κτίσασα τὸν κόσμον ἐξ ἀμόρφου ὕλης*) the world is stated to have been formed out of "formless matter;" and although this expression may require some modification in the light of other passages in the same Book (ix. 1; xii. 9), it is best understood as a fusion of the description contained in Genesis (i. 2) with the Platonic belief in the eternity of matter expressed in technical language (cp. *Speaker's Comm.* in loco).

So far as the subject of the origin of evil is touched upon, the views expressed in the apocryphal writings seem to follow the Genesis account of the Fall. Thus in Ecclus. xxv. 24 we find the words, "Of the woman came the beginning of sin, and through her we all die;" and in Wisd. ii. 24, "through envy of the devil came death into the world." The writer of the latter book seems to accept the theory of the pre-existent state of souls (viii. 19), and regards the soul alone as the real man to whose true development the body acts as a clog and a hindrance (i. 4, viii. 20, ix. 15; cp. the Essenes, Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 8, § 11), but he nowhere, like Philo, speaks of matter as inherently evil. The primeval condition of man before the fall —"the image of God's being"—is described in noble and striking words (ii. 23), which imply that the result of the fall is the loss of the image of God. God did not create death; He created all things that they might exist (i. 13).

Man's freedom of will is stated in most unqualified terms in Ecclus. xv. 11–20 (see especially *v.* 14), "He Himself made man from the beginning and left him to his free choice (*ἀφῆκεν αὐτὸν ἐν χειρὶ διαβουλίου αὐτοῦ*); if thou wilt, thou shalt keep the commandments; and to act with fidelity is matter of liking. He set before thee fire and water. Thou shalt stretch forth thy hand, wherever thou wilt (*οὗ ἐὰν θέλῃς*). Before men is the life and the death, and whichever he liketh shall be given him (*καὶ ὃ ἐὰν εὐδοκήσῃ, δοθήσεται αὐτῷ*)." The possession of free-will (*διαβουλίον*) is described among God's gifts to mankind (xvii. 6); virtue and happiness are dependent on the exercise of the powers of will or choice. This testimony demands the more careful attention, when reviewed by the side of passages in the same Book in which good and evil are, as it were, set over against each other by the rigid predetermination of God: *e.g.* xxxvi. = xxxiii. A.V. 13–15; xlii. 24. Another passage, which appears in the A. V. as xi. 16 (*πλάνῃ καὶ σκότος ἁμαρτωλοῖς συνέκτισται*), "error and darkness have been created together with sinners," is omitted in the best text and is probably a gloss.

According to the Book of Wisdom, man enters upon life free from disposition to sin, with his moral nature a "tabula rasa." The writer describes his own soul as being good and his body undefiled (*ψυχὴ ἀγαθὴ, σῶμα ἀμίαντον*), but he admits that wisdom—the fountain of Divine life—came not to him naturally; she could be procured only through prayer, "with his whole heart" (viii. 20, 21). A doctrine of predestination of Israel's foes to sin and evil finds support in Wisd. xii. 11.

The doctrine of "original sin" is nowhere definitely stated except in 2 Esd. iii. 21, 22, 26; iv. 30; vii. 46–53; though it may be held that the expression in Wisd. i. 4 (*σῶμα ἁμαρτίας καταχρέω*) embodies the same idea.

We do not find any very exalted moral standard in the Apocrypha. There is little conception of sin beyond the infringement of an actual law, and little conception of virtue beyond the outward rectitude of legalism. Virtues and vices are classified according as the former are more profitable, the latter more harmful to society (Ecclus. xviii. 20; Wisd. viii. 7). Account is taken of actions, not of motives. A material view of life runs through all the Books; virtue will bring its own reward, vice its own punishment on earth; the individual lives and dies to himself. As a rule, too, the recompense spoken of is a material one to be meted out on earth; earthly prudence is made the basis of morality. In some exceptional passages (*e.g.* Tob. xiii. 14; Wisd. i. 15, iii. 1, vi. 18; Ecclus. iii. 18; Baruch v. 2), the reward is that which is granted in the spiritual life; and a higher demand is made upon the exercise of faith. But we find, on the whole, few traces of thought in which approach is made to the loftiest standards of human morality, such as is presented in the description of "the just man" (Wisd. ii.).

The judgment to be passed upon men is a judgment according to works (Ecclus. xvi. 12, 14). A man's own deeds can justify him before God: his sins are forgiven for the honour which he pays to his parents (Ecclus. iii. 3, 14); for his almsdeeds (Ecclus. iii. 30, xxix. 12; Tob. iv. 10, xii. 9, xiv.). The martyr's sufferings on earth will receive their recompense in the world to come (2 Macc. vii. 2, 11, 14). By the meritoriousness of good works a man not only lays up treasure for himself (Ecclus. iii. 4), but may even benefit the future condition of the departed (2 Macc. xii. 44).

The less attractive aspect of Judaism frequently obtrudes itself. Even the most Hellenic book in the Apocrypha, the Book of Wisdom, speaks of the Jews as "the sons of God," "undefiled seed," "holy people and blameless seed," &c. (*e.g.* Wisd. ix. 4–7; x. 15; xii. 19; xv. 2; xviii. 1). The Second Book of Maccabees breathes a spirit of vehemently

patriotic hatred against the foes of Israel (cp. iv. 1–19; v. 9; viii. 34–36; ix. 8–13; xii. 35; xiii. 4; xiv. 27; xv. 37). The morality of the Book of Judith could only be defended by a parallel with the deed of Jael; her very deceit is described as piety (ix. 13; xi. 5–8). An austerity destined to be dispelled by the New Covenant appears even in the best apocryphal writings. Thus charity should not be shown to the sinner (Ecclus. xii. 3–7; Tob. iv. 17); the harshest treatment is recommended as the best training for children (Ecclus. xxx. 9–12); the curse pronounced upon the wicked is extended to the wives and children (Ecclus. xl. 15; Wisd. iii. 12, 13); the ferocity of the patriarch Simeon is applauded (Judith ix. 2).

(v.) In their representation of *personal and national religion* the books of the Apocrypha reflect the spirit of the age in which the Jewish religion was impersonated by the scribe more truly than by the priest. The daily actions of the layman no less than the functions of the priest were regulated by rule. Legalism had invaded every relation of life.

The Book of Tobit, which presents so attractive a picture of family relations, makes mention of the three elements of the devout life—prayer, fasting, alms (xii. 8), destined to receive our Lord's exposition in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. vi. 1–18).

Prayer occupies a most prominent part in the religious duties of the people. In every Book of the Apocrypha its necessity and efficacy are illustrated (*e.g.* 1 Esd. viii. 53, 75–90; 2 Esd. vii. 36–41; Additions to Esth. iv. 16; Tob. xii. 8, 15, xiii.; Judith ix., xvi. 1–17; Wisd. ix., xviii. 21; Ecclus. xxxii.=xxxv. A. V. 13–17; The Prayer of Azarias; The Song of the Three Children; The Prayer of Manasses; 1 Macc. vii. 37, xi. 71; 2 Macc. x. 16, 25; 3 Macc. vi. 1–15; Bar. ii. 14, iii. 1–8). In times of tyranny and oppression it was the only weapon in the hand of the poor and defenceless (Ecclus. iv. 6; xxi. 5; xxxii. 13–17).

In two passages we have an allusion to the "places of prayer" (*τόπος προσευχῆς*), or "prayer" (*προσευχή, proseucha*), where the Jews used to assemble for their devotions. In 1 Macc. iii. 46, Mizpah is mentioned as having been in old time a place of resort for purposes of prayer; in 3 Macc. vii. 20, the thankful Jews are said to have built a "proseucha" by the side of a monument erected on the banks of the Nile to commemorate their preservation. "Hallelujah" (*ἀλληλούϊα*) is the cry of public thanksgiving (Tob. xiii. 18; 3 Macc. vii. 13). The response of the people in public prayer, "Amen," is noticed in Tob. viii. 8; 1 Esd. ix. 47; 3 Macc. vii. 23; 4 Macc. xviii. 23: cp. Judith xiii. 20, xv. 10.

Great importance is attached to fasting. The Apocrypha shows how prevalent and important an element of religious life this custom had become. The Book of Tobit ranks fasting with prayer (xii. 8). Of Judith we are told, "She fasted all the days of her widowhood, save on eves of sabbaths and sabbaths, and eves of new moons and new moons, and feasts and festival days of the house of Israel" (Jud. viii. 6). Fasting is often mentioned as accompanying special supplication (1 Esd. viii. 50, ix. 2; 2 Macc. xiii. 12; Ecclus. xxxiv. 26; 2 Esd. vi. 31, 35; Baruch i. 5; Judith iv. 13). The view that fasting was something meritorious in itself is asserted in the passage Tob. xii. 8. The writer of Ecclesiasticus however protests that the act of fasting without moral change and moral abstinence was a hollow unreality (Ecclus. xxxi.=xxxiv. A. V. 26), and by his protest implies the prevalence of an abuse for which our Lord a few generations later rebuked the Pharisees (Matt. vi. 1, 2, 16).

Almsgiving seems to have held a position very similar to that of fasting, and to have been exposed to the same peril of perversion. The Book of Tobit, which abounds with allusions to it (*e.g.* i. 3, 16; iv. 7, 8), makes use of the most exaggerated expressions in its commendation. It "saves from death;" "it purges away every sin;" "they who practise it shall be filled with life" (xii. 8, 9; xiv. 10). The same view of the meritoriousness of almsgiving appears in the Book of Ecclesiasticus, *e.g.* "almsgiving maketh atonement for sins" (iii. 30). "Shut up alms in thy storehouse, and it shall deliver thee from all affliction" (xxix. 12). "Brethren and help are against time of trouble, but alms deliver more than both," xl. 24 (cp. vii. 9, 10, 32, 33; xii. 3–5; xvi. 14; xvii. 17; xxix. 8; xxxiv.=xxxi. A. V. 11; xl. 17). So highly was this virtue prized that the Hebrew word for "righteousness" (צדקה) became narrowed down in its application so as to mean "almsgiving" only. An early hint of this use of "righteousness" (*δικαιοσύνη*) in the sense of "mercy," "charity," may be seen in Tob. ii. 14; Ecclus. xliv. 10; see also Daniel iv. 27. The suggestion, however, that "righteousness" occurs in the sense of "almsgiving," in Wisdom viii. 7, is quite untenable.

The importance of such religious duties grew in the estimation of the people, as it became evident that the strict observance of the Temple ceremonial was impossible for the multitudes of Jews who formed the Diaspora (2 Macc. i. 27; Judith v. 19) and lived at great distances from Palestine, "the dispersed among the Gentiles." The Book of Tobit describes how a Naphtalite received the reward of a religious life of prayer and almsgiving. The Book of Judith shows how God manifested His power not to priests and elders and men of renown, but to a Simeonite woman, on account of her unwavering faith and her life of fasting and prayer and purity. But, although the moral is exalted above the ceremonial (Jud. xvi. 16; Ecclus. xxxi. 18–26), the Law of Moses is in no way depreciated. Tobit is described as going often to Jerusalem at the feasts, bearing the necessary offerings and tenths, as ordained by the Law of Moses (i. 6, 7); he abstains from eating the bread of the Gentiles for fear of pollution (i. 12). Judith too is most scrupulous lest she should contract ceremonial defilement by eating anything unclean, at the very time when she seems to set every moral restraint at defiance in order to compass her daring purpose (Judith xii. 2). The dread of this particular source of ceremonial defilement is the sign of the pious Jew; death or starvation is preferred to it (see Jud. xi. 12, xii. 2; 1 Macc. i. 63; 2 Macc. v. 27: *σπλαγχνισμός*, 2 Macc. vi. 7, 8, 21, vii. 41; and *μιαροφαγία*, 4 Macc. v. 26, vi. 19, &c.: cp. Daniel i.). The same spirit of legalism animated the most

ardent and religious minded of the race, who were termed Assideans or "Puritans" [see art. ASSIDEANS]. One thousand of these forerunners of the Pharisaic party preferred to suffer death rather than to raise a hand in self-defence upon the Sabbath, and so pollute the sacred day (1 Macc. ii. 34–38). The regard for the Sabbath day appears in 2 Macc. vi. 6; viii. 26; xii. 38; xv. 2. The rite of circumcision was strictly continued by pious Jews in face of fierce opposition (1 Macc. i. 60, 61). Proselytes were subjected to it (Jud. xiv. 10). The Maccabean patriots zealously purified the Temple and restored its sacrificial system (1 Macc. iv. 36–56).

The two didactic books, as might be expected, emphasize the moral aspect of religion. The Book of Wisdom practically omits all reference to Levitical worship (except xviii. 21–24); the Book of Ecclesiasticus, which from its eulogy of Aaron (xlv. 6–22) and of Simon the Just (l. 1–22) is by some supposed to have been written by one of the priestly caste, only once or twice elsewhere touches upon the subjects of the priesthood (xxxvi. 22 = 17 A. V.), of ceremonial worship (vii. 29–31; xiv. 11; xxxi. =xxxiv. A. V. 18; xxxii.=xxxv. A. V. 8), of Jerusalem, and the Temple services (xxiv. 10, 11). The true sacrifice is the keeping of the Law and righteousness of life (Ecclus. xxxii.=xxxv. A. V. 1–12; Wisd. iii. 6). The glory of the scribe (Ecclus. x. 5; xxxviii. 24; xxxix. 1–11; xliv. 4: cf. 2 Macc. vi. 18) has begun to eclipse the glory of the priest. True "wisdom" in both Books is identical with "the fear of God," and "the fear of God" (referred to at least forty-four times in Ecclesiasticus) with the teaching of the Law (Ecclus. xxiii. 27). The knowledge of it is the possession of the wise man. It is bound up in proverbs (Ecclus. viii. 8; xviii. 27, 28; xxxix. 2, 3; xlvii. 17); it belongs to the "mysteries of God" (Wisd. ii. 22: cf. vi. 22); it is hidden in parables which the sagacious man will ponder well (Ecclus. iii. 27=29 A. V.), and of which the discovery is laborious (xiii. 25=26 A. V.). At the foundation of all life, public and domestic, lie the Law and the Commandments of God (*e.g.* Ecclus. ii. 16; xxiv. 22–27; xxxv. = xxxii. A. V. 23; xxxvi. = xxxiii. A. V. 2, 3; xxxii. = xxxv. A. V. 1; xxxix. 1, 8; xlii. 2; xliv. 20; xlv. 5; xlix. 4; li. 19). The Law of Moses was still the standard of Jewish national life (1 Macc. i. 52; ii. 27; xiv. 14).

Other books record for us the general veneration for the service of the national sanctuary. The safety of Jerusalem and the Temple is uppermost in Jewish thought (Jud. iv. 2). Jerusalem is "the holy city" (2 Macc. ix. 14; Ecclus. xxxiii. 18=xxxvi. 13 A. V.). The war of independence was waged for "the people and the sanctuary" (1 Macc. iii. 58, 59). Jerusalem is spoken of as the place where all the tribes assemble for sacrifice at the Feasts (cp. Tobit i. 4, v. 13; Judith xvi. 18; Bar. i. 10). The restitution of full honour to Jerusalem is the prayer of the Jew in captivity (Bar. v. and Tobit xiii.). The First Book of Esdras is wholly devoted to the subject of the restoration of the Temple. The First and Second Books of the Maccabees abound in allusions to the national importance of the sanctuary at Jerusalem, the maintenance of the Levitical worship, the distinction between clean and unclean, the observance of the Sabbath, &c. (*e.g.* 1 Macc. i. 44–47, 62, 63; iv. 37–60; vii. 33, 36, 49; x. 34; xii. 11, &c.). On the other hand the memorable principle that God chose the place for the people, not the people for the place, is stated in 2 Macc. v. 19 (*ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τὸν τόπον τὸ ἔθνος ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ ἔθνος τὸν τόπον ὁ κύριος ἐξελέξατο*). The conduct of the apostate high-priests Jason and Alcimus and the Hellenizing faction created a powerful reaction in favour of the old Mosaic worship and the old religious customs. The men who were ready to renounce their country's God and worship, abolish the ancient rite of circumcision (1 Macc. i. 11–15), and introduce the shame of the gymnasium within the precincts of Jerusalem, were denounced as apostates (1 Macc. ii. 15; 2 Macc. v. 8). In the First Book of Maccabees, the epithets "transgressors" (*παράνομοι*, 1 Macc. i. 11, 34; x. 61; xi. 21), "lawless" (*ἄνομοι*, ii. 44; iii. 5, 6; vii. 5; ix. 23, 58, 69; xi. 25), "impious" (*ἀσεβεῖς*, iii. 15; vi. 21; vii. 5; ix. 25, 73) are regularly applied to the Hellenizing faction and their supporters.

We catch glimpses of the pre-eminent authority of the high-priests (Ecclus. l., Simon the Just; 2 Macc. xv. 12, Onias), as well as of the harm they could do their country by a betrayal of their trust (*e.g.* Jason and Alcimus, 1 and 2 Macc.). They were assisted by a Senate, "the Sanhedrin" (*γερουσία*, Judith iv. 8, xi. 14, xv. 8; 1 Macc. xii. 6; 2 Macc. i. 10, iv. 44, xi. 27; 3 Macc. i. 8: cp. *πρεσβύτεροι*, 2 Macc. xiii. 13). The establishment of synagogues, presided over by elders, secured the municipal administration (cp. Judith vi. 16, and the Story of Susanna).

The danger of idolatry in its old form was no longer the besetting temptation of the Jews of Palestine. "The apostates" in the Maccabean age desired the favour of the Greeks, not the privilege of their worship. The secret of their apostasy lay in commercial, social, and political, not in religious, motives. The apocryphal writings directed against idolatry to bring it into contempt and ridicule (*i.e.* Bel and the Dragon, the so-called Epistle of Jeremy = Baruch vi.) seem by their very feebleness to indicate that they could never have been written to meet any urgent religious crisis. The former contains humorous legends; the latter is a monotonous diatribe. The probability that in Alexandria more enticing forms of idolatrous worship were presented to the Jewish populace, may account for the indignant outburst against paganism which distinguishes the latter portion of the Book of Wisdom (see more especially chaps. xii. to xv.). "For the worshipping of idols is the beginning, the cause, and the end of all evil," is the epitome of the indictment (xiv. 27).

One more point under this head deserves attention, *i.e.* the veneration of the Jews for their sacred Books. The orders of Antiochus Epiphanes to destroy and burn all "the Books of the Law" (*τὰ βιβλία τοῦ νόμου*) or any "Book of the Covenant" (*βιβλίον διαθήκης*) that might be found among the Jews (see 1 Macc. i. 56, 57), coupled with the unpatriotic conduct of the Hellenizers, only served to heighten the national devotion to the Scriptures. The public unrolling of the Book of the Law was looked on as a religious ceremony in a time of distress (1 Macc.

iii. 48). The possession of "the holy Books" (*τὰ ἅγια βιβλία*), "the Law and the Prophets," was regarded as a source of strengthening and comfort in the hour of danger (1 Macc. xii. 9; 2 Macc. xv. 9). Another passage (2 Macc. viii. 23) relates that Eleazar, a brother of Judas the Maccabee, was appointed "to read the holy Book" (*τὸ ἅγιον βιβλίον*) for the Jewish forces, and that the appointment to this office was esteemed so highly as to be recorded side by side with the appointment of captains to the three divisions of the army (cp. the title of Ezra, *ἀναγνώστης νόμου κυρίου*, 1 Esd. viii. 8, 19; ix. 39, 42, 48, 49).

We find in the Apocrypha, too, the first certain intimations of the final stage in the formation of the O. T. Canon. The Prologue to the Book of Ecclesiasticus refers to a triple division of the Hebrew Scriptures into the Law, the Prophets, and the Writings (*e.g.* *διὰ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς ἠκολουθηκότων, τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πατρίων βιβλίων, ὁ νόμος καὶ αἱ προφητεῖαι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν βιβλίων*). The Second Book of Maccabees (ii. 13) is supposed by some to contain a genuine tradition as to the formation of the Canon by Nehemiah. It describes how Nehemiah, "founding a library, gathered together the acts of the kings and the prophets and the writings of David, and the epistles of the Kings concerning the holy gifts," alluding probably to the work of collecting the sacred writings, which tradition with good reason assigned to the age of Nehemiah. The same epistle (2 Macc. ii. 14) records that Judas Maccabaeus made a similar effort to collect the sacred writings which had been lost or scattered during the war with Syria. The legend that, after the destruction of the Temple and the burning of the sacred Books by the Chaldeans, Ezra was endowed with Divine power to restore the twenty-four Canonical Books of Scripture, besides seventy books of esoteric learning, is based upon 2 Esd. xiv.

The writers of the apocryphal books frequently cite from the Old Testament and from the LXX. Version, and thus supply important indirect evidence as to the date both of the completion of the Canon and of the Alexandrine Version. Among the more important of these quotations and allusions in the earlier Books of the Apocrypha are Wisd. iv. 10 = Gen. v. 24 (LXX.); Ecclus. ii. 18 = 2 Sam. xxiv. 14; Ecclus. xvii. 17 = Deut. xxxii. 8, 9 (LXX.); Ecclus. xliv. 16 = Gen. v. 24 (LXX.); 1 Macc. vii. 17 = Ps. lxxix. 2, 3 (LXX.); 2 Macc. vii. 6 = Deut. xxxii. 36 (LXX.); 3 Macc. vi. 8 = Jonah ii. 1 (LXX.); 1 Macc. i. 54 cp. Dan. ix. 27, xi. 31 (LXX.). The story of Daniel is referred to in 1 Macc. ii. 59, 60; of Esther, in 2 Macc. xv. 36. The words of Amos (viii. 10) are directly cited (? from LXX.) in Tob. ii. 6. Ecclus. xxvii. 26 appears to quote the LXX. of Eccles. x. 8, though it is possible that both passages may accidentally present the same proverbial expression (cp. Prov. xxvi. 27) in the same words.

An acquaintance with the earlier books of the Apocrypha may perhaps be traced in the books of later composition. The formation of 3 and 4 Maccabees presupposes an acquaintance with one or both of the earlier volumes; a remarkable correspondence of ideas may be seen in 2 Macc. ii. 2 with the Epistle of Jeremiah; the words of 3 Macc. vi. 6 recall the Greek of The Song of the Three Children *v.* 27.

(vi.) The subject of *eschatology* acquired increasing importance as the political independence of the people declined. More definitely referred to in the Apocrypha than in the Canonical Books of the O. T., it engrosses the main portion of the apocalyptic literature composed at the time of, or shortly after, the nation's overthrow by Titus.

Before "the last things" the "full measure of time" is to be fulfilled, Tob. xiv. 5 (*ἕως τοῦ χρόνου οὗ ἂν πληρωθῇ ὁ χρόνος τῶν καιρῶν*). But the knowledge of it is hidden from the sons of men (2 Esd. vi. 10; xiii. 52). The woes—the sign of the Messiah's coming—are described (2 Esd. ii. 27; xv. 5, 24). Elijah was to be the forerunner (Ecclus. xlviii. 10). The glorious renovation of Israel is pictured in Judith xvi. 15–17; Ecclus. l. 23, 24; and the restoration of the scattered tribes to the land of their fathers is a frequent theme of patriotic prayer (Tob. xiii. 10, xiv. 5; Baruch ii. 34, iv. 37, v. 5; 2 Macc. ii. 18; Ecclus. xxxiii. 11 = xxxvi. A. V. 11; xxxvi. 16–22 = 11–17 A. V.).

How material a conception this national hope must have been, is indicated by the fact that the possibility of a future state is nowhere realized in the books of Palestinian origin. "Hades" in these books is merely a vague region of death (Ecclus. ix. 12; xiv. 12, 16; xvii. 22; xxi. 10; xxviii. 21; xli. 4; xlviii. 5; li. 5;—Bar. ii. 17; iii. 11, 19). There is no thought of a *future* life in the Books of Baruch and Judith, unless the title of "Eternal" applied to the Almighty be deemed an exception (Baruch). In the First Book of Maccabees there is no allusion to the condition after death; and the reference to it which some have found in "an eternal name" (*ὄνομα αἰώνιον*, ii. 51; vi. 44; xiii. 29), "an eternal priesthood" (*ἱερωσύνη αἰωνία*, ii. 54)—phrases based on O. T. language—is not strictly relevant. In the Book of Ecclesiasticus we have an allusion to "eternal joy" (*εὐφροσύνη αἰῶνος*, ii. 9), but, in the face of such passages as xvii. 22–26, xli. 4, it is scarcely probable that the writer was acquainted with a positive doctrine of immortality. The passage in xlviii. 11 which appears in the A. V., "Blessed are they that saw Thee and slept in love" (*ἐν ἀγαπήσει κεκοιμημένοι*), is due to a corruption in the text. The right reading gives us "and are *adorned* with love" (*ἐν ἀγαπήσει κεκοσμημένοι*), which seems to have been altered in later times in support of the doctrine of the Resurrection. The circumstances of death are the test of life (Ecclus. xi. 23–26); "the last things" (*ἔσχατα*) of a man are his departure from earth (ii. 3; iii. 24; vi. 27; vii. 36; xiv. 7; xxi. 10; xxviii. 6; xxx. 1; xxxviii. 20; xlviii. 24).

In Alexandria the doctrine of the immortality of the soul naturally accompanied the view which regarded death as the soul's release from the prison-house of the flesh. The Book of Wisdom asserts the immortality of man (ii. 23; iii. 4; v. 15; vi. 20; viii. 13, 17); and although it is stated that "to know the power of God is the root of immortality" (xv. 3), the Book does not deny, as some have maintained, the future existence of the wicked. The denial

of immortality is part of the presumptuous utterance of the ungodly (ii. 1–5). The future life of the righteous is pictured in several passages (iii. 7, 14; iv. 2, &c.; v. 15, &c.). But the doctrine of the immortality of the soul does not, in the Book of Wisdom, include the doctrine of the resurrection of the body. The Second Book of Maccabees shows, however, how strongly the thought of the resurrection had fastened itself into the minds of some among the Jews (vii. 9); "the King of the world will raise us up, who have died for His laws, unto an eternal renewal of life" (*εἰς αἰώνιον ἀναβίωσιν ζωῆς*, cp. vii. 11, 14, 36; xiv. 46). It even gave rise to prayers and offerings for the dead that their sins might be forgiven. The famous passage illustrating this application of the doctrine relates how Judas Maccabeus sent 2000 drachms "to Jerusalem to offer a sin-offering, doing therein very well and honestly, in that he was mindful of the resurrection. For if he had not hoped that they that were slain should have risen again, it had been superfluous and vain to pray for the dead ... Whereupon he made a reconciliation for the dead, that they might be delivered from sin" (xii. 43–45). At first the application of the doctrine of the resurrection seems to have been limited only to the Jewish race, and is directly denied in the case of Antiochus Epiphanes, the persecutor of the nation (vii. 36, 37). The Fourth Book of Maccabees constantly refers in very concrete terms to the doctrine of eternal happiness and of eternal punishment.

The Final Judgment appears as an earthly visitation in the Book of Judith, and the vengeance exacted upon the wicked is described under the imagery of "the fire and the worm" (Judith xvi. 17; cp. Ecclus. vii. 17). In the Book of Wisdom the day of judgment is probably implied in the expressions *ἐν καιρῷ ἐπισκοπῆς αὐτῶν* (iii. 7), *ἐν ἡμέρᾳ διαγνώσεως* (iii. 18), *ἐν συλλογισμῷ ἁμαρτημάτων αὐτῶν* (iv. 20). The future condition of the wicked is described as hopeless (iii. 18; v. 14), "full of suffering" (iv. 19), "enveloped in darkness" (xvii. 20: cp. Bar. vi. 71; Tob. iv. 10). The eternal punishment of the lost is reiterated with terrible vehemence in the Fourth Book of Maccabees (ix. 9; x. 11, 15; xii. 12; xiii. 14; xviii. 5, 22).

The Second Book of Esdras foretells that, after the Messiah had reigned for 400 years, both he and all living flesh should die; that then the Most High should be revealed upon the throne of judgment; that the lake of torment should appear and over against it the place of rest—the Gehenna and the Paradise of delight, into which the Hades of departed spirits should be divided (vii. 29–42).

V. *The Text of the Apocrypha.*—The books of the Apocrypha have been preserved to us mainly through the preservation of the Alexandrine Version of the Old Testament. The MSS. of the Apocrypha are, therefore, generally MSS. of the LXX., and are very considerable in number. Unfortunately nearly all these MSS. are cursives. Only nine uncial MSS. are known to contain the Apocrypha or portions of it.

(1) Of these uncial MSS. by far the most important is the Codex Vaticanus (=II. in Holmes and Parsons, and Fritzsche) of the 4th century, which originally contained the whole of the Old and New Testaments. It has preserved to us the text of 1 Esdras, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Additions to Esther, Judith, Tobit, Baruch with the Epistle of Jeremiah, the Additions to Daniel. The Books of Maccabees are wanting.

(2) The Codex Sinaiticus (cent. iv.) at St. Petersburg and (Cod. Frederico-Augustanus) at Leipzig (=X. in Fritzsche), which also originally contained the whole of the Old and New Testaments, has the Additions to Esther, Tobit, Judith, 1 and 4 Maccabees, Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus.

(3) The Codex Alexandrinus (cent. v.) at the British Museum (= III. in Holmes and Parsons, and Fritzsche), which originally contained the whole of the Old and New Testaments, has preserved to us the entire Apocrypha, *i.e.* Baruch with Epistle of Jeremiah, Additions to Daniel, Additions to Esther, Tobit, Judith, 1 Esdras, 1, 2, 3, 4 Maccabees, the Prayer of Manasses, Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus.

(4) The Codex Ephraemi (cent. v.) at Paris (=C in Fritzsche), a palimpsest, in the Old Testament contains only fragments of the poetical books, including about half of Wisdom and the greater part of Ecclesiasticus.

(5) The Codex Venetus (cent. ix.), an uncial MS. in the library of St. Mark's, Venice (= 23 in Holmes and Parsons, and Fritzsche; V. in Lagarde), has Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch with the Epistle of Jeremiah, Additions to Daniel, Tobit, Judith, 1, 2, and 3 Maccabees.

(6) The Codex Basiliano-Vaticanus, 2106 (cent. ix.) at the Vatican (=XI. in Holmes and Parsons, and Fritzsche), has 1 Esdras (except viii. 1–5 and ix. 2–55), and the Additions to Esther.

(7) The Codex Marchalianus (Vaticanus, 2125; cent. vii.=XII. in Holmes and Parsons, and Fritzsche) has Baruch with Epistle of Jeremiah, and Additions to Daniel.

(8) The Codex Cryptoferratensis (cent. viii.), a palimpsest, edited by Jos. Cozza at Rome, 1867, has fragments of Baruch with Epistle of Jeremiah and the Additions to Daniel.

(9) Another uncial MS. (cent. vii.?) at St. Petersburg, discovered by Tischendorf, not yet collated, contains fragments of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus.

The extant cursive MSS. have preserved to us great varieties of text, the discussion of which belongs rather to the articles upon the separate books of the Apocrypha and to the article SEPTUAGINT.

One point of interest which has been established by recent researches deserves to be noticed here. Field (*Prolegg. in Hexapla Originis*, pp. lxxxvii., lxxxviii., 1875) has pointed out that certain cursives and the texts used by Chrysostom and Theodoret represent the revision of the LXX. Version by Lucian of Antioch. It has not yet been ascertained how far traces of such a revision can be found in the Apocrypha. But it may be useful to note that of the MSS. which Field has thus identified, the following contain portions of the apocryphal Books:—

19 = Cod. Bibl. Chig. Rome (cent. x.) contains 1 Esdras ii. 16–ix. 36, the Additions to Esther, Judith, 1, 2, 3 Maccabees.

22 = Brit. Mus. (cent. xi.) contains Baruch.

36 = Cod. Vat. No. 347 (cent. xiii.), 48 = Cod. Vat. No. 1794 (cent. xi.), 51 = Cod. Medic. Lib. (cent. xi.), 90 = Cod. Bibl. Laurent. (cent. ix.), 147 = Cod. Bodi.

Oxf. (cent. xiii.), 233 = Cod. Vat. No. 2067 (cent. xii.) contain Baruch with Ep. of Jeremiah and Additions to Daniel.

62 = Cod. Oxf. (cent. xiii.) contains Baruch with Ep. of Jeremiah, Additions to Daniel, 1, 2, 3 Maccabees.

93 = Cod. Arundel, Brit. Mus., contains Esdras, Additions to Esther, 1, 2, 3 Maccabees.

108 = Cod. Vat. No. 330 (cent. xv.) contains Esdras, Additions to Esther, Judith, Tobit.

308 = Cod. Vindob. contains Ecclesiasticus.

Versions.—For more detailed information upon these versions, consult the articles VERSIONS (ANCIENT) and VULGATE.

Under the head of the Latin translators, the work of Jerome must be carefully distinguished from the Old Latin Version. It is well known that Jerome's celebrated revision of the Old Testament was based upon the Hebrew original, and that he did not consider himself concerned with books which were not extant in Hebrew. He consented, however, at the urgent entreaty of two bishops, Chromatius and Heliodorus, to undertake the revision of two apocryphal books, Tobit and Judith (see Hieron. *Praefat. in vers. libri Tob., in vers. libri Judith*), on the ground that they were extant in Chaldee. The work was executed hastily and carelessly. Upon his version of Judith he spent one night (*huic unam lucubratiunculam dedi*), and treated Tobit in the same perfunctory way (*unius diei laborem arripui*). The text shows strange and arbitrary variations, for which the Chaldee can hardly be held accountable. He did not attempt to translate literally (*non ex verbo verbum transferens*), and the general result is that of an unsatisfactory paraphrase.

Besides the Books of Judith and Tobit, he introduced into his version a rendering of the Greek Additions to Esther and Daniel, which he took care to distinguish from the translation of the Hebrew text by the mark of an obelisk ("obelo ÷ id est veru praenotavimus"). The Additions to Esther he did little more than paraphrase; but, in his rendering of the Additions to Daniel, he followed Theodotion's Version, and was more literal.

The Vulgate Version therefore contains four books of the Apocrypha (Tobit, Judith, Additions to Esther, Additions to Daniel), which represent Jerome's work. It has been a disputed point whether his revision is to be traced in any other books. Jerome himself says in his Preface to the Books of Solomon, "In the case of the Book which by many is entitled the Wisdom of Solomon, and in the case of Ecclesiasticus, which all know is the work of Jesus, the son of Sirach, I have withheld my pen, wishing to revise for you the canonical Scriptures only," which seems to put it beyond all doubt that Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus were left untouched by him; and if these two Books were excluded from his project, it is not likely that he would have paid attention to the other apocryphal writings. It is best, therefore, to explain the presence of a double Latin text in the Books of 1 Esdras, Baruch, and 1 and 2 Maccabees, not by Hieronymian revision, but by the existence of various (*e.g.* African, Italian, Gallican) recensions of the Old Latin, or by renderings of variant editions of the LXX. text (*e.g.* Hexaplar and Lucian).

The remaining apocryphal books of the Latin Vulgate Bible belong in like manner to a recension of the Old Latin Version, while in most cases a second recension earlier or later of the Old Latin Version has also come down to us. Thus 1 Esdras is preserved not only by the Vulgate, but also, in a later revision, by the Codex Colbertinus, 3703; Baruch has two recensions of the Old Latin, one preserved in the Vulgate, another a later revision edited by Sabatier. The Vulgate has a later and more polished recension of the earlier Old Latin Version of 1 Macc., which is found in Codex Sangermanensis 15. An earlier recension of 2 Macc. than the Vulgate is given in Codex Ambrosianus E. 76.

The Book of Tobit has come down to us in two recensions of the Old Latin; a rougher and older one preserved in Codex Ambrosianus E. 76, the other a more polished revision of it in Vaticanus 7. The Book of Judith is preserved in the old Version in five MSS. given by Sabatier. The Additions to Esther appear in Codex Corbeiensis, and show a marked resemblance to the Lucianic revision of the LXX. given by Codd. 19, 93^{a}, 108^{b}. The Additions to Daniel are only fragmentally preserved in quotations as collected by Sabatier; like Jerome's rendering, they are based upon Theodotion's Version.

Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus are preserved in the Vulgate recension of the Old Latin.

The Third and Fourth Books of Maccabees do not appear in the Vulgate Bible, and are not extant in any ancient Latin Version. The Second Book of Esdras (not extant in the Greek) is preserved in an early recension of the Old Latin. The lacuna in the text of Codd. Sangermanensis, Turicensis, and Dresdensis was happily supplied by Bensly's discovery of the missing fragment in the Amiens Codex. Two other MSS. have since confirmed the restoration of the text. On the history of this discovery, see R. L. Bensly's "Missing Fragment."

The Syriac translation of the Apocrypha is also extant in two forms, (1) the Peshitto or Syriac Vulgate, (2) the Hexaplar.

(1) The Peshitto Syriac (given in Walton's *Polyglott*, and Lagarde's *Libr. Vet. Test. Apoc. Syriace*) contains Wisdom, the Epistle of Jeremy, Baruch, Additions to Daniel, Judith, Ecclesiasticus, Apocalypse of Baruch, 2 Esdras, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 Macc. (4 Macc. being the history of Eleazar and Samona, 5 Macc. the so-called 6th Book of Josephus' *De Bell. Jud.*).

(2) The Hexaplar Syriac, or Origen's Hexaplar Version of the LXX. translated into Syriac, is of the highest value for the determination of the text. The greater portion is preserved in the Codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus (C. 313 inf.; cent. viii.) at Milan, which contains Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, the Epistle of Jeremy, and the Additions to Daniel. There is good reason to suppose that the Version included also 1 Esdras, Tobit, Judith, Additions to Esther, 1, 2, 3 Macc., and the Prayer of Manasses.

There exist also Arabic, Ethiopic, and Coptic Versions based upon the LXX. of which the full value has not yet been ascertained. [See art. VERSION.]

Two Hebrew Versions of the Book of Tobit were edited in comparatively recent times: that of Paul Fagius, Constantinople, 1517; and

that of Sebastian Münster, Basle. 1542. The old Chaldee Version of Tobit, edited by Neubauer (Book of Tobit, Oxf. 1878), has been a discovery of great interest and importance.

A good critical edition of the text of the books of the Apocrypha is still much needed. Special difficulties are presented by the number of interpolations (particularly in Ecclesiasticus) which have found their way into the text, and by the rival texts, of which we have extant specimens in Tobit, Judith, and the Additions to Esther.

The English Version.—The choice of books admitted into the Apocrypha of the English Version was apparently determined by the contents of the ordinary MSS. of the Vulgate. Hence 2 Esdras was included, although it was not extant in the Greek; and on the other hand 3 Maccabees was excluded. The Prayer of Manasses, omitted by Coverdale, was inserted in Matthew's Bible, and, though again omitted in the Genevan Bible, has retained its place in all the authoritative revisions. The plan of translating the Apocrypha from the Greek Version, where possible, instead of from the Vulgate, was first adopted in the Genevan Bible (1560), and was followed in the subsequent English translations. The translators of the Authorized Version of 1611 depended for their text upon the Complutensian Polyglot (1517), the Aldine edition of the LXX. (1518), and Junius' Latin translation (which he made for his father-in-law Tremellius, 1589). No systematic investigation of the text was made, but changes of reading were sporadically introduced. Many purely Latin readings were permitted to remain.

A fresh revision of the Apocrypha is in course of preparation, as part of the Revised Version of the Bible.

VI. *Literature.*—For editions of the text see under art. SEPTUAGINT. The most useful separate edition of the books of the Apocrypha is that of O. F. Fritzsche, *Libri Apocryphi Veteris Testamenti Graece* (Lipsiae, 1871), whose text is followed in this article; but unfortunately the collation of the Vatican MS. is not complete, and the readings copied from Holmes and Parsons cannot always be relied upon for accuracy, while the evidence of Versions and quotations is comparatively speaking neglected. The separate edition of Apel (Lips. 1837) deserves notice as having been the most serviceable until that of Fritzsche appeared.

The best modern commentary upon the books of the Apocrypha is Grimm and Fritzsche's *Handbuch* (3 vols., Leipzig, 1851–1860), containing a minute and searching investigation into almost every verse, and careful *prolegomena* to each Book. In English, Bissell's *Apocrypha of the Old Testament*, in Lange's *Commentaries* (T. T. Clark & Son, Edinburgh), which is largely indebted to the German work, is a helpful contribution to the exegesis of the books. A popular commentary has been brought out by the S. P. C. K. Older Commentaries are by Cornelius a Lapide, Antwerp, 1664; Grotius, Paris, 1644; Arnald, London, 1744. An edition for English readers, containing all "the additional matter found in the Vulgate and other ancient Versions," is supplied by Churton's *Uncanonical and Apocryphal Scriptures* (Whitaker: London, 1884), which also contains a useful, concise introduction to the whole collection, and to the several books. Wahl's *Clavis* is a valuable lexicon to the Apocrypha, though far from accurate or complete; Schleusner's *Lexicon* is a storehouse of good materials for the language; Trommius's *Concordance* is indispensable, but sadly defective. Winer's *Grammar of N. T. Greek* (Moulton's edition) is also of great service.

The substance of this article was written some time before the appearance of the *Speaker's Commentary on "The Apocrypha,"* 2 vols. (Murray, London, 1888). Although the treatment of the various books is somewhat unequal, this work must be welcomed as by far the most important investigation of the Apocrypha that has ever appeared in the English language. It opens with a masterly "General Introduction" from the pen of Dr. Salmon.

Schürer's *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes in Zeitalter Jesu Christi* (Leipzig, 1886) contains most valuable assistance for the study of Jewish apocryphal literature.

Of other books which have been consulted for the purposes of this article, the following require more especial notice:—

Herzog-Plitt's *Real-Encyklopädie;* Hamburger's *Real-Encyklopäd. für Bibel u. Talmud;* Smith's *Bible Dict.* (ed. 1); *Einleitungen*, by Eichhorn, Bertholdt, De Wette-Schrader (1871), Bleek (ed. Wellhausen, 1886), Kaulen; Zoeckler's *Handbuch; Histories of Israel*, by Ewald, Grätz, Herzfeld, Reuss; Hody, *De Textibus;* Westcott's *Hist. of the Canon, History of the English Bible, Introduction to the Study of the Gospels;* Charteris, *Canonicity;* Reuss, *History of the Canon;* Wordsworth, *On Inspiration;* Cosin, *On the Canon;* Prideaux's *Connexion;* Fürst, *Kanon d. A. T.*, 1868; Bloch, *Studien zur Geschichte der Sammlung der Althebr. Lit.* 1876; Nöldeke, *Jüdische Literatur*, 1878; Hausrath, *N. T. Zeitgeschichte;* Drummond, *Jewish Messiah;* Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah;* Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers.* [H. E. R.]

APOLLO'NIA (Ἀπολλωνία), a city of Macedonia, through which Paul and Silas passed on their way from Philippi and Amphipolis to Thessalonica (Acts xvii. 1). It was in the district of Mygdonia (Plin. iv. 10, s. 17), and according to the *Antonine Itinerary* was distant 30 Roman miles from Amphipolis and 37 Roman miles from Thessalonica (Conybeare and Howson, *The Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, i. p. 340, 4th ed.). In other authorities (*e.g.* the Peutinger Table and the Jerusalem Itinerary) there is a slight difference. The city is to be placed somewhere on the Via Egnatia, where that road crosses from the gulf of the Strymon to that of Thessalonica, but its exact site has not been ascertained. A little village, *Pollona*, south of Lake Bechik (the Bolbe of Aesch. *Pers.* 490), possibly perpetuates the ancient name. Others prefer *Klisali*, a post station seven hours from *Saloniki*. This city must not be confounded with the more celebrated Apollonia in Illyria. See *Dict. of Anc. Geography* and Murray's *Hdbk. of Greece*, s. n. [F.]

APOLLO'NIUS (Ἀπολλώνιος). **1.** The son of Thrasaeus, governor of Coele-Syria and Phoenice, under SELEUCUS IV. PHILOPATOR, B.C. 187 sq.,

a bitter enemy of the Jews (2 Macc. iv. 4), who urged the king, at the instigation of Simon the commander (στρατηγός) of the Temple, to plunder the Temple at Jerusalem (2 Macc. iii. 5 ff.). The writer of the Declamation on the Maccabees, printed among the works of Josephus, relates of Apollonius the circumstances which are commonly referred to his emissary Heliodorus (*De Macc.* 4; cp. 2 Macc. iii. 7 sq.).

2. An officer of Antiochus Epiphanes, governor of Samaria (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5, § 5; 7, § 1), who led out a large force against Judas Maccabaeus, but was defeated and slain B.C. 166 (1 Macc. iii. 10–12; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 7, § 1). He is probably the same person who was chief commissioner of the revenue of Judaea (ἄρχων φορολογίας, 1 Macc. i. 29; cp. 2 Macc. v. 24), who spoiled Jerusalem, taking advantage of the Sabbath (2 Macc. v. 24–26), and occupied a fortified position there (B.C. 168; 1 Macc. i. 30 sq.).

3. The son of Menestheus (possibly identical with the former), an envoy commissioned (B.C. 173) by Antiochus Epiphanes to congratulate Ptolemaeus Philometor on his being enthroned (2 Macc. iv. 21). An ambassador of the same name was at the head of the embassy which Antiochus sent to Rome (Liv. xlii. 6).

4. The son of Gennaeus (ὁ τοῦ Γενναίου: it seems impossible that this can be *des edlen Apoll. Sohn*, Luth.), a Syrian general under Antiochus V. Eupator, c. B.C. 163 (2 Macc. xii. 2).

5. The Daian (Δάος, Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 4, § 3, *i.e.* one of the Dahae or Dai, a people of Sogdiana), a governor of Coele-Syria (τὸν ὄντα ἐπὶ κ. Σ., 1 Macc. x. 69) under Alexander Balas, who embraced the cause of his rival Demetrius Nicator, and was appointed by him to a chief command (1 Macc. *l. c.* κατέστησε, Vulg. *constituit ducem*). If he were the same as the Apollonius whom Polybius mentions as foster-brother and confidant of Demetrius I. (probably a son of 3, δυοῖν ὑπαρχοντοῖν ἀδελφοῖν, Μελεάγρου καὶ Μενεσθέως, Polyb. xxxi. 21, § 2), his conduct is easily intelligible. Apollonius raised a large force and attacked Jonathan, the ally of Alexander, but was entirely defeated by him (B.C. 147) near Azotus (1 Macc. x. 70 sq.). Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 4, § 3 sq.) represents Apollonius as the general of Alexander at the time of his defeat; but this statement, though it has found advocates (Wernsdorf, *de fide libr. Macc.* p. 135, yet doubtfully), appears to be untenable on internal grounds. Cp. Grimm and *Speaker's Commentary* on 1 Macc. x. 69. [B. F. W.]

APOLLOPH'ANES (Ἀπολλοφάνης; *Apollophanes*), a Syrian, killed by Judas Maccabaeus (2 Macc. x. 37). [G.]

APOLLOS (Ἀπολλώς, shortened form of Ἀπολλώνιος, which is the reading of Cod. D, Acts xviii. 24; *Apollos*).

Setting aside as an open question the conjecture that Apollos wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews [Hebrews, Epistle to the], we have two principal sources of information concerning him: (1) Acts xviii. 24–28, and (2) scattered notices in 1 Cor. From the former we learn that he was an Alexandrian Jew, who came to Ephesus between St. Paul's first and second visits. (For the probable influence of his native city upon his studies and faith, see Alexandria.) He is described as ἀνὴρ λόγιος. There is no doubt that in later Greek (*e.g.* Plutarch, *Pompeius*, 51) this word meant "eloquent," but the earlier and more frequent sense of "learned" is fully as suitable in this instance. He had already been instructed in the way of the Lord, and began at once to teach the things concerning Jesus (so R. V.; Ἰησοῦ, not Κυρίου, is undoubtedly the true reading), so that it cannot be alleged that his teaching was only concerned with Messianic hopes which he did not know to be fulfilled. But he knew only the baptism of John. The essential differences between the baptism of John and Christian Baptism appear to be that the former was not (like the latter, Acts ii. 38) a baptism in the name of Jesus, nor was it accompanied by the gift of the Holy Spirit. Apollos' ignorance of this higher Baptism implies not merely that he had not personally received it, but that he had not learnt the kind of faith in Jesus which such Baptism implies. Probably, while accepting Him as the Messiah, he had very inadequate conceptions of His person and work (Acts xviii. 26). Further he was probably not aware of the gift of the Holy Spirit bestowed on the baptized. The case of the twelve Ephesian disciples which follows immediately (Acts xix. 1–7) must be taken in close connexion with the account of Apollos. Either they were disciples of Apollos, or they were at any rate in much the same position. That their Baptism is mentioned, and not that of Apollos, seems to be due to the fact that they only were at Ephesus when St. Paul came back, and therefore they only at that time received the gift of the Spirit after their Baptism, which is the point of the narrative. We are not to conclude with Ewald (*Geschichte des V. I.* vi. 474) that there could be no question of baptizing again such a man as Apollos. "Fervent in spirit" (cp. Rom. xii. 11) does not imply the possession of the distinct and, at that time, unmistakeable gifts of the Holy Spirit. His addresses in the synagogue attracted the notice of Priscilla and Aquila [Aquila]. When more fully instructed, he desired a new field of work, and would naturally be directed by his instructors to their old home, Corinth, the capital of Achaia. Thither he went with commendatory letters. It is instructive to compare the departure of Apollos, not an Apostle, to his work, with the mission of the Apostles Barnabas and Saul (Acts xiii. 1–3). Here we have Apollos setting out by his own wish (βουλόμενος), and the brethren are merely described as encouraging him (προτρεψάμενοι). His success at Corinth was great, especially in controversy with the Jews. His activity was not confined to the synagogue or private houses, but, like St. Paul, he spoke in public (δημοσίᾳ; cp. Acts xx. 20).

We now take up the second but earlier source of information (1 Cor.), written after Apollos had returned to Ephesus. Here we find that a party had formed at Corinth which took the name of Apollos (1 Cor. i. 12); that Apollos had watered what St. Paul had planted (1 Cor. iii. 6); that St. Paul had wished Apollos to go to Corinth, but had been refused (1 Cor. xvi. 12). These are the facts stated, but further inferences can be drawn from the first four chapters. Exaggerated statements with regard to the Corinthian parties (for a good summary of views see Schenkel, *Bibel-Lex.* art. *Korintherbriefe*) must not drive us into the other extreme of

denying the existence of real divisions under definite names. The fact of an Apollos party does not inculpate Apollos in its formation. In chapters i.–iv. St. Paul is mainly dealing with just such a form of opposition as might have been expected to develop itself from an exaggeration of the views and methods of a learned Alexandrian Christian. Without adopting the absurd suggestion of a paronomasia in i. 19, it seems difficult to deny that the presumable methods of Apollos, exactly a contemporary and a fellow-citizen of Philo, would encourage the Corinthians to desire that *σοφία λόγου* which St. Paul so emphatically disclaims, contrasting it with his own preaching of an objective Christ. "Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel: not in wisdom of words, lest the Cross of Christ should be made void" (1 Cor. i. 17). Some have gone further, and have seen in the verse a rebuke of such a disproportionate view of the place of Baptism in evangelistic work as would be natural in a mere disciple of the Baptist. Whatever occasion Apollos may have involuntarily given to error and party-spirit in the Church, which he had "helped much through grace," we know distinctly that he stood aloof from those who claimed his name, and was entirely trusted by St. Paul. St. Paul "besought" Apollos "much" to join the mission which was to go to Corinth for the good of the Church. The request was worthy of St. Paul's generous and discriminating wisdom, but it was refused by Apollos with self-denying prudence; "It was not at all his will to come now" (1 Cor. xvi. 12). It is easy to guess that he feared that his presence might stimulate party-feeling instead of allaying it. Once again his name meets us in Tit. iii. 13. He is in Crete with Titus, and the latter is charged to send him on his way with necessary provision.

On the whole we may conclude that the appearance of Apollos formed a crisis in the history of the Church, which was mercifully brought to a good issue. First the spread of a rudimentary faith and an imperfect baptism is prevented by the agency of Priscilla and Aquila, and secondly the growth of an unsubstantial allegorising Christianity is checked by St. Paul himself, without losing the loyalty of the brilliant teacher who had occasioned it. Nothing is known of the later history of Apollos. Tradition makes him bishop of Caesarea (*Menol. Graec. Basil.* ii. 17).

See Neander, *Planting and Training*, Bk. III. c. vii.; Conybeare and Howson, vol. ii. c. xiv.; *Apollos* in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lex.* [E. R. B.]

APOLLYON (Ἀπολλύων; *Apollyon*), or, as it is literally in the margin of the A. V. and R. V. of Rev. ix. 11, "a destroyer," is the rendering of the Hebrew word ABADDON, "the angel of the bottomless pit." The Vulgate adds, "Latine habens nomen Exterminans." The Hebrew term is really abstract, and signifies "destruction," in which sense it occurs in Job xxvi. 6, xxviii. 22; Prov. xv. 11, and other passages. The angel Apollyon is further described as the king of the locusts which rose from the smoke of the bottomless pit at the sounding of the fifth trumpet. From the occurrence of the word in Ps. lxxxviii. 11, the Rabbis have made Abaddon the nethermost of the two regions into which they divided the under world. But that in Rev. ix. 11 (see *Speaker's Commentary*, note) Abaddon is an angel, and not an abyss, is perfectly evident in the Greek. There is no authority for connecting it with the destroyer alluded to in 1 Cor. x. 10; and the explanation, quoted by Bengel, that the name is given in Hebrew and Greek, to show that the locusts would be destructive alike to Jew and Gentile, is farfetched and unnecessary. The Semitic etymology of Asmodeus, the king of the demons in Jewish mythology, seems to point to a connexion with Apollyon, in his character as "the destroyer," or the destroying angel. See also Wisd. xviii. 22, 25. [ASMODEUS.] [W. A. W.] [F.]

APOSTLE (*ἀπόστολος, apostolus*). It will be convenient to divide this article into (I.) a discussion of the term and its usage; (II.) a brief account of the apostolic college.

I. (1) *Usage outside the N. T.*—The Greek word from which the Latin and English forms come is an adjective derived from *ἀποστέλλω*, and means "sent," but "sent with a commission to act," delegated. As *ἀποστέλλω* means more than *πέμπω* (Westcott, *Gospel of St. John*, xx. add. note), so *ἀπόστολος* is more than *ἄγγελος*. In classical Greek *ἀπόστολος* accidentally became limited to a special meaning, "a naval expedition," and so gives no help for the sense of "Apostle" in the N. T. But passages quoted by Bp. Lightfoot (*Galatians* i. detached note) show that the word *ἀπόστολος* was in use among the Jews to designate persons "despatched from Jerusalem by the rulers of the race on any foreign mission, especially such as were charged with collecting the tribute paid to the Temple service."

(2) *Usage in the N. T.*—The sense in which the word is used in the N. T. has, with one exception to be mentioned below (*c*), no connexion with either of the special usages above mentioned, and is drawn simply from the etymology of the word, whether שָׁלִיחַ or *ἀπόστολος*. It will be evident that the use of *ἀποστέλλω*, as well as that of *ἀπόστολος*, must be kept in view throughout the inquiry. Three uses may be distinguished by having regard to the Person or Persons by whom the "Apostle" is commissioned. (*a*) Sent by the Father. In this view Christ Himself is an Apostle (Heb. iii. 1; cp. Luke iv. 43, John xvii. 18). And in Luke xi. 49 the term is apparently applied to God's human messengers sent before the Incarnation. (*b*) Sent by Christ, either directly or through the agency of the Spirit. This is the application which we have to discuss. (*c*) Sent by men, as were the brethren mentioned in 2 Cor. viii. 23, and there described as *ἀπόστολοι ἐκκλησιῶν*, "apostles or delegates of the Churches." Again, Epaphroditus is called *ὑμῶν ἀπόστολον*, "your delegate" (Phil. ii. 25), as being the bearer of the contributions of the Philippians. Probably Andronicus and Junias, who are described (Rom. xvi. 7; R. V.) as being *ἐπίσημοι ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις*, "of note among the apostles," were also apostles in this sense, *i.e.* delegates of a Christian Church, though other explanations are admissible. On the whole it would appear that this sense of the word may have been borrowed from the Jewish usage

mentioned above, as both the Jewish and Christian delegates were occupied with the care of contributions. The account given by Philo (*de Monarchia*, ii. 3) of the selection by merit of the most approved persons to carry the contributions of the Dispersion to Jerusalem, shows that this system was before St. Paul's mind in his institution of messengers (ἀπόστολοι) of the Churches to take charge of the alms (see 2 Cor. viii. 18–23).

We may now dismiss (*a*) and (*c*), and confine our attention to (*b*) Apostles sent by Christ. The usage of the title with regard to these persons is not uniform in N. T. authors. With St. Luke it is in frequent use, in the Acts almost exclusively, and in his Gospel concurrently with οἱ μαθηταὶ (the disciples) and οἱ δώδεκα (the twelve). As might be expected, the usage of St. Paul's Epistles agrees with that of St. Luke. On the other hand, St. John never employs οἱ ἀπόστολοι (the Apostles) as the title of the Twelve, but describes them as "the disciples." Between these two extremes stand the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark. Each of these uses the term "the Apostles" once only: St. Matthew at the moment of their first mission, and St. Mark at its close. In both cases it is plain that the use of the substantive ἀπόστολος is in close connexion with the use of the verb ἀποστέλλω, and with the fact of the mission. The divergence of usage noticed above may perhaps be explained as follows. The name of "Apostles" was conferred on the twelve disciples by Jesus Himself (Luke vi. 13), with immediate reference to their first mission, and also with a view to their ultimate work. It did not come into prominence until, after the Ascension, their calling as disciples gave way to their work as missionaries. St. Luke's use of the name "Apostles" in his Gospel is due to the usage of the time in which he wrote, and is not rigidly accurate. But in the period covered by the Acts this name had become the recognised title of the Twelve. It was thus that the Church avoided the inconvenience of a merely numerical designation, which was liable at any time to become incorrect by the death of members of the college. The title "the disciples" had of course become too general to be sufficiently definite, although St. John, writing much later, adheres to it for the sake of historical exactness. But it was not long before circumstances showed that the title thus substituted for "the Twelve" was not equivalent, but had a wider range. The Twelve were the antitypes of the twelve patriarchs, and the spiritual progenitors of the new Israel (see Matt. xix. 28; Luke xxii. 30; Rev. xxi. 12, cp. *v.* 14). But the Gentile world was included in the Gospel, and also needed its Apostles. Notwithstanding their commission to "all the nations" (Matt. xxviii. 19), the Twelve act as if only conscious of an apostleship to the Jews, though of course this appearance may be due to our lack of information. It was therefore absolutely necessary that other apostles should be appointed who were not of the Twelve. Two of the prophets and teachers of Antioch, Barnabas and Saul, were separated and sent forth by express direction of the Holy Spirit (Acts xiii. 1–3). Henceforth they are both called Apostles (Acts xiv. 4, 14; 1 Cor. ix. 5, 6). More doubtfully, but probably, Silvanus or Silas is also included by St. Paul among "the Apostles of Christ" (1 Thess. ii. 6; and perhaps 1 Cor. iv. 9). A distinct apostolate of or to the Gentiles, of which St. Paul is a member, is affirmed by him in Rom. xi. 13 and (by implication) in Gal. ii. 9. We have then two opposite tendencies at work, one tending to appropriate and limit the wider name "Apostles" to the Twelve, against which St. Paul vigorously protests by his constant claim of the title. On the other hand, out of this protest of St. Paul, and out of the increasing importance of the Gentile Church, arises a second tendency, just discernible in the N. T., to include in the apostolate all duly authorised missionary teachers. The evidence for this wider significance lies in 2 Cor. xi. 13 and Rev. ii. 2, which prove that the limits of the apostolate were not so definite as to prevent interlopers claiming to belong to it. The question who these interlopers were, and what is the meaning of "the very chiefest Apostles" (2 Cor. xi. 5; xii. 11), belongs to the exegesis of 2 Cor. and requires fuller discussion than can be given here (see *Speaker's Commentary* in locis). It is probable, as Seuffert (*Ursprung des Apostolates*) maintains, that the strife whether St. Paul was an Apostle or not, to which 2 Cor. testifies, may have tended to define and enhance the office of the apostolate in the eyes of the Church. Seuffert's view, however, goes a great way beyond this. According to him, the apostolate as a corporate institution is not to be explained as an appointment of Christ Himself, but simply as a defensive reaction in Jerusalem against St. Paul's free work among the heathen. And on the other hand it was St. Paul who, by defending his right to belong to the apostolate, exalted and stereotyped the later and narrower conception of the office which had originated with his opponents.

(3) *Usage in later authors.* — The *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (see *Dict. of Christian Biog.* s. n. "Teaching" &c.), dating probably from the beginning of the 2nd century, shows the tendency to extend the term "Apostle" much more fully developed (*Teaching*, xi. 3–6). Harnack goes so far as to say that its language puts an end to the fable which has until now prevailed with respect to the signification of the word "Apostle" in the earliest times (*Lehre der Zwölf App.*, Harnack, p. 115). It is at any rate clear from the passage referred to (xi. 3–6) that early in the 2nd century there were travelling teachers known as "apostles," and ranking as such above "prophets," who were entirely distinct from the administrative officers of the Church, such as Bishops and Deacons. But it must be noted that the very document which gives us this evidence, witnesses by its title to the special character attributed in the Church to the apostolate of the Twelve, growing in significance, and co-existing with the laxer use of the name "apostle." The patristic usage does not come within the scope of this article, but the following summary of the evidence given by Bishop Lightfoot, *Gal.*[3] pp. 99, 100, may be added as confirmatory of the views stated above:—"At an early date we find the title applied to the Seventy, without however placing them on the same level with the Twelve. This application occurs even in Irenaeus (ii. 21, 1) and Tertullian (*adv. Marc.* iv. 24). About the same time

Clem. Alex. not only calls Barnabas 'an apostle,' but confers the title on Clement of Rome also. Origen (*in Joann.* tom. iv. p. 430, ed. Delarue) discusses the term as capable of a very wide application; and Eusebius, *H. E.* i. 12, accounting for St. Paul's expression (1 Cor. xv. 7), speaks of numberless apostles besides the Twelve."

II. Having thus attempted to deal with the usage and connotation of the name, we must give a brief account of the collective history of the Apostles, including the apostolic commission and privileges, and the work of the apostolate in the development of the Church. The history of the men themselves must be sought under their several names. Our concern will be with the college as a whole, its training and its activity.

(1) *Training.*—The call of the individuals, their selection as a body, and their mission to preach and heal, must be regarded as separate events. The call of the individuals will be omitted here, as belonging to their personal histories. The choice of the Twelve as a body, according to the narrative of St. Luke (vi. 12 sq.), was made by Jesus Himself after a night of prayer, and was followed by the Sermon on the Mount. The mission did not take place immediately (Luke ix. 1 sq.; Mark vi. 7 sq.). For the mission was not the only or immediate object of the choice, as we learn clearly from St. Mark, who places the "being with Jesus" as His first aim in choosing them, and their mission to preach as the second. St. Matthew does not record the choice, but only their summons to receive a charge before going forth. The very words used seem to imply that the Twelve had been previously set apart (Matt. x. 1). A main object of their mission was to "preach the kingdom of God" (Luke ix. 2), and for this they had been prepared by our Lord's parables of the kingdom, delivered for the most part to the multitude, but privately interpreted to the Apostles. They had received an esoteric teaching, which was nevertheless not properly esoteric, for it was only hidden that it might afterwards be made known, and those to whom it was addressed were not selected as intellectually capable of advanced teaching, but, so far as mental gifts went, were samples of the average intelligence of the nation. They were armed for their mission with supernatural gifts and protection, and to emphasise these were forbidden to make the commonest provision for the journey. No details are given of the events of their mission. It cannot be doubted that its object was much more the preparation of the Apostles for their subsequent employment (cp. Luke xxii. 35, 36) than any immediate result. The next point of importance is the confession of St. Peter at Caesarea Philippi (Matt. xvi. 13, and parall.). Their recognition of their Master as the Messiah was followed by the announcement of His coming sufferings, and by the seal of His Messiahship afforded by the Transfiguration. Taken together, these events imply a great advance in the training, though even till the last days (Luke xviii. 31–34) the reality of the Passion was very imperfectly apprehended by them. The next step is marked by the Last Discourses recorded by St. John only (John xiii.–xvi.), which have well been called the Self-revelation of Jesus to His disciples. The Resurrection and the conversations of the great forty days form another stage. Then follows the day of Pentecost, which crowns their slowly acquired faith and knowledge with new and instantaneous gifts. And the last step is reached when St. Peter's account of his mission to Cornelius silenced Judaic objectors, and they "glorified God, saying, Then to the Gentiles also hath God granted repentance unto life" (Acts xi. 18).

(2) The *active work* of the college dates of course from their first mission, and runs parallel with their training. Neither the gift of the Spirit bestowed by the risen Lord (John xx. 22), nor that given by the ascended Lord (Acts ii.), are to be understood as confined to the Apostles. But the narrative of the Acts shows them as taking the lead in the most decisive way. It is they who preach (Acts ii. 14), who work miracles (v. 12), who withstand opposition (v. 29), who receive the contributions of believers (iv. 35), who establish a new ministry and consecrate those who are to fulfil it (vi. 2 sq.). They remain in Jerusalem when the rest of the Church is scattered after the death of St. Stephen (viii. i). They, with the brethren, receive St. Peter's report of the conversion of Cornelius (Acts xi. 1), and as a natural consequence dispatch Barnabas on his mission to Antioch (xi. 22). Now comes a new epoch. The lost history of Apollonius, quoted by Euseb. *H. E.* v. 18, preserves the tradition that "the Saviour had commanded His Apostles not to depart from Jerusalem for twelve years." This period would be complete about the time of the martyrdom of James the brother of John, and the persecution which accompanied it. A withdrawal of the remaining Apostles from Jerusalem at this time would fall in with indications in the narrative, especially with the prominence into which the elders (*οἱ πρεσβύτεροι*) advance, who have not hitherto been heard of in the Church. To the elders are brought the alms from Antioch (xi. 30). The Apostles and elders receive Paul and Barnabas (xv. 2, 4), and "are gathered together to consider of this matter" (xv. 6). In xxi. 18, we have reached a further stage. The elders are no longer merely associated with the Apostles as the governing body of the Church of Jerusalem, but altogether take their place under the presidency of James. On the important question of the relation of James to the apostolic college, and his position at Jerusalem, we must refer to another article [JAMES THE SON OF ALPHAEUS].

Apostolic commission and privileges.—The original commission of the Twelve has already been noticed, but we have also two instances of supplementary appointments. (*a*) The choice of Matthias to fill the place of Judas (Acts i. 15–26) is regarded as made by the Lord Himself, the lot being only His instrument (*v.* 24). The office of the Twelve is here (*v.* 25) definitely described as *ἀποστολή* (mission or apostleship), and not only as *διακονία* (ministry). A qualification is required: namely, membership of the band who had followed Jesus in His ministry from the very beginning (*v.* 21). And a new feature is added to the work, that of witnessing to the Resurrection of the Lord (*v.* 22). (*b*) The appointment of Barnabas and Saul (Acts xiii. 1–3) has fresh features. The initiative is given by the direct prompting of the Holy Spirit.

There is no mention of a vacancy to be filled up, but the commission is given with a view to the work to be done. It is accompanied with fasting, prayer, and imposition of hands. The event is not distinctly described as an admission to the apostolate, but the two have not gone far on their journey before they are spoken of as Apostles (xiv. 4). It is instructive to compare with this narrative the mission of Apollos to Corinth (xviii. 27). Here is no apostleship. He went "when he was minded," and the brethren merely "encouraged" him. Contrast with this "they being sent forth by the Holy Ghost" (xiii. 4). This mission by the Holy Ghost is the fulfilment of the Lord's promise to Paul, "I will send thee forth (ἐξαποστελῶ) far hence unto the Gentiles" (Acts xxii. 21).

The essential mark of an Apostle was the commission from Jesus Himself, or from the express direction of His Spirit. But St. Paul appears to imply (1 Cor. ix. 1) that having seen the Lord was also requisite. This must mean the Risen Lord, and, so understood, accords exactly with St. Peter's definition, "a witness with us of His Resurrection" (Acts i. 22). The prominence given to the subject by St. Paul in his preaching shows that he regarded this as a main part of his apostolic duty. Other marks of an Apostle were the power to communicate the gift of the Spirit (Acts viii. 17; xix. 6); to perform miracles (Matt. x. 1; 2 Cor. xii. 12); and to win converts (1 Cor. ix. 1). The first of these seems to have been an exclusive characteristic. When given mediately by human agents, the Apostles were the agents. De Wette (*Apostelgeschichte*,[4] p. 123) forcibly insists on this point, but of course with his usual object of discrediting the narrative. In one case it is distinctly stated that the appointment of elders was made by Apostles, namely by Paul and Barnabas, Acts xiv. 23; but in Tit. i. 5 the same function is delegated to Titus. A marked privilege of an Apostle, though extended in the Pastoral Epistles to elders, was sustentation by the Church. This privilege was no doubt based on the terms of the original commission, Matt. x. 10. It is fully stated by St. Paul in 1 Cor. ix., but only that he may renounce the use of it. We gather that his self-denial was represented by his opponents as a flaw in his claim to the apostolate.

Work of the apostolate in the development of the Church.—Both St. John and St. Paul take up the symbolic language of our Lord to St. Peter (Matt. xvi. 18), and use it to set forth the relation of the Church to the collective apostolate (Rev. xxi. 14; Eph. ii. 20). The Church was built on the testimony of the Apostles, and its organisation was determined by them. But beyond this, two points may be noticed to which St. Luke specially calls attention. It depended on the Apostles for its unity in doctrine and in fellowship. "They continued stedfastly in the Apostles' teaching and fellowship" (Acts ii. 42). There was a "teaching" of the Apostles. During their long stay at Jerusalem, and in the course of their work there, it is probable that that common oral Gospel took shape which preceded the written narrative of the Synoptists (Westcott, *Introd. Study of Gospels*, iii.). The collective action of the Apostles prevented inaccurate and divergent views of our Lord's life and work from obtaining currency in the Church. (On the essential unity of apostolic teaching, see Neander, *Pflanzung und Leitung*.) There was also a "fellowship" of the Apostles. They formed a personal centre to which all Christians and all congregations of Christians attached themselves. The Church was apostolic first and catholic afterwards. Not only the college but the individual Apostles secured this unity by their action. A common relation to St. Paul was the outward link of unity between the Churches which acknowledged him as their founder. And the important body of apostolic delegates, such as Timothy and Titus (Rothe, *Anfänge Chr. Kirche*, § 36), were subordinate links of unity.

In conclusion, it should be observed that a fundamental difficulty besets the question of the nature of the apostolate. Our knowledge of its authority and activity is derived in great measure from one instance only, that of St. Paul. Certain things were done by St. Paul, and in virtue, as he constantly asserts, of his apostolic office; but this scarcely enables us to generalise with regard to the other Apostles. The office was of Divine appointment and carried recognised rights, but its signification depended on the man who exercised it and the special gifts imparted to him. We cannot suppose that the unrecorded lives of apostles barely known by name would show an activity like that of the Apostle of the Gentiles, though such a belief probably contributed to the composition of the fictions known as *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* (ed. Tischendorf; cp. R. A. Lipsius, *Die Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten u. Apostellegenden*). St. Paul's own words are no empty boast, "I laboured more abundantly than they all: yet not I, but the grace of God which was with me" (1 Cor. xv. 10).

On the name and office of an apostle see Bishop Lightfoot, *Galatians*, detached note, which has been freely used in this article; also Harnack, *Lehre der Zwölf App.*, pp. 111–118. For the history of the Apostles and their work, see especially Neander, *Pflanzung und Leitung* (*Planting of the Christian Church*, Bohn's transl.), *passim*. Dr. A. B. Bruce, *Training of the Twelve*, is lengthy but useful. Rothe, *Anfänge Chr. Kirche*, § 36, should be referred to. Seuffert's *Der Ursprung und die Bedeutung des Apostolates* is worth reading, but its extravagant paradoxes are based on the assumption that the evidence of the Gospels and Acts on the subject deserves no confidence: Harnack's criticism (*Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1887, No. 20) should be read with the book. Weizsäcker, *Das Apostolische Zeitalter*, pp. 606–613, is more cautious. The literature of the subject is scanty. [E. R. B.]

APOTHECARIES. In Neh. iii. 8, Hananiah, one of the repairers of the wall of Jerusalem, is described as "the son of *one of* the apothecaries" (בֶּן־הָרֹקְחִים, R. V. *marg.* "perfumers"; cp. the fem. in 1 Sam. viii. 13. The "son of" indicates membership in a guild; cp. בְּנֵי הַנְּבִיאִים). The LXX., arguing from the analogy of the other names, took the word for a proper name, and reads A. Ρωκείμ, BN. Ἰωακείμ; Vulg. *filius pigmentarii*. The marg. rendering of R. V. is that adopted by all moderns. [S. R. D.]

APPA'IM (אַפַּיִם, *the nostrils*; A. Ἀφφάιμ, B. Ἐφράιμ; *Apphaim*), son of Nadab, and descended from Jerahmeel, the founder of an important family of the tribe of Judah (1 Ch. ii. 30, 31). The succession fell to him, as his elder brother died without issue. [W. A. W.] [F.]

APPEAL. In the patriarchal times, appeal would lie to the head of a family, and (if necessary) to the yet higher authority of the patriarch or head of the tribe, from whose decision there would be no appeal. This was the practice of a nomadic people. It is illustrated in the case of Tamar. Appeal was made to Judah as the head of the family, and he gave his decision (Gen. xxxviii. 24). Had Tamar failed in her appeal to his sense of justice (*vv.* 14, 26), the matter would in all probability have been tried before Jacob, as the head of the tribe. During the period of the bondage in Egypt "the elders of Israel" (Ex. iii. 16, 18, iv. 29, xii. 21) were the recognised authorities, and it remained only for Moses to elaborate—under the guidance of Jehovah — a scheme ancestral and acceptable (Num. xi. 16, 24; cp. Ex. xviii. 13–26). In this scheme the principle of appeal will be seen to have a recognised place. A central court was established under the presidency of the judge or ruler for the time being, before which all cases too difficult for the local courts were to be tried (Deut. xvii. 8, 9; xix. 16). Winer, indeed, infers from Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 8, § 14, ἀναπεμπέτωσαν, sc. οἱ δικασταί) that this was not a proper court of appeal, the local judges and not the litigants being, according to the above language, the appellants: but these words, taken in connexion with a former passage in the same chapter (εἴ τις . . . τινὰ αἰτίαν προφέροι), may be regarded simply in the light of a general direction. According to the above regulation, the appeal lay in the time of the Judges to the judge (Judg. iv. 5; cp. 1 Sam. viii. 4, 5), and under the monarchy to the king, who appears to have deputed certain persons to inquire into the facts of the case, and record his decision thereon (2 Sam. xv. 3). Jehoshaphat delegated his judicial authority to a court permanently established for the purpose, and presided over by the high-priest for all matters spiritual, and by "the ruler of the house of Judah" for matters temporal (2 Ch. xix. 8–11). During the Exile, "the elders" once more represented the principal judicial authority (cp. Jer. xxix. 1; Ezek. xiv. 1, xx. 1); but after the return similar courts to those of Jehoshaphat were re-established by Ezra (Ezra vii. 25). After the institution of the Sanhedrin the final appeal lay to them, and the various stages through which a case might pass are thus described by the Talmudists —from the local consistory before which the cause was first tried, to the consistory that sat in the neighbouring town: thence to the courts at Jerusalem, commencing in the court of the 23 that sat in the gate of Shushan, proceeding to the court that sat in the gate of Nicanor, and concluding with the great council of the Sanhedrin that sat in the room Gazith (Carpzov. *Appar.* p. 571).

A Roman citizen under the republic had the right of appealing in criminal cases from the decision of a magistrate to the people; and as the emperor succeeded to the power of the people, there was an appeal to him in the last resort. Cp. Pliny, *Ep.* x. 97. See *Dict. of Ant.* art. APPELLATIO; Pauly, *R. E.* s. v. *Appellatio.*

St. Paul, as a Roman citizen, exercised the right of appeal from the jurisdiction of the local court at Jerusalem to the emperor (Acts xxv. 11). But as no decision had been given, there could be no appeal, properly speaking, in his case: the language used (Acts xxv. 9) implies the right on the part of the accused of electing either to be tried by the provincial magistrate, or by the emperor. Since the procedure in the Jewish courts at that period was of a mixed and undefined character, the Roman and the Jewish authorities co-existing and carrying on the course of justice between them, Paul availed himself of his undoubted privilege to be tried by the pure Roman law. The history of appeal as it affected the Israelites may be studied in Schnell, *Das Israelit. Recht in seinen Grundzügen dargestellt;* Salvador, *Institutions de Moïse;* Pastoret, *Législation des Hébreux;* Castelli, *La legge del popolo Ebreo.* See also the authorities in Zöckler, *Hdb. d. theolog. Wissenschaften*, i. pp. 283, 295–6. [W. L. B.] [F.]

APPHIA (Ἀπφία; *Appia*). A Christian woman whose name occurs between the names of Philemon and Archippus in the address of the Epistle to Philemon (Philem. *v.* 2). From the position of her name it is probable that she was wife of Philemon and mother of Archippus. At any rate she was a member of Philemon's family, as the letter is of a private character. Bp. Lightfoot (*Coloss. and Philem.*, Introduction to Philem.) has overthrown the view that Apphia is only a Greek form of the Latin name Appia. By references to Boeckh (*Corp. Inscr.*) and other sources he has abundantly proved that Apphia is a native Phrygian name, the root of which (with its kindred forms) is probably some Phrygian term of endearment or relationship. We thus gain a fresh testimony to the genuineness of the Epistle, since Colossae, the home of Apphia, was a Phrygian city. [E. R. B.]

APPHUS (T.R. Ἀπφούς, A. Σαφφούς, B. Σαπφούς; *Apphus*), surname of Jonathan Maccabaeus (1 Macc. ii. 5). [G.] [F.]

AP'PII FOR'UM (Ἄππιου φόρον, Acts xxviii. 15) was a very well-known station (as we learn from Hor. *Sat.* i. 5, and Cic. *ad Att.* ii. 10) on the Appian Way, the great road which led from Rome to the neighbourhood of the Bay of Naples. St. Paul, having landed at Puteoli (*v.* 13) on his arrival from Malta, proceeded under the charge of the centurion along the Appian Way towards Rome, and found at Appii Forum a group of Christians, who had come to meet him. The position of this place is fixed by the ancient Itineraries at forty-three miles from Rome (*Itin. Ant.* p. 107; *Itin. Hier.* p. 611). The Jerusalem Itinerary calls it a *mutatio.* Horace describes it as full of taverns and boatmen. This arose from the circumstance that it was at the northern end of a canal which ran parallel with the road, through a considerable part of the Pomptine Marshes. There is no difficulty in identifying the site with some ruins near *Treponti;* and in fact the forty-third mile-

stone is preserved there. The name is probably due to Appius Claudius, who first constructed this part of the road: and from a passage in Suetonius, it would appear that it was connected in some way with his family, even in the time of St. Paul. [THREE TAVERNS.] [J. S. H.] [W.]

APPLE-TREE, APPLE (תַּפּוּחַ,[a] *tappûach*; μῆλον; μηλέα, Sym. in Cant. viii. 5; *malum*, *malus*). Mention of the apple-tree occurs in the A. V. and R. V. in the following passages. Cant. ii. 3: "As the apple-tree among the trees of the wood, so is my beloved among the sons. I sat down under his shadow with great delight, and his fruit was sweet to my taste." Cant. viii. 5: "I raised thee up under the apple-tree: there thy mother brought thee forth" [cp. R. V.]. Joel i. 12, where the apple-tree is named with the vine, the fig, the pomegranate, and the palm-trees, as withering under the desolating effects of the locust, palmer-worm, &c. The fruit of this tree is alluded to in Prov. xxv. 11: "A word fitly spoken is like apples of gold in pictures [R. V. baskets; marg. or, *filigree work*] of silver." In Cant. ii. 5: "Comfort me with apples, for I am sick of love:" vii. 8, "The smell of thy nose [R. V. breath] *shall be* like apples."

It is a difficult matter to say with any degree of certainty what is the specific tree denoted by the Hebrew word *tappûach*. The LXX. and Vulg. afford no clue, as the terms μῆλον, *malum*, have a wide signification, being used by the Greeks and Romans to represent almost any kind of tree-fruit; at any rate, the use of the word is certainly generic. From the passages in which the word occurs we gather (1) that it supplied a grateful shade; (2) that it had a peculiar fragrance or perfume; (3) that it was sweet and agreeable to the taste; (4) that it had a beautiful appearance, its fruit contrasting with the foliage—"apples of gold in pictures of silver." What fruit-tree growing in Syria will meet all these conditions? Critics and commentators have roamed through the orchards of Europe and Asia to identify the fruit indicated, but none of their guesses meet the requirements of the case. The quince, the citron, the orange, the apple, have all had their advocates. We may examine the claims of each, and first the apple. Our apple is not a native of Syria, and it can scarcely exist in so warm a climate. The German colonists at Jaffa have attempted to introduce it, and it barely exists there, represented by a few sickly cankered trees with small woody fruit. Dr. Thomson, who, unfortunately, is generally incorrect in any statement on natural history, writes (*Land and Book*, p. 544) that Askelon is celebrated for its apples, which would not disgrace an American orchard. Unfortunately, as I can vouch from personal examination, there is not an apple-tree near Askelon. The learned doctor mistook quinces for apples. The pear is wild in Galilee, Gilead, and Lebanon on very high elevations, but neither it nor the apple can possibly be cultivated with success in Palestine or elsewhere. As for the orange, though it now thrives on the coast plains, and the oranges of Jaffa are among the finest in the world, we have not the slightest ground for believing that it had been introduced into Palestine till many centuries later than the time of Solomon. Its congener, the citron, may have been known, since it is a native of Media, as its name *Citrus medica*, Μῆλον τὸ Μηδικὸν (Theophr. *Hist. Plant.* iv. 4) implies; but, as Theophrastus in the same passage remarks, though valued, like its leaf, for its perfume, it is not eaten, and only used in decoctions (φάρμακον). It is the handsomest and largest of the orange tribe in hot climates, and has a dense shade, but it never could be said of it, "his fruit was sweet to my taste." The Jews value this citron and carry the fruit on its stalk at the Feast of Tabernacles, a custom which is alluded to by Josephus, who states (*Ant.* xiii. 13, § 5) that citron boughs were ordered to be carried on this occasion. There remains the quince, which Celsius and most subsequent writers following him have assigned to the *tappûach*; but though it is fragrant, and "its scent," says Abu'l Fadli, "cheers my soul, renews my strength, and restores my breath," though it was sacred among the ancients to the goddess of Love, who is often represented as holding it in her hand,[b] no one would sit down under a quince-tree, and pronounce the fruit sweet to the taste. Nor does the quince-tree afford so good a shade as most other fruit-trees. It has often struck us that most of the difficulties of expositors on the point have arisen from their ignorance of the country itself.

There is one fruit, however, which is not otherwise mentioned in Scripture, which is most abundant in the Holy Land, which meets all the requirements of the context, and the only one which will do so—the *Apricot*. It is true there are no *wild* apricots in Palestine, but neither is the apple, quince, or citron wild there; and the apricot is known to be a native of the neighbouring country of Armenia, and therefore probably introduced as early as the vine, which was brought originally from the same regions, and is certainly not a native of Palestine. The apricot is, with the exception of the fig, perhaps the most abundant fruit of the whole country, and the cakes of sun-dried apricots, called "Mishmash," are to be found in every bazaar in great quantities. In highlands and lowlands alike, in the nooks of Judaea, in the recesses of Galilee, and the orchard forests of Damascus, the apricot flourishes and yields a crop of prodigious abundance. Many times have we pitched our tents under its shade, and spread our carpets secure from the rays of the sun. There can scarcely be a more deliciously perfumed fruit than the apricot, and what can better fit the imagery of Solomon, "apples of *gold* in pictures of silver," than this golden fruit, as its branches bend under the weight of their crop in its setting of bright yet pale foliage? The fruit has given its name to two villages, Tappuah, one in Judah and the other in Ephraim (Josh. xv. 34; xvi. 8 [cp. xii. 17]). As to the APPLES OF SODOM, see VINE OF SODOM.

The expression "*apple* of the eye" occurs in

[a] From נָפַח, *spiravit*, in allusion to the perfume of the fruit. Houghton (*PSBA.* xii. 42, &c.) still prefers the quince.

[b] Hence the act expressed by the term μηλοβολεῖν (*Schol.* ad Aristoph. *Nub.* p. 180; Theocr. *Id.* iii. 10, v. 88, &c.; Virg. *Ecl.* iii. 64) was a token of love. For numerous testimonies, see Celsius, *Hierob.* i. 265.

Deut. xxxii. 10; Ps. xvii. 8; Prov. vii. 2; Lam. ii. 18; Zech. ii. 8. The word is the representative of an entirely different name from that considered above: the Hebrew word being *'ishôn*,[a] "little man"—the exact equivalent to the English *pupil*, the Latin *pupilla*, the Greek *κόρη*. It is curious to observe how common the image ("pupil of the eye") is in the languages of different nations. Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 86) quotes from the Arabic, the Syriac, the Ethiopic, the Coptic, the Persian, in all of which tongues an expression similar to the English "pupil of the eye" is found. It is a pity that the same figure is not preserved in the A. V. and R. V., which invariably use the expression "apple of the eye" (in allusion to its shape), instead of giving the literal translation from the Hebrew. [H. B. T.]

AQUILA (*Ἀκύλας*; *Aquila*). Ἀκύλας is merely the Graecised form of the common Latin name Aquila, with which the purely Latin name of his wife Prisca or Priscilla agrees. The form Prisca instead of Priscilla has MS. support in three passages. So in Latin authors, Livia and Livilla, &c., occur indiscriminately of the same person. The name of the wife is placed before that of the husband in Acts xviii. 18 and 26, Rom. xvi. 3, and 2 Tim. iv. 19. It may perhaps be inferred that she was the first and more earnest convert. Aquila is described as *Ποντικὸν τῷ γένει*. On the one hand, the occurrence of the cognomen Aquila in the Gens Pontia has led critics rashly to assert that the N. T. Aquila was a freedman who had taken the name of Pontius Aquila, and that St. Luke had by mistake explained his name from the name of the province [PONTUS]. But, on the other hand, there is quite as remarkable a coincidence in the fact that we know of another Aquila from Pontus, the author of the earliest Greek Version of the O. T. after the Christian era [VERSIONS, ANCIENT (Greek, Aquila); (Targum, Onkelos)]. As in the cases of Barnabas and Apollos, "by race" (*τῷ γένει*) indicates only the place of ancestral settlement, and not nationality, for Aquila was a Jew. As a Jew, he with Priscilla had left Rome under the edict of Claudius (prob. A.D. 52), referred to by Suet. *Claud.* 25: "Judaeos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit." [CLAUDIUS.] St. Paul found them at Corinth on his first visit, and worked with them at their common trade of tent-making, the material employed being probably goat's-hair cloth, "cilicium," the product of St. Paul's native province (Smith's *Dict. Class. Antiq.* s. v. Cilicium). There is no evidence that Aquila and his wife were baptized when St. Paul joined them, but they must at any rate have been Christians when, on St. Paul's departure from Corinth, they accompanied him to Ephesus, and were "left" by him there. It is however possible that Aquila was in part attracted to Ephesus as a centre of his own trade, though both the passages quoted by Lewin only refer to one event, the present of a tent to Alcibiades by the Ephesians. The vow performed at Cenchreae before sailing may be referred to Aquila instead of St. Paul, so far as grammatical construction is concerned, but it is most improbable that so small a detail should have been thought worth relating, unless it had concerned the main character in the narrative. At Ephesus Priscilla and Aquila soon found important work in teaching Apollos, who had already been "instructed in the way of the Lord," but needed to have it "more accurately set forth" to him. They were still in Ephesus when St. Paul, having returned thither, wrote 1 Corinthians towards the end of his three years' stay in the spring of A.D. 57. It had already become customary for Christians to assemble for worship in their house at Ephesus (1 Cor. xvi. 19), as afterwards in their house at Rome (Rom. xvi. 5. For *τὴν κατ' οἶκον αὐτῶν ἐκκλησίαν*, see Lightfoot, *Colossians*, iv. 15, note). But at the date of the Epistle to the Romans, probably early in A.D. 58, they are in Rome, and are given a marked pre-eminence among the Christians dwelling there (Rom. xvi. 3–5). They are the Apostle's "fellow workers" by a double title, that of manual and that of spiritual labour. They are also described by St. Paul in this salutation as having "laid down their own neck for his life." It is probable that this refers to some courageous act during those outbreaks of hostility at Ephesus of which one scene only is given us in Acts xix. 23 sq. It is evident from Acts xx. 19 and 1 Cor. xv. 32 that St. Paul's life at Ephesus was one of suffering and danger. It is also noticeable that the next name in the salutation is that of Epaenetus, who had probably followed Prisca and Aquila from Ephesus to Rome (Asia, not Achaia, is the true reading in Rom. xvi. 5. So R. V.). The last notice of them is a salutation in 2 Tim. iv. 19, which points to their being at that time with Timothy, and probably again at Ephesus. The tradition that they were beheaded seems to be illogically derived from the suggestion of Rom. xvi. 4. The Greek and Roman calendar both commemorate them as martyrs, the former on Feb. 13, the latter on July 8.

[E. R. B.]

AR (עָר) and AR OF MOAB (עָר מוֹאָב).[a] Sam. Vers. ארשה; Num. xxi. 15, Ἡρ; Deut. ii. 9, 18, AF. Ἀροήρ, B. Σηείρ; *v.* 29, B. Ἀροήρ, A. Ἀροήλ; *Ar*), one of the chief places of Moab (Is. xv. 1; Num. xxi. 28).[b] From the *Onomasticon* (*OS.*[2] p. 121, 6), and from Jerome's Com on Is. xv. 1, it appears that in his day the place was known as Areopolis[c] and Rabbath-Moab, "*id est, grandis Moab*" (Reland, p. 577; Rob. ii. 166, note).[d] The site is still called *Rabba*; it

[a] "אִישׁוֹן, *homunculus*, אִישׁוֹן הָעַיִן, homunculus oculi, i.e. pupilla, in qua tanquam in speculo hominis imagunculam conspicimus" (Ges. *Thes.* s. v.).

[a] According to Gesenius (*Jesaia*, 515), an old, probably Moabite, form of the word עִיר, "a city."

[b] Samaritan Codex and Version, "as far as Moab," reading עַד for עָר; and so also LXX. ἕως M.

[c] We have Jerome's testimony (*OS.*[2] p. 133, 18) that Areopolis was believed to be so called ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἄρεως, *i.e.* from Mars. This is a good instance of the tendency which is noticed by Trench (*English Past and Present*, 218, 220) as existing in language to tamper with the derivations of words. He gives another example of it in "Hierosolyma," *quasi* ἱερος, "holy."

[d] Ritter (*Syrien*, pp. 1212–13) tries hard to make out that Areopolis and Ar-Moab were not identical, and that the latter was the "city in the midst of the wady" [ARNON]; but he fails to establish his point. The argument for supposing Ar to have been on the Arnon is well stated in Zeller's *Bibl. Wörth.* p. 95.

lies about half-way between *Kerek* and the *Wâdy Môjib*, ten or eleven miles from each, the Roman road passing through it. The remains are not so important as might be imagined (Irby, p. 140; Burckh. p. 377; De Saulcy, ii. 44–46, and Map 8); but they bear all the marks of a city of the late Roman period, with abundant traces of an earlier epoch (Tristram, *Land of Moab*, p. 111).

In the books of Moses Ar appears to be used as a representative name for the whole nation of Moab: see Deut. ii. 9, 18, 29; and also Num. xxi. 15, where it is coupled with a word rarely if ever used in the same manner, שֶׁבֶת, "the *dwelling* of Ar." In Num. xxii. 36 the almost identical words עִיר מ' are rendered "a city of Moab," following the Sam. Vers., the LXX., and Vulgate. [G.] [W.]

ARA' (אֲרָא, Ges. perhaps = אֲרִי, *a lion*; Ἀρά; *Ara*), one of the sons of Jether, the head of a family of Asherites (1 Ch. vii. 38). [W. A. W.] [F.]

ARA'B (אָרֵב, Ges. = *ambush*; A. Ἐρέβ, B. Αἰρέμ; *Arab*), a city of Judah in the mountainous district, probably in the neighbourhood of Hebron. It is mentioned only in Josh. xv. 52, and is now probably *Kh. er Rabiyeh*, south of Hebron and near *ed Dômeh* (Dumah. *P. F. Mem.* iii. 311, 360). [ARBITE.] [G.] [W.]

ARA'BAH (עֲרָבָה; B. Βαιθάραβα; *campestria*), Josh. xviii. 18; possibly in this verse a town (cp. LXX. and xv. 6, 61). Although this word appears in the A. V. in its original shape only in the verse above quoted, yet in the Hebrew text it is of frequent occurrence; and has, except in cases 1 and 3, been retained in the R. V.

1. If the derivation of Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 1066) is to be accepted, the fundamental meaning of the term is "burnt up" or "waste," and thence "sterile," and in accordance with this idea it is employed in various poetical parts of Scripture to designate generally a barren, uninhabitable district,—"a desolation, a dry land, and a *desert*, a land wherein no man dwelleth, neither doth any son of man pass thereby" (Jer. li. 43: see a striking remark in Martineau, p. 395; and amongst other passages, Job xxiv. 5, xxxix. 6; Is. xxxiii. 9, xxxv. 1).

2. But within this general signification it is plain, from even a casual examination of the topographical records in the earlier Books of the Bible, that the word has also a more special and local force. In these cases it is found with the definite article (הָעֲרָבָה, ha-'Arabah), "the Arabah" (R. V.), and is also so mentioned as clearly to refer to some spot or district familiar to the then inhabitants of Palestine. This district—although nowhere expressly so defined in the Bible, and although the peculiar force of the word 'Arabah appears to have been disregarded by even the earliest commentators and interpreters of the Sacred Books[a]—has within our own times been identified with the deep sunken valley or trench which forms the most striking among the many striking natural features of Palestine, and which extends with great uniformity of formation from the slopes of Hermon to the Elanitic Gulf of the Red Sea: the most remarkable depression known to exist on the surface of the globe (Humboldt, *Cosmos*, i. 150, ed. Bohn; see also p. 301). Through the northern portion of this extraordinary fissure the Jordan rushes through the lakes of Huleh and Gennesareth down its tortuous course to the deep chasm of the Dead Sea. This portion, about 150 miles in length, is known amongst the Arabs by the name of el-Ghor (الغور), an appellation which it has borne certainly since the days of Abulfeda.[b] The southern boundary of the Ghor has been fixed by Robinson to be the wall of cliffs formed by the ancient deposits of the Dead Sea, which closes in the marshy plain of the *Sabkah*, about nine miles south of the Lake. Down to the foot of these cliffs the Ghor extends; from their summits, southward to the Gulf of 'Akabah, the valley changes its name, or, it would be more accurate to say, retains its old name of Wâdy el-'Arabah (وادي العربة).

Looking to the indications of the Sacred Text, there can be no doubt that in the times of the conquest and the monarchy the name 'Arabah was applied to the valley in the entire length of both its southern and northern portions. Thus in Deut. i. 1, probably, and in Deut. ii. 8, certainly (A. V. "plain" in both cases), the

[a] The early commentators and translators seem to have overlooked or neglected the fact, that the Jordan valley and its continuation south of the Dead Sea had a special name attached to them, *and to them only*. By Josephus the Jordan valley is always called the μεγὰ πεδίον; but he applies the same name to the plain of Esdraelon. Jerome (*OS.*[2] p. 123, 10) gives to this district the name Aulon, *vallis grandis atque campestris*; but he preserves no such name in the Vulgate, and renders Arabah by *planities, solitudo, campestria, desertum*, by one or all of which he translates indiscriminately Mishor, Bik'ah, Midbar, Shefela, Jeshimon, equally unmindful of the special force attaching to several of these words. Even the accurate Aquila has failed in this, and uses his favourite ἡ ὁμαλὴ indiscriminately. The Talmud, if we may trust the single reference given by Reland (p. 365), mentions the Jordan valley under the name Bekaah, a word at that time of no special import. The Samaritan Version and the Targums apparently confound all words for valley, plain or low country, under the one term Mishor, which was originally confined strictly to the high smooth downs east of Jordan on the upper level [MISHOR].

In the LXX. we frequently find the words Ἀραβα and Ἀραβώθ; but it is difficult to say whether this has been done intelligently, or whether it is an instance of the favourite habit of these translators of transferring a Hebrew word literally into Greek when they were unable to comprehend its force. (See some curious examples of this—to take one Book only—in 2 K. ii. 14, ἀφφώ; iii. 4, νωχήδ; iv. 39, ἀριώθ; v. 19 [cp. Gen. xxxv. 16], δεβραθά; vi. 8, ἐλμωνί; ix. 13, γαρέμ, &c. &c.) In the latter case it is evidence of an equal ignorance to that which has rendered the word by δυσμαί, καθ' ἑσπέραν, and Ἀραβία. In Gen. xxxv. 27 it is possible that the LXX. have treated the very distinct אַרְבַּע (Arba) as if עֲרָבָה, and have explained it τοῦ πεδίου [ARBAH].

[b] By Abulfeda and Ibn Haukal the word *el-Ghor* is used to denote the valley from the Lake of Gennesareth to the Dead Sea (Ritter, *Sinai*, pp. 1059, 1060). Thus each word was originally applied to the whole extent, and each has been since restricted to a portion only (see Stanley, App. 487). The word *Ghor* is interpreted by Freytag to mean "locus depressior inter montes."

allusion is to the southern portion, while the other passages in which the name occurs point with certainty—now that the identification has been suggested—to the northern portion. In Deut. iii. 17, iv. 49; Josh. iii. 16, xi. 2, xii. 3; and 2 K. xiv. 25, both the Dead Sea and the Sea of Cinneroth (Gennesareth) are named in close connexion with the 'Arabah. The allusions in Deut. xi. 30; Josh. viii. 14, xii. 1, xviii. 18; 2 Sam. ii. 29, iv. 7; 2 K. xxv. 4; Jer. xxxix. 4, lii. 7, become at once intelligible when the meaning of the 'Arabah is known, however puzzling they may have been to former commentators.[c] In Josh. xi. 16 and xii. 8 the 'Arabah takes its place with "the mountain," "the lowland" plains of Philistia and Esdraelon, "the south" and "the plain" of Coele-Syria, as one of the great natural divisions of the conquered country.

3. But further the word is found in the plural followed by a genitive (עַרְבוֹת, *Arboth*), always in connexion with either Jericho or Moab, and therefore doubtless denoting the portion of the 'Arabah near Jericho: in the former case on the west, and in the latter on the east side of the Jordan; the Arboth-Moab being always distinguished from the Sĕdê-Moab—the bare and burnt-up soil of the sunken valley, from the cultivated pasture or corn-fields of the downs on the upper level—with all the precision which would naturally follow from the essential difference of the two spots. See Num. xxii. 1, xxvi. 3, 63, xxxi. 12, xxxiii. 48, 49, 50, xxxv. 1, xxxvi. 13; Deut. xxxiv. 1, 8; Josh. iv. 13, v. 10, xiii. 32; 2 Sam. xv. 28, xvii. 16; 2 K. xxv. 5; Jer. xxxix. 5, lii. 8.

The word 'Arabah does not appear in the Bible until the Book of Numbers. In the allusions to the valley of the Jordan in Gen. xiii. 10, &c., the curious term *Ciccar* is employed. This word and the other words used in reference to the Jordan valley, as well as the peculiarities and topography of that region—in fact of the whole of the Ghor—will be more appropriately considered under the word JORDAN. At present our attention may be confined to the southern division, to that portion of this singular valley which has from the most remote date borne, as it still continues to bear, the name of 'Arabah.

A deep interest will always attach to this remarkable district, from the fact that it must have been the scene of a portion of the wanderings of the children of Israel after their repulse from the south of the Promised Land. Wherever Kadesh and Hormah may hereafter be found to lie, we know with certainty, even in our present state of ignorance, that they must have been to the west of the 'Arabah; and that "the way of the Red Sea," by which they journeyed "from Mount Hor to compass the land of Edom," after the refusal of the king of Edom to allow them a passage through his country, must have been southwards, down the 'Arabah towards the head of the Gulf, till, as is nearly certain, they turned up one of the Wâdys on the left, and so made their way by the back of the mountain of Seir to the land of Moab on the east of the Dead Sea.

More accurate information will no doubt be obtained before long of the whole of this interesting country, but in the meantime as short a summary as possible of what can be collected from the reports of the principal travellers who have visited it is due.

The direction of the Ghor is nearly due north and south. The 'Arabah, however, slightly changes its direction to about N.N.E. by S.S.W. (Rob. i. 162, 3). But it preserves the straightness of its course, and the general character of the region is not dissimilar from that of the Ghor (Ritter, *Sinai*, p. 1132; Irby, p. 134) except that the soil is more sandy, and that, from the absence of the central river and the absolutely desert character of the highland on its western side (owing to which the Wâdys bring down no fertilising streams in summer, and nothing but raging torrents in winter), there are very few of those lines and "circles" of verdure which form so great a relief to the torrid climate of the Ghor.

The 'Arabah forms part of the remarkable natural feature which, under the form of a fissure, probably coincident with a fracture of the earth's crust, commences with the Gulf of 'Akabah, and thence stretches northwards along the line of the 'Arabah itself, and of the valleys of the Jordan, Litany, and Orontes to the foot of the Taurus mountains. The 'Arabah proper extends from the head of the Gulf of 'Akabah to the cliffs of marl and gravel, nine miles south of the Dead Sea, a distance of 103 miles. In breadth it varies; at the Gulf the opening to the sea is about five miles; but north of Petra, fifty miles inland, it widens to fourteen miles (*Map of P. E. Fund*). Forty-five miles from the Gulf of 'Akabah a ridge, or saddle, known to the Bedawîn as *el-Satch*, "the roof," divides the 'Arabah into two sections, the *W. el-'Akabah* and the *W. el-'Arabah*, draining respectively to the Gulf and to the Dead Sea. This ridge, which connects the cretaceo-nummulitic rocks of the *Tîh* plateau with the mountains of Idumaea, consists of a compact, grey limestone, almost marble, underlying a bed of gravel from twenty to thirty feet thick; the lowest point is about 660 feet above the sea-level (Lartet, *Géologie de la Palestine*, 17, 190; Hull, *P. E. F. Qy. Stat.* 1884; and *P. F. Mem.* "Geology").

The surface of the *W. el-'Akabah* is variously covered by loam, gravel, and blown sands, which are often piled up in great dunes covering large areas; and at the foot of the eastern hills there is an accumulation of boulders and débris brought down by the winter torrents. There is no perennial stream, but the water from some brackish springs and from the valleys on either side percolates beneath the sand, and forms a salt marsh about twenty miles north of *'Akabah*. There is a striking contrast between the two sides of the *W. el-'Akabah*; the eastern is the grander of the two, except close to the Gulf, where both sides are formed of granite and porphyry, rising into bold and rugged ridges. On the western side these rocks soon pass below beds of sandstone, and afterwards limestone, which break off in steep escarpments with grand headlands and bastions. There is a slight dip northwards, which ultimately brings the lime-

[c] See the mistakes of Michaelis, Marius, and others who identified the 'Arabah with the Bik'ah (*i.e.* the plain of Coele-Syria, the modern *el-Bûkâa*), or with the Mishor, the level down country on the east of Jordan (Keil, pp. 205, 226).

stone down into the plain opposite *'Ain Ghurundel*, and at this spot there is an easy approach to the *Tih* plateau. The escarpments, which have an altitude of from 1900 to 2,400 feet, are broken at distant intervals, by winding valleys of which the Wâdys *Hendis*, *Nimreh*, *Ghudyân*, *Sha'ib*, and *Beyaneh* are the most important. "On the eastern side the mountains of granite and porphyry behind 'Akabah, intensely red in colour, so as to give rise to the name *Jebel en-Nûr*, mountain of fire, gradually decline in elevation northwards, and several outliers of the desert sandstone are seen capping the higher elevations of the older rocks towards the head of *W. Turban*. Soon afterwards the sandstone formation descends to lower levels, breaking off in abrupt walls and precipices, and forming the escarpment of *Jebel Harûn*, Mount Hor, which towers conspicuously above all the other heights" (Hull, *Mount Seir*, p. 81). The valleys which at once drain and give access to the interior of these mountains are in strong contrast to those on the west. In almost all cases they contain streams which, although in the heat of summer small, and losing themselves in their own beds, or in the sand of the 'Arabah, "in a few paces," after they forsake the shadow of their native ravines (Laborde, p. 141), are yet sufficient to keep alive a certain amount of vegetation —rushes, tamarisks, palms, and even oleanders, lilies, and anemones, while they form the resort of the numerous tribes of the children of Esau, who still "dwell (Stanley, p. 87, and MS. Journal; Laborde, p. 141; Mart. p. 396) in Mount Seir, which is Edom" (Gen. xxxvi. 8). The most important of these valleys are *W. Ithm*, *W. el-Muhtedy*, *W. Durba*, *W. Turban*, *W. Khaimeh*, and *W. Ghurundel*. The first enters the mountains close to *'Akabah* and leads, by the back of the range, to Petra, and thence by *Shobek* and *Tufileh* to the country east of the Dead Sea. Traces of a Roman road exist along this route (Laborde, 203; Rob. ii. 161); by it Laborde returned from Petra, and there can be little doubt that it is the one by which the Israelites took their leave of the *'Arabah* when they went to "compass the land of Edom" (Num. xxi. 4). The last has at its entrance some ruins, possibly the remains of a fort which guarded the road up its bed to Petra. The springs of the *W. el-'Akabah* are those of *W. el-Hendis* and *W. Ghudyân* on the west; and *'Ain Ghurundel* and *'Ain T'abâ* on the east.

North of the dividing ridge is the great plain of the *W. el-'Arabah*, formed of sand and gravel composed of great varieties of stones, such as granite, porphyry, felstone, quartz, sandstone and limestone. Along its western side limestone cliffs rise in terraces to the desert of the *Tih* and the hills of the Negeb; whilst on the eastern side red sandstone cliffs, sometimes resting on a foundation of older crystalline rocks, attain an altitude of 2,000 feet above the Dead Sea. Then succeed beds of variegated colours surmounted by the limestone of the table-land, which stretches away eastward into the Syrian desert. The plain is traversed by the *Wâdy el-Jeib*, which, rising near the southern extremity of the *Tih* plateau, enters the *'Arabah* north of the dividing ridge; and then, after receiving the drainage of the hills to the east and west, discharges its waters into the Dead Sea. On the west its most important affluent is the *W. el-Jerâfeh*, which gives access to the Negeb; on the east it receives the drainage of *W. Abû Kusheibeh* and *W. el-Abyadh*, which rise at the foot of Mount Hor and of the Wâdys *el-Weibeh*, *Fedan*, *Salamân*, *Dhalal*, &c. The streams which descend these valleys after rain have cut deep channels in the plain, and exposed to view beds of breccia conglomerate, coarse gravel, sand, and gypseous marls, which have been recognised by Lartet as ancient deposits of the Dead Sea; according to the most recent explorer, Prof. Hull, these deposits show that the waters of the Dead Sea stood, at one period, at a higher level than those of the Mediterranean (*P. F. Mem.* "Geology"). The springs of *W. el-'Arabah* are *'Ain el-Weibeh*, *'Ain Ghamr*, *'Ain Melihy*, and *'Ain el-Bureirdeh*; these with the exception of *'Ain Melihy* give sweet water, and the first, from its copious supply, is supposed by Robinson to be the site of Kadesh-Barnea.

The country west of the *'Arabah* is, in every respect, a contrast to that on the east. On the one hand the sterile, desolate plateau of the *Tih* and the arid mountains of the Negeb; on the other the mountains of Edom, here covered with vegetation, there cultivated and yielding good crops, abounding in "the fatness of the earth" and the "plenty of corn and wine" which were promised to the forefather of the Arab race as a compensation for the loss of his birthright (Rob. ii. 154; Laborde, pp. 203, 263). In these mountains there is a plateau of great elevation from which again rise the mountains, or rather the downs (Stanley, p. 87), of *Sherâh*. Though the district is now deserted, yet the ruins of towns and villages with which it abounds show that at one time it must have been densely inhabited (Burckh. pp. 435, 436).

The surface of the *'Arabah* presents, in places, a dreary and desolate aspect. "A more frightful desert," says Dr. Robinson (ii. 121), "it had hardly been our lot to behold ... loose gravel and stones everywhere furrowed with the beds of torrents ... blocks of porphyry brought down by the torrents among which the camels picked their way with great difficulty ... a lone shrub of the ghûdah, the almost only trace of vegetation." This was at the ascent of the *Wâdy el-Jeib* to the floor of the great valley itself. Further south, near *'Ain el-Weibeh*, it is a rolling gravelly desert with round naked hills of considerable elevation (ii. 173). At *Wâdy Ghurundel* it is "an expanse of shifting sands, broken by innumerable undulations and low hills" (Burckh. p. 442), and "countersected by a hundred watercourses" (Stanley, p. 87). Nor is the heat less terrible than the desolation, and all travellers, almost without exception, bear testimony to the difficulties of journeying in a region where the sirocco appears to blow almost without intermission (Schub. p. 1016; Burckh. p. 444; Mart. p. 394; Rob. ii. 123).[d]

However, in spite of this heat and desolation, there is a certain amount of vegetation, even in

[d] The wind in the Elanitic arm of the Red Sea is very violent, constantly blowing down the 'Arabah from the north. The navigation of these waters is on that account almost proverbially dangerous and difficult (see the notice of this in the *Edin. Rev.* vol. cliii. 248).

the open 'Arabah, in the driest parts of the year. Schubert in March found the *Artê* (Calligonum com.), the Anthia variegata, and the Coloquinta (Ritter, p. 1014), also tamarisk-bushes (*tarfa*) lying thick in a torrent-bed[e] (p. 1016); and on Stanley's road "the shrubs at times had almost the appearance of a jungle," though it is true that they were so thin as to disappear when the "waste of sand" was overlooked from an elevation (p. 85; see Rob. i. 163, 175).

It is not surprising that after the discovery by Burckhardt in 1812,[f] of the prolongation of the Jordan valley in the *'Arabah*, it should have been assumed that this had in former times formed the outlet for the Jordan to the Red Sea;[g] or that various theories, such as intense volcanic activity at the time of the destruction of the Cities of the Plain, should have been advanced to account for the interruption of the communication. Recent exploration has, however, disproved these theories, and shown (1) that the Sea of Galilee is 682 feet and the Dead Sea 1292 feet below the sea-level, and that consequently the Jordan could never, in historical times, have discharged its waters into the Gulf of *'Akabah;* (2) that the ridge dividing the two seas is formed of cretaceous rocks (limestone with baculites), which are covered with their own débris, and not by any more recent marine deposit; (3) that the more recent deposits north of the ridge, towards the Dead Sea, are ancient alluvions brought down from the south; (4) that these deposits show no trace of having been elevated; (5) that the volcanic rocks are porphyries of an earlier date than the cretaceous rocks; and (6) that the Dead Sea basin is shut in and isolated from other basins by cretaceous rocks, and that there is an entire absence in the *'Arabah* of all marine deposits later than these rocks (Hull, *P. F. Mem.* "Geology," and *Mount Seir*).

Considerable interest attaches to the course of the roads, or trade routes, which traversed the *'Arabah* when, during the reign of Solomon, and also at a later period, Elath was a commercial port; and when, still later, Petra became one of the principal depôts for the trade between India and the West. These roads, as far as they can at present be ascertained, were (1) the road from Haila (Elath) to Clysma, which ascended to the *Tih* plateau by the pass *en-Nagb*, and followed the line of the present *Haj* route by *Nakhl*, to the vicinity of Suez; (2) the road from Haila to Jerusalem by Diana (*'Ain el-Ghudyân*), Rasa, Cypsoria (*W. Ghubey*), Lysa (*Kh. Lussân*), Oboda (*'Abdeh*), and Elusa (*Khulasah*), whence a branch road led to Gaza; (3) the road from Haila to Petra and Jerusalem, which appears to have run up the *'Arabah* and *W. Ghurundel* by Diana (*'Ain el-Ghudyân*), Praesidio, Maurana, and Zadogatha (*'Ain Dalagheh*) to Petra, and thence by *'Ain el-Weibeh* and the pass *es-Sufâh* to Hebron, where it seems to have joined (2); (4) the road from Haila to Damascus, which ran at the back of the mountains by Petra, Rabbath Moab, Kerak, and Rabbath Ammon; (5) the road from Petra to Rhinocolura (*el-'Arish*), which passed along the foot of *Jebel Magrâh;* (6) the road from Petra to Gaza by Eboda (*'Abdeh*) and Elusa (*Khulasah*), which was partly followed by the late Prof. Palmer; and (7) the direct road from Petra to the Egyptian frontier, near *Ismailiyeh*, which was followed by the late Rev. F. W. Holland, and is possibly "the way to Shur" (Gen. xvi. 7). Of these roads (2) and (3) appear to have been those by which the produce of the East was carried to Jerusalem during the reign of Solomon; and (4) to have been that by which the Israelites approached the Promised Land after their wanderings in the desert; and at a later period, Rezin, king of Syria, advanced upon Elath (2 K. xvi. 6). [G.] [W.]

ARABAT'TINE (ἡ Ἀκραβαττίνη; A א.[1] Ἀκραβαττήνη, א.[2] -δνη; *Acrabattane*), in Idumaea (1 Macc. v. 3). [AKRABBIM. See the note to that article.] [G.] [W.]

ARA'BIA (Ἀραβία, Gal. i. 17; iv. 25), a country known in the O. T. under two designations:—1. אֶרֶץ קֶדֶם, *the east country* (Gen. xxv. 6); or perhaps קֶדֶם (Gen. x. 30; Num. xxiii. 7; Is. ii. 6); and אֶרֶץ בְּנֵי קֶדֶם (Gen. xxix. 1); gent. n. בְּנֵי קֶדֶם, *sons of the East* (Judg. vi. 3 sq.; 1 K. iv. 30 [v. 10 Heb.]; Job i. 3; Is. xi. 14; Jer. xlix. 28; Ezek. xxv. 4). If usually translated by the LXX. (*e.g.* ἀνατολαί) and in Vulg., it is sometimes transcribed Κεδέμ by the former. From these passages it appears that אֶרֶץ קֶדֶם and בְּנֵי קֶדֶם indicate, primarily, the country east of Palestine, and the tribes descended from Ishmael and from Keturah; and that this original signification may have become gradually extended to Arabia and its inhabitants generally, though without any strict limitation. The third and fourth passages above referred to, as Gesenius remarks (*Lex.*, ed. Tregelles, *in voc.*), relate to Mesopotamia and Babylonia (comp. ἀνατολή, ἡ ἀνατολή, Matt. ii. 1 sq.). Winer considers Kedem, &c., to signify Arabia and the Arabians generally (*Realwörterbuch*, in voc.); but a comparison of the passages on which his opinion is founded has led us to consider it doubtful. [BENE-KEDEM.] 2. עֵרֶב (2 Ch. ix. 14) and עָרַב (Is. xxi. 13; Jer. xxv. 24; Ezek. xxvii. 21); gent. n. עָרְבִי (Is. xiii. 20; Jer. iii. 2); and עַרְבִי (Neh. ii. 19); pl. עֲרָבִים (2 Ch. xxi. 16; xxii. 1), and עֲרַבְאִים (2 Ch. xvii. 11; xxvi. 7). LXX. Ἀραβία, &c.; Vulg. *Arabia*, &c. These seem to have the same geographical reference as the former names to the country and tribes east of the Jordan, and chiefly north of the Arabian peninsula. In the N. T. Ἀραβία cannot be held to have a more extended signification than the Hebrew equivalents in the O. T. עֶרֶב (Ex. xii. 38; Neh. xiii. 3) and עֵרֶב (1 K. x. 15; Jer. xxv. 20, l. 37; Ezek. xxx. 5), rendered in the A. V. "a mixed

[e] The bees whose hum so charmed him (p. 1017) must from his description have been in a side Wâdy, not in the 'Arabah itself.

[f] See Burckhardt, pp. 441, 442. The sagacity of Ritter had led him earlier than this to infer its existence from the remarks of the ancient Mahometan historians (Rob. ii. 187).

[g] This theory appears to have been first announced by Col. Leake in the preface to Burckhardt's Travels (see p. vi.). It was afterwards espoused and dilated on, amongst others, by Lord Lindsay (ii. 23), Dean Milman (*Hist. of Jews*, Allen, 241), and Stephens (*Incidents of Trav.* ii. 41).

multitude" (Ex. xii. 38, here followed by ערב), "the mixed multitude," kings of "Arabia" (so Vulg. in 1 K. x. 15, and in Heb. in corresponding passage in 2 Ch. ix. 14), and (in the last two instances) "the mingled people," have been thought to signify the Arabs. The people thus named dwelt in the deserts of Petra. By the Arabs the country is called بلاد العرب (Bilâd El-'Arab), "*the country of the Arabs*," and جزيرة العرب (Jezîret El-'Arab), "*the peninsula of the Arabs*," and the people عرب ('Arab); "Bedawy" in modern Arabic, and "A'râb" (اعراب) in the old language, being applied to people of the desert, as distinguished from townspeople. They give no satisfactory derivation of the name Arab, that from Yaarub being puerile. The Hebrew designation, 'Ereb, has been thought to be from 'Arabah, "a desert," which, with the article, is the name of an extensive district in Arabia Petraea.

Geographical Divisions.—Arabia was divided by the Greeks into *Arabia Felix* (ἡ εὐδαίμων Ἀραβία), *Arabia Deserta* (ἡ ἔρημος Ἀραβία, Strab. xvi. 767; Plin. vi. 28, § 32; Diod. Sic. ii. 48 sq.), and *Arabia Petraea* (ἡ Πετραία Ἀραβία, Ptol. v. 17, § 1). The first two divisions were those of the earlier writers; the third being introduced by Ptolemy. According to this geographer's arrangement, they included, within doubtful limits, 1, the whole peninsula; 2, the Arabian desert north of the former; and 3, the desert of Petra, and the peninsula of Sinai. It will be convenient in this article to divide the country, agreeably to these natural divisions and the native nomenclature, into *Arabia Proper*, or Jezîret El-'Arab, containing the whole peninsula as far as the limits of the northern deserts; *Northern Arabia*, or El-Bâdiyeh, bounded by the peninsula, the Euphrates, Syria, and the desert of Petra, constituting properly Arabia Deserta, or the great desert of Arabia, the so-called "Syrian desert," reaching to about 35° N.; and *Western Arabia*, the desert of Petra and the peninsula of Sinai, or the country that has been called Arabia Petraea, bounded by Egypt, Palestine, Northern Arabia, and the Red Sea.

Arabia Proper, or the Arabian peninsula, consists of high table-land, some 3,000 feet above the sea-level, declining towards the north; its most elevated portions are in the chain of mountains that runs nearly parallel to the Red Sea, and attains the height of 8,500 feet, and in the territory east of the southern part of this chain. Its greatest length, from Suez to Ras-el-Hadd, is about 1800 miles; and the mean breadth between the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, about 600 miles. The total area may be placed at a million square miles, and the population at about five millions. The high land is encircled from the 'Akabah to the head of the Persian Gulf by a belt of low littoral country with few islands or inlets; on the west and south-west the mountains fall abruptly to this low region; on the opposite side of the peninsula the fall is generally gradual. So far as the interior has been explored, it consists of desert tracts, crossed by mountain ridges, and relieved by large districts under cultivation, well peopled, watered by wells and streams, and enjoying periodical rains. It is estimated that these numerous cultivated districts amount to about two-thirds of the whole area, leaving not more than one-third of absolutely desert wastes, chiefly in the south (Keane, *Asia*, p. 113). The watershed, as the conformation of the country indicates, stretches from the high land of the Yemen to the Persian Gulf. From this descend the torrents that irrigate the western provinces, while several considerable streams—there are no navigable rivers—reach the sea in the opposite direction: two of these traverse Omân; and another, the principal river of the peninsula, enters the Persian Gulf on the coast of El-Bahreyn, and is known to traverse the inland province called Yemâmeh. The geological formation is in part volcanic, and the mountains are basalt, schist, granite, as well as limestone, &c.; the volcanic action being especially observable about Medîna on the north-west, and in the districts bordering the Indian Ocean. The most fertile tracts are those on the south-west and south. The modern Yemen is especially productive, and at the same time, from its mountainous character, picturesque. The settled regions of the interior also are more fertile than is generally supposed; and after the rains the deserts afford a fair pasturage. The principal products of the soil are date-palms, tamarind-trees, vines, fig-trees, tamarisks, acacias, the banana, &c., and a great variety of thorny shrubs, which, with others, supply pasture for the camels; the chief kinds of pulse and cereals (except oats), coffee, spices, drugs, gums and resins, cotton and sugar. Among the metallic and mineral products are lead, iron, silver (in small quantities), sulphur, the emerald, onyx, &c. The products mentioned in the Bible as coming from Arabia will be found described under their respective heads. They seem to refer, in many instances, to merchandise of Ethiopia and India, carried to Palestine by Arab and other traders. Gold, however, was perhaps found in small quantities in the beds of torrents (comp. Diod. Sic. ii. 50; iii. 45, 47); and the spices, incense, and precious stones, brought from Arabia (1 K. x. 2, 10, 15; [2 Ch. ix. 1, 9, 14;] Is. lx. 6; Jer. vi. 20; Ezek. xxvii. 22), were probably the products of the southern provinces, still celebrated for spices, frankincense, ambergris, &c., as well as for the onyx and other precious stones. Among the more remarkable of the wild animals of Arabia (besides the usual domestic kinds, and of course the camel and the horse, for both of which it is famous) are the wild ass, the musk-deer, wild goat, wild sheep, several varieties of the antelope, the hare, monkeys (in the south, and especially in the Yemen); the boar, leopard, wolf, jackal, hyaena, fox; the eagle, vulture, several kinds of hawk, the pheasant, red-legged partridge (in the peninsula of Sinai), sand-grouse (throughout the country), the ostrich (abundantly in Central Arabia, where it is hunted by Arab tribes); the tortoise, serpents, locusts, &c. Lions were formerly numerous, as the names of places testify. The sperm-whale is found off the coasts bordering the Indian Ocean. Greek

and Roman writers (Herod., Agatharch. *ap.* Müller, Strab., Diod. Sic., Q. Curt., Dion. Perieg., Heliod. Aethiop., and Plin.) mention most of the Biblical and modern products, and the animals above enumerated, with some others (see the *Dictionary of Geography*).

Arabia Proper may be subdivided into five principal provinces: the Yemen; the districts of Hadramaut, Mahreh, and 'Omân, on the Indian Ocean and the entrance of the Persian Gulf; El-Bahreyn, towards the head of the Gulf; the great central country of Nejd and Yemâmeh; and the Hijâz and Tihâmeh on the Red Sea. The Arabs also have five divisions, according to the opinion most worthy of credit: Tihâmeh, the Hijâz, Nejd, El-'Arûd (the provinces lying towards the head of the Persian Gulf, including Yemâmeh), and the Yemen (including 'Omân and the intervening tracts). They have, however, never agreed either as to the limits or the number of the divisions. It will be necessary to state in some detail the positions of these provinces, in order to the right understanding of the identifications of Biblical with Arab names of places and tribes.

The Yemen embraced originally the most fertile districts of Arabia, and the frankincense and spice country. Its name, signifying "the right hand" (and therefore "south;" comp. Matt. xii. 42), is supposed to have given rise to the appellation εὐδαίμων (Felix), which the Greeks applied to a much more extensive region. At present, it is bounded by the Hijâz on the north, and Hadramaut on the east, with the sea-board of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean; but formerly it appears to have extended at least so as to include Hadramaut and Mahreh (Ibn-El-Wardy MS.; Yâkût's *Mushtarak* and *Mo'jam*, and *Marâsid*, passim; from which authorities and Fresnel's *Lettres* the geographical data of this article are mainly derived). In this wider acceptation, it embraced the region of the first settlements of the Joktanites. Its modern limits include, on the north, the district of Khawlân (not, as Niebuhr supposes, two distinct districts), named after Khawlân the Joktanite (Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'Hist. des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, i. 113); and that of Nejrân, with the city of that name founded by Nejrân the Joktanite (Caussin, i. 60, and 113 sq.), which is, according to the soundest opinion, the Negra of Aelius Gallus (Strab. xvi. 782; see Jomard, *Études géogr. et hist. sur l'Arabie*, appended to Mengin, *Hist. de l'Égypte*, &c., iii. 385–6).

Hadramaut, on the coast east of the Yemen, is a cultivated tract contiguous to the sandy deserts called El-Ahkâf, which are said to be the original seats of the tribe of 'Ad. It was celebrated for its frankincense, which it still exports, and formerly it carried on a considerable trade, its principal port being Dhafâr, between Mirbât and Ras Sâjir, which is now composed of a series of villages. To the east of Hadramaut are the districts of Shihr, which exported ambergris, and Mahreh (so called after a tribe of Kudâah, and therefore Joktanite), extending from Seyhût to Karwân. 'Omân forms the easternmost corner of the south coast, lying at the entrance of the Persian Gulf. It presents the same natural characteristics as the preceding districts, being partly desert with large fertile tracts. It also contains some considerable lead mines.

The highest province on the Persian Gulf is El-Bahreyn, between 'Omân and the head of the Gulf, of which the chief town is Hejer (according to some, the name of the province also). It contains the towns (and districts) of Katîf and El-Ahsâ, the latter not being a province as has been erroneously supposed. The inhabitants of El-Bahreyn dwelling on the coast are principally fishermen and pearl-divers. The district of El-Ahsâ abounds in wells and possesses excellent pastures, which are frequented by tribes of other parts.

The great central province of Nejd and that of Yemâmeh, which bounds it on the south, are little known from the accounts of travellers. Nejd signifies "high land," and hence its limits are very doubtfully laid down by the Arabs themselves. It consists of cultivated table-land, with numerous wells, and is celebrated for its pastures; but it is intersected by extensive deserts. Yemâmeh appears to be generally very similar to Nejd. On the south lies the great desert called Er-Ruba el-Khâly, uninhabitable in the summer, but yielding pasturage in the winter after the rains. The camels of the tribes inhabiting Nejd are highly esteemed in Arabia, and the breed of horses was formerly the most famous in the world; but according to Mr. W. S. Blunt, the explorer, they are now rare in Nejd and of an inferior breed. In this province are said to be remains of very ancient structures, similar to those east of the Jordan.

The Hijâz and Tihâmeh (or El-Ghôr, the "low land") are bounded by Nejd, the Yemen, the Red Sea, and the desert of Petra, the northern limit of the Hijâz being Eyleh. The Hijâz is the holy land of Arabia, its chief cities being Mekka and Medîna; and it is traditionally the first seat of the Ishmaelites in the peninsula. The northern portion is in general sterile and rocky; towards the south it gradually merges into the Yemen, or the district called El-'Asîr, which is but little noticed by either eastern or western geographers. The province of Tihâmeh extends between the mountain-chain of the Hijâz and the shore of the Red Sea; and is sometimes divided into Tihâmeh of the Hijâz and Tihâmeh of the Yemen. It is a parched, sandy tract, with less rain and fewer pastures and cultivated portions than the mountainous country.

Northern Arabia, or the Arabian Desert (البادية), is divided by the Arabs (who do not consider it as strictly belonging to their country) into Bâdiyet Esh-Sham, "the Desert of Syria," Bâdiyet El-Jezîreh, "the Desert of Mesopotamia" (not "of Arabia," as Winer supposes), and Bâdiyet El-'Irâk, "the Desert of El-'Irâk." It is, so far as it is known to us, a high, undulating, parched plain, of which the Euphrates forms the natural boundary from the Persian Gulf to the frontier of Syria, whence it is bounded by the latter country and the desert of Petra on the north-west and west, the peninsula of Arabia forming its southern limit. It has few oases, the water of the wells is generally either brackish or undrinkable, and it is visited by the sand-wind called *Samûm*, of which

however the terrors have been much exaggerated. The Arabs find pasture for their flocks and herds after the rains, and in the more depressed plains; and the desert generally produces prickly shrubs, &c., on which the camels feed. The inhabitants were known to the ancients as *σκηνίται*, "dwellers in tents," or perhaps so called from their town *αἱ Σκηναί* (Strab. xvi. 747, 767; Amm. Marc. xxiii. 6; comp. Is. xiii. 20; Jer. xlix. 31; Ezek. xxxviii. 11); and they extended from Babylonia on the east (comp. Num. xxiii. 7; 2 Ch. xxi. 16; Is. ii. 6, xiii. 20), to the borders of Egypt on the west (Strab. xvi. 748; Plin. v. 12; Amm. Marc. xiv. 4, xxii. 15). These tribes, principally claiming descent from Ishmael and from Keturah, have always led a wandering and pastoral life. Their predatory habits are several times mentioned in the O. T. (2 Ch. xxi. 16, 17; xxvi. 7; Job i. 15; Jer. iii. 2). They also conducted a considerable trade of merchandise of Arabia and India from the shores of the Persian Gulf (Ezek. xxvii. 20–24), whence a chain of oases still forms caravan-stations (Burckhardt, *Arabia*, Appendix vi.); and they likewise traded from the western portions of the peninsula. The latter traffic appears to be frequently mentioned in connexion with Ishmaelites, Keturahites, and other Arabian peoples (Gen. xxxvii. 25, 28; 1 K. x. 15; [2 Ch. ix. 14;] Is. lx. 6; Jer. vi. 20), and probably consisted of

Map of Arabia.

the products of Southern Arabia and of the opposite shores of Ethiopia: it seems, however, to have been chiefly in the hands of the inhabitants of Idumaea; but it is difficult to distinguish between the references to the latter people and to the tribes of Northern Arabia in the passages relating to this traffic. That certain of these tribes brought tribute to Jehoshaphat is stated in 2 Ch. xvii. 11; and elsewhere there are indications of such tribute (cp. passages referred to above).

Western Arabia includes the peninsula of Sinai [SINAI], and the desert of Petra, corresponding generally with the limits of Arabia Petraea. The latter name is probably derived from that of its chief city, not from its stony character. It was in the earliest times inhabited by a people whose genealogy is not mentioned in the Bible, the Horites or Horim (Gen. xiv. 6, xxxvi. 20–22; Deut. ii. 12, 22). [HORITES.] Its later inhabitants were in part the same as those of the preceding division of Arabia, as indeed the boundary of the two countries is arbitrary and unsettled; but it was mostly peopled by descendants of Esau, and was generally known as the land of Edom, or Idumaea [EDOM], as well as by its older appellation, the desert of Seir, or Mount Seir [SEIR]. The common origin of the Idumaeans from Esau and Ishmael is traced to the marriage of the former with a daughter of the latter (Gen. xxviii. 9, xxxvi. 3). The Nabathaeans succeeded to the Idumaeans,

and Idumaea is mentioned only as a geographical designation after the time of Josephus. The Nabathaeans had always been identified with Nebaioth, son of Ishmael (Gen. xxv. 13; Is. lx. 7), until Quatremère (*Mémoire sur les Nabatéens*) advanced the by-no-means accepted theory that they were of another race, and a people of Mesopotamia. [NEBAIOTH.] Petra was in the great route of the western caravan-traffic of Arabia, and of the merchandise brought up the Elanitic Gulf. See preceding section, and EDOM, ELATH, EZIONGEBER, &c.

Inhabitants.[a]—The Arabs, like every other ancient nation of any celebrity, have traditions representing their country as originally inhabited by races which became extinct at a very remote period. These were the tribes of 'Ad, Thamûd, Umeiyim, 'Abîl, Tasm, Jedîs, 'Emlîk (Amalek), Jurhum (the *first* of this name), and Webâri: some omit the fourth and the last two, but add Jâsim. The majority of their historians derive these tribes from Shem; but some, from Ham, though not through Cush.[b] Their earliest traditions that have any obvious relation to the Bible refer the origin of the existing nation in the first instance to Kahtân, whom they and most European scholars identify with Joktan; and secondly to Ishmael, whom they assert to have married a descendant of Kahtân, though they only carry up their genealogies to 'Adnân (said to be of the twenty-first generation before Mohammad). They are silent respecting Cushite settlements in Arabia; but modern research, we think, proves that Cushites were among its early inhabitants. Although Cush in the Bible usually corresponds to Ethiopia, certain passages seem to indicate Cushite peoples in Arabia; and the series of the sons of Cush should, according to recent discoveries, be sought for in order along the southern coast, exclusive of Sebâ (Meroë), at one extreme of their settlements, and Nimrod at the other. The great ruins of Ma-rib or Sebâ, and of other places in the Yemen and Hadramaut, are not those of a Semitic people; and further to the east, the existing language of Mahreh (the remnant of the language of the inscriptions found on the ancient remains just mentioned) is in so great a degree apparently African, as to be called by some scholars *Cushite;* while the settlements of Raamah and those of his (tribal) sons Sheba and Dedan are probably to be looked for towards the head of the Persian Gulf, bordered on the north by the descendants of Keturah, bearing the same names as the two latter. In Babylonia also, independent proofs of this immigration of Cushites from Ethiopia have, it is thought, been lately obtained. The ancient cities and buildings of Southern Arabia, in their architecture, the inscriptions they contain, and the native traditions respecting them, are of the utmost value in aiding a student of this portion of primeval history. Indeed they are the only important archaic monuments of the country; and they illustrate both its earliest people and its greatest kingdoms. Ma-rib, or Sebâ[c] (the Mariaba of the Greek geographers), is one of the most interesting of these sites (see Michaelis' *Questions*, No. 94, &c. in Niebuhr's *Arabia*). It was founded, according to the general agreement of tradition, by 'Abd-esh-Shems Sebâ, grandson of Yaarub the Kahtânite; and the Dyke of El-'Arim, which was situate near the city, and the rupture of which (A.D. 150–170, according to De Sacy; 120, according to Caussin de Perceval) formed an era in Arabian history, is generally ascribed to Lukmân the Greater, the 'Adite, who founded the dynasty of the 2nd 'Ad. 'Adites (in conjunction with Cushites) are supposed to have been the founders of this and similar structures, and were succeeded by a predominantly Joktanite people, the Biblical Sheba, whose name is preserved in the Arabian Sebâ, and in the *Sabaei* of the Greeks. But it should be remarked that El-Beladhory states that the 'Adites dwelt between Syria and the Yemen, and there is really no authority for assigning to them a southern habitat (Sprenger, *Alte Geographie Arabiens*, p. 199). It has been argued (Caussin, *Essai*, i. 42 sq.; Renan, *Langues Sémitiques*, i. 300) that the 'Adites were the Cushite Seba; but this hypothesis, which involves the question of the settlements of the eldest son of Cush, and that of the descent of the 'Adites, rests solely on the existence of Cushite settlements in Southern Arabia, and of the name of Sebâ (سبا) in the Yemen (by these writers inferentially identified with סְבָא; by the Arabs, unanimously, with Sebâ the Kahtânite, or שְׁבָא; the Hebrew *shin* being, in by far the greater number of instances, represented by *sin* in Arabic); and it necessitates the existence of the two Biblical kingdoms of Seba and Sheba in a circumscribed province of Southern Arabia, a result which we think is irreconcilable with a careful comparison of the passages in the Bible bearing on this subject. [CUSH; SEBA; SHEBA.] Neither is there evidence to indicate the identity of 'Ad and the other extinct tribes with any Semitic or Hamitic people: they must, in the present state of knowledge, be classed with the Rephaim and other peoples whose genealogies are not known to us.

The several nations that have inhabited the country are divided, by the Arabs, into extinct and existing tribes; and these are again distinguished as 1. El-'Arab el-'Aribeh (or El-'Arab el-'Arbâ, or El-'Arab el-'Aribeh), the Pure or Genuine Arabs; 2. El-'Arab el-Muta'arribeh; and 3. El-'Arab el-Musta'ribeh, the Instititious,

[a] In this section is included the history. The Arab materials for the latter are meagre, and almost purely traditional. The chronology is founded on genealogies, and is too intricate and unsettled for discussion in this article; but it is necessary to observe that "son" should often be read "descendant," or "tribe descended from," and that the Arabs ascribe great length of life to the ancient people. The early sites of the Arab tribes and their identity with the names mentioned by Ptolemy have been exhaustively discussed by Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Bern, 1875, to which the student must refer for the details and theories necessarily excluded from the present article.

[b] This enumeration is from a comparison of Arab authors. Caussin de Perceval has entered into some detail on the subject (*Essai*, i. 11–35), but without satisfactorily reconciling contradictory opinions; and his identifications of these with other tribes are purely hypothetical.

[c] Sebâ was the city of Ma-rib, or the country in the Yemen of which the city was Ma-rib. See also SHEBA

or Naturalised, Arabs. Of many conflicting opinions respecting these races, two only are worthy of note. According to the first of these, El-'Arab el-'Aribeh denotes the extinct tribes, with whom some conjoin Kahtân; while the other two, as synonymous appellations, belong to the descendants of Ishmael.[4] According to the second, El-'Arab el-'Aribeh denotes the extinct tribes; El-'Arab el-Muta'arribeh, the unmixed descendants of Kahtân; and El-'Arab el-Musta'ribeh, the descendants of Ishmael, by the daughter of Mudâd the Joktanite. That the descendants of Joktan occupied the principal portions of the south and south-west of the peninsula, with colonies in the interior, is attested by the Arabs and supported by historical and philological researches. It is also asserted that they have been gradually absorbed into the Ishmaelite immigrants, though not without leaving strong traces of their former existence. Fresnel, however (1° *Lettre*, p. 24), says that they were quite distinct, at least in Mohammad's time, and it is not unlikely that the Ishmaelite element has been exaggerated by Mohammadan influence.

Respecting the *Joktanite* settlers, we have some Biblical evidence. In Genesis (x. 30) it is said, "and their dwelling was from Mesha, as thou goest unto Sephar, a mount of the east [Kedem]." The position of Mesha is very uncertain; it is most reasonably supposed to be the western limit of the first settlers [MESHA]: Sephar is undoubtedly Dhafâri, or Zafâri, of the Arabs (probably pronounced, in ancient times, without the final vowel, as it is at the present day), a name not uncommon in the peninsula, but especially that of two celebrated towns—one being the seaport on the south coast, near Mirbât; the other, now in ruins, near San'â, and said to be the ancient residence of the Himyarite kings (Es-Sâghânee, MS., &c.). Fresnel (4° *Lettre*, p. 516 sq.) prefers the seaport, as the Himyarite capital, and is followed by Jomard (*Études*, p. 367), whence we learn that the inhabitants call this town "Isfôr." Considering the position of the *Joktanite* races, this is probably Sephar; it is situate near a thuriferous mountain (*Marâsid*, in voc.), and exports the best frankincense (Niebuhr, p. 148): Zafâri, in the Yemen, however, is also among mountains [SEPHAR]. In the district indicated above are distinct and undoubted traces of the names of the sons of Joktan mentioned in Genesis, such as Hadramaut for Hazarmaveth, Azâl for Uzal, Sebâ for Sheba, &c. Their remains are found in the existing inhabitants of (at least) its eastern portion, and their records in the numerous Himyarite ruins and inscriptions.

The principal Joktanite kingdom, and the chief state of ancient Arabia, was that of the Yemen, founded (according to the Arabs) by Yaarub, the son (or descendant) of Kahtân (Joktan). Its most ancient capital was probably San'â, formerly called Azâl (أزال, or اوزال in the *Marâsid*, in voc. San'â), after Azâl, son of Joktan (Yâkoot). [UZAL.] The other capitals were Ma-rib, or Sebâ, and Zafâri. This was the Biblical kingdom of Sheba. Its rulers, and most of its people, were descendants of Sebâ (= Sheba), whence the classical *Sabaei* (Diod. Sic. iii. 38, 46). Among its rulers was probably the Queen of Sheba who came to hear the wisdom of Solomon (2 K. x. 1–4). The Arabs call her Bilkîs, a queen of the later Himyarites; but their traditions respecting her are not worthy of credit. [SHEBA.] The dominant family was apparently that of Himyar, son (or descendant) of Sebâ. A member of this family founded the more modern kingdom of the Himyarites. The testimony of the Bible, and of the classical writers, as well as native tradition, seems to prove that the latter appellation superseded the former only shortly before the Christian era: *i.e.* after the foundation of the later kingdom. "Himyarite," however, is now very vaguely used.—Himyar, it may be observed, is perhaps "red" (حمير, from حمرة, or احمر), and several places in Arabia whose soil is reddish derive their names from A'far (اعفر), "reddish." This may identify Himyar (the *red man*?) with Ophir, respecting whose settlements, and the position of the country called Ophir, the opinion of the learned is widely divided [OPHIR]. The similarity of signification with φοίνιξ and ἐρυθρὸς lends weight to the tradition that the Phoenicians came from the Erythraean Sea (Herod. vii. 89). The maritime nations of the Mediterranean who had an affinity with the Egyptians appear to have been an offshoot of an early immigration from Southern Arabia, which moved northwards, partly through Egypt. It is noticeable that the Shepherd invaders of Egypt are said to have been Phoenicians; but Manetho, who seems to have held this opinion, also tells us that some said they were Arabs (Manetho, *ap.* Cory, *Anc. Fragments*, 2nd ed., p. 171), and the hieroglyphic name has been supposed to correspond to the common appellation of the border Arabs. In the opposite direction, an early Arab domination of Chaldaea is mentioned by Berosus (Cory, p. 60), as preceding the Assyrian dynasty. All these indications, slight as they are, must be borne in mind in attempting a reconstruction of the history of Southern Arabia.—The early kings of the Yemen were at continual feud with the descendants of Kahlân (brother of Himyar), until the fifteenth in descent (according to the majority of native historians) from Himyar united the kingdom. This king was the first Tubba', a title also distinctive of his successors, whose dynasty represents the proper kingdom of Himyar, whence the *Homeritae* (Ptol. vi. 7; Plin. vi. 28). Their rule probably extended over the modern Yemen, Hadramaut, and Mahreh. The fifth Tubba', Dhu-l-Adhâr, or Zu-l-Azâr, is supposed (Caussin, i. 73) to be the Ilasarus of Aelius Gallus (B.C. 24). The kingdom of Himyar lasted until A.D. 525, when it fell before an Abyssinian invasion. Already, about the middle of the 4th century, the kings of Axum appear to have become masters of part of the Yemen (Caussin, *Essai*, i. 114; *Zeitschrift d. Deutsch. Morgenländ. Gesellschaft*, vii. 17 sq.;

[4] El-'Arab el-'Aribeh is conventionally applied by the lexicographers to all who spoke pure Arabic before its corruption began.

xi. 338 sq.), adding to their titles the names of places in Arabia belonging to Himyar. After four reigns they were succeeded by Himyarite princes, vassals of Persia, the last of whom submitted to Mohammad. Kings of Hadramaut (the people of Hadramaut are the classical *Chatramotitae*, Plin. vi. 28; comp. *Adramitae*) are also enumerated by the Arabs (Ibn-Khaldûn, *ap.* Caussin, i. 135 sq.) and distinguished from the descendants of Yaarub; an indication, as is remarked by Caussin (*l. c.*), of their separate descent from Hazarmaveth [HAZARMAVETH]. The Greek geographers mention a fourth people in conjunction with the Sabaei, Homeritae, and Chatramotitae,—the *Minaei* or *Minnaei* (Strab. xvi. 768, 776; Ptol. vi. 7, § 23; Plin. vi. 32; Diod. Sic. iii. 42), who have not been identified with any Biblical or modern name, though Sprenger compares them with the Kindites. Some place them as high as Mekka, and derive their name from Minâ (the sacred valley N.E. of that city), or from the goddess Menâh, worshipped in the district between Mekka and Medîna. Fresnel, however, places them in the Wâdee Do'ân in Hadramaut, arguing that the Yemen anciently included this tract, that the Minaei were probably the same as the Rhabanitae or Rhamanitae (Ptol. vi. 7, § 24; Strabo, xvi. 782), and that Ῥαμμανίτων was a copyist's error for Ἰεμανίτων.

The other chief Joktanite kingdom was that of the Hijâz, founded by Jurhum, the brother of Yaarub, who left the Yemen and settled in the neighbourhood of Mekkeh. The Arab lists of its kings are inextricably confused; but the name of their leader and that of two of his successors was Mudâd (or El-Mudâd), who probably represents Almodad [ALMODAD]. Ishmael, according to the Arabs, married a daughter of the first Mudâd, whence sprang 'Adnân the ancestor of Mohammad. This kingdom, situate in a less fertile district than the Yemen, and engaged in conflict with aboriginal tribes, never attained the importance of that of the south. It merged, by intermarriage and conquest, into the tribes of Ishmael (Kutb-ed-Dîn, ed. Wüstenfeld, pp. 35 and 39 sq.; cp. authorities quoted by Caussin). Fresnel cites an Arab author who identifies Jurhum with Hadoram [HADORAM].

Although these were the principal Joktanite kingdoms, others were founded beyond the limits of the peninsula. The most celebrated of these were that of El-Hîreh in El-'Irâk, and that of Ghassân on the confines of Syria; both originated by emigrants after the Flood of El-'Arim. El-Hîreh soon became Ishmaelitic; Ghassân long maintained its original stock. Among its rulers were many named El-Hârith. Respecting the presumed identity of some of these with kings called by the Greeks and Roman Aretas, and with the Aretas mentioned by St. Paul (2 Cor. xi. 32), see ARETAS.

The *Ishmaelites* appear to have entered the peninsula from the north-west. That they have spread over the whole of it (with the exception of one or two districts on the south coast which are said to be still inhabited by unmixed Joktanite peoples), and that the modern nation is predominantly Ishmaelite, is asserted by the Arabs. They do not, however, carry up their genealogies higher than 'Adnân (as we have already said), and they have lost the names of most of Ishmael's immediate and near descendants. Such as have been identified with existing names will be found under the several articles bearing their names. [See also HAGARENES.] They extended northwards from the Hijâz into the Arabian desert, where they mixed with Keturahites and other Abrahamic peoples; and westwards to Idumaea, where they mixed with Edomites, &c. The tribes claiming descent from Ishmael have always been governed by petty chiefs or heads of families (sheykhs and emîrs); they have generally followed a patriarchal life, and have not originated kingdoms, though they have in some instances succeeded to those of Joktanites, the principal one of these being that of El-Hîreh. With reference to the Ishmaelites generally, we may observe that although their first settlements in the Hijâz, and their spreading over a great part of the northern portions of the peninsula, are sufficiently evident, there is doubt as to the wide extension given to them by Arab tradition. Mohammad derived from the Jews whatever tradition he pleased, and silenced any contrary by the Korân or his own dicta. This religious element, which does not directly affect the tribes of Joktan (whose settlements are independently identified), has a great influence over those of Ishmael. They therefore cannot be certainly proved to have spread over the peninsula; but from the concurrent testimony of the Arabs and other considerations it is probable that they now form the predominant element of the Arab nation.

Of the descendants of *Keturah* the Arabs say little. They appear to have settled chiefly north of the peninsula in Desert-Arabia, from Palestine to the Persian Gulf; and the passages in the Bible in which mention is made of Dedan (except those relating to the Cushite Dedan, Gen. x. 7) refer apparently to the tribe sprung from this race (Is. xxi. 13; Jer. xxv. 23; Ezek. xxvii. 20), perhaps with an admixture of the Cushite Dedan, who seems to have passed up the western shores of the Persian Gulf. Some traces of Keturahites, indeed, are asserted to exist in the south of the peninsula, where a king of Himyar is said to have been a Midianite (El-Mes'ûdy, *ap.* Schultens, pp. 158–9); and where one dialect is said to be of Midian, and another of Jokshan son of Keturah; but these traditions must be ascribed to the Rabbinical influence in Arab history. Native writers are almost wholly silent on this subject; and the dialects mentioned above are not, so far as they are known to us, of the tribes of Keturah. [KETURAH, &c.]

In Northern and Western Arabia are other peoples which, from their geographical position and mode of life, are sometimes classed with the Arabs. Of these are AMALEK, the descendants of ESAU, &c.

Religion.—The most ancient idolatry of the Arabs we must conclude to have been little advanced beyond mere fetishism, of which there are striking proofs in the sacred trees and stones of historical times, and in the worship of the heavenly bodies, or Sabaeism. With the latter were perhaps connected the temples (or palace-temples) of which there are either remains or traditions in the Himyarite kingdom; such as Beyt Ghumdân in San'â, and those of Reydân,

Beynûneh, Ru'eyn, 'Eyneyn, and Riâm. The names of the objects of the earlier fetishism, the stone-worship, tree-worship, &c., of various tribes, are too numerous to mention. One, that of Manot, the goddess worshipped between Mekka and Medîna, has been compared with Meni (Is. lxv. 11, R. V. "Destiny." Cp. for a summary, Baethgen, *Beitr. z. Sem. Religionsgesch.* pp. 109, &c., 115, &c., and especially Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, iii. [*Reste Arabischen Heidentumes*], 1887). Magism, an importation from Chaldaea and Persia, must be reckoned among the religions of the Pagan Arabs; but it never had many followers. Christianity was introduced into Southern Arabia towards the close of the 2nd century, and about a century later it had made great progress. It flourished chiefly in the Yemen, where many churches were built (see Philostorg. *Hist. Eccles.* iii.; Sozomen, vi.; Evagr. vi.). It also rapidly advanced in other portions of Arabia, through the kingdom of Hîreh and the contiguous countries, Ghassân, and other parts. The persecutions of the Christians, and more particularly of those of Nejrân by the Tubba' Zu-n-Nuwâs, brought about the fall of the Himyarite dynasty by the invasion of the Christian ruler of Abyssinia. Judaism was propagated in Arabia, principally by Karaites, at the Captivity, but it was introduced before that time: it became very prevalent in the Yemen, and in the Hijâz, especially at Kheybar and Medîna, where there are said to be still tribes of Jewish extraction. In the period immediately preceding the birth of Mohammad another class (the Hanîfs) had sprung up, who, disbelieving the idolatry of the greater number of their countrymen, and with leanings towards Judaism, looked to a revival of what they called the "religion of Abraham" (see Sprenger's *Leben und Lehre Mohammeds*, 2nd ed. i. 13–134). The promulgation of the Mohammadan religion overthrew paganism, and almost wholly superseded the religions of the Bible in Arabia.

Language.—Arabic, the language of Arabia, is the most developed and the richest of the Semitic languages, and the only one of which we have an extensive literature: it is, therefore, of great importance to the study of Hebrew. Of its early phases we know nothing. We have, indeed, archaic monuments of the Himyaritic (the ancient language of Southern Arabia), though we cannot usually fix their precise ages. Of the existence of Hebrew and Chaldee (or Aramaic) in the time of Jacob there is evidence in Gen. xxxi. 47; and presumably Jacob and Laban understood each other, the one speaking Hebrew and the other Chaldee. It seems also from the notice in Judg. vii. 9–15, that Gideon overheard the conversation of the "Midianites, and the Amalekites, and all the children of the east" (בְּנֵי קֶדֶם), that in the 14th or 13th cent. B.C. the Semitic languages differed much less than in after-times. But it appears from 2 K. xviii. 26, that in the 8th century B.C. only the educated classes among the Jews understood Aramaic. With these evidences before us, and making a due distinction between the archaic and the known phases of the Aramaic and the Arabic, we believe that the Himyaritic is to be regarded as a sister of the Hebrew, and the Arabic (commonly so called) as a sister of the Hebrew and the Aramaic, or, *in its classical phase*, as a descendant of a sister of these two. The division of the Ishmaelite language into many dialects is to be attributed chiefly to the separation of tribes by uninhabitable tracts of desert, and the subsequent amalgamation of those dialects, to the pilgrimage and the annual meetings of 'Okâz and other fairs where literary contests took place, and where it was of the first importance that the contending poets should deliver themselves in a language perfectly intelligible to the mass of the people congregated. Many of the meanest of the Arabs, utterly ignorant of reading and writing, were quite capable of judging of the merits of these compositions, and often formed the best authorities consulted by the lexicologists when the corruption of the language had commenced, *i.e.* when the Arabs, as Mohammadans, had begun to spread among foreigners.

Respecting the Himyaritic,* until lately little was known; but monuments bearing inscriptions in this language have been discovered in the southern parts of the peninsula, principally in Hadramaut and the Yemen, and some of the inscriptions have been published by Fresnel, Arnaud, Wellsted, Cruttenden, and Müller; while Fresnel found a dialect still spoken in the district of Mahreh and westwards as far as Kishîm, that of the neighbourhood of Zafâri and Mirbât being the purest, and called "Ekhili;" and this is supposed with reason to be the modern phase of the old Himyaritic (4° *Lettre*). Fresnel's alphabet has been accepted by the learned. The dates found in the inscriptions range from A.D. 30 (on the dyke of Ma-rib) to 604 at Hisn Ghorâb, but what era these represent is uncertain. Ewald (*Ueber die Himyarische Sprache* in Hoefer's *Zeitschrift*, i. 295 *seqq.*) thinks that they are years of the Rupture of the Dyke, while acknowledging their apparent high antiquity; but the difficulty of supposing such inscriptions on a ruined dyke, and the fact that some of them would thus be brought later than the time of Mohammad, make it probable that they belong rather to an earlier era, perhaps that of the Himyarite empire, though what point marks its commencement is not determined. The Himyaritic in its earlier phase probably represents the first Semitic language spoken in Arabia.

The *manners* and *customs* of the Arabs† are of great value in illustrating the Bible; but supposed parallels between the patriarchal life of the Scriptures and the state of the modern Arabs must not be hastily drawn. It should be remembered that this people are in a degraded condition; that they have been influenced by Jewish contact, especially by the adoption, by Mohammad, of parts of the ceremonial law, and of rabbinical observances; and that they are not of the race of Israel. They must be regarded, 1st, as Bedawis, or people of the desert; and 2ndly, as settled tribes or townspeople.

The Bedawis acknowledge that their ancient

* *I.e.* the ancient language of Southern Arabia generally, not that of the Himyarites only. [Supplement from Stade, *Lehrb. d. Heb. Gr.* i. 4; the authorities in MV.[10], p. xxviii.; and *Corp. Inscr. Sem.* iv. 1.—S. R. D.]

† The Arabs have impressed their national characteristics on every people whom they have conquered, except the Tartar races. The modern Egyptians are essentially an Arab people.

excellence has greatly declined since the time of Mohammad, and there cannot be a doubt that this decline began much earlier. Though each tribe boasts of its unadulterated blood and pure language, their learned men candidly admit the depreciation of national character. Scriptural customs still found among them must therefore be generally regarded rather as indications of former practices, than as being identical with them. The Bible always draws a strong contrast between the character of the Israelites and that of the descendants of Ishmael, whom the Bedawis mostly represent. Yet they are, by comparison with other nations, an essentially conservative people, retaining a primitive, pastoral life, and many customs strikingly illustrating the Bible. They are not so much affected by their religion as might be supposed: many tribes disregard religious observances, and even retain some pagan rites. The Wahhâbis, or modern Arab puritans, found great difficulty in suppressing by persuasion, and even by force of arms, such rites; and where they succeeded, the suppressson was, in most cases, only temporary. Incest, sacrifices to sacred objects, &c., were among these relics of paganism. The less changed a tribe, however, the more difficulty is there in obtaining information respecting it: such a one is very jealous of intercourse with strangers even of its own nation. In Southern Arabia, for instance, is a tribe which will not allow a guest to stay within its encampments beyond the three days demanded by the laws of hospitality. This exclusion undoubtedly tends to preserve the language from corruption, and the people from foreign influence; but it probably does not improve the national character.

To the settled Arabs these remarks apply with the difference that the primitive mode of life is in a great degree lost, and Jewish practices are much more observable; while intermixture with foreigners, especially with Abyssinian and Negro concubines in the Yemen and the Hijâz, has tended to destroy the purity of blood. A Bedawy will scarcely marry out of his tribe, and is not addicted to concubinage; he considers himself, and is, quite distinct from a townsman, in habits, in mode of thought, and in national feeling. Again, a distinction should be made between the people of Northern and those of Southern Arabia; the former being chiefly of Ishmaelite, the latter of Joktanite descent, and, in other respects than settlement and intermarriage with foreigners, further removed from the patriarchal character.

Regarded in the limits we have indicated, Arab manners and customs, whether those of the Bedawis or of the townspeople, afford valuable help to the student of the Bible, and testify to the truth and vigour of the Scriptural narrative. No one can mix with this people without being constantly and forcibly reminded either of the early patriarchs or of the settled Israelites. We may instance their pastoral life, their hospitality (most remarkable of desert virtues [HOSPITALITY]), their universal respect for age (comp. Lev. xix. 32), their familiar deference (comp. 2 *K.* v. 13), their superstitious regard for the beard. On the signet-ring, which is worn on the little finger of the right hand, is usually inscribed a sentence expressive of submission to God, or of His perfection, &c., explaining Ex. xxxix. 30, "the engravings of a signet, Holy to the Lord" (R. V.), and the saying of Christ (John iii. 33), "He . . . hath set his seal to *this*, that God is true" (R. V.). As a mark of trust, this ring is given to another person (as in Gen. xli. 42). The inkhorn worn in the girdle is also very ancient (Ezek. ix. 2, 3, 11), as well as the veil. (For many illustrations, see Lane's *Modern Egyptians.*) A man has a right to claim his cousin in marriage, and he relinquishes this right by taking off his shoe, as the kinsman of Ruth did to Boaz (Ruth iv. 7, 8; see Burckhardt's *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys*, p. 65).

References in the Bible to the Arabs themselves are still more clearly illustrated by the manners of the modern people, in their predatory expeditions, their mode of warfare, their caravan journeys, and the like. To the interpretation of the Book of Job, an intimate knowledge of this people and their language and literature is essential.

The *commerce* of Arabia especially connected with the Bible has been referred to in the sections on Western and Northern Arabia, and incidentally in mentioning the products of the peninsula. Direct mention of the commerce of the south does not appear to be made in the Bible: it seems to have passed to Palestine principally through the northern tribes. Passages relating to the fleets of Solomon and to the maritime trade, however, bear on this subject, which is a curious study for the historical inquirer. The Joktanite people of Southern Arabia have always been, in contradistinction to the Ishmaelite tribes, addicted to a seafaring life. The latter were caravan merchants; the former, the chief traders of the Red Sea, carrying their commerce to the shores of India, as well as to the nearer coasts of Africa. Their own writers describe these voyages; since the Christian era especially, as we might expect from the modern character of their literature. The classical writers also make frequent mention of the commerce of Southern Arabia. It was evidently carried to Palestine by the two great caravan routes from the head of the Red Sea and from that of the Persian Gulf: the former taking with it chiefly African produce; the latter, Indian. It should be observed that the wandering propensities of the Arabs, of whatever descent, do not date from the promulgation of Islâm. All testimony goes to show that from the earliest ages the peoples of Arabia formed colonies in distant lands, and have not been actuated only by either the desire of conquest or by religious impulse in their foreign expeditions, but rather by restlessness and commercial activity.

The principal European authorities for the *history* of Arabia are, Schultens, *Hist. Imp. Vetus. Joctanidarum*, Hard. Gel. 1786, containing extracts from various Arab authors, and his *Monumenta Vetustiora Arabiae*, Lug. Bat. 1740; Eichhorn, *Monumenta Antiquiss. Hist. Arabum*, chiefly extracted from Ibn-Kuteybeh, with his notes, Goth. 1775; Fresnel, *Lettres sur l'Hist. des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, published in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1838–53; Quatremère, *Mémoire sur les Nabatéens*, 1835; Caussin, *Essai sur l'Hist. des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, Paris, 1847–48: for the *Geography*, Niebuhr, *Description*

de l'Arabie, Amst. 1774; Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, Lond. 1839; Wellsted, *Narrative of a Journey to the Ruins of Nukeb-al-Hajar*, in *Journ. of R. G. S.*, vii. 20; his copy of Inscription, in *Journ. of Asiat. Soc. of Bengal*, iii. 1834; and his *Journal*, Lond. 1838;—Cruttenden, *Narrative of a Journey from Mokhá to San'á*; Jomard, *Études géogr. et hist.* appended to Mengin, *Hist. de l'Égypte*, vol. iii. Paris, 1839; Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre Mohammed's*, 1869, and *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, 1875; Müller, *Himyaritische Sage*; Prideaux, *Ley of the Himyarites*; Robinson, *Biblical Researches*; Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*; Tuch, *Essay on the Sinaitic Inscriptions*, in the *Journal of the German Oriental Soc.* xiv. 129 sq.; Palmer, *The Desert of the Exodus*; Palgrave, *Journey to Arabia*; Blunt (W. S.), *Visit to Nejd*; Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*. See also the list of works in Herzog, *RE.*², s. v. *Arabien*. Strabo, Ptolemy, Diodorus Siculus, Pliny, and the minor geographers, should also be consulted:—for the *manners and customs* of the Arabs, Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys*, 8vo, 1831; and for Arab life in its widest sense, Lane, *Notes on the Thousand and One Nights*, now collected under the title of *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, ed. by S. Lane-Poole (1883); and his *Modern Egyptians*, ed. 1860.

Some of the most important native works are still untranslated, and but few of them are edited. Abu-l-Fidâ, *Hist. Anteislamica*, has been edited and translated by Fleischer, Lips. 1831; and El-Idrîsî, *Géographie*, translated by Jaubert, and published in the *Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires*, by the Geogr. Soc. of Paris, 1836. Of those which have been edited are Yâkût's Homonymous Geographical Dictionary, entitled *El-Mushtarak Wad'an wa-l-Muftarak Sak'an*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Gött. 1845; the same geographer's *Mo'jam el-Buldân*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 4 vols. Leipz. 1866–9; the *Marâsid el-Ittilâ'*, probably an abridgment by an unknown hand of the *Mo'jam*, ed. Juynboll, Lug. Bat. 1852–4; the *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, ed. and transl. Wüstenfeld, 1857–8; El-Bekry's *Geogr. Wörterbuch*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 1876; the *Biblioth. geogr. arab.* ed. De Goeje, 1876–87; Ibn-Khaldûn's *Prolegomena*, ed. Quatremère, Paris, 1858; and El-Mes'ûdy's *Prairies d'Or*, 9 vols. 1861–77.

[E. S. P.]

ARA'BIAN, THE (הָעַרְבִי, Neh. ii. 19, vi. 1; ὁ Ἀραβί, א -εί, Arabs: עַרְבִי, Is. xiii. 20; Jer. iii. 2 [LXX. κορώνη]: Ἄραβες; *Arabes*); ARABIANS, THE (הָעַרְבִיאִים, 2 Ch. xvii. 11; הָעַרְבִים, 2 Ch. xxi. 16, xxii. 1, xxvi. 7 (*Kerî*); Neh. iv. 1 [LXX. and A. V. *v.* 7]: οἱ Ἄραβες; *Arabes*). The nomadic tribes inhabiting the country to the east and south of Palestine, who in the early times of Hebrew history were known as Ishmaelites and descendants of Keturah. Their roving pastoral life in the desert is alluded to in Is. xiii. 20, Jer. iii. 2, 2 Macc. xii. 11; their country is associated with the country of the Dedanim, the travelling merchants (Is. xxi. 13), with Dedan, Tema, and Buz (Jer. xxv. 24), and with Dedan and Kedar (Ezek. xxvii. 21), all of which are supposed to have occupied the northern part of the peninsula later known as Arabia. During the prosperous reign of Jehoshaphat, the Arabians, in conjunction with the Philistines, were tributary to Judah (2 Ch. xvii. 11), but in the reign of his successor they revolted, ravaged the country, plundered the royal palace, slew all the king's sons with the exception of the youngest, and carried off the royal harem (2 Ch. xxi. 16, xxii. 1). The Arabians of Gur-baal were again subdued by Uzziah (2 Ch. xxvi. 7). During the Captivity they appear to have spread over the country of Palestine, for on the return from Babylon they were among the foremost in hindering Nehemiah in his work of restoration, and plotted with the Ammonites and others for that end (Neh. iv. 7, A. V.). Geshem, or Gashmu, one of the leaders of the opposition, was of this race (Neh. ii. 19, vi. 1). In later times the Arabians served under Timotheus the Ammonite in his struggle with Judas Maccabaeus, but were defeated (1 Macc. v. 39; 2 Macc. xii. 10). The Zabadaeans [in Josephus, the Nabatheans, as in 1 Macc. v. 25], an Arab tribe, were routed by Jonathan, the brother and successor of Judas (1 Macc. xii. 31). The chieftain or king of the Arabians bore the name of Aretas as far back as the time of Antiochus Epiphanes and Jason the high-priest (2 Macc. v. 8; cp. 2 Cor. xi. 32). Zabdiel, the assassin of Alexander Balas (1 Macc. xi. 17), and Simalcue [in Josephus, Malchus; Vulg. *Emalchuel*], who brought up Antiochus, the young son of Alexander (1 Macc. xi. 39), afterwards Antiochus VI., were both Arabians. In the time of the N. T. the term appears to have been used in the same manner (Acts ii. 11). [ARABIA.] [W. A. W.] [F.]

ARABIC LANGUAGE. See ARABIA, p. 216, and SHEMITIC LANGUAGES.

ARABIC VERSION. [VERSIONS, ANCIENT.]

ARA'D (עָרָד; A. Ἀράδ, B. Ὠρήρ; *Arod*). A Benjamite, son of Beriah, who drove out the inhabitants of Gath (1 Ch. viii. 15). [W. A. W.]

ARA'D (עָרָד; Ἀράδ; *Arad:* exc. in Josh., where we find A. βασιλέα Ἀδέρ, B. βασιλέα Αἰράθ, βασιλέα Ἀράθ; *Heder*), a royal city of the Canaanites, named with Hormah and Libnah (Josh. xii. 14). The Jerus. Targum on Gen. xx. 2 has Arad for the Gerar of the Heb. text. The wilderness of Judah was to "the south of Arad" (Judg. i. 16). It is also undoubtedly named in Num. xxi. 1 (cp. Hormah in *v.* 3) and xxxiii. 40, "the Canaanite, the king of Arad," R. V., instead of the reading of the A. V., "king Arad the Canaanite" (see the translations of Zunz, De Wette, &c.). Jerome and Eusebius mention it (*OS.*² s. nn. Arath [p. 123, 22] and Ἀραμά [p. 236, 55]), as a city of the Amorites, near the desert of Kaddes, 4 miles from Malatha (Moladah), and 20 from Hebron. This agrees with the conjecture of Robinson (ii. 101, 201, 202), who identifies it with a hill, *Tell 'Arâd*, 7½ miles from *Milh* (Moladah), and 16 miles from Hebron (*P. F. Mem.* iii. 403, 415). [G.] [W.]

AR'ADUS (Ἄραδος; *Arados*), included in the list of places to which the decree of Lucius the consul, protecting the Jews under Simon the high-priest, was addressed (1 Macc. xv. 23). The same place as ARVAD. [G.] [W.]

A'RAH (אֹרַח, *traveller*; Ὀρέχ; *Arce*). **1.** An Asherite, of the sons of Ulla (1 Ch. vii. 38, LXX. *v.* 39. In *v.* 38 LXX. and Vulg. have Ἀρά, *Ara*, as renderings of אֶרֶא, one of the sons of Jether).

2. B. Ἡρά, A. Ἄρες; *Area*. The sons of Arah returned with Zerubbabel, in number 775, according to Ezra ii. 5, but 652 according to Neh. vii. 10. One of his descendants, Shechaniah, was the father-in-law of Tobiah the Ammonite (Neh. vi. 18). The name is written ARES in 1 Esd. v. 10. [W. A. W.] [F.]

ARA'M (אֲרָם, a name of uncertain meaning [see Nöldeke, *s. n.* in Schenkel's *Bib.-Lex.*], the derivation "height" hardly applying to a people found chiefly in lowlands). **1.** The name by which the Hebrews designated, generally, the parts of Syria lying to the north-east of Palestine, and the greater part of Mesopotamia.[a] It included the whole elevated region which, rising with sudden abruptness from the Jordan and the very margin of the lake of Gennesareth, stretches to the banks of the Euphrates itself, contrasting strongly with the low land bordering on to the Mediterranean, the "land of Canaan," or the low country (Gen. xxxi. 18; xxxiii. 18, &c.). Throughout the A. V. the word is, with only a very few exceptions (Num. xxiii. 7; 1 Ch. ii. 23; Ps. lx. title), rendered as in the Vulgate and LXX.—SYRIA, or SYRIANS, a name which, it must be remembered, does not convey the same meaning to our ears that Aram did to the Jews. [SYRIA.]

Its earliest occurrence in the Book of Genesis is in the form of Aram-naharaim, *i.e.* the "highland of or between the two rivers" (Gen. xxiv. 10, A. V. "Mesopotamia"), but in other parts of the Pentateuch the word is used without any addition, sometimes for Aram-naharaim (cp. Num. xxiii. 7 with Deut. xxiii. 4; and Judg. iii. *c.* 10 with *v.* 8), and sometimes to designate a dweller in Aram-naharaim—Laban or Bethuel—"the Aramean" (see Gen. xxv. 20, xxviii. 5, xxxi. 20, 24; Deut. xxvi. 5). Aram-naharaim was the country between the Euphrates and the Tigris; and Padan- or accurately Paddan-Aram פַּדַּן אֲרָם. On the meaning of פ see the commentaries of Dillmann and Delitzsch [1887] on Gen. xxv. 20) was either another designation for this district, or more probably the name of a limited extent of flat country round HARAN (see Gen. xxv. 20; xxviii. 2, 5–7; xxxi. 18; xxxiii. 18; xxxv. 9, 26; xlviii. 7). In Hos. xii. 12, שְׂדֵה אֲרָם, the "field" or "plain of Aram" (A. V. the country of Syria), has been supposed to be a translation or paraphrase of Paddan-Aram. [ARAM-NAHARAIM; PADAN-ARAM; SADEH.]

Later in the history we meet with a number of small nations or kingdoms forming parts of the general land of Aram:—1. Aram-zobah (Ps. lx. title; 2 Sam. x. 6, 8), or simply Zobah, צוֹבָה (1 Sam. xiv. 47; 2 Sam. viii. 3; 1 Ch. xviii. xix.). [ARAM-ZOBAH; ZOBAH.] 2. Aram Beth-rehob (2 Sam. x. 6), or Rehob, רְחוֹב (x. 8). In 1 Ch. xix. 6, Aram-naharaim takes the place of Beth-rehob and Ishtob. [BETH-REHOB; REHOB.] 3. Aram-maachah (1 Ch. xix. 6), or Maachah only, מַעֲכָה (2 Sam. x. 6). [ARAM-MAACHAH; MAACHAH.] 4. Geshur, "in Aram" (2 Sam. xv. 8), usually named in connexion with Maachah (Deut. iii. 14; Josh. xiii. 11, 13, &c.). [GESHUR.] 5. Ishtob, properly "the men of Tob," and so in R. V. (2 Sam. x. 6, 8 Judg. xi. 3, 5). [ISHTOB; TOB.] 6. Aram-Dammesek (Damascus; 2 Sam. viii. 5, 6; 1 Ch. xviii. 5, 6). The whole of these petty states are spoken of collectively under the name of "Aram" (2 Sam. x. 13), but as Damascus increased in importance it gradually absorbed the smaller powers (1 K. xx. 1), and the name of Aram was at last applied to it alone (Is. vii. 8; also 1 K. xi. 25, xv. 18, &c.).

The exact position and limits of these small states cannot be defined. Aram-zobah appears to have been situated eastward of Coele-Syria, and to have extended N.E. and E. to the Euphrates; it probably included the eastern slopes of Anti-Lebanon, the highlands about Aleppo,[b] and the northern part of the Syrian desert. To the S. of Zobah were Maachah and Beth-rehob, the latter bordering on the Euphrates, the former lying more to the W. and adjoining Geshur. Maachah and Geshur were closely connected (Deut. iii. 14; Josh. xii. 5, xiii. 11, 13), and formed part of the territory allotted to Manasseh, but they were never completely conquered by that tribe. Dammasek was the rich country round Damascus, and Tob probably lay eastward of *Jebel Hauran*.

In the Assyrian inscriptions the term *Aramu* or *Arimu* is applied to Mesopotamia, and to the people living on the W. bank of the Euphrates, S. of the river *Sajûr*, and never to the western Aramean states. Aram-naharaim appears under the form *Naharaina* on the Egyptian monuments of the 18th and 19th dynasties; and in the reigns of Thothmes I. and III., it offered a stubborn resistance to the advance of the Egyptians in Asia. One of its kings, Chushan-rishathaim, extended his conquests to Palestine, not long after the occupation of that country by the Israelites, and held it for eight years (Judg. iii. 8, 10). At a later period the small principalities of Aram-naharaim, the *Nahiri* or *Nairi* of the Assyrian monuments, were engaged in constant wars with the Assyrian monarchs and became tributary to them. In the 11th cent. B.C., a period which synchronises with a temporary decline in the Assyrian power, Zobah was split up into several small states (1 Sam. xiv. 47); but these were consolidated into a powerful kingdom under Hadadezer, who opposed David, and was conquered by him in the war which resulted in an extension of the Jewish empire to the Euphrates (2 Sam. viii.). David also defeated the Arameans of Damascus, who had advanced to the assistance of Hadadezer, and occupied Damascus (2 Sam. viii. 5, 6); but after his death the city was wrested from Solomon by Rezon, and never retaken (1 K. xi. 23–25). Under the successors of Rezon the power of Damascus rapidly increased, and even-

[a] The name Aram probably appears also in the Homeric names Ἀρίμοι (*Il.* ii. 783) and Ἐρεμβοί (*Od.* iv. 84). Cp. Strab. xvi. 785; Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, iii. 387. On the name in the cuneiform inscriptions, see Schrader, *KAT.*² on Gen. x. 22, and Fried. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 257 sq.

[b] Benjamin of Tudela (*E. Trav.* 93) identifies Aram-zobah with Aleppo.

tually the name Aram was applied to it alone. [DAMASCUS.]

The Arameans were an important factor in the Assyrian state, and many of them were employed in the government service. In the reign of Sennacherib they formed part of the population of several Babylonian towns, and at a later period "bands of Syrians" were sent by Nebuchadnezzar against Jehoiakim (2 K. xxiv. 2; cp. Jer. xxxv. 11). The worship of the Aramean gods is first mentioned in connexion with Gilead, and it appears to have been introduced amongst the Jews, after the death of Jair, through the trans-Jordanic tribes which were in more immediate contact with the Aramean states (Judg. x. 6). The Aramean form of worship was adopted and introduced into Judaea by Ahaz, who sacrificed to the "gods of the kings of Syria" (2 Ch. xxviii. 23), and had an altar made after the pattern of one that he had seen at Damascus (2 K. xvi. 10–16). "In the later days of the Assyrian empire, Aramaic, the language of Aram, became the common language of trade and diplomacy, which every merchant and politician was supposed to learn, and in still later times succeeded in supplanting Assyrian in Assyria and Babylonia, as well as Hebrew in Palestine, until in its turn it was supplanted by Arabic." (Sayce, *Fresh Light from the A. Monts.* 44.) It was in this language that Rabshakeh was requested to speak (2 K. xviii. 26), and that the officers of the Persian government in Samaria wrote to king Ahasuerus (Ezra iv. 7). The Hebrew terms "to divine" (*kasam;* which is also Arabic), "to practise magic" (Deut. xviii. 10), and "idolatrous priests" (*chemarin*, 2 K. xxiii. 5), and other similar words are of Aramean origin.

According to the genealogical table in Gen. x. Aram was the son of Shem, and his brethren were Elam, or the mountainous region E. of Babylonia; Asshur, or Assyria; Arphaxad, or Chaldaea; and Lud. The children of Aram, or, according to 1 Ch. i. 17, his brothers, were Uz, and Hul, and Gether, and Mash or Meshech. The last has been identified with the mountain country, *Mons Masius*, N. of Nisibis; and Hul with Hulija, mentioned on the Assyrian monuments, as being situated in the same district.

In 2 K. xvi. 6, the Syrians are said to have come to Elath (on the Red Sea). The word rendered Syrians (R. V.) is אֲרוֹמִים, *Aromim*, which in the Keri is read *Adomim*, Edomites.

In 2 Ch. xxii. 5, the name is presented in a shortened form as Ram, הָרַמִּים; comp. Job xxxii. 2.

2. Σύροι; *Syri*. Another Aram is named in Gen. xxii. 21 as a son of Kemuel, and descendant of Nahor. From the mention of the name with Uz and Buz it is probably identical with the tribe of Ram, to the "kindred" of which belonged "Elihu, the son of Barachel the Buzite," who was visiting Job in the land of Uz (Job xxxii. 2). It is also worthy of notice that among the other descendants of Nahor are named Tebach (comp. Tibhath, 1 Ch. xix. 18) and Maacah; so that the tribe was possibly one of the smaller divisions of Aram described above.

3. A. Ἀράμ, B. Ἀκαράν; *Aram*. An Asherite, one of the sons of Shemer (1 Ch. vii. 34).

4. The son of Esrom, or Hezron; elsewhere called RAM (Matt. i. 3, 4; Luke iii. 33). In Luke, Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort, with ℵBZXΓ, read (instead of Ἀράμ) Ἀδμείν, τοῦ Ἀρνεί. The R. V. has Ram (marg. Aram) in Matt.; and Arni (marg. Aram) in Luke.

[G.] [W.]

ARAMI'TESS (אֲרַמִּיָּה; Σύρα; *Syra*); *i.e.* a female inhabitant of Aram (1 Ch. vii. 14). In other passages of the A. V. the ethnic of Aram is rendered Syrian. [W. A. W.]

ARA'M-MA'ACHAH. R. V. in 1 Ch. xix. 6. A. V. has Syria-maachah. [ARAM (1); MAACHAH.] [W. A. W.]

ARA'M-NAHARA'IM (אֲרַם נַהֲרַיִם, *Aram of the two rivers*; ἡ Μεσοποταμία Συρίας; *Mesopotamia Syriae*). Ps. lx. title. Elsewhere in A. V. Mesopotamia (Gen. xxiv. 10; Deut. xxiii. 4; Judg. iii. 8; 1 Ch. xix. 6). The northern portion of the country between the Euphrates and Tigris. In Deut. xxiii. 4 Pethor is said to be in Aram-naharaim; it was on the W. bank of the Euphrates, near the mouth of the *R. Sajûr*, and rather in Aram-zobah. [ARAM (1); MESOPOTAMIA.] [W.]

ARA'M-ZO'BAH (אֲרַם צוֹבָה; ἡ Συρία Σοβάλ; *Sobal*). Ps. lx. title. In 2 Sam. x. 6, 8, A. V. has "Syrians of Zoba." An Aramean state situated eastward of Coele-Syria, and extending N.E. and E. to the Euphrates; it is elsewhere called simply ZOBAH (1 Sam. xiv. 47; 2 Sam. viii. 3, 5, 12, xxiii. 36; 1 K. xi. 23; 1 Ch. xviii. 3, 5, 9; xix. 6). [ARAM (1).] [W.]

ARA'N (אָרָן, *wild goat*, Sam. ארן; D. Ἀράν, A. Ἀράμ, in 1 Ch. Ἀρράν; *Aran, Aram*), name of a Horite (Gen. xxxvi. 28; 1 Ch. i. 42).

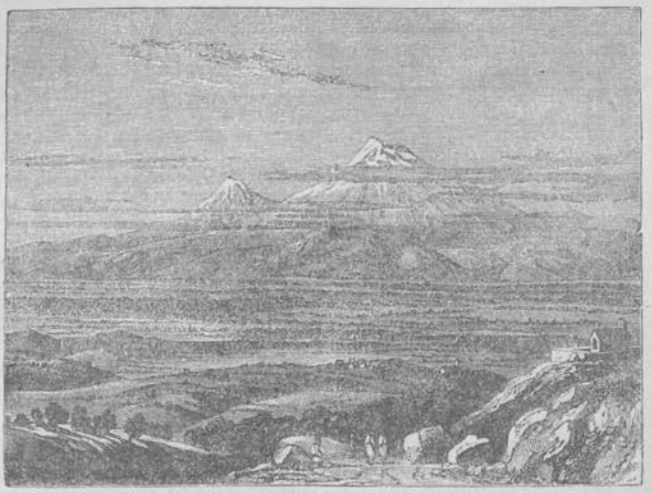
[W. A. W.] [F.]

ARARAH, or more correctly ARARATH (T.^{1} Ἀραράθ; ℵA. Ἀραράτ). A form only in Tob. i. 21 for ARARAT; cp. 2 K. xix. 37. [W.]

ARARAT (אֲרָרָט; Ἀραράτ; *Ararat*), a mountainous district of Asia mentioned in the Bible in connexion with the following events:—(1) As the resting-place of the ark after the Deluge (Gen. viii. 4, "upon the mountains of Ararat," A. V.; *super montes Armeniae*, Vulg.): (2) as the asylum of the sons of Sennacherib (2 K. xix. 37; Is. xxxvii. 38; the LXX. have εἰς Ἀρμενίαν in the latter, and the Vulg. *in terram Armeniorum* in the former passage; in both A. V. has "the land of Armenia," and R. V. "the land of Ararat"): (3) as the ally, and probably the neighbour, of Minni and Ashchenaz (Jer. li. 27). [ARMENIA.] The expression used in Gen. xi. 2, that after the Flood mankind journeyed "from the East," is explained by the cuneiform inscriptions in which the peak of Rowandiz, whereon the ark of the Chaldean Noah rested, is identified with *Kharsak Kurra*, "the mountain of the East" (p. 221, n. *a*).

The name Ararat was unknown to the geographers of Greece and Rome (except, as Sir H. Rawlinson has shown, under the form of Alarodians, Hdt. iii. 94), as it still is to the Armenians of the present day; but that it was an indigenous and an ancient name for a portion of Armenia, appears from the statement of Moses of Chorene, who gives Araratia as the designation of the

central province, and connects the name with an historical event reputed to have occurred B.C. 1750 (*Histor. Armen.* Whiston, p. 361). Jerome identified it with the great plain of the Araxes; but this view is not in accordance with the Assyrian inscriptions, in which Urardhu or Urartu (Ararat) is the country S. and E. of Lake Van, which is called Bianias on the native monuments; it would, however, be more correct to consider the name in its Biblical sense as descriptive generally of the Armenian highlands —the lofty plateau which overlooks the plain of the Araxes on the N., and of Mesopotamia on the S. We shall presently notice the characteristics of this remarkable region, which adapted it to become the cradle of the human race, and the central spot whence, after the Deluge, the nations were to radiate to different quarters of the world. It is, however, first necessary to notice briefly the opinions put forth as to the spot where the ark rested, as described in Gen. viii. 4, although all such speculations, from the indefiniteness of the account, cannot lead to any certain result. Berosus, the Chaldaean, contemporary with Alexander the Great, fixes the spot in the Gordyaean[a] mountains (πρὸς τῷ ὄρει τῶν Κορδυαίων, Joseph. *Ant.* i. 3, § 6), which appear to have been in Armenia, or in the modern Kurdistan, to the E. or N.E. of Assyria, and to have formed the boundary between the two countries. Berosus seems to have obtained his information from the Chaldaean records, which state that the ark of Xisuthrus or Sisuthrus rested on the mountain of Nizir, which lay east of Assyria between 35° and 36° N. lat. (*Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.* ii. 231. See also Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies*, p. 105, &c.) His opinion is followed by the Syriac and Chaldee Versions, which give קַרְדּוּ as the equivalent for Ararat in Gen. viii. 4, and in a later age by the Koran. Tradition still points to the *Jebel Jûdi* as the scene of the event, and maintains the belief, as stated by Berosus, that fragments of the ark exist on its summit. The selection of this range was natural



Ararat.

to an inhabitant of the Mesopotamian plain; for it presents an apparently insurmountable barrier on that side, hemming in the valley of the Tigris with abrupt declivities so closely that only during the summer months is any passage afforded between the mountain and river (Ainsworth's *Travels in the track of the Ten Thousand*, p. 154). Josephus also quotes Nicolaus Damascenus to the effect that a mountain named Baris, beyond Minyas, was the spot. This has been identified with *Varaz*, a mountain mentioned by St. Martin (*Mém. sur l'Arménie*, i. 265) as rising to the north of Lake Van, and which appears to be the same as the modern *Sipan Dagh*. Baris, however, appears in the Book of Jubilees (ch. 5) under the fuller form of Lubar, which Epiphanius (*adv. Haer.* i. 5) makes the boundary between Armenia and the Kurds; and the Minyas of Nicolaus Damascenus is the kingdom of the Minni (called Mana in the Vannic inscriptions), which adjoined Ararat or Bianias (whence the modern Van) on the south-east. That the scene of an event so deeply interesting to mankind had even at that early age been transferred, as was natural, to the loftiest and most imposing mountain in the district, appears from the statement of Josephus (*Ant.* i. 3, § 5) that the spot where Noah left the ark had received from the Armenians a name descriptive of that event, which he renders Ἀποβατήριον, and which may possibly be identical with *Nachitjevan*, on the banks of the Araxes. To this neighbourhood all the associations connected with Noah are now assigned by the native Armenians, and their opinion has been so far endorsed by Europeans that they have given the name Ararat exclusively to the mountain which is called *Massis* by the Armenians; *Aghri-Dagh*, i.e. *Painful Mountain*, by the

[a] The name Gordyene appears in the Karduchi of Xenophon and Strabo, and in the modern Kurds and Kurdistan. Kurdistan is represented by the Accadian Gutium, within the limits of which "the mountain of Nizir" or Rowandiz was situated, and the Assyrian Kutu. Urardhu or Ararat seems to be connected with the Assyrian Urdhu, which an old geographical list (*W. A. I.* ii. 48, 13) interprets by *tilla*, "highlands."

Turks; and *Koh-i-Núh*, i.e. *Noah's Mountain*, by the Persians. It rises immediately out of the plain of the Araxes, and terminates in two conical peaks, named the Great and Little Ararat, about seven miles distant from each other, the former of which attains an elevation of 17,000 feet above the level of the sea, and about 14,000 above the plain of the Araxes, while the latter is lower by 4,000 feet. The summit of the higher is covered with eternal snow for about 3,000 feet of perpendicular height. That it is of volcanic origin, is evidenced by the immense masses of lava, cinders, and porphyry with which the middle region is covered; a deep cleft on its northern side has been regarded as the site of its crater, and this cleft was the scene of a terrible catastrophe which occurred July 2, 1840, when the village of *Arghuri* and the *Monastery of St. James* were buried beneath the débris brought down from the upper heights by a violent earthquake. The summit of Ararat was long deemed inaccessible, and the Armenians still cling to this belief. It was first ascended in 1829 by Parrot, who approached it from the N.W.; he describes a secondary summit about 400 yards distant from the highest point, and on the gentle depression which connects the two eminences he surmises that the ark rested (*Journey to Ararat*, p. 179. See also Bryce, *Transcaucasia and Ararat*, p. 278). The region immediately below the limits of perpetual snow is barren, and unvisited by beast or bird. Wagner (*Reise*, p. 185) describes the silence and solitude that reigned there as quite overpowering. *Arghuri*, the only village known to have been built on its slopes, was the spot where, according to tradition, Noah planted his vineyard. Lower down, in the plain of Araxes, is *Nachitjevan*, where the patriarch is reputed to have been buried.

Returning to the broader signification we have assigned to the term "the mountains of Ararat," as co-extensive with the Armenian plateau from the base of *Ararat* in the N. to the range of *Kurdistan* in the S., we notice the following characteristics of that region as illustrating the Bible narrative:—(1) *Its elevation.* It rises as a rocky island out of a sea of plain to a height of from 6,000 to 7,000 feet above the level of the sea, presenting a surface of extensive plains, whence, as from a fresh base, spring important and lofty mountain-ranges, having a generally parallel direction from E. to W., and connected with each other by transverse ridges of moderate height. (2) *Its geographical position.* The Armenian plateau stands equidistant from the Euxine and the Caspian seas on the N., and between the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean on the S. With the first it is connected by the Acampsis, with the second by the Araxes, with the third by the Tigris and Euphrates, the latter of which also serves as an outlet towards the countries on the Mediterranean coast. These seas were the high roads of primitive colonization, and the plains watered by these rivers were the seats of the most powerful nations of antiquity, the Chaldaeans, the Assyrians, the Medes, and the Colchians. Viewed with reference to the dispersion of the nations, Armenia is the true ὀμφαλὸς of the world: and it is a significant fact that at the present day Little Ararat is the great boundary-stone between the empires of Russia, Turkey, and Persia. (3) *Its physical formation.* The Armenian plateau is the result of volcanic agencies: the plains as well as the mountains supply evidence of this. Armenia, however, differs materially from other regions of similar geological formation, as, for instance, the neighbouring range of Caucasus, inasmuch as it does not rise to a sharp, well-defined central crest, but expands into plains or steppes, separated by a graduated series of subordinate ranges. Wagner (*Reise*, p. 263) attributes this peculiarity to the longer period during which the volcanic powers were at work, and the room afforded for the expansion of the molten masses into the surrounding districts. The result of this expansion is that Armenia is far more accessible, both from without and within its own limits, than other districts of similar elevation: the passes, though high, are comparatively easy, and there is no district which is shut out from communication with its neighbours. The fall of the ground in the centre of the plateau is not decided in any direction, as is demonstrated by the early courses of the rivers —the Araxes, which flows into the Caspian, rising westward of either branch of the Euphrates, and taking at first a northerly direction—the Euphrates, which flows to the S., rising northward of the Araxes, and taking a westerly direction. (4) The *climate* is severe. Winter lasts from October to May, and is succeeded by a brief spring and a summer of intense heat. The contrast between the plateau and the adjacent countries is striking: in April, when the Mesopotamian plains are scorched with heat, and on the Euxine shore the azalea and rhododendron are in bloom, the Armenian plains are still covered with snow; and in the early part of September it freezes keenly at night. (5) The *vegetation* is more varied and productive than the climate would lead us to expect. Trees are not found on the plateau itself, but grass grows luxuriantly, and furnishes abundant pasture during the summer months to the flocks of the nomad Kurds. Wheat and barley ripen at far higher altitudes than on the Alps and the Pyrenees: the volcanic nature of the soil, the abundance of water, and the extreme heat of the short summer bring the harvest to maturity with wonderful speed. At Erzrûm, about 5,750 feet above the sea, the crops appear above ground in the middle of June, and are ready for the sickle before the end of August (Wagner, p. 255). The vine ripens at about 5,000 feet, while in Europe its limit, even south of the Alps, is about 2,650 feet.

The general result of these observations as bearing upon the Biblical narrative would be to show that, while the elevation of the Armenian plateau constituted it the natural resting-place of the ark after the Deluge, its geographical position and its physical character secured an impartial distribution of the families of mankind to the various quarters of the world. The climate furnished a powerful inducement to seek the more tempting regions on all sides of it; and the character of the vegetation was remarkably adapted to the nomad state in which we may conceive the early generations of Noah's descendants to have lived. [W. L. B.] [W.]

ARAU'NAH (אַרַוְנָה; Ges., comparing the Syriac, suggests = *vitulus*; 'Ορνά; Joseph. 'Ορουνάς; *Areuna*), a Jebusite who sold his threshing-floor on Mount Moriah to David as a site for an altar to Jehovah, together with his oxen, for 50 shekels of silver (2 Sam. xxiv. 18–24), or (according to 1 Ch. xxi. 25) for 600 shekels of gold by weight. The inference from the A. V. of 2 Sam. xxiv. 23, "these things did Araunah, the king, give unto the king," that he was one of the royal race of the Jebusites, is not supported by the R. V. "All this, O king, doth A. give," &c. His name is variously written: הָאוֹרְנָה (2 Sam. xxiv. 16); אֲרַוְנָה (xxiv. 18); אָרְנָן (1 Ch. xxi.; 2 Ch. iii. 1). [ORNAN.] [R. W. B.] [F.]

AR'BA (אַרְבַּע, Ges. perhaps = *homo quadratus; Cariath-Arbe*), the progenitor of the sons of Anak, and described as "the greatest (*i.e.* the most celebrated) man among the ANAKIM;" after him their chief city HEBRON received its name of Kirjath-arba (Josh. xiv. 15 [B. 'Αργόβ, A. 'Αρβό], xv. 13 [B. 'Αρβόκ, A. -εκ], xxi. 11 [B. Καραθαρβόκ, A. Καριαθ-]). [F. W. G.] [F.]

AR'BA, the city of (קִרְיַת אַרְבַּע; A. Καριαθαρβόκ, B. Καραθαρβόκ; *Cariatharbe*), Josh. xv. 13, xxi. 11. In both cases the A. V. marg. has "Kirjath-arba," and the R. V. "Kiriath-arba" in text; but R. V. has "the city of Arba" in marg. of xv. 13. In Josh. xxi. 11 the A. V., ed. 1611, reads "the citie of Arbah," marg. "Kiriath-arbah." [KIRJATH-ARBA.] [W.]

ARBA'H, the city of (קִרְיַת אַרְבַּע; πόλις τοῦ πεδίου; *civitas Arbee*; R. V. "Kiriath-arba"). Gen. xxxv. 27. The place elsewhere called in the A. V. KIRJATH-ARBA. The H has been made to represent the *Ain* of the Hebrew (comp. Jehoshuah; Belah, בָּלַע). The rendering of the LXX. shows that they perhaps read עַרְבָה, which they took to denote "the 'Arabah," the plain of Jordan (xxxvii. 14). [W.]

ARBA'THITE, THE (הָעַרְבָתִי; in 1 Ch. B. ὁ Γαραβαιθθί, A. Σαραβεθθεί, א. Γαραβέθ; in 2 Sam. A. ὁ Αρωβωθείας, B. υἱὸς τοῦ 'Αραβωθαίου [see ABIEL]; *Arbathites*), probably a native of the town 'Arabah. Abialbon the A. was one of David's thirty mighty men (2 Sam. xxiii. 31; 1 Ch. xi. 32). [W. A. W.] [S. R. D.]

ARBAT'TIS (T.[7] ἐν 'Αρβάττοις, א[1]. 'Αρβάνοις, א[2]. 'Αρβάκτοις; *Arbatis*), a district of Palestine named in 1 Macc. v. 23 only. Ewald conjectured (*Geschichte*, iv. 359, note), resting on the reading of the Peshito Syriac (ܐܪܕ ܒܘܛ, *Ard Bot*), that the district N. of the Sea of Galilee, part of which is still called *Ard el-Batihah*, was here intended. But it seems at least equally probable that the word is merely a corruption of 'Ακραβατίνη, the province or toparchy which lay between Neapolis and Jericho (Reland, 192; Joseph. *B. J.* iii. 3, §§ 4, 5, &c.). [AKRABBIM.] [G.] [W.]

ARBE'LA (ἐν 'Αρβήλοις; *in Arbellis*), mentioned in the Bible only in 1 Macc. ix. 2, and there only as defining the situation of Masaloth, a place besieged and taken by Bacchides and Alcimus at the opening of the campaign in which Judas Maccabaeus was killed. According to Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 11, § 1), this was at Arbela of Galilee, ἐν 'Αρβήλοις πόλει τῆς Γαλιλαίας, a place which he elsewhere states to be near Sepphoris, on the lake of Gennesareth, and remarkable for certain impregnable caves, the resort of robbers and insurgents, and the scene of more than one desperate encounter (comp. *Ant.* xiv. 15, §§ 4, 5; *B. J.* i. 16, §§ 2, 3; ii. 20, § 6; *Vita*, § 37). These topographical requirements are fully met by the existing *Irbid*,[a] a site with a few ruins, including those of a synagogue, west of *Mejdel*, on the south-east side of the *Wâdy Hamâm*, at the eastern extremity of a small plain at the foot of the hill of *Kurûn Hattin*, and overlooking the ravine. The caverns are in both faces of the ravine, and bear the name of *Kul'at Ibn Ma'an* (Rob. ii. 398; Burckh. p. 331; Irby, p. 91).

There seems no reason to doubt the soundness of this identification.[b] The army of Bacchides was on its road from Antioch to the land of Judaea (γῆν 'Ιούδα), which they were approaching "by the way that leadeth to Galgala" (Gilgal);[c] that is, by the valley of the Jordan in the direct line to which *Irbid* lies.[d] Ewald, however (*Geschichte*, iv. 370, note), insists, in opposition to Josephus, that the engagements of this campaign were confined to Judaea proper, a theory which drives him to consider "Galgala" as the *Jiljilia* north of Gophna. [GILGAL.] But he admits that no trace of an Arbela in that direction has yet come to light.

Arbela may be the Beth-arbel of Hos. x. 14, but there is nothing to ensure it. [G.] [W.]

ARBI'TE, THE (הָאַרְבִּי; *de Arbi*). Paarai the Arbite was one of David's guard (2 Sam. xxiii. 35). The word, according to Ges. and Fürst, probably signifies a native of ARAB. In the parallel list of Chronicles it is given as (Ben-)Ezbai, by a change in letters not unfrequently occurring. [EZBAI.] The LXX. is very corrupt: A. Φαραεὶ ὁ 'Αραχειείς, B. τοῦ Οὐραιοερχεί (as if הָאֹרְכִי. See Kennicott, *Dissert.* on 2 Sam. xxiii. p. 210). [G.] [W.]

ARBO'NAI, Judith ii. 24. [See ABRONAS.]

ARCHELA'US ('Αρχέλαος; *Archelaus*), son of Herod the Great by Malthaké, a Samaritan, who was also the mother of Herod Antipas. They were brought up at Rome (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 1, § 3). Archelaus was the elder of the two (Jos.

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[a] The Arbela of Alexander the Great is called *Irbil* by the Arabic historians (Rob. ii. 399). The change of *l* to *d* is not unfrequent. Moreover, the present *Irbid* is undoubtedly mentioned in the Talmud as Arbel (see Schwarz, p. 189; Reland, p. 358; Rob. iii. 343, note).

[b] First suggested in the Munich *Gel. Anzeigen*, Nov. 1836, and eagerly laid hold of by Robinson.

[c] Some MSS. and the important version of the Syriac Peshito read "Gilead;" in which case the Arbela beyond Jordan must be thought of. But it is hardly likely that Josephus would be inaccurate in his topography, in a part of the country which he knew so thoroughly.

[d] The importance of the *Wâdy Hamâm* in a military point of view, as commanding the great north road, the Sea of Galilee, and the important springs in the plain of Gennesareth, is not lost sight of by Wilson (*Lands of the Bible*, in Ritter, *Jordan*, p. 328).

B. J. i. 32, 7, and 33, 7). In an earlier will Antipas had been named king, but a later disposition, only a few days before Herod's death, took away the succession from Antipas, left him the tetrarchy of Galilee and Peraea, and transferred the richer districts of Judaea and Samaria to Archelaus, with the title of king. But the inheritance was dependent on the ratification of Augustus, and the first step was to go to Rome and obtain it. Before Archelaus could do this his government was tarnished at the outset by bloodshed. The cruelties of Herod's reign began to bear fruit, and especially vengeance was demanded on the counsellors responsible for the death of the Zealots who had destroyed the eagle above the Temple gate (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 6, § 3). The demand grew to a tumult; a cohort sent to quell it was stoned, and order was restored only by the slaughter in the Temple of about 3000 Jews. And then Archelaus was free to depart. At Rome, although opposed by his brother Antipas, he found favour with Augustus, who declared him the most worthy competitor (*ἀξιώτατον τῆς βασιλείας*, Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 9, § 7), but postponed the final decision. Now came the news from Judaea of worse disorders. Another struggle had taken place again at a feast and again in the Temple. Sabinus, the Roman procurator during the interregnum, had burned the Temple courts, plundered the treasure, and was now himself besieged. Judas, the robber captain, was master of Galilee; and Simon, Athronges, and Herod's dismissed soldiers, all contributed to the disorder. Peace was restored by Varus, legate of Syria, at the head of a powerful army, and 2000 of the rebels were crucified. It was time that the question of the succession should be settled. Archelaus, Antipas, and Philip were all present to plead their cause; but besides these, an embassy of fifty Jews, backed by 8000 of their countrymen in Rome, came to pray to be delivered from such rulers as Herod and Archelaus, and to be placed under the direct government of Rome, as an appendage (*προσθήκη*) to the province of Syria. The message (*πρεσβεία*) sent after Archelaus, "We will not have this man to reign over us," puts it beyond a doubt that his journey to receive a kingdom suggested a feature in the parable of Luke xix. 12 sq. The sacred use made of the history of a bad man finds a parallel in the case of the "unjust judge" in the preceding chapter (Luke xviii. 3). Augustus now decided the matter by confirming the division appointed by Herod's final will. Archelaus retained Judaea, Idumaea, and Samaria, with a revenue three times as large as that of Antipas. But his title was to be ethnarch, and that of king was only promised conditionally on his showing he deserved it (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 11, § 4). So Asander had been ethnarch of the Bosporus, and was promoted by Augustus to be "king" of the same district (Lucian, *Macrob.* 17, quoted by Anger). At this point Matt. ii. 22 may be noticed, though the exact period of Archelaus' government at which Joseph returned from Egypt is not ascertained. At any rate it took place after sufficient evidence had been given of Archelaus' cruel disposition, either by his massacres (Passover, B.C. 4), or in other ways. But the difficulty of the text lies in the word "reigns" (*βασιλεύει*). Archelaus was never king as Herod intended him to be. Augustus made him ethnarch, and as ethnarch he is described on his coins. It may here be added that on these coins he bears the family name of Herod (see Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, p. 117). However, inasmuch as his assumption of the dignity of king was a principal ground of Antipater's attack upon him (*ἐπικαλῶν προκάθισιν ἐπὶ θρόνου βασιλείου, καὶ δικῶν διαλύσεις ὡς ὑπὸ βασιλέως γενομένας*, Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 9, § 5), he may well have been popularly known as *βασιλεύς*, and indeed Josephus himself (*Ant.* xviii. 4, 3) speaks of him under that title. Herod Antipas the tetrarch is also called "the king" (*ὁ βασιλεύς*, Matt. xiv. 9; Mark vi. 14). The rule of Archelaus lasted ten years, B.C. 4 to A.D. 6. Like all the Herods, he was a great builder, but beyond this we know little of his public acts. In his private life he gave cause of offence to his subjects by divorcing his wife Mariamme to marry Glaphyra, who had been the wife, first of his brother Alexander, and then of Juba, king of Mauretania. The fact that there was issue of her marriage with Alexander prevented her marriage with Archelaus being admissible under the law of Levirate. Finally, A.D. 6, another deputation both from Judaea and Samaria went to Rome, and their complaints of his cruelty led Augustus to send at once for Archelaus. He confronted him with his accusers, condemned him, and sentenced him to banishment at Vienne (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 13, § 2), where he died (Strabo, xvi. 2, 46). His tomb however was shown near Bethlehem (Jerome, *OS.*[2] p. 135, 12, *s. v.* Bethleem). On his coins he is called "Herod, Ethnarch" (Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, p. 115), and Dio Cassius (lv. 27) calls him "Herod the Palestinian." See Schürer, *N. T. Zeitgeschichte*, § 17. [E. R. B.]

ARCHERY. [ARMS.]

AR'CHEVITES (אַרְכְּוִיא [*Kerî*]; B. Ἀρχοῦοι, A. Ἀχυαῖοι; *Erchuaei*), the inhabitants of ERECH or Warka, one of the Babylonian cities mentioned in Gen. x. 10 (Schrader, *KAT.*[2] p. 94, &c.); some of whom had been placed as colonists in Samaria (Ezra iv. 9. Cp. Bertheau-Ryssel in loco). [W. L. B.] [F.]

AR'CHI (הָאַרְכִּי; B. Χαταρωθεί, A. Ἀρχιαταρώθ; *Archi*), Josh. xvi. 2. [ARCHITE.] [W. A. W.]

ARCHIP'PUS (Ἄρχιππος; *Archippus*), a Christian entrusted with office (*διακονία*) in the Church to the discharge of which he is bid to take heed (Col. iv. 17). In respect of his ministry he is a fellow-soldier (*συνστρατιώτης*) of St. Paul and Timothy, and is thus greeted by them (Philem. 2). In the verse quoted his name follows those of Philemon and Apphia, and he must therefore from the private character of the letter have been closely connected with Philemon, perhaps his son. The return of Onesimus to Colossae (Col. iv. 9) has been held to prove that Philemon, and therefore also Archippus, lived there. But as this proof is not conclusive respecting Philemon, so it is still less so respecting Archippus. He may have been greeted in a letter to Philemon, even though not habitually resident in his house. Laodicea is "within a walk" from Colossae.

The message in Col. iv. 17 is apparently the last clause of a message to Laodicea, which is to be conveyed by the Colossians, "Greet them, cause them to read your letter, and say to Archippus." We may follow Wieseler in this view of the passage, and conclude with him that Archippus' ministry was exercised at Laodicea, without going on to Wieseler's further conclusion that Philemon therefore also lived at Laodicea, and that "the Epistle from Laodicea" was the Epistle to Philemon, a wholly untenable suggestion. It is impossible to fix the nature of the διακονία exercised by Archippus. Bp. Lightfoot suggests that he was either a presbyter or an evangelist, not a deacon. He also calls attention to the coincidence between this warning to the pastor of Laodicea and the warnings to the same church, Rev. iii. 14–19 (see Bp. Lightfoot, *Epp. Col. and Philem.*, Philem. Introduction, whose view has been followed throughout; also Wieseler, *Chron. Ap. Zeitalt.* p. 452). Tradition makes Archippus bishop of Laodicea, e.g. *Apost. Const.* vii. 46. There is a story of his martyrdom at Chonae near Laodicea. He was buried (χώνυνται) up to his middle in a pit, pricked by the boys with their pencils (γραφεῖα), and finally stoned (*Menol. Graec. Basil.* i. 206). [E. R. B.]

ARCHI'TE, THE (הָאַרְכִּי, as if from a place named Erech, אֶרֶךְ; 2 Sam. xv., xvi., B. ὁ ἀρχιέταιρος (A. ἀρχειέταιρος, for ὁ Ἀρχί, ἑταῖρος); 2 Sam. xvii., A. ὁ Ἀραχί, B. -χει; 1 Ch. ὁ πρῶτος φίλος; *Arachites*), the usual designation of David's friend Hushai (2 Sam. xv. 32, xvi. 16, xvii. 5, 14; 1 Ch. xxvii. 33).

The word also appears (somewhat disguised, it is true, in the A. V.) in Josh. xvi. 2, where "the borders of Archi" (*i.e.* "the Archite," R. V. "the Archites")* are named as on the boundary of the "children of Joseph," and in the neighbourhood of Bethel. The name appears to be preserved in *'Ain Arik*, a small village 5 miles W.S.W. of Bethel, which is marked on the map of Marino Sanuto, 1321 A.D., as *Arccha* (*P. F. Mem.* iii. 7). No town of the name of אֶרֶךְ appears in Palestine. Is it possible that, as in the case of the Gerizi, the Zemarites and the Jebusites, we have here the last faint trace of one of the original tribes of the country? [G.] [W.]

ARCHITECTURE. The Book of Genesis appears to divide mankind into two great characteristic sections, viz. the "dwellers in tents" and the "dwellers in cities;" it tells us further, that Cain was the founder of a city, and that among his descendants one, Jubal, was the "father" of the tent-dwellers, while Tubal-cain was the "instructor of every artificer in brass and iron" (Gen. iv. 17–22). These last were probably for the most part dwellers in towns; and thus the arts of architecture and metallurgy became from the earliest times characteristic of the city-dwelling, as distinguished from the nomadic, tendency among the races of mankind.

To the race of Ham, and especially to Nimrod, is attributed, in Gen. x. 10, 11, the foundation of the cities of Babylon, Erech, Accad, and Calneh, in the plain of Shinar; while to that of Shem, especially to Asshur, is assigned the foundation of Nineveh, Calah, Resen, and Rehoboth. Whether by this last name a separate city be meant, or only the suburbs of one of the other places named, is not important to consider here (see Schrader, *KAT.*² pp. 100, 101). Of Resen (possibly the Rišin of the Assyrian Monuments, Schrader, *l. c.*) the writer says that it was a "great city," viz. at the time at which he wrote, *i.e.* probably as early as the 13th century B.C., if not still earlier. From the same Book we obtain an account of the earliest recorded building, and of the materials employed in its construction, the so-called Tower of Babel, with which the structure called Birs-Nimroud was long believed to be identical. For descriptions of the several towns mentioned above the reader is referred to the separate articles under their names; but of the ruined Birs-Nimroud, which beyond all doubt represents both in site and in plan a previous structure of a much earlier date, the remark may be made which applies to most other remains of ancient buildings in Southern Chaldaea and Mesopotamia, that it was mainly constructed of brick. The greater part of the structure of the Birs-Nimroud has been reduced by fire to an almost shapeless mass of ruin, though vast numbers of bricks have been drawn out of it inscribed with the name of Nebuchadnezzar, its rebuilder. In other structures masses of walling still remain composed of bricks, many of them dried in the sun, but many carefully burnt in the kiln, highly glazed and coloured, and bearing inscriptions; and in some cases laid with reeds between the courses, and firmly cemented with bitumen, the "slime" with which the valley of the Euphrates so remarkably abounds, and which gives its name to the ruined city of Mugheir ("city of bitumen." Cp. Gen. iv. 17, 20, 22, x. 8–12, xi. 2, 3–11; Bohn, *Early Travellers*, p. 100; Vaux, *Nin. and Persep.* pp. 173, 178; Pietro della Valle, *Viaggi*, vol. ii. 844, 862; Loftus, *Chald.* p. 198; Perrot et Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'antiquité*, passim; Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 221, 249, 278; *Nin. and Bab.* p. 531; Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.* ii. 534; Babelon, *Man. d'Archéologie Orientale*, passim).

Whether the Cushite race by which lower Chaldaea was colonised and Babel built was imported into that country from Africa is not a question to be discussed here, but we see plainly that both they and the dominant race of the Egyptian people were alike descended from Ham, while that of Asshur, the inhabitants of the upper region in which Nineveh, though perhaps not built by them, was situate, was derived from Shem (Gen. x. 6, 10, 11, 22). Certain it is that strong resemblances exist between the Assyrian architecture of Nineveh and that of Egypt (Layard, ii. 206 sq.), and thus the oldest known architecture in the world is beyond all doubt connected in style also with that which appears to come next to it in the order of historical record. We may say then that, so far as is known at present, the race of Ham were the earliest builders among the human race, as in some respects their buildings surpass in grandeur and impressive solemnity, as some of them surpass greatly in size, any now

* Compare Josh. xviii. 16, where "Jebusi" should be translated "the Jebusite" (R. V.), as it has been in xv. 8. See also GERIZIM; ZEMARAIM.

remaining that have come after them. We may add that from the same original stock came the races denoted by the names Canaan and Sidon, of whose architectural works in some form or other remains may perhaps still be traced in Syria, and whose towns, many of them fortified, were planted over the country long before the occupation of it by the Israelites. Of towns in one part or other of that region two at least may claim a very remote but well authenticated antiquity: Damascus, whose origin, probably Semitic, is earlier in date than the time of Abraham; and Hebron, of Hittite (*i.e.* Canaanite) origin, which is said to have been built seven years before Zoan in Egypt. If the identification of Zoan or Tanis with Avaris, the city founded by the shepherd kings, be accepted, this date would carry back the origin of Kirjath-arba or Hebron to a period not later than 2,000 B.C. (Gen. xiii. 18, xiv. 13; Num. xiii. 22; Josh. xiv. 15; 1 K. iv. 13; Manetho, *apud* Joseph. *c. Ap.* i. 14; Fergusson, *Hist. of Arch.* i. 112). The Israelites were by occupation shepherds, and by habit dwellers in tents (Gen. xlvi. 32; xlvii. 3), and the "house" built by Jacob at Succoth is probably no exception to this statement (Ges. p. 192), but during their slavery in Egypt they were compelled, together with other Egyptian captives, to labour at the buildings of their Egyptian masters, for whom it is said that they built the cities of Pithom and Raamses (Ex. i. 11; P. Smith, *Hist. of World*, i. 147; Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.*, ii. 195 [1878]). When they entered Palestine, we know that in many cases they occupied the cities which they found there, but in some of the low lands they perhaps built for themselves abodes of sun-dried bricks, whose ruins may still perhaps be found in the "tells" or heaps of rubbish in the plain of Esdraelon, and in the Jordan valley (Deut. vi. 10; Josh. xxiv. 13; *Survey of Western Pal.* vol. ii. p. 129; Conder, *Tent Life*, ii. 46). The native limestone which abounds in Palestine would supply a ready material for building (Deut. xxii. 8), but, from some reason or other, the Israelites do not appear to have undertaken any great architectural work until the time of David. Even the ark of God dwelt "within curtains" (2 Sam. vii. 2); but David made large collections of materials, and prepared careful plans for a sumptuous building to contain it, which however it was reserved for Solomon to complete, in great measure, with imported materials and foreign workmen (1 K. v.–x.; 1 Ch. xxviii. xxix.). Besides the Temple and his other great works of various kinds in and near Jerusalem, Solomon built fortresses and cities in various places, among which the names and sites of Baalath and Tadmor are in all probability represented by the modern superstructures of Baalbek and Palmyra (1 K. ix. 15, 24). Among the succeeding kings of Israel and of Judah more than one is recorded as a builder: Asa (1 K. xv. 23), Baasha (xvi. 17), Omri (xvi. 24), Ahab (xvi. 34, xxii. 39), Hezekiah (2 K. xx. 20; 2 Ch. xxxii. 27, 30), Jehoash and Josiah (2 K. xii. 11, 12; xxii. 6); and, lastly, Jehoiakim, of whose winter palace, or apartments, mention is made (Jer. xxii. 14; xxxvi. 22. See also Hos. viii. 14; Amos iii. 15).

On the return from the Captivity the chief care of the Jewish rulers was to rebuild the Temple and the walls of Jerusalem in a substantial manner with stone and timber from Lebanon (Ezra iii. 7–10, v. 8; Neh. ii. 8, iii. 7–10), and no doubt both in public and in domestic architecture about this time the Jews borrowed much from the people among whom they had lived (Ezek. viii. 10, xxiii. 14, 15; Hagg. i. 4; Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 307, 308). During the government of the Maccabees the fortress (Baris), called afterwards by Herod Antonia, was erected for the defence of the Temple and of the city (1 Macc. iv. 60; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 11, § 2; xv. 11, § 4); but the reigns of Herod and his successors were especially remarkable for display in architecture. The Temple was restored with great magnificence, and Jerusalem was strengthened with fortifications and embellished with public buildings. Besides these great works, Caesarea was built on the site of Strato's tower, aqueducts for the town and a harbour constructed, Samaria enlarged and the name Sebaste given to it, and the town of Agrippium built; and Herod the Great carried his love of architecture, combined with a desire to gratify his Roman patrons, so far as even to adorn with buildings cities not within his own dominions (Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 9, §§ 5, 6; 11, § 4; xvi. 5, § 3;—*B. J.* i. 21, §§ 1, 2, 10, 11). His son Philip, the tetrarch, enlarged the old Greek colony of Paneas, and called it in honour of Tiberius, Caesarea, to which his own name was added, while his brother Antipas founded the city of Tiberias, and adorned the towns of Sepphoris in Galilee and Betharamphta beyond Jordan, giving to the latter the name Julias, or Livias, in honour of the mother of Tiberius (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 2, 1; Hieron. *de Sit. et Nom.* vol. iii. 173, 174; Reland, *Geog.* p. 497).

Of these buildings, including aqueducts, which perhaps may be regarded rather as engineering than as architectural works, remains exist in a more or less imperfect condition in various places, especially Jerusalem, Sebastieh (Samaria), Jebel Fureidis (Herodium), Sebbeh (Masada), Hebron, and others, besides the outlying but much more perfect and magnificent remains of Roman construction at Baalbek and Palmyra. The huge stones employed in the Assyrian, Egyptian, and Persepolitan buildings find their parallel in the substructions of Baalbek, more ancient than the superstructure, and also in those of the Temple at Jerusalem, relics of the building either of Herod or even perhaps of Solomon (Layard, *Nin.* ii. 317, 318; Robinson, i. 286, iii. 511). But though Palestine is a land of ruins, not many connected relics of public buildings of a more remote antiquity than the time of Herod can be traced; nevertheless, in tombs excavated from the rock, in cisterns and reservoirs, in towers built in vineyards, and in rock-cut wine-presses, but especially in the watercourse beneath the Temple lately explored, the remains of construction of a more ancient date must be acknowledged. Perhaps also some traces of Phoenician or Canaanite work in the neighbourhood of Tyre may be believed to exist (*Survey of Western Pal.* i. 63, 80, 81, 184; ii. 211, 350; iii. 85, 90, 335, 441; Thomson, *Land and Book*, xiii. 178–194, 468). But after the Roman conquest, during the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D., while Galilee was inhabited by Jews, they built many synagogues, of which the re-

mains exist, some of them of considerable importance, and in a tolerable state of preservation. In these Greek and Roman styles of architecture are combined with features which are especially Jewish; and although they probably belong to dates later than that of any Book in the sacred Volume, they doubtless reproduce some of the national characteristics of the earlier period, and are thus of great service in illustrating the history of its architecture (*Survey of Pal.* i. 232 and iii.; *Notes on Architecture*, p. 441 sq.). The extent to which the architecture of Palestine was indebted to foreign models as well as foreign workmen has already been noticed. We may add that the Books of Nehemiah and Esther make mention of the palace at Susa, in which the Persian kings resided during the spring months, and where Artaxerxes Longimanus was residing when he gave Nehemiah permission to undertake his work (Neh. i. 1), while the Book of Esther describes some of its arrangements (Esth. i. 2, 6). The books of Judith and Tobit also mention, and to some extent describe, the city of Ecbatana, the royal city of the Median monarchs (Jud. i. 1–4; Tob. iii. 7, xiv. 14; Herod. i. 98; Fergusson, *Hist. of Architecture*, i. 200, 201; Loftus, *Chaldaea*, pp. 339–380; St. Clair, *Buried City of Jerusalem*, p. 25). See CITIES, FENCED CITIES, HOUSE, POOLS, SYNAGOGUES, BABYLON, JERUSALEM, &c. [H. W. P.]

ARCTU'RUS. The Hebrew words עָשׁ, *'Ash*, and עַיִשׁ, *'Aish*, rendered "Arcturus" in the A. V. of Job ix. 9, xxxviii. 32, in conformity with the Vulg. of the former passage [in xxxviii. 32, the Vulg. has a different rendering, *vesperum super filios terrae*], are now generally believed to be identical, and to represent the constellation Ursa Major, known commonly as the Great Bear, or Charles's Wain (R. V. "the Bear" in both passages. See Ges. *s. n.*, and Delitzsch on Job ix. 9). Niebuhr (*Desc. de l'Arab.* p. 101) relates that he met with a Jew at Sanà, who identified the Hebrew *'Ash* with the constellation known to the Arabs by the name *Um en-na'sh*, or *Na'sh* simply, as the Jew of Bagdad informed him. The four stars in the body of the Bear are named *En-na'sh* in the tables of Ulugh Beigh, those in the tail being called *el Benât*, "the daughters" (cp. Job xxxviii. 32, בָּנֶיהָ, A. V. "his sons," R. V. "her train"). The ancient Versions differ greatly in their renderings. In the LXX. of Job ix. 9 the word corresponding in order to *'Ash* is Πλειάδα, the "Pleiades" (Ἀρκτοῦρον corresponding to כִּימָה; in the A. V. and R. V. "Pleiades"), and in the LXX. of Job xxxviii. 32 the word corresponding to *'Aish* is Ἕσπερον, "Hesperus," the evening star. In the former they are followed or supported by the Chaldee, in the latter by the Vulgate. R. David Kimchi and the Talmudists understood by *'Ash* the tail of the Ram or the head of the Bull, by which they are supposed to indicate the bright star Aldebaran in the Bull's eye. But the greatest difficulty is found in the rendering of the Syriac translators, who give as the equivalent of both *'Ash* and *'Aish* the word ܥܝܘܫ, *'Iyutho*, which is interpreted to signify the bright star Capella in the constellation Auriga (see Ges.), and is so rendered in the Arabic translation of Job. On this point, however, great difference of opinion is found. Bar Ali conjectured that *'Iyutho* was either Capella or the constellation Orion; while Bar Bahlul hesitated between Capella, Aldebaran, and a cluster of three stars in the face of Orion. Following the rendering of the Arabic, Hyde considered *'Ash* and *'Aish* distinct; the former being the Great Bear, and the latter the bright star Capella, or α of the constellation Auriga. [W. A. W.] [F.]

ARD (אֶרֶד; Ἀράδ; *Arad*). **1.** The youngest son of Benjamin (Gen. xlvi. 21), according to the Heb. and Vulg. texts; but according to the LXX. son of Gera, grandson of Bela, and great-grandson of Benjamin. Cp. 1 Ch. vii. 6, viii. 1–3. **2.** Son of Bela, and grandson of Benjamin (Num. xxvi. 40; LXX. *v.* 44, B. Ἀδάρ, AF. Ἀδέρ; *Hered*), written Addar in 1 Ch. viii. 3 (אַדָּר; A. Ἀρέδ, B. Ἀλεί; *Addar*). His descendants are called THE ARDITES (הָאַרְדִּי), Num. xxvi. 40. [W. A. W.] [F.]

AR'DATH—"the field which is called Ardath"—2 Esdras ix. 26. In the Syriac and Aethiopic Versions it is called ARPHAD (cp. Is. x. 9; Jer. xlix. 23). Volkmar (*Einl. in d. Apokr.* ii. 131) and others take the name to be a corruption for Arbath, "desert," and to be expressive of the then condition of the land (cp. 2 Esd. x. 21, 22). [F.]

ARDITES, THE. [ARD.]

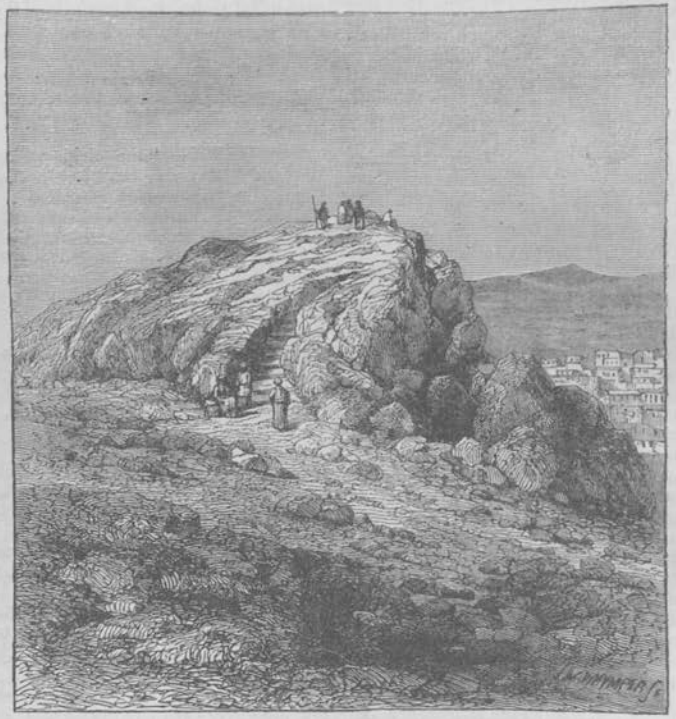
AR'DON (אַרְדּוֹן; BA. Ὀρνά, T.[1] Ἀρδών; *Ardon*), the son of Caleb, the son of Hezron, by his wife Azubah (1 Ch. ii. 18). [W. A. W.]

ARE'LI (אַרְאֵלִי, perhaps *son of a hero;* Sam. ארולי; *Areli*), a son of Gad (Gen. xlvi. 16, A. Ἀρηλείς, *D.* Ἀριηλίς; Num. xxvi. 17, LXX. *v.* 26, B. Ἀριήλ, A. omits). His descendants are called THE ARELITES (Num. xxvi. 17, LXX. *v.* 26, B. ὁ Ἀριηλεί, A. omits). [W. A. W.] [F.]

AREOPAGITE (Ἀρεοπαγίτης; *Areopagita*). A member of the court of Areopagus (Acts xvii. 34). [See DIONYSIUS.] [W. A. W.]

AREOPAGUS or MARS' HILL (ὁ Ἄρειος πάγος, *i.e.* the hill of Ares or Mars; *Areopagus*, Vulg.) was a rocky height in Athens, opposite the western end of the Acropolis, from which it is separated only by an elevated valley. It rises gradually from the northern end, and terminates abruptly on the south, over against the Acropolis, at which point it is about fifty or sixty feet above the valley already mentioned. Of the site of the Areopagus, there can be no doubt, both from the description of Pausanias and from the narrative of Herodotus, who relates that it was a height over against the Acropolis, from which the Persians assailed the latter rock (Paus. i. 28, § 5; Herod. viii. 52). According to tradition it was called the hill of Mars (Ares), because this god was brought to trial here before the assembled gods by Neptune (Poseidon), on account of his murdering Halirrhothius, the son of the latter. The spot is memorable as the place of meeting of the Council of Areopagus (ἡ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ βουλή), frequently called the Upper

Council (ἡ ἄνω βουλή) to distinguish it from the Council of Five Hundred, which held its sittings in the valley below the hill. It existed as a criminal tribunal before the time of Solon, and was the most ancient and venerable of all the Athenian courts. It consisted of all persons who had held the office of Archon, and who were members of it for life, unless expelled for misconduct. It enjoyed a high reputation, not only in Athens, but throughout Greece. Before the time of Solon the court tried only cases of wilful murder, wounding, poison, and arson; but he gave it extensive powers of a censorial and political nature. The Council is mentioned by Cicero (*ad Fam.* xiii. 1; *ad Att.* i. 14, v. 11), and continued to exist even under the Roman emperors. Its meetings were held on the south-eastern summit of the rock. There are till sixteen stone steps cut in the rock, leading up to the hill from the valley of the Agora below; and immediately above the steps is a bench of stones excavated in the rock, forming three sides of a quadrangle, and facing the south. Here the Areopagites sat as judges in the open air (ὑπαίθριοι ἐδικάζοντο, Pollux, viii. 118). On the eastern and western side is a raised block. The blocks are probably the two rude stones which Pausanias saw there, and which are described by Euripides as assigned, the one to the accuser, the other to the criminal, in the causes which were tried in the court (*Iph. T.* 961). The Areopagus possesses peculiar interest to the



Areopagus or Mars' Hill at Athens, showing the steps that led from the Agora to the top of the hill.

Christian, as the spot from which St. Paul delivered his memorable address to the men of Athens (Acts xvii. 22–31). It has been supposed by some commentators that St. Paul was brought before the Council of Areopagus; but there is no trace in the narrative of any judicial proceedings. St. Paul "disputed daily" in the "market" or Agora (xvii. 17). [See ATHENS.] Attracting more and more attention, "certain philosophers of the Epicureans and of the Stoicks" brought him up from the market-place, probably by the stone steps already mentioned, to the Areopagus above, that they might listen to him more conveniently. Here the philosophers probably took their seats on the stone benches usually occupied by the members of the Council, while the multitude stood upon the steps and in the valley below. For details, see *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Ant.* art. *Areiopagus*; *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geogr.* i. p. 281. [W. S.]

A'RES (Ἄρες; *Ares*). ARAH No. 2 (1 Esd. v. 10). [W. A. W.]

AR'ETAS (Ἀρέτας; in inscriptions חרתת, with distinctive title עמו רחם, "friend of his people" [Doughty, quoted below]), a common appellation of several Nabathean kings. (For Nabathean, see NEBAIOTH.) Their capital was Petra [SELA].

1. The contemporary of Antiochus Epiphanes (B.C. 170) and of Jason (2 Macc. v. 8). [B. F. W.]

2. "Aretas the king" (2 Cor. xi. 32). The ethnarch of this Aretas endeavoured to arrest St. Paul in Damascus, but he was let down the wall in a basket and escaped his enemies. We

must now endeavour to identify this Aretas, and fix his date. Josephus (*Ant.* xvi. 9, § 4) mentions the accession of Aeneas, who thereupon changed his name to Aretas. This happened B.C. 7. Herod Antipas married the daughter of an Aretas, and had lived with her "a long time" (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 5, §1), when he determined to divorce her to make room for Herodias (prob. A.D. 29, Wieseler). If Aretas Aeneas and Aretas the father-in-law of Antipas are the same man, his reign must have lasted from 40 to 50 years, as the revenge of the latter took place A.D. 36. This has received confirmation from the recent discoveries of Doughty (*Documents épigraphiques recueillis dans le Nord de l'Arabie*, Paris, 1884). Inscription 3 is dated in the 48th year of this Aretas, *i.e.* A.D. 40. In A.D. 41 he was succeeded by Malku (Inscr. 1). The difficulty is how it came about that, at the date of St. Paul's escape, Damascus was again a part of the Nabathean kingdom, as is implied by the rule there of the ethnarch of Aretas. [For Ethnarch, see GOVERNOR.] It had been part of that kingdom under an earlier Aretas (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 15, § 2), B.C. 85. Since that date it had changed masters five times (Anger, *de Temp.* p. 175), reverting after Cleopatra's rule to the Romans. The difficulty to be dealt with arises from conflicting hypotheses as to the way in which Damascus passed to Aretas.

1. The first hypothesis is that it was taken by force. In support of this view the coincidence is alleged that in A.D. 36, shortly before the probable time of St. Paul's escape, Aretas, father-in-law of Antipas, irritated by the insult to his daughter and by boundary disputes, had sent an army into the territories of the latter and had won a great victory (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 5, § 1). This campaign of Aretas has a special interest, as Josephus tells us (*Ant.* xviii. 5, § 2) that it was believed by the populace to be a Divine punishment for Antipas' murder of John the Baptist; while Hausrath (*Zeit der Apostel*, i. p. 207) sees in it the explanation of the subsidence of all the popular excitement produced by the Messianic expectations aroused by John the Baptist and Jesus Himself. Vitellius, legate of Syria, was then commanded by Tiberius to help Antipas, and to bring Aretas dead or alive. Vitellius advanced, but hearing at Jerusalem, March, A.D. 37, that Tiberius was dead, he returned to Antioch. It is suggested that either at the time of the Nabathean invasion, or after the retirement of Vitellius, an officer of Aretas may have occupied and retained Damascus. The objection to this view lies in the fact that the Legate of Syria would scarcely have permitted part of a Roman province to be seized and held by the Nabatheans (R. Anger, *de Temp.* p. 179).

2. The second hypothesis is that it was granted to Aretas by the Roman emperor. In support of this view it is alleged that the Emperor Caligula, A.D. 38, did make several changes in the East, including a grant to Soemus of Ituraea, a district not very remote from Damascus (Dio Cassius, lix. 12). He may, it is said, have granted Damascus to Aretas at the same time; and this grant is the more probable, because on the fall and exile of Antipas, A.D. 37, Aretas, who had been his bitter enemy, might naturally be received into favour, and receive a substantial token of Roman friendship.

It is evident that both these explanations, however probable, are pure hypotheses. We can only say that there is nothing unlikely in the fact that a city which had at one time belonged to the Nabathean kingdom, which lay not very far from its northern border, and which had frequently changed hands, should again for a time, either by conquest or grant, have become subject to the king of Petra. The history of Herod the Great shows the Arabs ever on the watch for opportunities of encroachment along the whole eastern border of Palestine from north to south.

No explanation is tenable which represents the ethnarch in any other light than that of a governor holding the city for Aretas. The fact that in Acts ix. 24 the watching of the gates is attributed to the Jews and not to the ethnarch, does not prove him to have been a Jewish officer. The union between the Nabathean civil government and the Jews to oppose Christianity in Damascus presents an exact parallel with the union between Romans and Jews in Jerusalem for the same purpose.

One fact must be added which tends to show that Damascus was not in Roman hands at this time. We have Damascene coins of Augustus and Tiberius, and again of Nero and his successors, but none of Caius and Claudius. This is a negative confirmation of St. Paul's statement.

For the hypothesis of conquest, see Winer, *RWB.* art. Aretas; for that of *gift*, see Wieseler, *Chronologie des Apost. Zeitalters*, pp. 167–175. Wieseler's view is adopted by Conybeare and Howson, *Life of St. Paul*, vol. i. chap. iii. For the coinage of the several kings bearing the name of Aretas, see Langlois, *Numismatique des Arabes*, p. 20, who disposes of Wieseler's account of a dated coin of Aretas synchronising with the occupation in St. Paul's time. See also Conybeare and Howson, *l. c.*, note at end of chapter iii. [E. R. B.]

ARE'US, a king of the Lacedaemonians, whose letter to the high-priest Onias is given in 1 Macc. xii. 20 *sq.* He is called *Areus* in the E. V. in *v.* 20 and in the margin of *v.* 7; but in the Greek text he is named Ὀνιάρης in *v.* 20, and Δαρεῖος in *v.* 7: there can be little doubt, however, that these are corruptions of Ἄρευς. Thus Ὀνιάρης, which appears in B. in the form Ὀνιαάρης, indicates the two names Onias and Areus (see *Speaker's Commentary*, note in loco). In Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 4, § 10; 5, § 8) the name is written Ἀρεῖος, and in the Vulgate *Arius*. There were two Spartan kings of the name of Areus, of whom the first reigned B.C. 309–265, and the second, the grandson of the former, died when a child of eight years old in B.C. 257. There were three high-priests of the name of Onias, of whom the first held the office B.C. 323–300. This is the one who must have written the letter to Areus I., probably in some interval between B.C. 309 and 300 (see Grimm, *zu Macc.* p. 185; *Speaker's Commentary* on 1 Macc. xii. 7). [ONIAS.] [F.]

AR'GOB (אַרְגֹּב, once with the def. article הָאַרְגֹּב = "the stony," from רָגַב, Ges. *Thes.* p. 1260; Ἀργόβ; *Argob*), a tract of country on the east of the Jordan, in Bashan, in the kingdom

of Og, containing sixty "great" and fortified "cities" (עָרִים). Argob was in the portion allotted to the half-tribe of Manasseh, and was taken possession of by Jair, a chief man in that tribe. [JAIR; BASHAN; HAVOTH-JAIR.] It afterwards formed one of Solomon's commissariat districts, under the charge of an officer whose residence was at Ramoth-Gilead (Deut. iii. 4, 13, 14; 1 K. iv. 13). In later times Argob was called Trachonitis, apparently a mere translation of the older name. [TRACHONITIS.] In the Samaritan Version it is rendered ריגובאה (Rigobaah)[a]; but in the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan it is טרכונא[b] (*i.e.* Trachonitis). Later on we trace it in the Arabic Version of Saadiah as موجب (*Mujeb*, with the same meaning); and it is now apparently identified with the *Lejah*, اللجاة, a very remarkable district south of Damascus, and east of the Sea of Galilee, which has been visited and described by Burckhardt (pp. 111–119), Seetzen, Porter (vol. ii. specially pp. 240–245), Wetzstein, Merrill, and others. This extraordinary region—a great lava bed some 350 square miles in extent—is elevated about 20 feet above the surrounding plain. The surface is described by a recent traveller as being black, and as having the "appearance of the sea when it is in motion beneath a dark, cloudy sky, and when the waves are of good size but without any white crests of foam. But the sea is motionless, and its great waves are petrified" (Merrill, *East of Jordan*, p. 11). The lava bed has been formed by the junction of two streams of lava from the Jebel Hauran: one proceeding from the craters of *Abu Tûnus*, *Garara*, *Gemel*, and *Shihân;* the other from *El-Kleb* (Wetzstein, *Reisebericht*). The whole of the *Lejah* is a vast labyrinth of clefts and crevasses, formed whilst the lava was cooling, in which soil of surprising fertility is found; it is full of caves which have been occupied as dwellings, and in which robber bands lurk at the present day, and, at many points, there are copious living fountains in which the water is not only abundant but cool and sweet (Merrill, p. 14; see also Wright in *Leisure Hour*, 1874, p. 380). The rock is filled with little pits and air-bubbles; it is as hard as flint, and emits a sharp metallic sound when struck (Porter, ii. 241). The edge of the lava bed is like some rugged shore, with occasional black promontories of rock jutting out into the plain; there are few openings to the interior, which is so difficult of access that roads have had to be excavated to the towns situated within it. Wetzstein mentions fifty-one of these towns, and there were others which he did not visit. A Roman road runs through the district from S. to N., probably between Bosra and Damascus. On the outer boundary of the *Lejah* are situated, amongst others, the towns known in Biblical history as Kenath and Edrei. In the absence of more conclusive evidence on the point, a strong presumption in favour of the identification of the *Lejah* with Argob arises from the peculiar Hebrew word constantly attached to Argob, and in this definite sense apparently to Argob only. This word is חֶבֶל (Chebel), literally "a rope" (σχοίνισμα, περίμετρον, *funiculus*), and it designates with charming accuracy the remarkably defined boundary-line of the district of the *Lejah*, which is spoken of as "a rocky shore;" "sweeping round in a circle clearly defined as a rocky shore line;" "resembling a Cyclopean wall in ruins" (Porter, ii. 19, 219, 239, &c.); "rope-like lip" (Wright, *l. c.*). The extraordinary features of this region are rendered still more extraordinary by the contrast which it presents to the surrounding plain of the Hauran, a high plateau of waving downs of the richest agricultural soil stretching from the Sea of Galilee to the *Lejah*, and beyond that to the desert, almost literally "without a stone;" and it is not to be wondered at—if the identification proposed above be correct—that this contrast should have struck the Israelites, and that their language, so scrupulous of minute topographical distinctions, should have perpetuated in the words Mishor, Argob, and Chebel, at once the level downs of Bashan [MISHOR], the stony labyrinth which so suddenly intrudes itself on the soil (Argob), and the definite fence or boundary which encloses it [CHEBEL]. [G.] [W.]

AR'GOB (2 K. xv. 25), perhaps a Gileadite officer. According to one interpretation of this passage, Argob and Arieh were accomplices of Pekah in the murder of Pekahiah; but according to others (Thenius, Keil), Argob and Arieh were more probably two princes of Pekahiah, whose influence Pekah feared, and whom he therefore slew with the king. The LXX. agrees with the latter view, while the Vulg. *juxta Argob et juxta Arie* takes the names as localities. Klostermann (*Kgf. Komm.* in loco, edd. Strack u. Zöckler) collects various solutions of a passage difficult and suspicious, and of which no very plausible emendation has yet been proposed. [W. A. W.] [F.]

ARIARA'THES (properly Mithridates, Diod. xxxi., X., p. 25, ed. Bip.) VI., PHILOPATOR (T.? Ἀριαράθης, A. Ἀράθης; *Ariarathes*, probably signifying "*great*" or "*honourable master*," from the roots existing in *aryas* [Sanscrit], "honourable," and *rata* [head], "master;" Smith, *Dict. Biogr.* s.v.), king of Cappadocia, B.C. 163–130. He was educated at Rome (Liv. xlii. 19); and his whole policy was directed in accordance with the wishes of the Romans. This subservience cost him his kingdom, B.C. 158; but he was shortly afterwards restored by the Romans to a share in the government (App. *Syr.* 47; cp. Polyb. xxii. 20, 23; Polyb. iii. 5); and on the capture of his rival Olophernes by Demetrius Soter, he regained the supreme power (Just. xxxv. 1). He fell in B.C. 130, in the war of the Romans against Aristonicus, who claimed the kingdom of Pergamus on the death of Attalus III. (Just. xxxvii. 1, 2). Letters were addressed to him from Rome in favour of the Jews (1 Macc. xv. 22: see *Speaker's Commentary* in loco), who, in aftertimes, seem to have been numerous in his kingdom (Acts ii. 9; cp. 1 Pet. i. 1). [B. F. W.]

[a] This name probably appears in the Ῥαγαβᾶ of Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 15, § 5), where Alexander died. Eusebius states (*OS.*[2] p. 237, 97) that in his day there was a village called Ἐργά, 15 miles W. of Gerasa.

[b] Jonath. טרגונא; Jerus. אטרכונא.

ARI'DAI (אַרִידַי; T.^{r} Ἀρσαῖος, A. Ἀρσεός; *Aridai*), ninth son of Haman (Esth. ix. 9). The origin of the name is uncertain, but probably Persian (Ges., Oppert) = *Ariyadaya* = *desire of Hari* (Vishnu). Cp. Bertheau-Ryssel and Oettli in loco; Ἀριδαῖος. See ARI-DATHA. [F.]

ARI-DA'THA (אֲרִידָתָא; Σαρβακά; *Aridatha*), sixth son of Haman (Esth. ix. 8). Ges. = *given of Hari* (Vishnu). Cp. Bertheau-Ryssel, Oettli (in Strack u. Zöckler's *Kgf. Komm.*), and Cassel (*Das Buch Esther*, p. 288). The curious Rabbinical reflections connected with the death (by hanging) of the sons of Haman are collected in the *Speaker's Comm. on the Apocrypha*, "Additions to Esther," xvi. 18, add. note (*d*). [F.]

AR'IEH (הָאֲרִיֵה, *lion* = hero; B. Ἀρειά, A. Ἀριέ; *Arie*). Probably called "The Lion" from his daring as a warrior: either one of the accomplices of Pekah in his conspiracy against Pekahiah, king of Israel, or, as is more probable, one of the princes of Pekahiah, who was put to death with him (2 K. xv. 25). Rashi explains it literally of a golden lion which stood in the castle. See ARGOB. [W. A. W.] [F.]

ARIEL (אֲרִיאֵל, *lion of God* = great hero, or *hearth of God*; Ἀριήλ; *Ariel*).

1. As the proper name of a man (where the meaning no doubt is the first of those given above) the word occurs in Ezra viii. 16. This Ariel was one of the "chief men" who under Ezra directed the caravan which he led back from Babylon to Jerusalem.

The word occurs also in reference to two Moabites slain by Benaiah, one of David's chief captains (2 Sam. xxiii. 20; 1 Ch. xi. 22). Gesenius and many others agree with our A. V. in regarding the word as an epithet, "two lion-like men of Moab;" but Thenius, Winer, Keil, R. V. and others regard it as a proper name, and translate "two [sons] of Ariel," supplying the word בְּנֵי with B. (*ἐπάταξεν τοὺς δύο υἱοὺς* Ἀριήλ. A. omits the words in 2 Sam.). See another suggestion in W. R. Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, i. 469.

A similar word occurs in Num. xxvi. 17, ARELI (אֲרִאלִי), as the name of a Gadite, and head of one of the families of that tribe. Both the LXX. and the Vulg. give Ariel for this word, and Winer without remark treats it as the same name.

2. A designation given by Isaiah to the city of Jerusalem (Is. xxix. 1 *bis*, 2 *bis*, 7) as a symbol of hope. Its meaning is obscure. We must understand by it either "Lion of God" (*i.e.* a hero)—so Gesenius, Ewald, Hävernick, Cheyne, and others—or, with Targ., Umbreit, Knobel, Delitzsch, Bredenkampf, and most of the ancient Jewish expositors, "Hearth of God," tracing the first component of the word to the Arabic ﺃَرِﻳﻞ, *a fire-place* or *hearth* (Gesen. *Thes.*).

On the Mesha-stone (l. 12; Neubauer in *Records of the Past*, N. S. ii. 201, n. 8. See Driver, *Notes on Samuel*, pp. lxxxvi., xci.) אראל signifies probably "altar-hearth" (cp. Baethgen, *Beitr. z. Sem. Religionsgesch.* p. 14, n. 1). This latter meaning is suggested by the use of the word in Ezek. xliii. 15, 16, as the name of a part of the altar of burnt offering (R. V. "altar-hearth," which should also probably be read in *v.* 15^{a}; see Smend or Cornill in loco). Some think it most probable that the words used by the two Prophets are different in derivation and meaning, and that as a name given to Jerusalem Ariel means "Lion of God," whilst as used by Ezekiel it means "Hearth of God." [F. W. G.] [F.]

ARIMATHAE'A (Ἀριμαθαία, Matt. xxvii. 57; Luke xxiii. 51; John xix. 38), the birth-place, or at least the residence, of Joseph, who obtained leave from Pilate to bury our Lord in his "new tomb" at Jerusalem. St. Luke calls this place "a city of Judaea;" but this presents no objection to its identification with the prophet Samuel's birth-place, the Ramah of 1 Sam. i. 1, 19, which is named in the Septuagint Armathaim (Ἀρμαθαίμ), and by Josephus, Armatha (Ἀρμαθά, Joseph. *Ant.* v. 10, § 2). The Ramathem of the Apocrypha (Ῥαμαθέμ, 1 Macc. xi. 34) is probably the same place. [RAMAH.] Eusebius (*OS.*^{2} p. 281, 10) identifies Arimathaea with Ἀρία, then called Ῥεμφίς, near *Diospolis*, Lydda; Jerome (*OS.*^{2} p. 178, 25) gives the form Remftis; it is now *Rantieh* on the plain N. of Lydda. [G.] [W.]

AR'IOCH (אַרְיוֹךְ, the Êri-aku [probably Akkadian, and equivalent to the Assyrian Aradsin = servant of the Moon-god] of the Inscriptions [Schrader, MV.^{11}, Friedr. Delitzsch]; Ἀριωχής, LXX. in Dan. only; Ἀριώχ, Theodot.; *Arioch*, Vulg.). **1.** King of ELLASAR (Gen. xiv. 1, 9. See Delitzsch [1887] on *v.* 1).

2. "The captain of the guard" of Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. ii. 14 ff. See *Speaker's Commentary* on "Daniel^{2}," add. n. to ch. i.). [B. F. W.] [F.]

3. BA. Ἀριώχ; *Erioch*; called in Judith i. 6 "king of the Elymeans," probably equivalent to Elam (so Syr.), *i.e.* Susiana. The "Elymeans" were the people of Elymais, a Persian district (see *Speaker's Commentary* in loco). Junius and Tremellius identify him with Deioces, king of part of Media. [W. A. W.] [F.]

ARI'SAI (אֲרִיסַי; Ῥουφαῖος; *Arisai*), eighth son of Haman (Esth. ix. 9). See ARIDATHA. [F.]

ARISTARCHUS (Ἀρίσταρχος; *Aristarchus*), a Jew (cp. Col. iv. 10 with *v.* 11) of Thessalonica (Acts xx. 4, xxvii. 2), and a devoted follower of St. Paul. He is first mentioned at Ephesus (together with Gaius the Macedonian) as a companion of the Apostle's travels (*συνέκδημος*) and as being dragged into the theatre by the rioters (Acts xix. 29). We next hear of him as accompanying St. Paul on his departure from Macedonia for Jerusalem at the close of the third missionary journey (Acts xx. 4). Apparently he remained in Judaea during St. Paul's imprisonment, and may have been one of those who were suffered to minister to him (Acts xxiv. 23). We find him embarking with the Apostle on his voyage to Rome (Acts xxvii. 2). Bp. Lightfoot thinks he may have left St. Paul at Myra, and returned to Thessalonica for a time (Lightfoot, *Philippians*, Introduction, i. p. 34, note 2). However this may be, he is

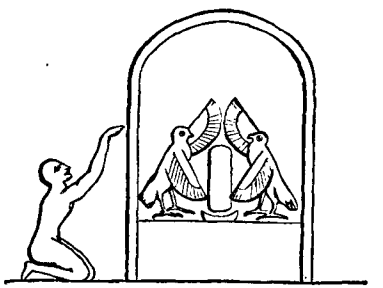
with him at the date of the Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon, and sends greetings in both (Col. iv. 10; Philem. v. 24). On the term "fellow-prisoner" applied to him (Col. iv. 10), see ANDRONICUS. The presence of Aristarchus with St. Paul at Caesarea and Rome makes against the figurative interpretation. The warm personal affection expressed in 1 Thess. for that church falls in with the place taken by Aristarchus and other Thessalonians among St. Paul's companions. [E. R. B.]

ARISTOBU'LUS (Ἀριστόβουλος; *Aristobulus*). St. Paul greets "them which are of the household of Aristobulus" (*τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ἀριστοβούλου*, Rom. xvi. 10). The household of Aristobulus (cp. *τῶν Ναρκίσσου*, v. 11, and *τῶν Χλόης*, 1 Cor. i. 11) were probably the slaves of a man of that name. "Them" is not defined in this instance, but by comparison of v. 11 it clearly means "them which are in the Lord," the Christians among the slaves of Aristobulus. Their master may probably have been Aristobulus the younger, brother of Herod Agrippa I. (Acts xii. 1). He lived and probably died at Rome in a private station (Jos. *B. J.* ii. 11, 6). As the household of this Aristobulus would naturally be composed in a large measure of Jews, the Gospel would the more easily be introduced to their notice. Aristobulus was still living A.D. 45 (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 1, § 2); but the date of his death is unknown. Even after his death his slaves would, according to Roman usage, be designated by his name, Aristobuliani, of which οἱ Ἀριστοβούλου appears to be a translation. Bp. Lightfoot conjectures that they may have passed (by legacy or otherwise) into the imperial household, as Aristobulus lived on terms of close intimacy with Claudius (Jos. *Ant.* l. c.). In this case they would be members of "Caesar's household" (Phil. iv. 22). See also HERODION. The foregoing remarks are entirely taken from Bishop Lightfoot's *Philippians*, detached note on Caesar's Household. [E. R. B.]

ARK, NOAH'S. [NOAH.]

ARK OF THE COVENANT, or "OF THE TESTIMONY" (אָרוֹן). This, taken generally together with the mercy-seat, was the one piece of the Tabernacle's furniture especially invested with sacredness and mystery, and is therefore the first for which precise directions were delivered (Ex. xxv.). The word signifies a mere chest or box, and is (as well as the word תֵּבָה, "ark" of Noah) rendered by the LXX. and N. T. writers by *κιβωτός*. We may remark: I. its material dimensions and fittings; II. its design and object, under which will be included its contents; and III. its history.

I. It appears from Ex. xxv. to have been an oblong chest of shittim (acacia) wood, 2½ cubits long by 1½ broad and deep. Within and without gold was overlaid on the wood; and on the upper side or lid, which was edged round about with gold, was placed the mercy-seat, supporting the Cherubim one at each end, and regarded as the symbolical throne of the Divine Presence [CHERUBIM and MERCY-SEAT]. Over this, when the ark was *in situ*, a luminous cloud, to be distinguished from that raised by the incense (Lev. xvi. 13), was from time to time visible [SHECHINAH]. The ark was fitted with rings, one at each of the four lower corners, and therefore two on each side, and through these were passed staves of the same wood similarly overlaid. By these staves, which always remained in the rings, the Levites of the house of Kohath, to whose office the care of it and all the sacred furniture especially appertained, bore it in its progress (Num. iii. 31). Probably, however, its removal from its proper position within the veil, in the most Holy place, was managed by the hands of the priests (Num. iv. 5, 19, 20; vii. 9; x. 21; 1 K. viii. 3, 6); at any rate from Num. iv. 17–20 it is clear that the "holy things," before their transport by the Levites, were covered over by the priests. The ends of the staves were visible without the veil in the Holy place of the Temple of Solomon, the staves being drawn to the ends, apparently, but not out of the rings. The ark, when transported, was enveloped in the "veil" of the dismantled Tabernacle, in the curtain of badgers' skins ("sealskins," R. V.), and in a blue cloth over all, and was therefore not seen. The expression ascribed to Josiah in 2 Ch. xxxv. 3, "Put the holy ark in the house . . . .; there shall no more be a burden upon your



Egyptian Ark. (Rosellini, p. 99.)

shoulders" (R. V.), seems to mean that there were only two places where the ark could properly rest, the one being the shrine proper to it, the other the shoulders of the Levites.

II. Its purpose or object was to contain inviolate the Divine autograph of the two tables, that "Covenant" from which it derived its title, the idea of which was inseparable from it, and which may be regarded as the *depositum* of the Jewish dispensation. The perpetual safe custody of the material tables no doubt suggested the moral observance of the precepts inscribed. It was also probably a reliquary for the pot of manna and the rod of Aaron. We read in 1 K. viii. 9, that "there was nothing in the ark save the two tables of stone which Moses put there at Horeb." Yet the author of Heb. ix. 4 asserts that, beside the two tables of stone, the "pot of manna" and "Aaron's rod that budded" were inside the ark, which were directed to be "laid up" and "kept *before the testimony*," *i.e.* before the Tables of the Law (Ex. xl. 20); and probably, since there is no mention of any other receptacle for them, though another view of Heb. ix. is adopted by others, the statement of 1 K. viii. 9 may imply that by Solomon's time these relics had disap-

peared. The expression מִצַּד אָרוֹן in the direction for the custody of the Book of the Law in Deut. xxxi. 26, obscurely rendered "*in* the side of the ark" (A. V.), merely means "beside" it (R. V. "by the side"). The sword of Goliath, "wrapped in a cloth behind the ephod" (1 Sam. xxi. 9), is another trace of the use of the sanctuary or some of its sacred appurtenances as a reliquary; and similarly the "brazen serpent" may have been preserved until destroyed by Hezekiah (2 K. xviii. 4). The words of the A. V. in 1 Ch. xiii. 3 seem to imply the use of the ark for the purpose of an oracle; but this is probably erroneous, and "we sought not unto it" (R. V.) is the meaning; so the LXX. renders it: see Gesenius, *Lex.* s. v. (דָּרַשׁ). Joshua certainly appears prostrating himself before it in contrite supplication, with all the elders of Israel, "until the eventide," and then obtaining a response, as though by a voice direct from the shrine (Josh. vii. 6–15); even as Moses had "heard the voice of one speaking unto him from off the mercy-seat" (Num. vii. 89), where that Presence [SHECHINAH] was to be looked for (Ex. xxv. 22; Num. vii. 89), which the high-priest might not approach "at all times," but only in solemn rite after sin-offering duly paid (Lev. xvi. 2 sq.).

Occupying the most holy spot of the whole sanctuary, it tended to exclude any idol from the centre of worship. And Jeremiah (iii. 16, the only distinct mention of it in any Prophet) looks forward to the time when even the ark should be "no more remembered," as the climax of spiritualized religion apparently in Messianic times. It was also the support of the mercy-seat, materially symbolizing, perhaps, the "covenant" as that on which "mercy" rested. It also furnished a legitimate vent to that longing after a material object of reverential feeling which is common to all religions. It was, however, never seen, save by the high-priest, and resembled in this respect the Deity Whom it symbolized, Whose face none might look upon and live (Winer, *ad loc.* note). That this reverential feeling may have been impaired during its absence among the Philistines, seems probable from the example of Uzzah. For its local separation for a while from the Tabernacle and the double worship thence arising, see TABERNACLE II. (5).

III. The chief facts in the earlier history of the ark (see Josh. iii. iv. and vi.) need not be recited. We may notice, however, a fiction of the Rabbis that there were *two* arks, one which remained in the shrine, and another which preceded the camp on its march, and that this latter contained the broken tables of the Law, as the former the whole ones. In the early days of the conquest by Joshua the ark must necessarily have been within the headquarters of the camp, whether close beside Jericho, or, as later, at Gilgal (Josh. vi. 11; vii. 2, 6; x. 15, 43). After its share in the capture of Jericho, it appears at the solemnity on Ebal (viii. 30–33), but with a hint that a permanent place was to be provided (ix. 27). That place is fixed (xviii. 1) at Shiloh, which is therefore dignified by Jeremiah (vii. 12) as "the place where I caused My Name to dwell at the first." The expression "the Sanctuary of the Lord," where the "great stone" was set up under an oak by Joshua in the last scene of his life, being at Shechem (xxiv. 26), does not imply the presence of the ark there, but only a local sanctity attaching to the spot from *earlier traditions* [SHECHEM]. A similar term[a] is applied to other places traditionally holy. The confusion of the period of the Judges affected the abode of the ark at that epoch. In the closing episode of the Benjamite civil war our A. V. seems to imply that it was at Mizpeh. But the A. V. "the House of God" should be corrected as in R. V. by the proper name "Bethel" (Judg. xx. 18, 26, 31; xxi. 2).[b] The question mainly depends on the force of the expression "went up and came to" (xx. 26). But whether Mizpeh, the unquestionable centre to which the nation rallied [MIZPAH], or Bethel, was the actual abode of the ark, intended by the words "the ark of the Covenant of God was there in those days," the distance between them is slight, as is that of both from Shiloh; *in* which last spot the site of "the camp" is fixed, and where there was a yearly feast. Thus the sojourn may have been only temporary, and due to the demands of a civil war then raging in the very neighbourhood, and thus Shiloh may be taken as the normal abode (1 Sam. iv. 3, 4). In the decline of religion during this period a superstitious security was attached to its presence in battle. Yet, though this was rebuked by its permitted capture, when captured its sanctity was vindicated by miracles, as seen in its avenging progress through the Philistine cities; the facts of which, including the mutilation of Dagon, are too well known to need recital (1 Sam. iv.–vi.). But the separate "coffer" for the jewels, as a tribute to the ark's sanctity, is noteworthy (vi. 11). It returned first to Bethshemesh, a city of the priests in eastern Judah [BETHSHEMESH]. There "on a great stone" (vi. 14, R. V. ABEL) it was set down and honoured with sacrifice. But, priestly though the city was, the profane curiosity of the inhabitants brought a plague upon them (1 Sam. vi. 11–20). Here by invitation, founded perhaps on local superstition, it was transported to Kirjath-jearim [KIRJATH-JEARIM], and placed under the guardianship of Eleazar, probably a Levite, if not a priest, "where it abode twenty years" (vii. 1, 2). A difficulty here occurs. Samuel was apparently still young when the ark was thus returned. He grows old, and anoints Saul, who reigns forty years. David succeeds him and reigns seven years in Hebron, and then fetches the ark from Kirjath-jearim. The whole interval should thus be nearer a century than "twenty years" (which is also the number in the LXX. and the Vulg.). Whether or not the ark had other places of sojourn not mentioned, is open to conjecture. To Kirjath-jearim "all the house of Israel" resorted (not as A. V. and R. V. text "lamented"[c]) to seek Jehovah; and

[a] Thus מִקְדָּשֵׁי יִשְׂרָאֵל, Amos vii. 9, and מִקְדַּשׁ מַמְלָכָה, *v.* 13. The first word in each phrase is the same as that referred to above.

[b] The stone of Bethel is made by Jewish tradition the pedestal of the ark in the later Temple [BETHEL].

[c] R. V. in marg. reads, *was drawn together*. The LXX has ἐπέβλεψε πᾶς οἶκος Ἰσραήλ.

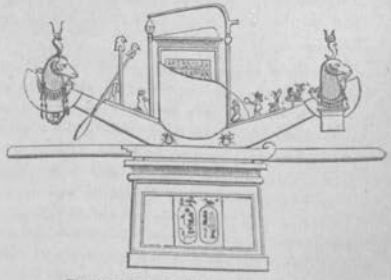
Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 2, 1) speaks of their pilgrimages thither. And thus in the early part of Saul's reign Ahiah was "the Lord's priest in Shiloh" (1 Sam. xiv. 3); and the ark, which he was bidden to "bring hither" (*v.* 18),[d] as if for the purpose of divination, is expressly said to have been "at that time with the children of Israel" (1 Sam. xiv. 18; cp. *vv.* 36, 37) [AHIJAH]. The episode of Ahimelech and massacre at Nob (xxi. 6, 9; xxii.) may possibly suggest that the sanctuary and therefore the ark at that time were there. What became of it in this catastrophe we know not, nor how far the reverses of Saul's later reign and the renewed successes of the Philistines affected it. The statement of David (1 Ch. xiii. 3), "We sought not unto it in the days of Saul," is quite consistent with 1 Sam. vii. 2, cited above, which may easily refer to the time of Samuel's rule. The next notice of it is in 2 Sam. vi. 2–17, being its removal by David, now king, from "the house of Abinadab that was in the hill" (R. V.) at Baale of Judah (*i.e.* Kirjath-jearim; cp. 1 Sam. vii. 1). The doom of Uzzah, there recorded, delayed the completion of David's purpose for three months, during which the ark sojourned with Obed-Edom (cp. 1 Ch. xiii. xv.); and when it came to Jerusalem it did not take its place in the Tabernacle, but dwelt in curtains, *i.e.* in a separate tent pitched for it in Jerusalem by David (2 Sam. vii. 2; 1 Ch. xvi. 1). Its bringing up by David thither was a national festival, and its presence there seems to have suggested to his piety the erection of a house to receive it. Subsequently that house, when completed, received, in the installation of the ark in its shrine, the signal of its inauguration by the effulgence of Divine glory instantly manifested (1 K. viii. 1–11, 21; 2 Ch. v. 2–14). Several of the Psalms contain allusions to these events (*e.g.* xxiv., xlvii., cxxxii. 8; cp. 2 Ch. vi. 41, 42), and the first fifteen verses of Ps. cv. appear in 1 Ch. xvi. 8–22 as sung on the occasion of the first of them. This period, "when the ark had rest" after its previous removals, marks an epoch in the history of the worship (1 Ch. vi. 31); and all the places of its sojourn became from that fact "holy," even if not, as some of them were, esteemed local sanctuaries before (2 Ch. viii. 11). In David's flight from Absalom the ark was prepared to accompany him, but he bade Zadok "carry it back into the city," staking the favour of God on the hope of seeing it again. It accordingly was taken back. This incident was remembered by Solomon in Abiathar's favour afterwards, when the latter was implicated in the rebellion of Adonijah (2 Sam. xv. 24 ff.; 1 K. ii. 26).

When idolatry became more shameless in the kingdom of Judah, Manasseh placed a "carved image" in the "House of God," and probably removed the ark to make way for it. His evil example was also followed by Amon, his son. This may account for the subsequent statement that the ark was reinstated by Josiah (2 Ch. xxxiii. 7; xxxv. 3). It was probably taken captive or destroyed by the Chaldeans (2 K. xxv. 9. Cp. 2 Esd. x. 22). Prideaux's argument that there *must* have been an ark in the second Temple is of no weight against express testimony, such as that of Josephus (*B. J.* v. 5, § 5) and Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 9, *inania arcana*), confirmed also by the Rabbins, who state that a sacred stone, called by them אבן שתיה, "stone of drinking," stood in its stead; as well as by the marked silence of those apocryphal books which enumerate the rest of the principal furniture of the sanctuary as present, and by the positive statement of 2 Esdras above quoted.

To the Prophet Jeremiah was ascribed by later tradition (2 Macc. ii. 4 foll.) the concealment, under Divine command, of the ark in some cavern of Mount Pisgah, before the Chaldeans finally spoiled the first Temple. But it was added that the priests, by whom the concealment was witnessed, could not afterwards find the exact spot. Some have contrariwise supposed that the ark was included among "the goodly vessels of the House of the Lord" (2 Ch. xxxvi. 10) captured by Nebuchadnezzar and restored (Ezra i. 7) by "Cyrus the king." But these, as enumerated in the latter passage, are purely metallic "chargers, basons," &c.

The last mention of the ark in Scripture is in Rev. xi. 19. There, when the time has at last come for the final vindication of the law of God in His judgment upon man and His recompense to His saints, the Seer beholds "the Temple (ναὸς) of God opened in heaven," and he adds, "There was seen in His Temple the ark of His Covenant." That ark which had all along been a secret from every eye save the high-priest's is visible at last, and the shrine which had been guarded from all access is thrown open. The Law and the testimony thus stand ready to be applied to those who are to be "judged according to their works."

The ritual of the Etruscans, Greeks, Romans, and other ancient nations, included the use of what Clemens Alexandrinus calls κίσται μυστικαί (*Protrept.* p. 12); but especially that of the Egyptians, in whose religious processions, as represented on monuments, such an ark, surmounted by a pair of winged figures like the cherubim, constantly appears (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* i. pp. 267, 268). The same Clemens (*Strom.* v. 578) also makes an allusion of a proverbial character to the ark and its rites, which seems to show that they were popularly known, where he says that "only the master (διδάσκαλος) may uncover the ark" (κιβωτός). In Latin also, the word *arcanum*, connected with *arca* and *arceo*, is the recognised term for a



Egyptian Ark. (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.*)

[d] But here the LXX. reads "ephod" for "ark of God;" and this reading is adopted by Thenius, Keil, Wellhausen, Klostermann, &c., and is placed by the R. V. in the marg. The ark probably remained at Kirjath-jearim (see *Speaker's Comm.* in loco).

sacred mystery. Illustrations of the same subject occur also in Plut. *de Is. et Osi.* c. 39; Ov. *Ars Am.* ii. 609, &c.; Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* ii. 3; Catull. lxiv. 260–1; Apul. *Met.* xi. 262. [H. H.]

AR'KITE, THE (הָעַרְקִי, Sam. Cod. עַרוּקִי; Ἀρουκαῖος; *Aracæus*), one of the families of the Canaanites (Gen. x. 17; 1 Ch. i. 15), and from the context evidently located in the north of Phœnicia. Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6, § 2) gives the name as Ἀρουκαῖος, and as possessing Ἄρκην τὴν ἐν τῷ Λιβάνῳ. He also again mentions the place (Ἀρκαία, *B. J.* vii. 5, § 1) in defining the position of the Sabbatical river. The name is found in the Assyrian inscriptions, *Arḳâ* (Schrader, *KAT.*² p. 104), in Pliny (v. 16), and Ptolemy (v. 15); and Aelius Lampridius (*Alex. Sev.*) states that the *Urbs Arcena* contained a temple to Alexander the Great. It was the birthplace of Alexander Severus, and was thence called Caesarea Libani. Arca was well known to the Crusaders, who under Raimond of Toulouse besieged it for two months in 1099 in vain; it was, however, afterwards taken by William of Sartanges. In 1202 it was totally destroyed by an earthquake. The site which now bears the name of *'Arka* (عَرْقَا) lies on the coast, 2 to 2½ hours from the shore, about 12 miles north of Tripoli, and 5 south of the *Nahr el-Kebîr* (Eleutherus). The great coast road passes halfway between it and the sea. The site is marked by a rocky tell rising to the height of 100 feet close above the *Nahr 'Arka*. On the top of the tell is an area of about two acres, and on this and on a plateau to the north the ruins of the former town are scattered. Among them are some columns of granite and syenite (Rob. iii. 579–81; Ges. p. 1073; Winer, *s. v.*; Reland, p. 575; Burckhardt, p. 162; *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geogr.*, art. *Arca*). [G.] [F.]

ARMAGED'DON or HAR-MAGEDON (Ἁρ Μαγεδών [Westcott and Hort], Rev. xvi. 16).* It would be foreign to the purpose of this work to enter into any of the theological controversies connected with this (see *Speaker's Commentary* in loco). Whatever its full symbolical import may be, the image rests on a geographical basis: and the locality implied in the Hebrew term here employed (*τὸν τόπον τὸν καλούμενον Ἑβραϊστὶ* Ἁρ Μαγεδών) is the great battle-field of the Old Testament, where the chief conflicts took place between the Israelites and the enemies of God's people. The passage is best illustrated by comparing a similar one in the Book of Joel (iii. 2, 12), where the scene of the Divine judgments is spoken of in the prophetic imagery as the "valley of Jehoshaphat," the fact underlying the image being Jehoshaphat's great victory (2 Ch. xx. 26, see Zech. xiv. 2, 4). So here the scene of the struggle of good and evil is suggested by that battle-field, the plain of Esdraelon, which was famous for two great victories, of Barak over the Canaanites (Judg. iv., v.), and Gideon over the Midianites (Judg. vii.); and for two great disasters, the death of Saul, in the invasion of the Philistines (1 Sam. xxxi. 8), and the death of Josiah in the invasion of the Egyptians (2 K. xxiii. 29, 30; 2 Ch. xxxv. 22). With the first and fourth of these events, Megiddo (Μεγεδδώ in the LXX. [BA.] of Judg. v. 19, and Μαγεδδώ [or -εδων] in the LXX. of 2 K. and 2 Ch. and in Josephus) is especially connected. Hence Ἁρ-μαγεδών, "the hill of Megiddo." (See Bähr's *Excursus* on Herod. ii. 159.) The same figurative language is used by one of the Jewish Prophets (Zech. xii. 11). As regards the Apocalypse, it is remarked by Stanley (*Sinai and Palestine*, p. 330) that this imagery would be peculiarly natural to a Galilæan, to whom the scene of these battles was familiar. [MEGIDDO.]

[J. S. H.] [F.]

* The difference in the aspirate makes a difference in the meaning. Armageddon = עִיר מְגִדּוֹן, "the city of Megiddo;" Har-Magedon = הַר מְגִדּוֹן, "the mountain of Megiddo;" and this difference is not without its bearing upon the interpretations connected with the word.

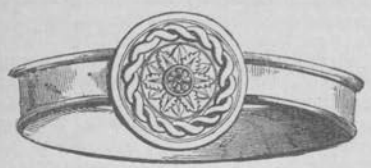
ARME'NIA (Ἀρμενία) is the classical equivalent of the Hebrew Ararat. Ararat is the Urardhu of the Babylonians and Assyrians, and was the name given by the latter to the country which stretched away from the shores of Lake Van, and roughly corresponded with the Armenia of classical geography. It did not, however, extend northward beyond Mount Ararat and the Araxes, or southward beyond the mountains of Kurdistan, while it was bounded on the west by the 59th degree of longitude. On the east it bordered on the kingdom of Mana, called Mannâ in the Assyrian inscriptions and Minni (מִנִּי) in the Old Testament (Jer. li. 27), which occupied the district on the north-western side of Lake Urumiyeh, and was separated from Ararat by the Kotûr range. Minni was the Minyas of Nicolaus Damascenus (*ap.* Joseph. *Ant.* i. 3; Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* 9), who says that the ark had rested there on Mount Baris (now probably Rowandiz). Baris is called Lubar in the Book of Jubilees (ch. v.), and Lubar is made by Epiphanius (*adv. Haer.* i. 5) the boundary between Armenia and Kurdistan.

The native name of the kingdom of Ararat was Biainas, the original of the modern Van (Βύανα in Ptolemy, v. 13). The capital, which occupied the site of Van, was called Dhuspas, whence the Θωσπία of Ptolemy (v. 13, 19) and the Tosp of Moses of Khorene, which is now the name of the whole province. The cuneiform system of writing was introduced into Biainas in the time of king Sar-duris I. (B.C. 835), and both he and his successors have left many written memorials of their buildings and campaigns on rocks and stones. His grandson, Menuas, erected a palace near the modern Erzerûm, and carried his arms far to the east, setting up a monument in the pass of Keli-shin, under Rowandiz, 12,000 feet above the level of the sea. Ararat and Assyria were engaged in almost constant war, which was, however, checked for a short time by the devastation of the country about Van by Tiglath-pileser III. in B.C. 735. Esar-haddon was engaged in a campaign against Eri-menas of Biainas when his father Sennacherib was murdered; and it was to Eri-menas, accordingly, that the murderers, Nergal-sharezer and Adar-melech, fled. The people of Biainas spoke a language which, though inflectional, had no connexion with either the Aryan or the Semitic family of

speech, and seems to have been the ancestor of the modern Georgian. This language was still spoken in the country as late as B.C. 640, so that the arrival of the Aryan immigrants, the forefathers of the modern Armenians, could not have taken place until after this date. The name Armenia (*Armaniya*) first occurs in the Persian inscriptions of Darius Hystaspis, but the origin of it is quite unknown. See Sayce, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Van, deciphered and translated*, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, xiv. 3, 4, 1882.

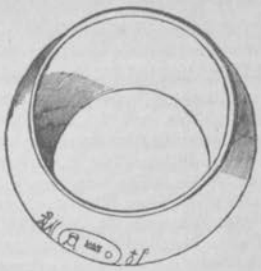
Togarmah (תּוֹגַרְמָה; Θογαρμά and Θοργομά; Gen. x. 3; Ezek. xxvii. 14, xxxviii. 6) has no connexion with Armenia, as was sometimes supposed before the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions, but is probably to be sought in Eastern Asia Minor, in the neighbourhood of Meshech and Tubal, with whom (as persons) Togarmah is associated by Ezekiel. Lagarde compares the name of the Teukrians. Friedrich Delitzsch suggests that of Til-garimmu, a town in Melitene. Togarmah is a son of Gomer or the Cimmerians in Gen. x. 3, and Gomer is mentioned along with "the house of Togarmah of the extremities of the north" in Ezek. xxxviii. 6. [A. H. S.]

ARMLET (אֶצְעָדָה; ψέλλιον; Num. xxxi. 50, χλιδόνα or χλιδών; 2 Sam. i. 10, βραχιάλιον; Aquila, *brachiale armilla*;—properly a fetter, from צָעַד, *a step*; comp. Is. iii. 20, and ANKLET), an ornament universal in the East, especially among women; used by princes as one of the insignia of royalty, and by distinguished persons in general. The word is not used in the A. V. or in the R. V., as even in 2 Sam. i. 10 they render it by "the bracelet on his arm." Sometimes only one was worn, on the right arm (Ecclus. xxi. 21). From Cant. viii. 6, it appears that the signet sometimes consisted of a jewel on the armlet.



Assyrian Armlet. (From Nineveh Marbles, British Museum.)

These ornaments were worn by princes in ancient times. They are frequent on the sculptures of Persepolis and Nineveh, and were set in rich and fantastic shapes resembling the heads of animals (Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 298). The kings of Persia wore them, and Astyages presented a pair among other ornaments to Cyrus (Xen. *Cyr.* i. 3). The Aethiopians, to whom some were sent by Cambyses, scornfully characterised them as weak fetters (Herod. ii. 23). Nor were they confined to the kings, since Herodotus (viii. 113) calls the Persians generally ψελιοφόροι. In the Egyptian monuments "kings are often represented with armlets and bracelets, and in the Leyden Museum is one bearing the name of the third Thothmes." (A gold armlet figured below. Cp. Wilkinson's *Anc. Egypt.* ii. 336 [1878].) They were even used by the old British chiefs (Turner, *Angl. Sax.* i. 383). The story of Tarpeia shows that they were common among the ancient Sabines, but



Egyptian Armlet. (From the Leyden Museum.)

the Romans considered the use of them effeminate, although they were sometimes given as military rewards (Liv. x. 44). Finally, they are still worn among the most splendid regalia of modern Oriental sovereigns, and it is even said that those of the king of Persia are worth a million sterling (Kitto, *Pict. Hist. of Pal.* i. 499). They form the chief wealth of modern Hindoo ladies, and are rarely taken off. They are made of every sort of material from the finest gold, jewels, ivory, coral, and pearl, down to the common glass rings and varnished earthenware bangles of the women of the Deccan. Now, as in ancient times, they are sometimes plain, sometimes enchased; sometimes with the ends not joined, and sometimes a complete circle. The arms are sometimes quite covered with them; and if the wearer be poor, it matters not how mean they are, provided only that they glitter. It is thought essential to beauty that they should fit close, and hence Harmer calls them "rather manacles than bracelets," and Buchanan says "that the poor girls rarely get them on without drawing blood, and rubbing part of the skin from the hand; and as they wear great numbers, which often break, they suffer much from their love of admiration." Their enormous weight may be conjectured from Gen. xxiv. 24. [F. W. F.]

ARMO'NI (אַרְמֹנִי = Palace-born, Palatinus; B. Ἑρμωνεί, A. -ιει; *Armoni*), son of Saul by Rizpah, one of those delivered by David to the Gibeonites (2 Sam. xxi. 8). [F.]

ARMOURY. The "tower of David" (Song of Songs iv. 4) was used for this purpose (cp. Neh. iii. 19). The "thousand bucklers, all shields of mighty men," hung there. It appears to have been not far from the Water-gate (cp. Sayce, *Introd. to the Books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther*, p. 87; Bertheau-Ryssel in Neh. *l. c.*). Gesenius thought it the same building as "the house of the forest of Lebanon" in which Solomon placed his targets and shields (1 K. x. 17). [F.]

ARMS, ARMOUR. In the records of a people like the Children of Israel, so large a part of whose history was passed in warfare, we naturally look for much information, direct or indirect, on the arms and modes of fighting of the nation itself and of those with whom it came into contact.

Unfortunately, however, the notices that we

find in the Bible on these points are extremely few and meagre, while even those few, owing to the uncertainty which rests on the true meaning and force of the terms, do not convey to us nearly all the information which they might. This is the more to be regretted because the notices of the history, scanty as they are, are literally everything we have to depend on, inasmuch as they are not yet supplemented and illustrated either by remains of the arms themselves, or by those commentaries which the sculptures, vases, bronzes, mosaics, and paintings of other nations furnish to the notices of manners and customs contained in their literature.

In remarkable contrast to Greece, Rome, Egypt, and Assyria, Palestine has yielded but few vestiges of the implements or utensils of life or warfare of its ancient inhabitants; nor, with the exception of a few fragments found during the excavations at Jerusalem, has a single sculpture, piece of pottery, coin, or jewel, been discovered of that people with whose life, as depicted in their literature, we are more familiar than with that of our own ancestors. Even the relations which existed between the customs of Israel and those of Egypt on the one hand, and Assyria on the other, have still to be investigated, so that we are prevented from applying to the history of the Jews the immense amount of information which we possess on the warlike customs of these two nations, the former especially. Perhaps the time will arrive for investigations in Palestine of the same nature as those which have given us so much insight into Assyrian manners; but in the meantime all that can be done here is to examine the various terms by which instruments of war appear to be designated in the Bible, in the light of such help as can be got from the comparison of parallel passages, from the derivation of the words, and from the renderings of the ancient Versions.

The subject naturally divides itself into—I. Offensive weapons: Arms. II. Defensive weapons: Armour.

I. *Offensive Weapons.*—1. Apparently the earliest known, and most widely used, was the *Chereb* (חֶרֶב), "SWORD," from a root signifying "to lay waste."

Its first mention in the history is in the narrative of the massacre at Shechem, when "Simeon and Levi took each man his sword, and came upon the city boldly and slew all the males" (Gen. xxxiv. 25). But there is an allusion to it shortly before in a passage undoubtedly of the earliest date (Ewald, i. 446, *note*): the expostulation of Laban with Jacob (Gen. xxxi. 26). After this, during the account of the conquest and of the monarchy, the mention of the sword is frequent, but very little can be gathered from the casual notices of the text as to its shape, size, material, or mode of use. Perhaps if anything is to be inferred it is that the *Chereb* was not either a heavy or a long weapon. That of Ehud (Judg. iii. 21) was only a cubit, *i.e.* 18 inches long, so as to have been concealed under his garment, and nothing is said to lead to the inference that it was shorter than usual, for the "dagger" of the A. V. (R. V. "sword") is without any ground, unless it be a rendering of the μάχαιρα of the LXX. But even assuming that Ehud's sword was shorter than usual, yet a consideration of the narratives in 2 Sam. ii. 16 and xx. 8–10, and also of the ease with which David used the sword of a man so much larger than himself as Goliath (1 Sam. xvii. 51; xxi. 9, 10), goes to show that the *Chereb* was both a lighter and a shorter weapon than the modern sword. What frightful wounds one blow of the sword of the Hebrews could inflict, if given even with the left hand of a practised swordsman, may be gathered from a comparison of 2 Sam. xx. 8–12 with 1 K. ii. 5. A ghastly picture is there given us of the murdered man and his murderer: the unfortunate Amasa actually disembowelled by a single stroke, and "wallowing" in his blood in the middle of the road—the treacherous Joab standing over him bespattered from

Egyptian stabbing an enemy with a sword or dagger. (Thebes; Wilkinson.)

his "girdle" to his "shoes" with the blood which had spouted from his victim!

The *Chereb* was carried in a sheath (תְּעָר, 1 Sam. xvii. 51; 2 Sam. xx. 8, only: נְדָן, 1 Ch. xxi. 27, only), slung by a girdle (1 Sam. xxv. 13), and resting upon the thigh (Ps. xlv. 3; Judg. iii. 16) or upon the hips (2 Sam. xx. 8).[a] "Girding on the sword" was a symbolical expression for commencing war, the more forcible because in times of peace even the king in state did not wear a sword (1 K. iii. 24); and a similar expression occurs to denote those able to serve (Judg. viii. 10; 1 Ch. xxi. 5). Other phrases, derived from the *Chereb*, are, "to smite with the edge (literally 'mouth,' στόμα, and cp. 'devour,' Is. i. 20) of the sword"—"slain with the sword"—"men that drew sword," &c.

Swords with two edges are occasionally referred to (Judg. iii. 16; Ps. cxlix. 6), and allusions are found to "whetting" the sword (Deut. xxxii. 41; Ps. lxiv. 3; Ezek. xxi. 9). There is no reference to the material of which it

[a] The Circassians carry their *Kama*, which is not unlike the *Chereb*, in the same way slung by a girdle and resting on the hip.

was composed (unless it be Is. ii. 4; Joel iii. 10); doubtless it was of metal, from the allusions to its brightness and "glittering" (see the two

Assyrian sheathed sword. (Kouyunjik; Layard.)

Egyptian unsheathed dagger. (Thebes; Wilkinson.)

passages quoted above, and others) and the ordinary word for blade, viz. לַהַב, "a flame." From the expression in Josh. v. 2, 3, "swords of

Assyrian foot spearman. (Time of Sargon.)

rock," A. V. "sharp knives," we may perhaps infer that in early times the material was flint (so R. V.).

2. Next to the sword was the SPEAR: and of this weapon we meet with at least three distinct kinds.

a. The *Chanith* (חֲנִית), "a spear," and that of the largest kind, as appears from various circumstances attending its mention. It was the weapon of Goliath—its staff like a weaver's beam, the iron head alone weighing 600 shekels,

Assyrian foot spearmen. (Time of Sennacherib.)

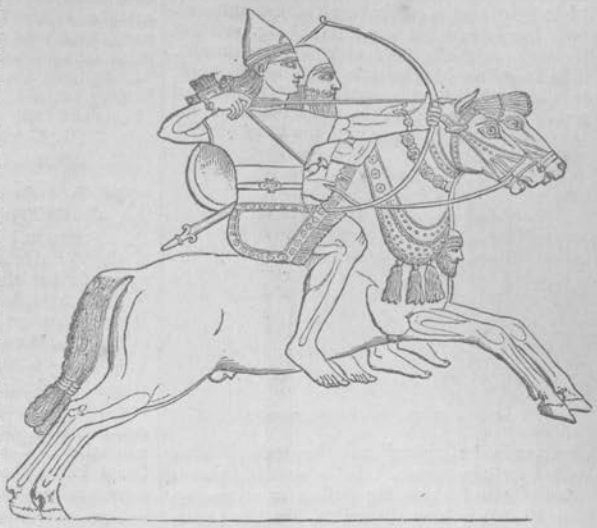
about 25 lbs. (1 Sam. xvii. 7, 45; 2 Sam. xxi. 19; 1 Ch. xx. 5), and also of other giants (2 Sam. xxiii. 21; 1 Ch. xi. 23) and mighty warriors (2 Sam. ii. 23, xxiii. 18; 1 Ch. xi. 11, 20). The *Chanith* was the habitual companion of king Saul—a fit weapon for one of his gigantic stature—planted at the head of his sleeping-place when on an expedition (1 Sam.

Egyptian spearmen. (Thebes; Wilkinson.)

xxvi. 7, 8, 11, 12, 16, 22), or held in his hand when mustering his forces (xxii. 6); and on it the dying king is leaning when we catch our last glimpse of his stately figure on the field of Gilboa (2 Sam. i. 6). His fits of anger or madness become even more terrible to us, when we find that it was this heavy weapon (R. V.

"spear") and not the lighter "javelin" (A. V.) that he cast at David (1 Sam. xviii. 10, 11; xix. 9, 10) and at Jonathan (xx. 33). A striking idea of the weight and force of this ponderous arm may be gained from the fact that a mere back thrust from the hand of Abner was enough to drive its butt end through the body of Asahel (2 Sam. ii. 23). The *Chanith* is mentioned also in 1 Sam. xiii. 19, 22, xxi. 8; 2 K. xi. 10; 2 Ch. xxiii. 9, and in numerous passages of poetry.

b. Apparently lighter than the preceding, and in more than one passage distinguished from it, was the *Cîdôn* (כִּידוֹן), or "javelin" (Ewald, *Wurfspiess*). It would be the appropriate weapon for the manœuvring described in Josh. viii. 14–27, and could with ease be held outstretched for a considerable time (*vv.* 18, 26; A. V. "spear," R. V. "javelin"). When not in action the *Cîdôn* was carried on the back of the warrior —between the shoulders (1 Sam. xvii. 6, A. V. "target," *marg.* "gorget," R. V. "javelin"). Both in this passage and in *v.* 45 the *Cîdôn* (R. V. "javelin") is distinguished from the *Chanith*. In Job xxxix. 23 (R. V. "javelin") the allusion seems to be to the quivering of a javelin when poised before hurling it.



Assyrian archers on horseback, one drawing the bow and the other holding the reins. (Nimrud; Layard.)

c. Another kind of spear was the *Romach* (רֹמַח); Arabic *Rumh*. In the Historical Books it occurs in Num. xxv. 7 (A. V. "javelin," R. V. "spear"); Jud. v. 8; 1 K. xviii. 28 ("lancets," R. V. "lances"). Also frequently in the later books, especially in the often recurring formula for arms, "shield and *spear:*" 1 Ch. xii. 8, 24; 2 Ch. xi. 12, xiv. 8, xxv. 5; Neh. iv. 13, 16–21; and Ezek. xxxix. 9, &c.

d. A lighter missile or "dart" was probably the *Shelach* (שֶׁלַח). Its root signifies to project or send out, but unfortunately there is nothing beyond the derivation to guide us to any knowledge of its nature. See 2 Ch. xxiii. 10 ("weapon"), xxxii. 5 (A. V. "darts," R. V. "weapons"); Neh. iv. 17 (R. V. "weapon"); Job xxxiii. 18 ("sword"), xxxvi. 12 ("sword"); Joel ii. 8 (R. V. "weapons").

e. Shebet (שֵׁבֶט), a rod or staff, with the derived force of a baton or sceptre, is used once only as an arm, for the "darts" with which Joab dispatched Absalom (2 Sam. xviii. 14).

3. Of missile weapons of offence the chief was undoubtedly the Bow, *Kesheth* (קֶשֶׁת); it is met with in the earliest stages of the history, in use both for the chase (Gen. xxi. 20; xxvii. 3) and war (xlviii. 22). In later times archers accompanied the armies of the Philistines (1 Sam. xxxi. 3; 1 Ch. x. 3) and of the Syrians (1 K. xxii. 34). Among the Jews its use was not confined to the common soldiers, but captains high in rank, as Jehu (2 K. ix. 24), and even kings' sons (1 Sam. xviii. 4) carried the bow, and were expert and sure in its use (2 Sam. i. 22). The tribe of Benjamin seems to have been especially addicted to archery (1 Ch. viii. 40, xii. 2; 2 Ch. xiv. 8, xvii. 7); but there were also bowmen among Reuben, Gad, Manasseh (1 Ch. v. 18), and Ephraim (Ps. lxxviii. 9).

The bow was in like manner extensively used by the Assyrians and Egyptians. On the Assyrian monuments archers are represented not only on foot and in chariots, but also on horse-

Egyptian archers. (Thebes; Wilkinson.)

back. [CHARIOT.] On the Egyptian monuments archers appear on foot and in chariots, but not on horseback.

Of the form or structure of the bow we can gather almost nothing. It seems to have been bent with the aid of the foot, as now, for the word commonly used for it is דָּרַךְ, "to tread" (1 Ch. v. 18, viii. 40; 2 Ch. xiv. 8; Is. v. 18;

Ps. vii. 12, &c.). Bows of steel (R. V. brass, נְחוּשָׁה) are mentioned as if specially strong (2 Sam. xxii. 35; Ps. xviii. 34). The string is occasionally named יֶתֶר or מֵיתָר. It was probably at first some bindweed or natural cord, since the same word is used in Judg. xvi. 7–9 for "green withs" (R. V. marg. *new bow-strings*).

In the allusion to bows in 1 Ch. xii. 2, it will be observed that the sentence in the original stands, "could use both the right hand and the left in stones and arrows from the bow" (R. V.),

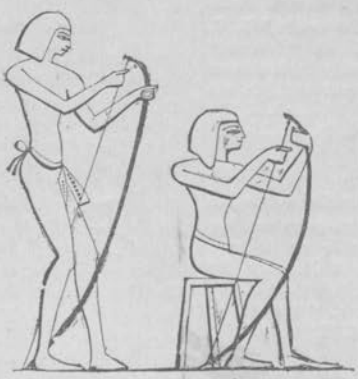
Assyrian archer. (Time of Sennacherib.)

the words "slinging" and "shooting" being added to give sense. It is possible that a kind of bow for shooting bullets or stones (cp. Job xli. 20) is here alluded to, like the pellet-bow of India, or the "stone-bow" in use in the Middle Ages — to which allusion is made by Shakespere (Twelfth Night, ii. 5), and which in Wisd. v. 22 is employed as the translation of πετροβόλος. This latter word occurs in the LXX. of 1 Sam. xiv. 14 [T.] but absent from BA. The Heb. (see R. V.) is very different], probably as a gloss on κόχλαξι (Wellhausen)— ἐν βολίσι, καὶ ἐν πετροβόλοις, καὶ ἐν κόχλαξι τοῦ πεδίου: "with arrows, and with stone-bows, and with flints (?) of the field." If this be accepted as the true reading, we have here by comparison with xiv. 27, 43, an interesting confirmation of the degree to which the Philistines had deprived the people of arms (xiii. 19–22); leaving to the king and Jonathan the spear and the sword (xiii. 22), and to Jonathan a staff (xiv. 27, A. V. "rod").

The ARROWS, *Chitzim* (חִצִּים), were carried in a quiver, *Theli* (תֶּלִי, Gen. xxvii. 3, only), or *Ashpah* (אַשְׁפָּה: Is. xxii. 6, xlix. 2; Ps. cxxvii. 5). [QUIVER.] From an allusion in Job vi. 4, they would seem to have been sometimes poisoned; but the passage in Ps. cxx. 4 hardly justifies the deduction that there was a practice of using arrows with some burning material attached to them.

4. The SLING, *Kela'* (קֶלַע), is first mentioned in Judg. xx. 16, where we hear of the 300 Benjamites who with their left hand could "sling stones at an hairbreadth, and not miss." The simple weapon with which David killed the Philistine giant was a usual accompaniment of a shepherd, whose duty it was to keep at a distance and drive off anything attempting to molest his flocks. The sling would be familiar to all shepherds and keepers of sheep, and therefore the bold metaphor of Abigail has a natural propriety in the mouth of the wife of a man whose possessions in flocks were so great as those of Nabal: "As for the souls of thine

Assyrian archer. (Kouyunjik.)



Egyptians stringing the bow. (Thebes and Beni-Hassan.)

An Assyrian slinger. (Kouyunjik: Layard.)

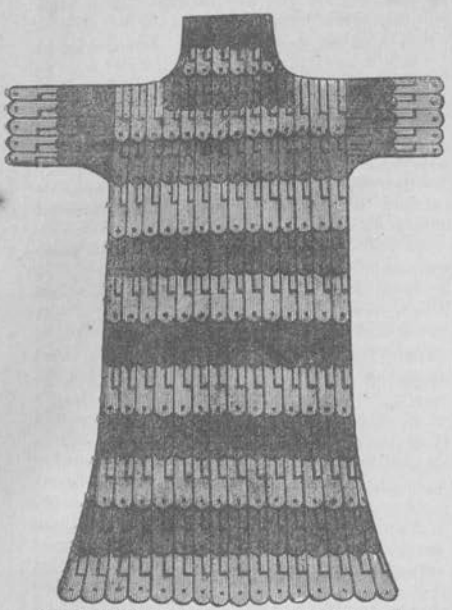
enemies, them shall God sling out from the hollow of a sling" (1 Sam. xxv. 29, R. V.). Later in the monarchy, slingers formed part of the regular army (2 K. iii. 25), though it would seem that the slings there mentioned must have been more ponderous than in earlier times, and that those which could break down the fortifications of so strong a place as Kir-haraseth must have been more like the engines which king Uzziah contrived to "shoot great stones" (2 Ch. xxvi. 15). In *v.* 14 of the same chapter we find an allusion (now made clear in the R. V.) to stones specially adapted for slings — "Uzziah prepared . . . for all the host shields and spears, . . . bows and stones for slinging."

Slings are still used in Palestine, by those who watch the flocks, and in Egypt by the men who keep the birds from the fields. [SLING.]

II. Passing from weapons to armour—from offensive to defensive arms—we find several references to what was apparently armour for the body.

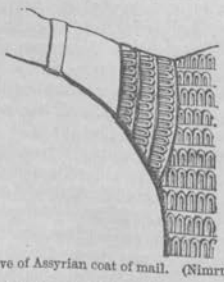
1. The *Shiryon* (שִׁרְיוֹן; or in its modified

form שִׁרְיָן, and once שִׁרְיָה); according to the LXX. θώραξ, Vulg. *lorica*, — a BREASTPLATE. This occurs in the description of the arms of Goliath—שִׁרְיוֹן קַשְׂקַשִּׂים, a "coat of mail," literally a "breastplate of scales" (1 Sam. xvii. 5), and further (*v.* 38), where Shiryon alone is rendered "coat of mail." It may be noticed in passing that this passage contains the most complete inventory of the furniture of a warrior to



Egyptian corslet with metal scales. (Tomb of Rameses III., Thebes; Wilkinson.)

be found in the whole of the sacred history. Goliath was a Philistine, and the minuteness of the description of his equipment may be due either to the fact that the Philistines were usually better armed than the Hebrews, or to the impression produced by the contrast on this particular occasion between this fully-armed champion, and the wretchedly appointed soldiers



Sleeve of Assyrian coat of mail. (Nimrud.)

of the Israelite host, stripped as they had been very shortly before both of arms, and of the means of supplying them, so completely, that no smith could be found in the country, nor any weapons seen among the people, and that even the ordinary implements of husbandry had to be repaired and sharpened at the forges of the conquerors (1 Sam. xiv. 19–22). *Shiryon* also occurs in 1 K. xxii. 34 = 2 Ch. xviii. 33. The last cited passage is very obscure; the A. V. and R. V. text follow the Syriac "between the joints of the harness," but the real meaning is probably that of R. V. *marg.* "lower armour and the breastplate" (cp. LXX. and Vulgate, "between the lungs and the breastbone"). The word is further found in 2 Ch. xxvi. 14 and Neh. iv. 16 ("habergeons," R. V. "coats of mail"), also in Job xli. 26 and Is. lix. 17, but with no consistency of translation. This word (spelt שִׂרְיֹן) was the Sidonian name of Mount Hermon (Deut. iii. 9; Ps. xxix. 6; Stanley, 403), a parallel to which is found in the name Θώραξ given to Mount Sipylus in Lydia. It occurs in the Inscriptions as *Sirara* (Schrader, *KAT.*² p. 159).

Assyrian helmets. (Layard.)

Egyptian helmets. (Wilkinson.)

2. Another piece of defensive armour was the *Tachra* (תַּחְרָא), which is mentioned but twice (Ex. xxviii. 32, xxxix. 23)—namely, in reference to the *Meïl* or gown of the priest, which is said to have had a hole in the middle for the head, with a hem or binding round the hole, "as it were the 'mouth' of an *habergeon*" (R. V. "coat of mail") to prevent the stuff from tearing. The English "habergeon" was the diminutive of the "hauberk," and was a quilted shirt or doublet put on over the head.

3. The HELMET is but seldom mentioned. The word for it is *Cobá'* (כּוֹבַע, or twice קוֹבַע), possibly from a root signifying to be high and round. Reference is made to it in 1 Sam. xvii. 5; 2 Ch. xxvi. 14; Ezek. xxvii. 10, &c.

4. GREAVES, or defences for the front of the "legs" (as in the A. V. and R. V.) — מִצְחָה, *Mitzchah*, made of brass, נְחֹשֶׁת — are named in 1 Sam. xvii. 6 only.

Of the defensive arms borne by the warrior the notices are hardly less scanty than those just examined.

5. Two kinds of SHIELD are distinguishable.

a. The *Tzinnah* (צִנָּה; from a root צָנַן, "to protect"). This was the large shield, encompassing (Ps. v. 12) and forming a protection for the whole person. When not in actual conflict, the *Tzinnah* was carried before the warrior

(1 Sam. xvii. 7, 41). The definite article in the passage of 1 Sam. ("*the*" shield, R. V. *v.* 41) denotes the importance of the weapon. The word is used with *Romach* (1 Ch. xii. 8, 14; 2 Ch. xi. 12, &c.) and *Chanith* (1 Ch. xii. 34) as a formula for weapons generally.

b. Of smaller dimensions was the *Magen* (מָגֵן, from גָּנַן, to cover), a buckler or target, probably for use in hand-to-hand fights. The difference in size between this and the *Tzinnah* is evident from 1 K. x. 16, 17; 2 Ch. ix. 15, 16, where a much larger quantity of gold is named as being used for the latter than for the former. The portability of the *magen* may be inferred from the notice in 2 Ch. xii. 9, 10; and perhaps also from 2 Sam. i. 21. The word is a favourite one with the poets of the Bible (see Job xv. 26; Ps. iii. 3, xviii. 2, &c.). Like *Tzinnah*, it occurs in the formulistic expressions for weapons of war, but usually coupled with light weapons—such as the bow (2 Ch. xiv. 8, xvii. 17) and darts, שֶׁלַח (2 Ch. xxxii. 5). [SHIELD.]

Assyrian convex shield. (Kouyunjik.)

Egyptian convex shield. (Thebes.)

6. Authorities are not agreed as to what kind of arm the *Shelet* (שֶׁלֶט) was (see Rödiger's comments in Ges. *Thes.* s. n.). The word is found in the plural only. By some translators it is rendered "quivers," by some "weapons," but by most "shields" (A. V. and R. V.). It is clear that the word had a very individual sense at the time: it denoted certain special weapons taken by David from Hadadezer king of Zobah (2 Sam. viii. 7; 1 Ch. xviii. 7), and dedicated in the Temple, where they did service on the memorable occasion of the proclamation of Joash (2 K. xi. 10; 2 Ch. xxiii. 9), and where their remembrance long lingered (Cant. iv. 4). From the fact that these arms were of gold, it would seem that they cannot have been for offence.

In the two other passages of its occurrence (Jer. li. 11, here only R. V. *marg.* "suits of armour;" Ezek. xxvii. 11) the word has the force of a foreign arm. [G.] [W.]

ARMY. I. JEWISH ARMY.—The military organisation of the Jews commenced with their departure from the land of Egypt, and was adapted to the nature of the expedition on which they then entered. Their wars, as directed against the heathen, were religious wars, "wars of the Lord" (Num. xxi. 14; 1 Sam. xviii. 17); "the Lord of hosts, the God of the armies of Israel" (1 Sam. xvii. 45), "the Lord mighty in battle" (Ps. xxiv. 8), was their Captain. He went with them, He saved them, and He delivered their enemies into their hand (Num. x. 35; Deut. xx. 4; 2 Sam. v. 24; Ps. lx. 12).

Every man above 20 years of age was a soldier (Num. i. 3; according to Josephus [*Antiq.* iii. 12, § 4], from 20 to 50 years of age). The priests and Levites were exempted (Num. ii. 33). Each tribe formed a regiment, with its own banner and its own leader (Num. ii. 2, x. 14): their positions in the camp or on the march were accurately fixed (Num. ii.): the whole army started and stopped at a given signal (Num. x. 5, 6): and thus they came up out of Egypt ready for the fight (Ex. xiii. 18). That the Israelites preserved the same exact order throughout their march, may be inferred from Balaam's language (Num. xxiv. 6). On the approach of an enemy, a conscription was made from the general body under the direction of a muster-master (originally named שֹׁטֵר, Deut. xx. 5, "officer," afterwards סוֹפֵר, 2 K. xxv. 19, "the scribe, the captain of the host," R. V. [Lucian's Recension of the LXX. and the Vulg. advocate here a proper name, Σαφάν, *Sopher*], both terms occurring, however, together in 2 Ch. xxvi. 11, the meaning of each being primarily a *writer* or *scribe*), by whom also the officers were appointed (Deut. xx. 9). From the number so selected, some might be excused service on certain specified grounds (Deut. xx. 5–8; 1 Mac. iii. 56). The army was then divided into thousands and hundreds and fifties under their respective captains (שַׂר הָאֲלָפִים, שַׂר חֲמִשִּׁים, שַׂר הַמֵּאוֹת, Num. xxxi. 14; 1 Sam. viii. 12; 2 K. i. 9. In 1 Mac. iii. 55, "captains over tens" are mentioned), and still further into families (Num. ii. 34; 2 Ch. xxv. 5, xxvi. 12)—the family being regarded as the unit in the Jewish polity. From the time the Israelites entered the land of Canaan until the establishment of the kingdom, little progress was made in military affairs: their wars resembled *border forays*, and the tactics turned upon stratagem rather than upon the discipline and disposition of the forces. Skilfully availing themselves of the opportunities which the country offered, they gained the victory sometimes by an ambush (Josh. viii. 4); sometimes by surprising the enemy (Josh. x. 9, xi. 7; Judg. vii. 21); and sometimes by a judicious attack at the time of fording a river (Judg. iii. 28, iv. 7, vii. 24, xii. 5). No general muster was made at this period, such a number only being selected as was deemed sufficient for the purpose (Num. xxxi. 1–8; Josh. vii. 3; Judg. vii. 1–8); but, when necessary, combatants could be summoned on the spur of the moment by trumpet-call (Judg. iii. 27), by messengers (Judg. vi. 35), by some significant token (1 Sam. xi. 7), or, as in later times, by the erection of a standard (נֵס, Is. xviii. 3; Jer. iv. 21, li. 27), or by a beacon fire on an eminence (Jer. vi. 1).

Refusal to obey the summons was sometimes punished by extermination (Judg. xxi. 8–15).

With the kings began the practice of maintaining a body-guard, which formed the nucleus of a standing army (1 Sam. viii. 11, 12), mainly for defensive purposes. Thus Saul had a band of 3000 select warriors (1 Sam. xiii. 2, xiv. 52, xxiv. 2). David himself, before his accession to the throne, had a band of 600 (1 Sam. xxiii. 13, xxv. 13). This band—perhaps the גִּבֹּרִים, the "mighty men" of 2 Sam. xx. 7 (Keil)—he retained after he became king, and added the CHERETHITES and PELETHITES (2 Sam. xv. 18, xx. 7) together with another class, whose name Shalishim (Ex. xiv. 7, שְׁלִשִׁים; *τριστάται*, LXX.; A. V. and R. V. "captains") has been variously interpreted to mean (1) a corps of veteran guards = Roman *triarii* (Winer, s. v. *Kriegsherr*); (2) chariot-warriors, as being *three* in each chariot (Gesen. *Thes.* p. 1429); (3) officers of the guard, *thirty* in number (Ewald, *Gesch.* ii. 601). The fact that the Egyptian war-chariot, with which the Jews were first acquainted, usually contained but two warriors (three being the exception; see *Monuments de l'Égypte*, i. pl. 26, 31, iv. pl. 328), forms an objection to the second of these opinions (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt*, i. 335), and the frequent use of the term in the singular number (2 K. vii. 2, ix. 25, xv. 25) [CHARIOT] is opposed to the third. Whatever be the meaning of the name,* it is evident that it grew to indicate officers of high rank, the chief of whom (הַשָּׁלִישׁ, A. V. "a lord," R. V. "the captain," 2 K. vii. 2, or רֹאשׁ הַשָּׁלִישִׁים, "chief of the captains," 1 Ch. xii. 18, *Keri* [Heb. *v.* 19], R. V. text "chief of the thirty") was immediately about the king's person, as adjutant or secretary-at-war. David further organised a national militia, divided into twelve regiments, each of which was called out for one month in the year under their respective officers (1 Ch. xxvii. 1); at the head of the army when in active service he appointed a commander-in-chief (שַׂר־צָבָא, "captain of the host," 1 Sam. xiv. 50; Jer. lii. 25, R. V.).

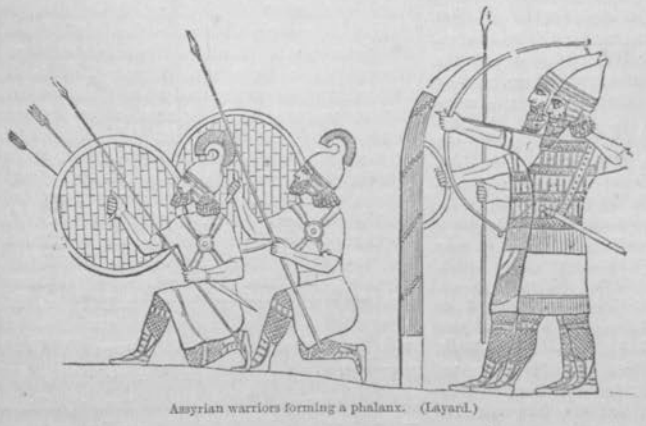
Hitherto the army had consisted entirely of infantry (רַגְלִי, 1 Sam. iv. 10, xv 4; cp. Num. xi. 21), the use of horses having been restrained by Divine command (Deut. xvii. 16), and the leaders being mounted on asses or mules (Judg. v. 10, x. 4; 2 Sam. xiii. 29, xviii. 9). The Jews had, however, experienced the great advantage to be obtained by chariots, both in their encounters with the Canaanites (Josh. xvii. 16; Judg. i. 19), and at a later period with the Syrians (2 Sam. viii. 4, x. 18). The interior of Palestine was indeed generally unsuited to the use of chariots: the Canaanites had employed them only in the plains and valleys, such as Jezreel (Josh. xvii. 16), the plain of Philistia (Judg. i. 19; 1 Sam. xiii. 5), and the upper valley of the Jordan (Josh. xi. 9; Judg. iv. 2). But the border, both on the side of Egypt and Syria, was admirably adapted to their use; and accordingly we find that as the foreign relations of the kingdoms extended, much importance was attached to them. David reserved a hundred chariots from the spoil of the Syrians (2 Sam. viii. 4): these, if not the same as those used by Absalom (2 Sam. xv. 1) or Adonijah (1 K. i. 5), probably served as the foundation of the force which Solomon afterwards enlarged through his alliance with Egypt (1 K. x. 28, 29), and applied to the protection of his border, stations or barracks being erected for them in different localities (1 K. ix. 19). The force amounted to 1400 chariots, 4000 horses, at the rate (in round numbers) of three horses for each chariot, the third being kept as a reserve, and 12,000 horsemen (1 K. x. 26; 2 Ch. i. 14). For further particulars on the use of chariots and cavalry, see CHARIOT, HORSE, HORSEMAN. At this period the organisation of the army was complete; and we have, in 1 K. ix. 22, apparently a list of the various gradations of rank in the service, as follow:— (1) אַנְשֵׁי הַמִּלְחָמָה, "men of war" = *privates*; (2) עַבְדִים, "servants," the lowest rank of officers = *lieutenants*; (3) שָׂרִים, "princes" = *captains*; (4) שְׁלִשִׁים, "captains," already noticed, perhaps = *staff-officers*; (5) שָׂרֵי הָרֶכֶב and שָׂרֵי הַפָּרָשִׁים, "rulers of his chariots and of his horsemen" = *cavalry officers*.

It does not appear that the system established by David was maintained by the kings of Judah; but in Israel the proximity of the hostile kingdom of Syria necessitated the maintenance of a standing army. The militia (עַם הָאָרֶץ, 2 K. xxv. 19) was occasionally called out in times of peace, as by Asa (2 Ch. xiv. 8), by Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. xvii. 14), by Amaziah (2 Ch. xxv. 5), and lastly by Uzziah (2 Ch. xxvi. 11): but these notices prove that such cases were exceptional. On the other hand, the incidental notices of the body-guard lead to the conclusion that it was regularly kept up (1 K. xiv. 28; 2 K. xi. 4, 11). Occasional reference is made to war-chariots (2 K. viii. 21), and it would appear that this branch of the service was maintained, until the wars with the Syrians weakened the resources of the kingdom (2 K. xiii. 7): it was restored by Jotham (Is. ii. 7), but in Hezekiah's reign no force of the kind could be maintained, and the Jews were obliged to seek the aid of Egypt for horses and chariots (2 K. xviii. 23, 24). This was an evident breach of the injunction in Deut. xvii. 16, and met with strong reprobation on the part of the prophet Isaiah (xxxi. 1).

The army usually took the field in the spring (2 Sam. xi. 1), and never without asking counsel of God. In the older time this was done by the high-priest by means of the Urim and Thummim (Judg. i. 1, xx. 18; 1 Sam. xiv. 37, xxiii. 2; 2 Sam. v. 19), in later times by a prophet (1 K. xxii. 5, &c.; 2 K. xix. 2, &c.). In the earlier wars the ark accompanied the army (Num. x. 35; Josh. vi. 6; 1 Sam. iv. 4, &c.), but this probably ceased after the

* Riehm (*HWB.* s. n. *Krieg*), comparing 2 K. ix. 25 and the frequent representations of three in a chariot on the Assyrian monuments, inclines to the view that the Shalish was originally the third (perhaps the shield-bearer) in the chariot, and that, from that restricted sense, the title gradually passed into the general meaning of a chief officer.

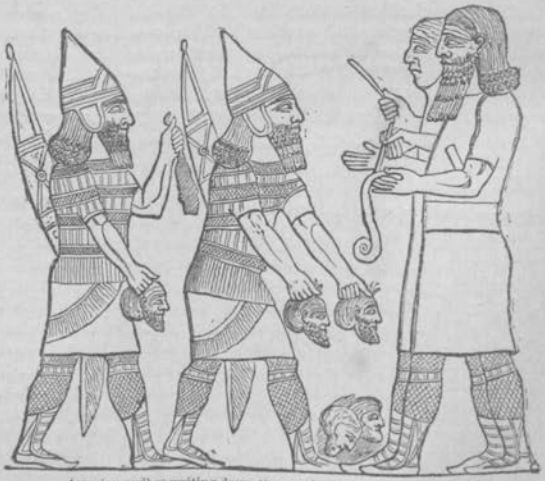
building of the Temple. With the ark went the priests, and their attendance was continued after the practice of bringing the ark was dispensed with. It was their duty to blow the silver trumpets (Num. x. 8, 9, xxxi. 6; 2 Ch. xiii. 12, 14) in summons of God's help, to make the offering before the battle (1 Sam. vii. 9, &c.; xiii. 9, &c.), and encourage by stirring words and retreat was given by the trumpet (Josh. vi. 4, 5, 16; Judg. vii. 18, &c.; 2 Sam. ii. 28, xviii. 16, xx. 22; 1 Macc. xvi. 8). The attack was made with loud shouts (Josh. vi. 16; Amos i. 14. Cp. Is. v. 29; Jer. xlix. 2, l. 42; Ezek. xxi. 22), and sometimes with a definite watchword (*e.g.* "The sword of the Lord and of Gideon," Judg. vii. 18, 20). In actual battle, the troops did not always preserve their serried form; and hand-to-hand encounters testing the strength, skill, equipment, and valour of individual warriors were very frequent; the general engagement being sometimes preceded by single combats, such as that of David and Goliath (1 Sam. xvii.; cp 2 Sam. xxi. 18, &c.), or that of the twelve of Benjamin and the twelve of the servants of David (2 Sam. ii. 12, &c.). The country, or camp, or place to be attacked was usually well reconnoitred (Josh. ii.; Judg. vii. 11, &c.; 1 Sam. xxvi. 4); ambushes were frequent, led up to by simulated flight (Josh. viii.; Judg. xx. 29, &c.; 1 Sam. xv. 5; 2 Ch. xiii. 13); the assault was often made simultaneously in front and in the rear (2 Ch. xiii. 13, &c.), and night-attacks were common (Gen. xiv. 15; Josh. x. 9, xi. 7; Judg. vii. 16, &c.; 2 Sam. xvii. 1, &c.). Deeds of valour were rewarded by promotion



Assyrian warriors forming a phalanx. (Layard.)

the armies of the Lord (Deut. xx. 2-4; cp. 2 Ch. xx. 21, 22).

With regard to the arrangement and manoeuvring of the army in the field, we know but little. A division into three bodies is frequently mentioned (Judg. vii. 16, ix. 43; 1 Sam. xi. 11; 2 Sam. xviii. 2), but sometimes the division was into two (1 K. xx. 27), sometimes into four bodies (2 Macc. viii. 22). The triple division served various purposes: in action there would be a centre and two wings; in camp, relays for the three night-watches (Judg. vii. 19); and by the combination of two of the divisions, there would be a main body and a reserve, or a strong advanced guard (1 Sam. xiii. 2, xxv. 13). In Jehoshaphat's time the army was numbered, "according to their fathers' houses," in five bodies, corresponding, according to Ewald (*Geschichte*, iii. 192), to the geographical divisions of the kingdom at that time: yet even here the threefold principle of division may be noticed, the heavy-armed troops of Judah being considered as the proper army, and the two divisions of light-armed of the tribe of Benjamin as an appendage (2 Ch. xvii. 14–18).



Assyrian scribes writing down the number of the slain. (Layard.)

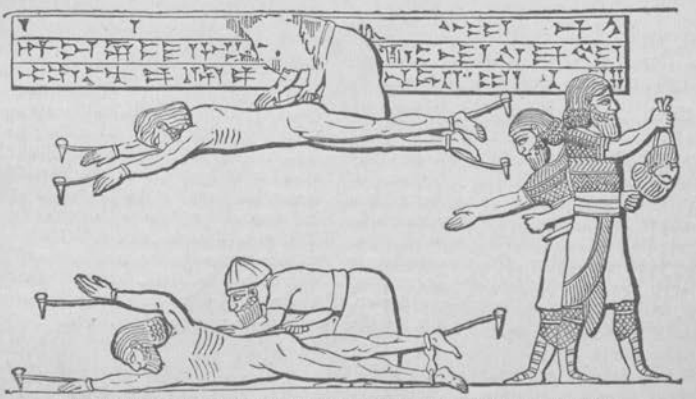
In battle-array, the troops stood and moved at first in something like regimental order (2 Ch. xxvi. 11, Heb.); and possibly the Egyptian phalanx of eight rows of ten men [see cut under EGYPT], or the Assyrian of two rows of spearmen (the first kneeling, the second half-kneeling) and archers protected by shield-bearers, may have had their parallels among the Israelites. The signal for attack, halting, (1 Ch. xi. 6), freedom (1 Sam. xvii. 25; cp. 1 Sam. viii. 11, &c.), gifts of land (Josh. xv. 13) and of money (1 Sam. xvii. 25; 2 Sam. xviii. 11), and even by the hand of a princess (Josh. xv. 16; 1 Sam. xvii. 25, xviii. 25). From and after David's time the spoil was fairly divided between those who fought and those

who watched the camp (1 Sam. xxx. 24, 25). "No quarter" was the rule in the wars of extermination (*e.g.* 1 Sam. xv. 3); in the international and even other wars the slaughter, if great (2 Sam. xviii. 7; 1 K. xx. 21, 29), was not so ruthless (1 K. xx. 31; cp. 2 Ch. xxv. 22). The head of the opponent chief was sometimes brought in as a trophy (1 Sam. xvii. 51, 54, xxxi. 9; 2 Sam. xx. 22; cp. Judith xiii. 9, &c.), and we also find on one occasion the Assyrian practice of collecting the heads and so numbering the slain (cp. 2 K. x. 7, 8); but this practice, and the Egyptian custom of attaining the same end by cutting off the hands, were not in vogue among the Israelites, if traces are to be found among them of a not less ghastly form of mutilation (1 Sam. xviii. 25, 27).

It was counted a sacred duty to bury any Israelitish soldier who fell in battle (1 K. xi. 15; 2 Macc. xii. 39), and the chiefs were followed to their graves with tears and lamentations (2 Sam. iii. 31), their "weapons of war" being buried with them (Ezek. xxxii. 27). Burial was also accorded to the dead soldiers of an enemy (Ezek. xxxix. 11, &c.), unless Is. xxx. 33 be a hint that cremation was sometimes adopted (see Cheyne and Orelli in loco). Prisoners of war were variously treated. The ferocity characteristic of foreign foes (*e.g.* 2 K. viii. 12) was not without its parallel in Israel (2 K. xv. 16); blinding was common (Judg. xvi. 21; 1 Sam. xi. 2; 2 K. xxv. 7). As a rule death was the lot of leader and soldier; often, in the case of the former, preceded by the humiliation so common in Egypt and Assyria, which bade the conqueror set his foot on the neck of the

Enemies at the footstool of a king. (Thebes.)

conquered (Josh. x. 24; cp. Ps. cx. 1), and even by mutilation similar to that previously inflicted on his foes by the vanquished (Judg. i. 6, 7). Instances are on record of conquered

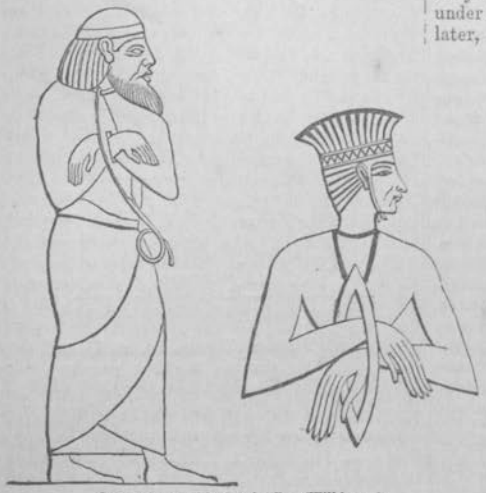


Assyrians flaying their prisoners alive and carrying away heads of the slain. (Layard.)

populations subjected to terrible tortures (2 Sam. xii. 31), and flung down precipices (2 Ch. xxv. 12); but instances are also furnished of remarkable mercifulness and generosity (1 K. xx. 31, &c.; 2 K. vi. 22, 23). Captives were bound in fetters (Ps. cxlix. 8; 2 K. xxv. 7), as we see in Egyptian and Assyrian monuments. "In a bas-relief discovered at Khorsabad were represented captives led before the king by rings of iron passed through their noses and lips, to which a cord was attached, thus illustrating the passage (2 K. xix. 28; cp. Is. xxxvii. 29), 'I will put my hook in thy nose and my bridle in thy lips'" (Layard). Slavery was the alternative of death. Men, women, and children, bareheaded and bereft of their outer garments, sometimes chained and bound, were either sold or enslaved; mercy tempering the condition of the latter (Deut. xxi. 10, &c.). The warriors of Israel, if victorious, were greeted on their return with music, songs, and dances (Judg. xi. 34; 1 Sam. xviii. 6, &c.; 2 Ch. xx. 26, 28; 1 Macc. iv. 24), as in Assyria. Portions of the spoil were offered to God (2 Sam. viii. 11, &c.); trophies were deposited in the sanctuary (1 Sam. xxi. 9; 2 K. xi. 10), and memorials of victory were erected to the glory of God (1 Sam. vii. 12) and to the honour of the conquerors (1 Sam. xv. 12).

The maintenance and equipment of the soldiers at the public expense dates from the establishment of a standing army: before which time each soldier armed himself and obtained his food from his home (1 Sam. xvii. 17, 18), or by voluntary offerings (2 Sam. xvii. 28, 29), or by forced exactions (1 Sam. xxv. 13), or by the natural resources of the country (1 Sam. xiv. 27). On one occasion only do we hear of any systematic arrangement for provisioning the host (Judg. xx. 10). It is doubtful whether the soldier, if rewarded by his share of any booty taken, ever received pay even under the kings (the only instance of pay mentioned applies to mercenaries, who were dismissed at the admoni-

tion of the prophet, 2 Ch. xxv. 6): but that he was maintained while on active service, and provided with arms, appears from 1 K. iv. 27, x. 16, 17; 2 Ch. xxvi. 14: notices occurring of an arsenal or armoury, in which the weapons were stored (1 K. xiv. 28; Neh. iii. 19; Cant. iv. 4). Foreigners (*e.g.* Philistines) were admitted into the national army, and some—Zelek the Ammonite, Uriah the Hittite (2 Sam. xxiii. 37, 39)—rose to positions of distinction.



Captives secured by handcuffs. (Wilkinson.)

The numerical strength of the Jewish army cannot be ascertained with any degree of accuracy: the numbers as given in the text are manifestly very high, and the discrepancies in the various statements difficult of reconciliation. At the Exodus the number of the warriors was 600,000 (Ex. xii. 37), or 603,350 (Ex. xxxviii. 26; Num. i. 46); at the entrance into Canaan, 601,730 (Num. xxvi. 51). In David's time the army amounted, according to one statement (2 Sam. xxiv. 9), to 1,300,000, viz. 800,000 for Israel and 500,000 for Judah; but according to another statement (1 Ch. xxi. 5, 6) to 1,470,000, viz. 1,000,000 for Israel and 470,000 for Judah. The militia at the same period amounted to $24{,}000 \times 12 = 288{,}000$ (1 Ch. xxvii. 1 ff.). At a later period the army of Judah under Abijah is stated at 400,000, and that of Israel under Jeroboam at 300,000 (2 Ch. xiii. 3). Still later, Asa's army, derived from the tribes of Judah and Benjamin alone, is put at 530,000 (2 Ch. xiv. 8), and Jehoshaphat's at 1,160,000 (2 Ch. xvii. 14 sq.).

Little need be said on the army with regard to the period that succeeded the return from the Babylonian Captivity until the organisation of military affairs in Judaea under the Romans. Jews were to be found serving as mercenaries in the armies of Alexander the Great, Seleucus Nicator, Ptolemy Soter, Ptolemy Philadelphus (Josephus, *Ant.* xi. 8, § 5; xii. 2, § 5, 3, § 1), and Alexander Balas (1 Macc. x. 26). The system adopted by Judas Maccabaeus was in strict conformity with the Mosaic law (1 Macc. iii. 55): and though he maintained a standing army, varying from 3000 to 6000 men (1 Macc. iv. 6; 2 Macc. viii. 16), yet the custom of paying the soldiers appears to have been still unknown, and to have originated with Simon (1 Macc. xiv. 32). The introduction of mercenaries (probably Arabian) commenced with John Hyrcanus, who, according to Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 8, § 4), rifled the tombs of the kings in order to pay them: the intestine commotions that prevailed in the reign of Alexander Jannaeus obliged him to increase the number to 6,200 men (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 13, § 5, 14, § 1): and the same policy was followed by Queen Alexandra (*Ant.* xiii. 16, § 2) and by Herod the Great, who had in his pay Thracian, German, and Gallic troops (*Ant.* xvii. 8, § 3). The discipline and arrangement of the army was gradually assimilated to that of the Romans, and the titles of the officers borrowed from it (Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 20, § 7).

Assyrian musicians coming out to meet the conquerors. (Layard.)

II. Roman Army.—The Roman army was divided into legions, the number of which varied considerably, each under six tribuni (χιλίαρχος, "chief captain," *i.e.* the tribune in command of the cohort, about 1000 foot and 150 horsemen, being one-sixth of a legion, Acts xxi. 31), who commanded by turns. The legion was subdivided into ten cohorts (σπεῖρα, "band," Acts x. 1), the cohort into three maniples, and the maniple into two centuries, containing originally 100 men, as the name implies, but subsequently from 50 to 100 men, according to the strength of the legion. There were thus 60 centuries in a legion, each under the command of a centurion

(ἑκατοντάρχης, Acts x. 1, 22; ἑκατόνταρχος, Matt. viii. 5, xxvii. 54). In addition to the legionary cohorts, independent cohorts of 500 volunteers, divided into 6 centuries, served under the Roman standards; and Biscoe (*History of Acts*, p. 220) supposes that all the Roman forces stationed in Judaea were of this class. Josephus speaks of five cohorts as stationed at Caesarea at the time of Herod Agrippa's death (*Ant.* xix. 9, § 2), and frequently mentions that the inhabitants of Caesarea and Sebaste served in the ranks (*Ant.* xx. 8, § 7). One of these cohorts was named the Italian (Acts x. 1), not as being a portion of the Italica legio (for this was not embodied until Nero's reign), but as consisting of volunteers from Italy ("Cohors militum voluntaria, quae est in Syria," Gruter, *Inscr.* i. 434). This cohort probably acted as the body-guard of the procurator. The cohort named after "Augustus" (σπεῖρα Σεβαστή, Acts xxvii. 1) may have consisted of the volunteers from Sebaste (*B. J.* ii. 12, § 5; Biscoe, p. 223; *Speaker's Commentary* in loco; or may have acquired that name as an appellation, as other cohorts were named Victrix, Pia, Fidelis [Schürer in Riehm, *HWB.* s. v. *Römer*]). Winer, however, thinks that it was a *cohors Augusta*, similar to the *legio Augusta* (*RWB.* s. v. *Römer*). The head-quarters of the Roman forces in Judaea were at Caesarea. A single cohort was probably stationed at Jerusalem in the Tower of Antonia as the ordinary guard. At the time of the great Feasts, however, and on other public occasions, a larger force was sent up, for the sake of preserving order (*B. J.* ii. 12, § 1; 15, § 3). Frequent disturbances arose in reference to the images and other emblems carried by the Roman troops among their military ensigns, which the Jews regarded as idolatrous: deference was paid to their prejudices by a removal of these objects from Jerusalem (*Ant.* xviii. 3, § 1; 5, § 3). The ordinary guard consisted of four soldiers (τετράδιον, "quaternion"), of which there were four, corresponding to the four watches of the night, who relieved each other every three hours (Acts xii. 4; cp. John xix. 23; Polyb. vi. 33, § 7). When in charge of a prisoner, two watched outside the door of the cell, while the other two were inside (Acts xii. 6). The δεξιόλαβοι (*lancearii*, Vulg.; "spearmen," A. V. and R. V.), noticed in Acts xxiii. 23, appear to have been light-armed, irregular troops: the origin of the name is, however, quite uncertain (see Alford's *Com.* and *Speaker's Com.* in loco).

Consult Winer, *RWB.*[2]; Herzog, *RE.*[2]; Riehm, *HWB.* s.v. *Krieg*. [W. L. B.] [F.]

AR'NA (*Arna*), one of the forefathers of Ezra (2 Esd. i. 2), occupying the place of Zerahiah (Ezra vii. 4) or Zaraias (1 Esd. viii. 2) in his genealogy. [W. A. W.]

AR'NAN (אַרְנָן; Ὀρνά; *Arnan*). In the received Hebrew text "the sons of Arnan" are mentioned in the genealogy of Zerubbabel (1 Ch. iii. 21). But according to the reading of the Greek, Vulgate, and Syriac Versions, which Houbigant adopts, Arnan was the son of Rephaiah (B. Ῥαφάλ). The text is much disputed (see *Comm.*, Keil, Bertheau, Speaker's, and Oettli in loco). [W. A. W.] [F.]

AR'NON (אַרְנוֹן; derivable, according to Gesenius, *Thes.* 153 [MV.[11] and Fürst], from roots signifying "swift" or "noisy," either suiting the character of the stream; Ἀρνών; *Arnon*), the river (נַחַל, accurately "torrent," but rendered "valley" in R. V.) which formed the boundary between Moab and the Amorites, on the north of Moab (Num. xxi. 13, 14, 24, 26; Judg. xi. 22), and afterwards between Moab and Israel (in the territory of Reuben: Deut. ii. 24, 36, iii. 8, 12, 16, iv. 48; Josh. xii. 1, 2, xiii. 9, 16; Judg. xi. 13, 26). From Judg. xi. 18, it would seem to have been also the *east* border of Moab.* See also 2 K. x. 33; Jer. xlviii. 20. In many of the above passages it occurs in the formula for the site of Aroer, "which is by the brink of the river Arnon." In Numbers it is simply "Arnon," but in Deut., Joshua, Judges, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Kings "the river A." (A. V. sometimes "river of A."). Isaiah (xvi. 2) mentions its fords; and in Judg. xi. 26 a word of rare occurrence (יָד, hand, comp. Num. xiii. 29) is used for the *sides* of the stream. The "high places of A." (בָּמוֹת, a word which generally refers to worship. Cp. Baethgen, *Beiträge z. Semit. Religionsgeschichte*, p. 213) are mentioned in Num. xxi. 28. In the inscription on the "Moabite stone," king Mesha states that he made the "highway in" Arnon and built Aroer (*Records of the Past*, N. S., ii. 202). By Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 5, § 1) it is described as rising in the mountains of Arabia and flowing through all the wilderness (ἐρῆμος) till it falls into the Dead Sea. In the time of Jerome it was still known as Arnon; but in the Samarito-Arabic Version of the Pentateuch by Abû Saîd (10th to 12th cent.) it is given as *el-Mojib*. There can be no doubt that the *Wâdy el-Mojib* of the present day is the Arnon. It has been visited and described by Burckhardt (pp. 372–375); Irby (p. 142); and Seetzen (*Reise*, 1854, ii. 347; see also Ritter, *Syria*, p. 1195). The ravine through which it flows is still the "locum vallis in praerupta demersae satis horribilem et periculosum" which it was in the days of Jerome (*OS.*[2] p. 121, 7). The Roman road from *Rabba* to *Dhibân* crosses it at about two hours' distance from the former. On the south edge of the ravine are some ruins called *Mehatet el Haj*, and on the north edge, directly opposite, are those still bearing the name of *'Arâ'ir* [AROER]. The level plain comes close to the abrupt descent which breaks away in limestone precipices to a great depth, so that no idea of the ravine can be formed until the very edge is reached. The width across, from crest to crest, is about three miles (Burckhardt says about two miles). The descent on the south side, which is 200 ft. higher than the north, is 2150 ft.; it is "extremely steep" (Jer., "per abrupta descendens"), and in places almost impassable "with rocks and stones." On each face of the ravine traces of the paved Roman road are still found, with milestones; and the piers of the Roman bridge still stand in the stream.

* This appears to have been the branch called the *Seil es-Sa'ideh*, which flows N.W. from *Kul'at el-Kutrâneh*, joining the *Wâdy Mojib*, two or three miles east from *'Arâ'ir*.

The river runs through rich tropical vegetation; water never fails; and the pools are full of fish (Tristram, *Land of Moab*, pp. 125–129). Above the bridge is a small cave with figures in red paint and a half-obliterated Nabathaean inscription (*PEFQy. Stat.* 1871, p. 69). A section of the ravine is given by Lartet (*Géologie de la Palestine*, p. 159).

Where it bursts into the Dead Sea this stream is 82 ft. wide and 4 ft. deep,[b] flowing through a chasm with perpendicular sides of red, brown, and yellow sandstone, 97 ft. wide (*romantische Felsenthor:* Seetzen). It then runs through the delta in a S.W. course, narrowing as it goes, and is 10 ft. deep where its waters meet those of the Dead Sea (Lynch, *Report*, May 3, 1847, p. 20).

According to the information given to Burckhardt, its principal source is near *Kutrâneh* on the Haj route. Hence, under the name of *Seil es-Sa'ideh*, it flows N.W. to its junction with the *W. Enkeileh* one hour E. of *'Arâ'ir*, and then, as *W. Mojib*, more directly W. to the Dead Sea. The *W. Mojib* receives on the North the streams of the *Seil Heidan*, and on the South those of *W. el-Weil* and *W. Saliheh*.

At its junction with the *Enkeileh* is a piece of pasture ground, in the midst of which stands a hill with ruins on it (Burckh. p. 374). May not these ruins be the site of the mysterious "city that is in the midst of the river" (Josh. xiii. 9, 16; Deut. ii. 36), so often coupled with Aroer? From the above description of the ravine, it is plain that that city cannot have been situated immediately below Aroer, as has been conjectured. Tristram (*Land of Moab*, p. 128) identifies this city with "some faint remains of early buildings" above the ruins of the Roman bridge. [G.] [W.]

ARO'D (עָרוֹד, Ges. perhaps = עֶרְוֹד, *wild ass;* B. Ἀροδεί; B[ab (vid)] Ἀροαδεί; AF. -δί; *Arod*), a son of Gad (Num. xxvi. 17; LXX. *v.* 26), called Arodi (אֲרוֹדִי) in Gen. xlvi. 16, and his family THE ARODITES (Num. xxvi. 17). [G.] [F.]

ARO'DI (אֲרוֹדִי; A. Ἀροηδίς, *D.* Αὐαρίς; *Arodi*) = AROD (Gen. xlvi. 16).

ARO'DITES, THE (הָאֲרוֹדִי; B. ὁ Ἀροδεί [see var[t]. *s. n.* AROD]; *Aroditae*). Descendants of Arod the son of Gad (Num. xxvi. 17 [LXX. *v.* 26]). [W. A. W.] [F.]

ARO'ER (עֲרֹעֵר, occasionally עֲרוֹעֵר, = ruins, places of which the foundations are laid bare, Gesenius*; Ἀροήρ; *Aroer*), the name of several towns of Eastern and Western Palestine.

1. In Josh. xii. 2, AF. Ἀροήρ, B. Ἀρνών; in Jer. xlviii. (LXX. xxxi.) 19, BℵA. Ἀροήρ. A city "by the brink," or "on the bank of" (both the same expression—"on the lip"), or "by" the torrent Arnon, the southern point of the territory of Sihon king of the Amorites,[b] and afterwards of the tribe of Reuben (Deut. ii. 36, iii. 12, iv. 48; Josh. xii. 2, xiii. 9, 16; Judg. xi. 26[c]; 2 K. x. 33; 1 Ch. v. 8), but later again in possession of Moab (Jer. xlviii. 19). It was built or rebuilt by king Mesha (*Records of the Past*, N. S., ii. 202). It is described (*OS.*[2] p. 122, 25) as "usque hodie in vertice montis," "super ripam (χείλος) torrentis Arnon," an account agreeing exactly with that of the ruins of *'Arâ'ir* on the old Roman road, upon the very edge of the precipitous north bank of the *Wâdy Mojib*. [ARNON.] The ruins are featureless, but contain several wells and cisterns (Tristram, *Land of Moab*, pp. 130, 131). Aroer is often mentioned in connexion with the city that is "in," or "in the midst of, the river." The nature of the cleft through which the Arnon flows is such that it is impossible there can have been any town in such a position immediately near Aroer; but a suggestion has been made above [ARNON], which on investigation of the spot may clear up this point.

2. In Josh. xiii. 25, A. Ἀρωήρ, B. Ἀραβά. Aroer "that is 'facing' (עַל־פְּנֵי) Rabbah" (Rabbah of Ammon), a town "built" by and belonging to Gad (Num. xxxii. 34; Josh. xiii. 25; 2 Sam. xxiv. 5). This is possibly the place mentioned in Judg. xi. 33, which was shown in Jerome's time (*OS.*[2] p. 131, 5) "in monte, vigesimo ab Aelia lapide ad septentrionem." Ritter (*Syria*, p. 1130) suggests an identification with *Ayra*, found by Burckhardt 2½ hours S.W. of *es-Salt*. There is considerable difference however in the radical letters of the two words, the second Ain not being present.

3. Aroer, in Is. xvii. 2, if a place at all,[d] must be still further north than either of the two already named, and dependent on Damascus. Gesenius (*Jesaia*, p. 556), however, takes it to be Aroer of Gad, and the "forsaken" state of its cities to be the result of the deportation of Galilee and Gilead by Tiglath-pileser (2 K. xv. 29).

4. A town in Judah, named only in 1 Sam. xxx. 28. Robinson (ii. 199) has identified it with the water pits and ruins of *'Ar'arah* in the valley of the same name on the road from Petra to Gaza, about 11 miles E.S.E. of *Bir es-Seba*, a position which agrees very fairly with the slight indications of the text. Palmer (*Desert of the Exodus*, p. 404) speaks of "a few wells." [G.] [W.]

ARO'ERITE (עֲרֹעֵרִי;* A. Ἀραρί; B. -ρεί, B[b]. Ἀρά; *Arorites*). Hothan the Aroerite was the father of two of David's chief captains (1 Ch. xi. 44). [W. A. W.]

[b] Seetzen found the stream 40 ft. wide and 3 ft. deep in January (ii. 366).

* May it not with equal probability be derived from ערער, *juniper* [so Lagarde with Targ., Vulg. *myrica* (Jer. xlviii. 6)], the modern Arabic *'Ar'ar* (see Rob. ii. 124, note)? Comp. Luz, Rimmon, Tappuach, and other places deriving their names from trees.

[b] From the omission of the name in the remarkable fragment, Num. xxi. 27–30, where the principal places taken by the Amorites from Moab are named, Aroer would appear not to be one of the very oldest cities. Possibly it was built by the Amorites after their conquest, to guard the important boundary of the Arnon.

[c] In this place the letters of the name are transposed, עַרְעוֹר.

[d] The LXX. have καταλελειμμένη εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, apparently reading עֲדֵי עַד for עֲרֵי עֲרֹעֵר. The Vulgate (*Aroer*) agrees with the Hebrew text, which is followed by Delitzsch, Cheyne, *Speaker's Comm.*, and all modern critics.

A'ROM ('Αρόμ; *Asonus*). The "sons of Arom," to the number of 32, are enumerated in 1 Esd. v. 16 among those who returned with Zorobabel. Unless it be a mistake for Asom, and represents Hashum in Ezra ii. 19, it has no parallel in the lists of Ezra and Nehemiah. [W. A. W.]

AR'PAD (אַרְפַּד). Ges. connects it with רפד, and takes it as "belonging to a couch," hence a "support" = a strong city; 'Αρφάδ, 'Αρφάθ, A. 'Αρφάτ, &c.; *Arphad*), a city or district in Syria, invariably named with Hamath (now *Hamah*, on the Orontes. Jer. xlix. 23; 2 K. xviii. 34, xix. 13; Is. x. 9, xxxvi. 19, xxxvii. 13: in the last two passages it is rendered in the A. V. Arphad). Arpad is several times mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions under the form Ar-pad-da, and it was taken, B.C. 740, by Tiglath-pileser II., after a siege of three years, previous to his campaign against Azariah (Uzziah) king of Judah; it has been identified with *Tell Erfâd* about thirteen miles north of Aleppo (Schrader, *KAT.*² pp. 223, 324, 328, 487). [G.] [W.]

AR'PHAD. [Arpad.]

ARPHAX'AD (אַרְפַּכְשַׁד; 'Αρφαξάδ; Jos. 'Αρφαξάδης; *Arphaxad*), the third son of Shem and the ancestor of Eber (Gen. x. 22, 24, xi. 10), and said to be of the Chaldaeans (Joseph. *Ant.* i. 6, § 4). Bochart (*Phaleg*, ii. 4) supposed that the name was preserved in that of the province Arrapachitis ('Αρραπαχίτις, Ptol. vi. 1, § 2) in Northern Assyria (cp. Ewald, *Gesch. d. Volkes Isr.*, i. 378); and this opinion, indicating the not infrequent practice of a geographical becoming in the course of time a personal name, has been accepted by Lagarde, Nöldeke, Delitzsch (*Genesis*, p. 222 [1887]), Kautzsch (Riehm, *HWB.* s. n.), and Spiegel (Herzog, *RE.*² s. n.). Other interpretations of the name have been given. Schrader (*KAT.*² pp. 112, 612), Ges., &c., suppose it to mean *the border of the Chaldees* (ארף [cp. Arab. ارفة] and כשׂד) or Babylonica (see against this Spiegel, *l. c.*). Fried. Delitzsch (*Wo lag das Paradies*, pp. 225–6) connects it with *arba-Kisâdi*, and renders it the "Viergötterstadt."

2. Arphaxad, a king "who reigned over the Medes in Ecbatana, and strengthened the city by vast fortifications" (Judith i. 1–4). In a war with "Nabuchodonosor, king of Assyria," he was entirely defeated "in the great plain in the borders of Ragau" (? *Rages*, *Raga*, Tobit i. 14, &c.), and afterwards taken prisoner and put to death (Judith i. 13–15). From the passage in Judith (i. 2, ᾠκοδόμησεν ἐπ' Ἐκβατάνων) he has been frequently identified with Deioces (Artaeus, Ctes.), the founder of Ecbatana (Herod. i. 98); but as Deioces died peaceably (Herod. i. 102), it seems better to look for the original of Arphaxad in his son Phraortes (Artynes, Ctes.), who greatly extended the Median empire, and at last fell in a battle with the Assyrians, 633 B.C. (Herod. i. 102, αὐτός τε διεφθάρη . . . καὶ ὁ στράτος αὐτοῦ ὁ πολλός). Niebuhr (*Gesch. Assur's*, p. 32) endeavours to identify the name with Astyages = Ashdahak, the common title of the Median dynasty, and refers the events to a war in the twelfth year of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, B.C. 592 (*Ibid.* pp. 212, 285). Schrader (Riehm, *HWB.* s. n.) considers the name (like Arioch in i. 6) a poetical creation of the writer of the book, and recalled into existence from Gen. x. 22. Others (*e.g.* Volkmar) identify Arphaxad with Artavasdes (Dio Cass. xl. 49, &c.) the Parthian, or with Arbaces, the first king of the Medes and the conqueror of Sardanapalus. Lupton is disposed to compare the name with that of *Arsaces* (*i.e.* Mithridates; see *Speaker's Comm.* on Judith i. 1). [B. F. W.] [F.]

ARROWS. [Arms.]

ARSA'CES VI., a king of Parthia, who assumed the royal title *Arsaces* ('Αρσάκης, Armen. *Arschag*, probably containing the roots both of *Arya* and *Sacae*) in addition to his proper name, Mithridates I. (Phraates, App. *Syr.* 67, from confusion with his successor), according to universal custom (Strab. xv. p. 702), in honour of the founder of the Parthian monarchy (Justin. xli. 5, 5). He made great additions to the empire by successful wars; and when Demetrius Nicator entered his dominions to collect forces or otherwise strengthen his position against the usurper Tryphon, he despatched an officer against him who defeated the great army after a campaign of varied success (Justin. xxxvi. 1), and took the king prisoner, B.C. 138 (1 Macc. xiv. 1–3; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 5, § 11; Justin xxxvi. 1, xxxviii. 9). Mithridates treated his prisoner with respect, and gave him his daughter in marriage (App. *Syr.* 67, 68), but kept him in confinement till his own death, c. B.C. 130 (App. *Syr.* 68; Diod. *ap.* Müller, *Fragm. Hist.* ii. 19). [B. F. W.]

Coin of Arsaces. (British Museum.)

AR'SARETH, a region beyond Euphrates, apparently of great extent (2 Esd. xiii. 45, only). The word is a version of אֶרֶץ אַחֶרֶת, "another land," Deut. xxix. 28 (Schiller-Szinessy. See *Speaker's Comm.* on 2 Esd. *l. c.*). Volkmar (*Hb. d. Einl. in die Apokr.* ii. 193) supposes the word to represent ארץ ארת, "Land of Arat," or "Ararat." [G.] [W.]

ARTAXER'XES (אַרְתַּחְשַׁשְׂתְּא, *Artaḫšasta* [Ezra iv. 7 a], or שַׁשְׂתְּא- [Ezra iv. 7 b], or שַׁסְתְּא- [Ezra iv. 8, vii. 1, and onwards; Neh. ii. 6: see Baer's text *in locis*], *Artaḫšast*. The LXX. has such variations as the following:—A. 'Αρθασασθά [usually]; B. 'Ασαρδαθά [Ezra iv. 7 a], 'Ασαρθά [Ezra iv. 8], 'Αρσαθέρθα [Neh. ii. 1]; א* c. a(ubique) 'Αρσαρσαθά, א c. b 'Αρταξερξή [Neh. ii. 1]; *Artaxerxes*), the name probably of *two* different kings of Persia mentioned in the Old Testament. The word, according to Herod. vi. 98, means ὁ μέγας ἀρήιος, *the great warrior* [so Ges. and Lassen, *Zeitschr. z. Kunde d. Morgenl.* vi. p. 161, &c.]. The name arose from the old

Pers. *Artakhschathra* [Spiegel, *Eran. Alterthumskunde*, ii. 410], and is compounded of *arta* [as in Artabanus, Artaphanes], great or honoured (cp. Ἀρταῖοι, Herod. vii. 61, the old national name of the Persians, also *Arii*, and the Sanscrit *Arya*, which is applied to the followers of the Brahminical law), and *khschathra*, a kingdom. The later Persians derived from it *Ardeshir*, the Armenians Artašês, the Greeks Artaxerxes [see reff. to Burnouf and Lagarde in MV.[10]]. On the Babylonian monuments it is written *Artakšatsu*, *Artakšitsu*, and *Artakšassu* (Fr. Delitzsch, Pref. p. ix. to Baer's edit. of *Daniel, Esra, und Nehemia*).

1. The first Artaxerxes is mentioned in Ezra iv. 7, as induced by "the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin" to obstruct the rebuilding of the Temple, and appears identical with Smerdis, the Magian impostor, and pretended brother of Cambyses. This identification is dependent upon the presumption that the Ahasuerus of Ezra iv. 6 is Cambyses, and that the Darius of iv. 24 is Darius Hystaspis, so that the intermediate King must be the pseudo-Smerdis who usurped the throne B.C. 522, and reigned eight months (Herod. iii. 61, 67 *sq.* So Ewald, Hitzig, and *Speaker's Comm.*). We need not wonder at this variation in his name. Artaxerxes may have been adopted or conferred on him as a title, and we find the true Smerdis called Tanyoxares (the younger Oxares) by Xenophon (*Cyrop.* viii. 7) and Ctesias (*Pers. fr.* 8–13), and Oropastes by Justin (*Hist.* i. 9). Oxares appears to be the same name as Xerxes, of which Artaxerxes is a compound.

2. In Neh. ii. 1 we have another Artaxerxes, who permits Nehemiah to spend twelve years at Jerusalem, in order to settle the affairs of the colony there, which had fallen into great confusion. We may safely identify him with Artaxerxes Macrocheir or Longimanus, the son of Xerxes, who reigned B.C. 464–425. And we believe that this is the same king who had previously allowed Ezra to go to Jerusalem for a similar purpose (Ezra vii. 1). There are indeed some who maintain that as Darius Hystaspis is the king in the sixth chapter of Ezra, the king mentioned next after him, at the beginning of the seventh, must be Xerxes, and thus they distinguish *three* Persian kings called Artaxerxes in the Old Testament: (1) Smerdis in Ezra iv., (2) Xerxes in Ezra vii., and (3) Artaxerxes Macrocheir in Nehemiah. But it is almost demonstrable that Xerxes is the Ahasuerus of the Book of Esther [AHASUERUS], and it is hard to suppose that in addition to his ordinary name he would have been called both Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes in the O. T. It seems also very probable that the policy of Neh. ii. was a continuation and renewal of that of Ezra vii., and that the same king was the author of both. Now it is not possible for Xerxes to be the Artaxerxes of Nehemiah, as Josephus asserts (*Ant.* xi. 5, § 6), for Xerxes only reigned 21 years, whereas Nehemiah (v. 14) speaks of the 32nd year of Artaxerxes. Nor is it necessary to believe that the Artaxerxes of Ezra vii. is necessarily the immediate successor of the Darius of Ezra vi. The Book of Ezra is not a continuous history. It is evident from the first words of ch. vii. that there is a pause at the end of ch. vi. Indeed, as ch. vi. concludes in the 6th year of Darius, and ch. vii. begins with the 7th year of Artaxerxes, we cannot even believe the latter king to be Xerxes, without assuming an interval of 36 years (B.C. 515–479) between the chapters, and it is not more difficult to imagine one of 58, which will carry us to B.C. 457, the 7th year of Artaxerxes Macrocheir. We conclude therefore that this is the king of Persia under whom both Ezra and Nehemiah carried on their work; that in B.C. 457 he sent Ezra to Jerusalem; that after 13 years it became evident that a civil as well as an ecclesiastical head was required for the new settlement, and therefore that in 444 he allowed Nehemiah to go up in the latter capacity. From the testimony of profane historians this king appears remarkable among Persian monarchs for wisdom and right feeling, and with this character his conduct to the Jews coincides (Diod. xi. 71).

Hengstenberg (*Christologie*, iii. p. 143, &c.), Schrader (Riehm's *HWB.* s. n.), Sayce (*Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther*, p. 22 [see index]), and Oettli (Strack u. Zöckler's *Kgf. Komm.*) do not accept the views expressed above. They consider the Artaxerxes mentioned in the Bible to be the name of but one and the same person, viz. Artaxerxes Longimanus. [G. E. L. C.] [F.]

AR'TEMAS (Ἄρτεμᾶς, *i.e.* Ἀρτεμίδωρος), a companion of St. Paul (Tit. iii. 12). According to tradition, he became bishop of Lystra. The name, = "the gift of Artemis," is said to have been a common one among the Greeks. [G.]

ARU'BOTH (The Arubboth, as in R. V., הָאֲרֻבּוֹת; A. Ἀραβώθ [B. altogether different]; *Aruboth*), the third of Solomon's commissariat districts (1 K. iv. 10). It included Sochoh in the rich corn-growing country of the Shefelah and the land of Hepher, probably near Hebron. Josephus calls the district the toparchy of Bethlehem (*Ant.* viii. 2, § 3), and it appears to have been co-extensive with the territory assigned to Judah. The significance of the word is entirely lost at present. [G.] [W.]

ARU'MAH (אֲרוּמָה; B. Ἀρημά, A. Ἀριμά; *in Ruma*), a place apparently in the neighbourhood of Shechem, at which Abimelech resided (Judg. ix. 41). It is conjectured that the word in verse 31, בְּתַרְמָה, rendered "privily," and in the margin "at Tormah," should be read "at Arumah" by changing the ת to an א, but for this there is no support beyond the apparent probability of the change. Arumah is possibly the same place as Ruma, under which name it is given by Eusebius and Jerome in *OS.*[2] (pp. 178, 24; 281, 10). According to them, it was called Arimathaea [ARIMATHAEA]. But this is not consonant with its apparent position in the story. Tristram (*Bible Places*, p. 192) identifies it with *Tell el-'Ormeh* (comp. Van de Velde, *Mem.* p. 288) to the S.E. of the plain of Shechem (*P. F. Mem.* ii. 387, 402). [G.] [W.]

AR'VAD (אַרְוָד [ed. Baer]; Egypt. *Aruttu*; Assyrian, *Aruádu* and *Arvadu*; Greek, Ὀρθωσία), a city in Phoenicia, the men of which are named in close connexion with those of Zidon as the navigators and defenders of the ships of Tyre in Ezek. xxvii. 8, 11. In agreement with this is the mention of "the Arvadite" (הָאַרְוָדִי) in Gen. x. 18, and 1 Ch. i. 16, as a son of Canaan,

with Zidon, Hamath, and other northern localities. The LXX. (A.) has in each of the above passages Ἀράδιος, and in Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6, § 2) we find Ἀρουδαῖος Ἄραδον τὴν νῆσον ἔσχεν. There is thus no doubt that Arvad is the island of *Ruâd* (رواد), which lies off Tortosa (*Tartûs*), two or three miles from the Phoenician coast, (not at, but) some distance above the mouth of the river Eleutherus, now the *Nahr el-Kebir* (Maund. p. 403; Burckh. p. 161), and at the northern extremity of the great bay which stretches above Tripoli (Kiepert's Map, 1856). The island is high and rocky, but very small, hardly a mile in circumference (see Maund. p. 399; "800 yards in extreme length," Allen, ii. 178). According to Strabo (xvi. 2, § 13) Arvad was founded by fugitives from Sidon, and he testifies to its prosperity, its likeness to Tyre, and especially to the well-known nautical skill of the inhabitants.[a] (see the notices by Strabo, Pliny, and others in Gesenius, p. 1269, Winer, and Riehm, *Arvaditen*). Opposite Arvad, on the mainland, was the city Antaradus (*Tartûs*), by which name the Targum Jerus. renders the name Arvad in Gen. x. 18. [ARADUS.] Numerous antiquities of the Phoenician period have been discovered at Ruâd and Tartûs, as well as at Amrît, the ancient Marathus, over which town, together with Karnê, Arvad held rule. Some of these contain the names of early Arvadite kings written in Egyptian hieroglyphics. Arvad was conquered by Thothmes III. of the 18th dynasty, and appears as an ally of the Hittites in their wars against Ramses II. and Ramses III. of the 19th and 20th dynasties. Matan-baal of Arvad, like Ahab of Israel, assisted Rimmon-idri (Benhadad II.) of Damascus in the battle of Karkar, in which he was defeated by the Assyrians B.C. 854. Other Arvadite princes submitted to Tiglath-pileser III. (B.C. 732) and Sennacherib (B.C. 701); and Assur-bani-pal, about B.C. 665, married the daughter of the king of Arvad, and on the death of the latter selected his successor from among his ten sons [see the names in Schrader, *KAT.*² p. 105]. A plan of the island will be found in Allen's *Dead Sea*, end of vol. ii.; also in the Admiralty Charts, 2050, "Island of Ruad;" and a description of the island in *PEFQy. Stat.* 1875, pp. 218–221. [A. H. S.]

ARVA'DITE, THE (הָאַרְוָדִי; ὁ Ἀράδιος; *Aradius*). One of the families of Canaan (Gen. x. 18; 1 Ch. i. 16), and probably inhabitants of the island Aradus, or Ruâd. [ARVAD.] [W. A. W.]

AR'ZA (אַרְצָא; B. Ὦσά, A. Ἀρσά; *Arsa*). Prefect of the palace at Tirzah to Elah king of Israel, who was assassinated at a banquet in his house by Zimri (1 K. xvi. 9). In the Targum of Jonathan the word is taken as the name of an idol, and in the Arabic version in the London Polyglot the rendering of the last clause is, "which belongs to the idol of Beth-Arza." [W. A. W.] [F.]

A'SA (אָסָא, meaning uncertain: perhaps [from the Aram.] *physician*; Ἀσά; Jos. Ἄσανος; *Asa*), son of Abijah, and third king of Judah after the separation of the kingdom of Israel, was conspicuous for his earnestness in supporting the worship of God, and rooting out idolatry with its attendant immoralities (1 K. xv. 9–24; 2 Ch. xv. 1–19); and for the vigour and wisdom with which he provided for the prosperity of his kingdom (2 Ch. xiv. 1–7). In his zeal against heathenism he did not spare his grandmother MAACHAH, who occupied the special dignity of "King's Mother," to which great importance was attached in the Jewish court, as in Egypt, Babylonia (cp. Dan. v. 10), and Persia, and to which parallels have been found in modern Eastern countries, as in the position of the Sultana Valide in Turkey (see 1 K. ii. 19; 2 K. xxiv. 12; Jer. xxix. 2; also Calmet, *Fragm.* xvi.; and Bruce's *Travels*, vol. ii. 537, and iv. 244). She had set up some impure worship in a grove (the word translated *idol*, 1 K. xv. 13, is in Hebrew *horror* [מִפְלֶצֶת, R. V. "an abominable image;" Schultz and others = a Phallus-statue. Klostermann's alteration of the text is unnecessary]; LXX. σύνοδον: the Vulgate reads, *ne esset* [*Maacha*] *princeps in sacris Priapi*); but Asa burnt the symbol of her religion, and threw its ashes into the brook Kidron, as Moses had done to the golden calf (Ex. xxxii. 20), and then deposed Maachah from her dignity. He also placed in the Temple certain gifts which his father had dedicated, probably in the earlier and better period of his reign [ABIJAH], and which the heathen priests must have used for their own worship, and renewed the great Altar which they apparently had desecrated (2 Ch. xv. 8). Besides this, he fortified cities on his frontiers, and raised an army, amounting, according to 2 Ch. xiv. 8, to 580,000 men. Thus Asa's reign marks the return of Judah to a consciousness of the high destiny to which God had called her, and to the belief that the Divine Power was truly at work within her. The good effects of this were visible in the enthusiastic resistance offered by the people to Zerah, an invader, who is called a Cushite or Ethiopian, and whom Ewald (*Gesch. des V. I.* iii. p. 470), Kleinert (in Riehm's *HWB.* s. n.), and Ebers (Riehm, *HWB.* s. n. Serach) identify with Osorkon I., the second king of the 22nd dynasty of Egypt, inheritor therefore of the quarrel of his father Shishak, to whom Asa had probably refused to pay tribute. [ZERAH. Lenormant, Schrader, and Lauth prefer to identify Zerah with Azerch-Amen. See "Aethiopien" in Riehm's *HWB.*] At the head of an enormous host (a million of men, we read in 2 Ch. xiv. 9) he attacked Mareshah or Marissa in the S.W. of the country, near the later Eleutheropolis (Robinson, *B. R.*, ii. 67), a town afterwards taken by Judas Maccabaeus (1 Macc. v. 65), and finally destroyed by the Parthians in their war against Herod (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 13, § 9). There he was utterly defeated, and driven back with immense loss to Gerar. As Asa returned laden with spoil, he was commended and encouraged by the prophet Azariah, son of Oded (2 Ch. xv. 1), and on his arrival at Jerusalem convoked an assembly of his own people and of many who had come to him from Israel, and with solemn sacrifices and ceremonies renewed the covenant

[a] These nautical propensities remain in full force (see Allen's *Dead Sea*, ii. 183).

by which the nation was dedicated to God. The peace which followed this victory, and this reformation-movement which centralized worship again at Jerusalem, were interrupted by the attempt of Baasha of Israel to fortify Ramah as a kind of Deceleia, "that he might not suffer any to go out or to come in unto Asa king of Judah" (2 Ch. xvi. 1; cp. xv. 9). To stop this he purchased the help of BENHADAD I. king of Damascus, by a large payment of treasure left in the Temple and palace from the Egyptian tribute in Rehoboam's time. This alliance with those whose forefathers David had smitten (2 Sam. x. 15, &c.), and who were so sore an adversary to Israel all the days of Solomon (1 K. xi. 25), was the subversion of all recognised rule; but by it Asa forced Baasha to abandon his purpose. Asa destroyed the works which Baasha had begun at Ramah, using the materials to fortify two towns in Benjamin, Geba (*the hill*) and Mizpeh (*the watch-tower*), as checks to any future invasion. The wells which he sunk at Mizpeh were famous in Jeremiah's time (xli. 9). The means by which he obtained this success—reliance on the king of Syria, and not on the LORD God (2 Ch. xvi. 7)—were censured by Hanani the seer, who seems even to have excited some discontent in Jerusalem, in consequence of which he was imprisoned and some other punishments inflicted (2 Ch. xvi. 9). The prophet threatened Asa with war, which appears to have been fulfilled by the continuance for some time of that with Baasha, as we infer from an allusion in 2 Ch. xvii. 2 to the cities of Ephraim which he took, and which can hardly refer to any events prior to the destruction of Ramah.

In his old age Asa suffered from the gout, and it is mentioned that "he sought not to the Lord but to the physicians." He acted, *i.e.*, without seeking God's blessing on their remedies (Ecclus. xxxviii. 1–8). He died greatly loved and honoured in the 41st year of his reign; and that reign was therefore contemporaneous with the reigns of Jeroboam I., Nadab, Baasha, Elah, Zimri, Omri, and Ahab, kings of Israel. There are difficulties connected with its chronology, arising principally from differences in the text of Kings and Chronicles. For instance, in 2 Ch. xvi. 1, we read that Baasha fortified Ramah in the 36th year of Asa's reign. In 1 K. xv. 33, Baasha is said to have died in the 26th [20th, A. V. ed. 1611, after LXX. A. (var. 28th); B. and Luc. Rec. omit the number]. The explanation given in the margin of the A. V. (2 Ch.), but absent from the R. V., that the Chronicler is referring to the years not of Asa's reign, but of the separate kingdom of Judah, is now generally given up as wrong and impossible (Keil and Oettli), and the date of Kings preferred. According to Usher, the date of Asa's accession was B.C. 955. In his fifteenth year (B.C. 941) was the great festival after the defeat of Zerah. In B.C. 940 was the league with Benhadad, and in B.C. 914 Asa died. Kamphausen, correcting the old chronology by the Assyrian inscriptions, dates Asa's reign from B.C. 917 to B.C. 876. [G. E. L. C.] [F.]

2. B. 'Οσσά; A. 'Ασά. Ancestor of Berechiah, a Levite who resided in one of the villages of the Netophathites after the return from Babylon (1 Ch. ix. 16). [W. A. W.]

ASADI'AS (חַסַדְיָה, *Jah loveth* or *is gracious*. Cp. his brother's name חָסְבַּד, יוֹשַׁבְ, *Jushab-hesed*; B. 'Ασαδιά, A. 'Ασαδιά; *Hasadias*). **1.** 1 Ch. iii. 20, where in A. V. and R. V. it is written Hasadiah. One of the descendants of Jeconiah. [B. F. W.] [F.]

2. T.r 'Ασαδίας, A. Σαδαίας; *Sedeus*. Son of Chelcias, or Hilkiah, and one of the ancestors of Baruch (Bar. i. 1). The name is probably the same as that elsewhere represented by Hasadiah (1 Ch. iii. 20). [W. A. W.]

ASA'EL (עֲשָׂאֵל, ed. Neub., Chald. omits; T.r 'Ασαήλ; Vulg. omits; Itala, *Asihel*), of the tribe of Naphtali, and forefather of Tobit (Tob. i. 1). [F.]

ASA'HEL (עֲשָׂהאֵל, *God hath made*; 'Ασαήλ; *Asael*). **1.** Nephew of David, being the youngest son of his sister Zeruiah. He was celebrated for his swiftness of foot, a gift much valued in ancient times, as we see by the instances of Achilles, Antilochus (Hom. *Il.* xv. 570), Papirius Cursor (Liv. ix. 16), and others. He was one of the thirty heroes of David (2 Sam. xxiii. 24) and captain of the fourth division (each division numbering 24,000) of David's army (1 Ch. xxvii. 7). When fighting under the command of his brother Joab against Ishbosheth's army at Gibeon, he pursued ABNER, who, after vainly warning him to desist, was obliged in self-defence to kill him, though with reluctance, probably on account of his youth (2 Sam. ii. 18 sq.). [G. E. L. C.] [F.]

2. B. 'Ιασεήλ, A. 'Ιασήλ; *Asael*. One of the Levites in the reign of Jehoshaphat, who went throughout the cities of Judah to instruct the people in the knowledge of the Law, at the time of the revival of the true worship (2 Ch. xvii. 8).

3. 'Ασαήλ; *Asael*. A Levite in the reign of Hezekiah, who had charge of the tithes and dedicated things in the Temple under Cononiah and Shimei (2 Ch. xxxi. 13).

4. B. 'Ασήλ, ℵ* Σαήλ, ℵ^a. 'Ασαήλ; *Azahel*. A priest, father of Jonathan in the time of Ezra (Ezra x. 15), called AZAEL in 1 Esd. ix. 14 (B. 'Αζάηλος; *Ezelus*). [W. A. W.] [F.]

ASAHI'AH, or ASAI'AH (עֲשָׂיָה, *Jah hath made*; B. 'Ασαίας, A. [2 K. xxii. 12] 'Ιασαί; *Asaia*). A servant of king Josiah, sent by him, together with others, to seek information of Jehovah respecting the Book of the Law which Hilkiah found in the Temple (2 K. xxii. 12, 14; also called Asaiah, 2 Ch. xxxiv. 20, B. 'Ισαίας, A. 'Ασαίας). [R. W. B.] [F.]

ASAI'AH (עֲשָׂיָה [see ASAHIAH]; B. 'Ασιά; *Asaia*). **1.** A prince of a Simeonite family, who in the reign of Hezekiah drove out the Hamite shepherds from Gedor (1 Ch. iv. 36).

2. *Asaia*. A Levite in the reign of David, chief of the family of Merari (1 Ch. vi. 30, A. 'Ασαιά, B. 'Ασαβά). With 120 of his brethren he took part in the solemn service of bringing the ark from the house of Obed-edom to the city of David (1 Ch. xv. 6 [A. 'Ασαίας, B. 'Ασαί], 11 [A. 'Ασαίας, B. -δ]).

3. B. 'Ασαιά, A. 'Ασά; *Asaia*. The firstborn of "the Shilonite," according to 1 Ch. ix. 5, who with his family dwelt in Jerusalem after

the return from Babylon. In Neh. xi. 5 he is called MAASEIAH [see var. readings of Gk. MSS. in Swete], and his descent is there traced from Shiloni, which is explained by the Targum of R. Joseph on 1 Ch. as a patronymic from Shelah the son of Judah, by others as "the native or inhabitant of Shiloh."

4. *Asaas.* 2 Ch. xxxiv. 20. [ASAHIAH.] [W. A. W.] [F.]

A'SANA (B. Ἀσσανά, A. Ἀσα-; *Asana*). One of the Nethinim or servants of the Temple who returned from the Captivity (1 Esd. v. 31). [ASHNAH.] [F.]

A'SAPH (אָסָף, *collector*; Ἀσάφ; *Asaph*). **1.** A Levite, the son of Berechiah, and lineally descended from Gershom, the second son of Levi (1 Ch. vi. 39, &c.). David set him "over the service of song after that the ark had rest .... in the midst of the tent that David had pitched for it" in Zion (1 Ch. vi. 31, xvi. 1). There he and his brethren "ministered continually, as every day's work required" (1 Ch. xvi. 37); his colleagues Heman and Jeduthun (or Ethan) doing the like office in the high place at Gibeon (1 Ch. xv. 17, xvi. 39–41). But Asaph was something more than "the chief" (הָרֹאשׁ) of singers (1 Ch. xvi. 5) and a musician (1 Ch. xvi. 5; cp. 1 Ch. xv. 16, 17); like Samuel, Gad, and Heman, he was "the seer" (הַחוֹזֶה, 2 Ch. xxix. 30); and the title not inaptly defines the prophetic tone (cp. Riehm, *HWB.* s. n.; Schultz u. Strack, *Die Psalmen*, p. 12 in Strack u. Zöckler's *Kgf. Komm.*) of the twelve Psalms which the superscriptions assign to him (Pss. l., lxxiii.–lxxxiii.). These Asaph-Psalms form the bulk of what is generally called the third Book of the Psalms. They are marked by special peculiarities [PSALMS, BOOK OF], and—in common with those of Bk. ii. generally—by a preference of the name Elohim for God (cp. *e.g.* Delitzsch, Herzog's *RE.*[2] s. n. *Psalmen*, p. 317); but many, if not all, are considered the compositions of Asaph's descendants or school rather than of the master himself. This school had a great reputation in the days of the kings Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and Josiah. It was in the days of king Jehoshaphat that Jahaziel, "a Levite of the sons of Asaph," speaking under the influence of "the Spirit of God," proclaimed the deliverance of Judah through the self-destruction of the invading hosts of Moab and Ammon (2 Ch. xx. 1–30). The very first year of Hezekiah's reign was signalised by the purification of the House of God, and in this work "Zechariah and Mattaniah of the sons of Asaph" took part, as well as joined in the king's command to the Levites "to sing praise unto the Lord with the words of David and of Asaph the seer" (2 Ch. xxix. 13, 30). In fact, in the days of these two kings, Psalmody seems to have revived under the influences of ecclesiastical reform and in commemoration of deliverances granted to the former in the case already named and to Hezekiah from the armies of Sennacherib. Again, in the record of the great Passover held at Jerusalem by Josiah in the 18th year of his reign (2 K. xxiii. 21–23), "the singers, the sons of Asaph," were in their place in that memorable assemblage (2 Ch. xxxv. 15). After the Captivity, 128 (Ezra ii. 41; or, according to Neh. vii. 44, 148) singers, "the children of Asaph," returned with Zerubbabel and Jeshua. It was a time of revival of Temple Psalmody and music, and on the festal day when the foundation of the new Temple was laid "the Levites, the sons of Asaph," were present "with cymbals to praise the Lord after the ordinance of David, king of Israel" (Ezra iii. 10). About a hundred years later, "sons of Asaph" were "singers over the business of the House of God" (Neh. xi. 22), and in the solemnities connected with the dedication of the walls "priests' sons with trumpets" are included, who trace their descent lineally from Asaph (Neh. xii. 35). It is difficult, if not impossible, to assign the Asaph-Psalms to specific periods of the existence of the school (see PSALMS). [F.]

2. *Asaph.* The father or ancestor of Joah, who was recorder or chronicler to the kingdom of Judah in the reign of Hezekiah (2 K. xviii. 18 [BA. Ἰωσαφάτ], 37 [B. Σαφάν, A. Ἀσάφ]; Is. xxxvi. 3, 22 [T.[7] Ἀσάφ]). It is not improbable that this Asaph is the same as the preceding, and that Joah was one of his numerous descendants known as the Bene-Asaph.

3. Ἀσάφ; *Asaph.* The keeper of the royal forest or "paradise" of Artaxerxes (Neh. ii. 8). His name would seem to indicate that he was a Jew, who, like Nehemiah, was in high office at the court of Persia.

4. Ἀσάφ; *Asaph.* Ancestor of Mattaniah, the conductor of the Temple-choir after the return from Babylon (1 Ch. ix. 15; Neh. xi. 17 [BN*A. om.]). Most probably the same as **1** and **2**. [W. A. W.] [F.]

ASAR'AEL. [AZARAEL.]

ASAR'EEL (אֲשַׂרְאֵל; B. Ἰσεραήλ, A. Εσεραήλ; *Asruel*). A son of Jehaleleel, a name abruptly introduced into the genealogies of Judah (1 Ch. iv. 16). [W. A. W.] [F.]

ASARE'LAH (אֲשַׂרְאֵלָה [ed. Baer]; B. Ἐραήλ, A. Ἰεσιήλ; *Asarela*). One of the sons of Asaph, set apart by David to "prophesy with harps and with psalteries and with cymbals" (1 Ch. xxv. 2; in *v.* 14 JESHARELAH). [W. A. W.] [F.]

ASBAZ'ARETH. So A. V., ed. 1611, for AZBAZARETH.

AS'CALON. [ASHKELON.]

ASE'AS (Ἀσαίας; *Aseas*), name of a man who put away his "strange wife" (1 Esd. ix. 32).

ASEBE'BIA (Ἀσεβηβία; *Sebebias*), a Levite who went up with Ezra from the Captivity (1 Esd. viii. 47). [SHEREBIAH.]

ASE'BIA (Ἀσεβία; *Asbia*), a Levite who returned with Ezra (1 Esd. viii. 48). [W. A. W.] [F.]

A'SENATH (אָסְנַת; Ἀσεννέθ [usually; E. Ἀσενὲθ in Gen. xli. 45]; *Aseneth*), daughter of Potipherah, priest of On [POTIPHERAH], wife of Joseph (Gen. xli. 45, 50, xlvi. 20), and mother of Manasseh and Ephraim (xli. 50, xlvi. 20). The name of Potipherah, signifying "the gift of the sun," is specially appropriate to a priest of the City of the Sun [ON], and Joseph's consideration

for the priesthood would make his marriage with a priest's daughter easy, there being in Egyptian manners nothing to forbid the alliance. It is therefore unlikely that the ancient alternative rendering of נְגִיד, "prince," is here worth taking into account.

It is possible that there was a political reason for the marriage of Joseph with the daughter of the high-priest of On. The college of priests of Heliopolis was the most ancient and one of the most powerful of the country; and judging from the name of Potipherah, it seems that it had remained in the hands of the Egyptians of pure origin even during the reign of the Hyksos, who belonged to a foreign race. It may be that the Pharaoh of Joseph wished to put in that venerated college a man he could rely upon, and thus to create a link between his government and the priests of Ra.

The name of Asenath has been generally thought to be Egyptian. It is very likely the common name *Sent* or *Senat*, which means "a sister," and which occurs as early as the 13th dynasty. It has been slightly altered so as to give it a Semitic form. Asnah, אַסְנָה, occurs as the proper name of a man (Ezra ii. 50. It is explained to mean a "storehouse" or "thorn-bush"). [ASNAH.] Asenath, if Hebrew, could be a feminine form. [E. N.]

A'SER (Ν. 'Ασσήρ; *Naasson*). A town of Galilee (Tob. i. 2), probably a corruption of Hazor. [HAZOR; THISBE.] [W.]

A'SERER (Σερέρ; *Sarec*), name of a man whose sons went up with Zerubbabel from the Captivity as servants of the Temple (1 Esd. v. 32). [SISERA.] [F.]

ASH (אֹרֶן, *'oren*; πίτυς; *pinus*) occurs only in Is. xliv. 14, as one of the trees out of the wood of which idols were carved: "He heweth him down cedars, and taketh the cypress and the oak, which he strengtheneth for himself among the trees of the forest; he planteth an *ash* (R. V. "fir-tree"), and the rain doth nourish it." It cannot be our ash-tree *Ornus Europaeus*, which is not a native of Palestine, though perhaps the A. V. adopted the translation from the similarity of the Hebrew *'oren* to the Latin *ornus*. It is impossible to determine what is the tree denoted by the Hebrew word *'oren;* the LXX. and the Vulg. understand some species of pine-tree, and this rendering is supported by many learned commentators, amongst whom may be named Munster, Calvin, Bochart, and Ges. The etymology is not known, that suggested by Ges. being admitted by himself to be hypothetical. MV.[10] (following Schrader, *KAT.*[2] in loc.) compare the word with Assyr. *irinu*, and think that it denotes a kind of cedar or pine. Some of the Jewish Rabbis, according to Celsius (*Hierob.* i. 191), believe that the *'oren* is identical with the Arabic *sanauber*, a kind of pine,[a] and assert that the *aran* is often coupled with the *arez* and *berosch*,[b] as though all the three trees belonged to the same family. Luther understands the *cedar* by *'oren*.[c] Rosenmüller thinks that the stone-pine (*Pinus pinea*, Linn.) is the tree denoted, but this tree scarcely comes into the region and has probably been introduced. Celsius is inclined to think that the *'oren* is identical with a tree of Arabia Petraea, of which Abu'l Fadli makes mention, called *aran*. Of the same opinion are Michaelis (*Supp. ad Lex. Heb.* 129), Dr. Royle (*Encyc. Bib. Lit.*, art. *Oren*), and Dr. Lee (*Lex. Heb.* s. v.). This tree is described as growing chiefly in valleys and low districts; it is a thorny tree, bearing grape-like clusters of berries, which are noxious and bitter when green, but become rather sweet when they ripen and turn black.

Until future investigation acquaints us with the nature of the tree denoted by the *aran* of Abu'l Fadli, it will be far better to adopt the interpretation of the LXX., and understand some kind of pine to be the *'oren* of Scripture. *Pinus halepensis* may be intended. Celsius (*Hierob.* i. 193) objects to any pine representing the *'oren*, because he says pines are difficult to transplant, and therefore that the pine would ill suit the words of the prophet, "he planteth an *'oren*." This, however, is not a valid objection: the *larch*, for instance, is readily transplanted, and grows with great rapidity, but it is not a native of Syria. *Pinus halepensis* is extensively planted on the coast, to resist the encroachment of the sand drifts. [W. H.] [H. B. T.]

A'SHAN (עָשָׁן, *smoke; Asan*), a city in the low country of Judah named with Libnah and Ether in Josh. xv. 42 (Heb. text. The Greek text is corrupt: B. 'Ανώχ, A. 'Ασεννά). In Josh. xix. 7 (B. 'Ασάν, A. 'Ασάμ), and 1 Ch. iv. 32 (B. Αἰσάρ, A. Αἰσάν), it is mentioned as belonging to Simeon, but in the Hebrew text (not Greek) in company with Ain and Rimmon, which (see Josh. xv. 33) appear to have been much more to the south. In 1 Ch. vi. 59 (LXX. v. 44, 'Ασάν) it is given as a priests' city, occupying the same place as the somewhat similar word Ain (עַיִן) does in the list of Josh. xxi. 16. [AIN, 2.]

In 1 Sam. xxx. 30, CHOR-ASHAN is named with Hormah and other cities of "the South."

Eusebius and Jerome (*OS.*[2] pp. 128, 8; 240, 9) mention a village named Bethasan as 15 miles west of Jerusalem; but this, though agreeing sufficiently with the position of the place in Josh. xv. 42, is not far enough south for the indications of the other passages; and indeed Euseb. and Jer. discriminate Bethasan from "Asan of the tribe of Simeon." It is possibly *Deir el-'Asl* on the road from Hebron to Gaza. [G.] [W.]

ASHBE'A (אַשְׁבֵּעַ; 'Εσοβά; [*in domo*] *Juramenti*). A proper name, but whether of a man or place is uncertain (1 Ch. iv. 21). Houbigant would understand it of the latter, and would render "the house of Ashbea" (A. V. and R. V.) by Beth-Ashbea. The whole clause is obscure.

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[a] صنوبر, *pinus*, alias *ejus nuces* (Gol. *L. Arab.*).

Dr. Wilson (*Lands of the Bible*, ii. 392) identifies the common "fir" (*Pinus sylvestris*) with the *berosh* of Scripture, mistaking for this tree, which does not exist there, the *Pinus halepensis*, which is the fir of Palestine.

[b] אֹרֶן and בְּרוֹשׁ, cedar and cypress.

[c] Reading אָרֶן instead of אֹרֶן, "quia אָרֶן *nun* finali minusculo, in multis codicis Ebraei editionibus scribatur, quod עין *Sain* simillimum est" (*Hierob.* i. 191).

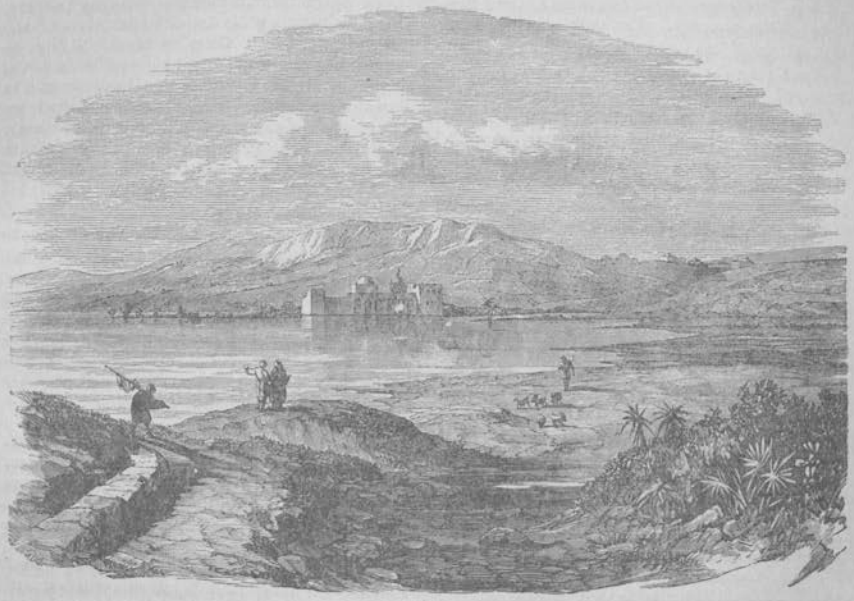
The Targum of R. Joseph (ed. Wilkins) paraphrases it, "and the family of the house of manufacture of the fine linen for the garments of the kings and priests, which was handed down to the house of Eshba." [W. A. W.] [F.]

ASH'BEL (אַשְׁבֵּל; *Asbel*), a son of Benjamin (Gen. xlvi. 21 [Ἀσβήλ]; Num. xxvi. 38 [LXX. *v.* 42, Ἀσυβήρ]; 1 Ch. viii. 1 [B. Ζαβά, A. Ἀσβήλ]). Respecting the sons of Benjamin, see BECHER. [W. A. W.] [F.]

ASHBE'LITES (הָאַשְׁבֵּלִי; B. *δ* Ἀσυβηρεί, A. -ρι; *Ashbelitae*). The descendants of Ashbel the son of Benjamin. [W. A. W.] [F.]

ASH'CHENAZ (אַשְׁכְּנַז; B. Ἀσχανάζ, A. -χενέζ; *Ascenez*), 1 Ch. i. 6; Jer. li. 27 (LXX. [xxviii. 27], BNA. τοῖς Ἀσχαναζέοις [A. -ζαι-]). See ASHKENAZ. [W. A. W.] [F.]

ASH'DOD, or AZO'TUS (אַשְׁדּוֹד; perhaps *stronghold*; Ἄζωτος, LXX. and N. T.), one of the five confederate cities of the Philistines, situated about 80 miles from the southern frontier of Palestine, 3 from the Mediterranean Sea, and nearly midway between Gaza and Joppa. It stood on an elevation overlooking the plain, and the natural advantages of its position were improved by fortifications of great strength. For this reason it was probably selected as one of the seats of the national worship of Dagon (1 Sam. v. 5). It was assigned to the tribe of Judah (Josh. xv. 47), but was never subdued by the Israelites: it appears on the contrary to have been the point for conducting offensive operations against them, so much so, that after Uzziah had succeeded in breaking down the wall of the town, he secured himself against future attacks by establishing forts on the adjacent hills (2 Ch. xxvi. 6); even down to Nehemiah's age it preserved its distinctiveness of race and language (Neh. xiii. 23). But its chief importance arose from its position on the high-road from Palestine to Egypt, commanding the entrance to or from the latter country: it was on this account taken by



Ashdod.

Tiglath-pileser II. and again by the Tartan, or general, of the Assyrian king, Sargon, about B.C. 711, apparently to frustrate the league formed between Hezekiah and Egypt (Is. xx. 1). Sargon deposed the king, Azuri, and set up one of his brothers, Akhimiti, in his place; but the people revolted and made Yavan, or Jaman, king, who, however, fled on the approach of the Assyrians to Ethiopia. In the annals of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon mention is made of two kings of Ashdod, Mitinti and Ahimilki (Schrader, *KAT.*² pp. 162, 163). Its importance as well as strength is testified by the protracted siege which it afterwards sustained under Psammetichus, about B.C. 630 (Herod. ii. 157), the effects of which are incidentally referred to by Jeremiah (xxv. 20). That it recovered from this blow appears from its being mentioned as an independent power in alliance with the Arabians and others against Jerusalem (Neh. iv. 7). It was destroyed by the Maccabees (1 Macc. v. 68, x. 84), and was separated from Judaea by Ptolemy, who added it to the province of Syria (Joseph. *B. J.* i. 7, § 87); it lay, however, in ruins until it was restored by Gabinius, B.C. 55 (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 5, § 3; *B. J.* i. 8, § 4), and was one of the towns assigned to Salome after Herod's death (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 8, § 1). The only notice of Azotus in the N. T. is in connexion with Philip's return from Gaza (Acts viii. 40). It is now an insignificant village, with no memorials of its ancient importance, but is still called *Esdûd* (see *P. F. Mem.* ii. 409, 421). [G.] [W.]

ASHDO'DITES, THE (הָאַשְׁדּוֹדִים; ℵ^c. a mg inf. *οἱ* Ἀζώτιοι; *Azotii*), inhabitants of

Ashdod (Neh. iv. 7 [Heb. a. 1]), called ASHDOTHITES in Josh. xiii. 3. [W. A. W.] [F.]

ASH'DOTH PIS'GAH (אַשְׁדֹּת הַפִּסְגָּה, from אָשַׁד, in Aram. "to pour forth;" Ἀσηδὼθ φασγά, once τὴν φασγά; *radices montis Phasga, Asedoth Phasga*), a curious and (since it occurs in none of the later Books) probably a very ancient term, found only in Deut. iii. 17, iv. 49; Josh. xii. 3, xiii. 20; A. V. (Deut.), "springs of Pisgah;" (Josh.) Ashdoth-P.[a] In the two passages from Deuteronomy the words form part of a formula, by which apparently the mountains which enclose the Dead Sea on the east side are defined. Thus in iii. 17 we may translate, "the 'Arabah' also (*i.e.* the Jordan valley) . . . and the 'border,' from Cinnereth (Sea of Galilee) unto the sea of the 'Arabah,' the Salt Sea, under Ashdoth hap-Pisgah eastward:" and so also in iv. 49, though here our translators have varied the formula. The same intention is evident in the passages quoted from Joshua; and in x. 40 and xii. 8 of the same Book, Ashdoth is used alone—"the springs," to denote one of the main natural divisions of the country. The only other instance of the use of the word [אָשַׁד] is in the highly poetical passage, Num. xxi. 15, which may be rendered, "the '*pouring forth*' of the 'torrents,' which extendeth to Shebeth-Ar" [R. V. "the slope of the valleys, that inclineth toward the dwelling of Ar"]. This undoubtedly refers also to the east of the Dead Sea. Ashdoth Pisgah appears to be the *'Ayûn Mûsa*, "springs of Moses," which burst forth from the limestone rock in a ravine to the north-west of *Jebel Neba* (Nebo). The springs are numerous and differ in level as much as 100 ft.: the highest has an altitude of 1690 ft., that of Neba being 2770 ft.; and the water runs down in a succession of cascades 20 ft. to 30 ft. high. The valley, in which the springs rise, forms the northern boundary of *J. Neba;* it is a marked natural feature, visible from *Neby Mûsa* in the hills west of Jordan, and it reaches the plain east of the river immediately to the north of the Dead Sea. All this agrees well with the position indicated for Ashdoth Pisgah in the Bible. The ravine is extremely picturesque, and the vegetation and abundant water are in striking contrast to the arid bluffs around (Tristram, *Land of Moab*, pp. 335–337; Warren, *Letter* 35 *in PEFQy. Stat.* 1869; De Saulcy, *Voyage en Terre Sainte*, p. 289; *American Qy. Stat.* No. III. pp. 48, 49). [G.] [W.]

ASHDOTHITES, THE (הָאַשְׁדּוֹדִי; B. ὁ Ἀζώτειος, A. -ιος; *Azotii* [plur.]); inhabitant (or, collectively, inhabitants) of Ashdod (Josh. xiii. 3). [W. A. W.] [F.]

A'SHER, Apocr. and N. T. A'SER (אָשֵׁר; Ἀσήρ, T.[7] Ἀσσήρ in Ezek. xlviii. 2, 3 [BA. Ἀσήρ]; *Aser*), the 8th son of Jacob, by Zilpah, Leah's handmaid (Gen. xxx. 13). The name is interpreted as meaning "happy," in this passage full of the paronomastic turns which distinguish these very ancient records: "And Leah said, 'In my happiness am I (בְּאָשְׁרָי) for the daughters will call me happy' (אִשְּׁרוּנִי), and she called his name Asher" (אָשֵׁר), *i.e.* "happy" (cp. Baethgen, *Beiträge z. Semit. Religionsgesch.* p. 161). A similar play occurs in the blessing of Moses (Deut. xxxiii. 24). Gad was Zilpah's other and elder son, but the fortunes of the brothers were not at all connected. Of the tribe descended from Asher no action is recorded during the whole course of the sacred history. The name is found in the various lists of the tribes which occur throughout the earlier Books, as Gen. xxxv., xlvi., Ex. i., Num. i., ii., xiii., &c., and like the rest Asher sent its chief as one of the spies from Kadesh-Barnea (Num. xiii.). During the march through the desert Asher's place was between Dan and Naphtali on the north side of the Tabernacle (Num. ii. 27); and after the conquest he took up his allotted position without any special mention.

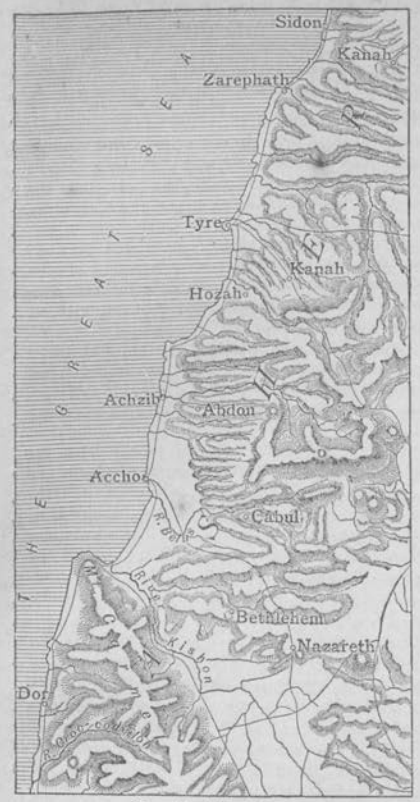
The limits of the territory assigned to Asher are, like those of all the tribes, and especially of the northern tribes, extremely difficult to trace. This is partly owing to our ignorance of the principle on which these ancient boundaries were drawn and recorded, and partly from the absence of identification of the majority of the places named. The general position of the tribe was on the sea-shore from Carmel northwards, with Manasseh on the south, Zebulun and Issachar on the south-east, and Naphtali on the north-east (Joseph. *Ant.* v. 1, § 22). The boundaries and towns are given in Josh. xix. 24–31, xvii. 10, 11, and Judg. i. 31, 32. From a comparison of these passages it seems plain that Dor (*Tantûra*) must have been within the limits of the tribe, in which case the southern boundary was probably the *Nahr ez-Zerka*, *Crocodilôn*, which is specified by Pliny the Elder as being the southern boundary of Phoenicia, and which is possibly the "fines Syriae et Palestinae" of the Jerusalem Itinerary. From the *Nahr ez-Zerka* the boundary passed over the ridge of Carmel, and crossed the Kishon at the gorge west of *Tell Keimûn*, Jokneam, so as to include the lower Kishon valley and the Plain of Acre, which seem to be the localities alluded to by Josephus (*Ant.* v. 1, § 22). Thence it passed west of *Beit-Lahm*, Bethlehem, and east of *Kâbûl*, Cabul, and running northwards reached Zidon by Kanah (a name still attached to a site six miles inland from *Saida*), whence it turned and came down by Tyre to Achzib (Ecdippa, now *ez-Zib*[a]). The alternative view of the south boundary of Asher is that it was the *Nahr N'amein* (Belus), immediately south of Acre, which has been identified by some authorities with SHIHOR[b] LIBNATH, one of the points on the boundary, the next being Beth Dagon, which is placed at *Kh. D'aûk*, south-east of Acre. It may perhaps be inferred, from the intimate connexion of Asher with Phoenicia, and the apparent absorption of the tribe by the Phoenicians, that the boundaries

[a] The R. V. translates in every case, "the slopes of Pisgah" (sometimes in marg. *the springs of P.*); these slopes would be the western face of *J. Neba*, overlooking the Jordan.

[a] Bethlehem (*Beit-Lahm*) is ten miles inland from the shore of the bay of *Haifa* (Rob. p. 113); and as it was in Zebulun, it fixes the distance of Asher's boundary as less than that from the sea.

[b] Shihor, one of the names of the Nile, the home of the crocodile, may perhaps have been applied to the *Nahr ez-Zerka*.

were conterminous, and that the territory assigned to Asher extended to the *Nahr el-Kebir* (Eleutherus), the northern limit of the Promised Land in its widest sense.



Map of the Tribe of Asher.

This territory contained some of the richest soil in all Palestine (Stanley, p. 265; Kenrick, *Phoen.* p. 35), and in its productiveness it well fulfilled the promise involved in the name "Asher," and in the blessings which had been pronounced on him by Jacob and by Moses. Here was the oil in which he was to "dip his foot," the "bread" which was to be "fat," and the "royal dainties" in which he was to indulge;[c] and here in the metallic manufactures of the Phoenicians (Kenrick, p. 38) were the "iron and brass" for his "shoes." The Phoenician settlements were even at that early period in full vigour;[d] and it is not surprising that Asher was soon contented to partake of their luxuries and to "dwell among them," without attempting the conquest and extermination enjoined in regard to all the Canaanites (Judg. i. 31, 32). Accordingly he did not drive out the inhabitants of Accho, nor Dor,[e] nor Zidon, nor Ahlab, nor Achzib, nor Helbah, nor Aphik, nor Rehob (Judg. i. 31), and the natural consequence of this inert acquiescence is immediately visible. While Zebulun and Naphtali "jeoparded their lives unto the death" in the struggle against Sisera, Asher was content to forget the peril of his fellows and stay in the creeks and harbours of his new allies (Judg. v. 17, 18). At the numbering of Israel at Sinai, Asher was more numerous than either Ephraim, Manasseh, or Benjamin (Num. i. 32–41); but in the reign of David, so insignificant had the tribe become, that its name is altogether omitted from the list of the chief rulers (1 Ch. xxvii. 16–22); and it is with a kind of astonishment that it is related that "divers of Asher and Manasseh and Zebulun" came to Jerusalem to the Passover of Hezekiah (2 Ch. xxx. 11). With the exception of Simeon, Asher is the only tribe west of the Jordan which furnished no hero or judge to the nation.[f] "One name alone shines out of the general obscurity—the aged widow, 'Anna the daughter of Phanuel of the tribe of Aser,' who in the very close of the history departed not from the Temple, but 'served God with fastings and prayers night and day'" (Stanley, 265). [G.] [W.]

ASHER (אָשֵׁר; Vat. Δηλανάθ, A. ἀπὸ Ἀσὴρ Μαχθώθ; *Aser*). A town named, only in Josh. xvii. 7, as a point on the boundary of Manasseh. If, as there seems reason to suppose, the boundary described here be that between Manasseh and Ephraim, then Asher must have been situate between Michmethah, not far from Shechem, and Taanath Shiloh; cp. Josh. xvii. 7 with xvi. 6–8. Reland takes it, in connexion with the following word, to be a double name, Asher ham Michmethah (*Pal.* p. 596), and this is the view taken by Schwarz (p. 147) [MICHMETHAH]. Eusebius and Jerome place it on the road from Neapolis to Scythopolis, 15 miles from the former, a position which agrees with that of the Aser of the Jerusalem Itinerary and of the modern *Teiâsir*, but this is too far north for a common point on the boundary of Ephraim and Manasseh. [G.] [W.]

ASHE'RAH (אֲשֵׁרָה). In the O. T. especially, if not exclusively, the term expresses a symbol which was venerated. The A. V., following the LXX. (ἄλσος) and Vulgate (*lucus*), renders the word "grove," perhaps from a mistaken apprehension of Deut. xvi. 21. The R. V. has rectified this. Asherah had her "houses" (2 K. xxiii. 7, בָּתִּים; A. V. and R. V. "hangings"), her image (1 K. xv. 13; 2 K. xxi. 7; 2 Ch. xv. 16), her vessels for service (2 K. xxiii. 4), and her "prophets" (1 K. xviii. 19). She was the goddess of fertility (Sayce), the happy and happy-making one (MV.[11], who connects it with the Assyrian *aširat*, and Baudissin; a sense not accepted by Schlottmann). Asherah as a symbol or image is of frequent occurrence both in the singular and plural (*e.g.* Ex. xxxiv. 13; Deut. vii. 5; Judg. vi. 25; 1 K. xiv. 15, 23; 2 K. xiii. 6; Is. xvii. 8; Jer. xvii. 2; Mic. v. 13); it is coupled with מַצֵּבוֹת and חַמָּנִים; it is set up, pulled down, and burnt.

[c] For the crops, see Rob. iii. 102: for the oil, Kenrick, p. 31; Reland, p. 817.

[d] Zidon was then distinguished by the name Rabbah = "the Great," Josh. xix. 28.

[e] Added by the LXX. Cp. Josh. xvii. 11.

[f] This would be well compensated for if the ancient legend could be proved to have any foundation, that the parents of St. Paul resided at Giscala, or Gush Chaleb, *i.e.* the Ahlab of Asher (Judg. i. 31). See Reland, p. 813.

The image was usually made of wood (Deut. xvi. 21; Judg. vi. 25–30; 2 K. xxiii. 6), and was probably connected with the sacred symbolical tree, the representation of which occurs frequently in Assyrian sculptures (see *Babylonian Record*, ii. 138 sq., iii. 7 sq., iv. 64 sq.).

The worship of the Asherah attracted rebellious Israel from the times of the conquest of Canaan (Judg. iii. 5, vi. 25, &c.): it was advocated in Judah by Maacah, mother of Abijam the grandson of Solomon (1 K. xv. 13). It was the religion of the court probably during the reigns of Ahaziah, Athaliah, and Ahaz, and certainly during that of Manasseh (2 K. xxi. 3, 7). In the kingdom of Israel, Jeroboam introduced her worship (1 K. xiv. 15), and it especially flourished under Jezebel and Ahab (1 K. xvi. 33, xviii. 19; 2 K. xxi. 3). If occasionally put down, it appears never to have been permanently or effectually abolished in that kingdom (2 K. xvii. 16). The cultus was held on high hills and under green trees (2 K. xvii. 10; Jer. xvii. 2); and, if resembling that of other Phoenician and Syrian goddesses, must have been lustful and licentious; but on this point positive information is wanting. Baudissin and Sayce unite in distinguishing the Asherah from Astarte. Schlottmann and MV.[11] take the two words to be but variant forms used to describe one and the same Canaanitish goddess. See Baudissin in Herzog, *RE.*[2] "Astarte u. Aschera;" Schlottmann in Riehm, *HWB.* do.; Sayce, *s. v.* ASHTORETH. [F.]

[It is held by some that the Asherah was not the name of a divinity but only a pole, which symbolized the sacred tree. See Wellhausen, *Hist.* p. 235; Stade, *Gesch. d. V. I.* pp. 184, 460 sq.; W. R. Smith, *The Rel. of the Semites*, i. 171 sq.: on the other hand, see Cheyne, *Isaiah*,[2] ii. 303; Schrader, *ZA.* iii. 363 sq. The terms in which the Asherah is alluded to in the O. T. lend support to the former view. The identification of Asherah with Ashtoreth rests upon insufficient grounds. It is *possible* that the Asherah may have been regarded as a symbol of Ashtoreth; but there is no evidence that the emblems referred to by Renan, *Hist. du peuple d'Israël*, i. 230, notes 1 and 2, were connected with either one or the other. The term אשרת has been found (hitherto) twice in Phoenician, though with uncertain signification: see *ZDMG.* 1881, p. 424 sq. (Citium); Ganneau, *Rev. d'Archéol.* pp. 81, 83 (Ma'sâb, near Tyre).—S. R. D.]

ASHES. The ashes on the altar of burnt-offerings were gathered into a cavity in its surface on a heap called the apple (תפוח), from its round shape (Cramer, *de Ara exteriori*), said to have sometimes amounted to 300 cors; but this Maimonides and others say is spoken *hyperbolicè*. On the days of the three solemn Festivals the ashes were not removed; but the accumulation was taken away afterwards in the morning, the priests casting lots for the office (*Mishna Temid.* i. 2, and ii. 2). [To the north of Jerusalem are several mounds of ashes. These have been thought to represent the accumulated matter, but it seems more probable that they are the ashes of the soap manufactories formerly in Jerusalem.—*D. B.* Amer. ed.] The ashes of a red heifer burnt entire, according to regulations prescribed in Num. xix., had the ceremonial efficacy of purifying the unclean (Heb. ix. 13), but of polluting the clean [SACRIFICE]. Ashes about the persons, especially on the head, were used as a sign of sorrow [MOURNING]; and the sitting upon ashes (Job ii. 8) also expressed grief. The use made of "ashes of the furnace" by Moses in the sixth plague (Ex. ix. 8 sq.) is remarkable, whether merely symbolical, or as a material means; especially as the word for "ashes" here is פִּיחַ, wholly different from the usual אֵפֶר, and *unice levtum* here. Although referred by Gesen. to Heb. פּוּחַ, "to blow," it may yet possibly be wholly distinct and Egyptian, and the act itself be borrowed from Egyptian ritual. The various figurative associations of the word are exemplified in Gen. xviii. 27; Job xxx. 19; Is. xliv. 20; Mal. iv. 3. The pouring away the ashes in 1 K. xiii. 3 appears to express the desecration of the altar: and here note that the word used, as also in Lev. i. 16, vi. 10 (Heb.), is not the usual אֵפֶר, but דֶּשֶׁן (rendered πιότης by LXX.), which seems to express specially the ashes of animals offered upon the altar of burnt-offering, and has a kindred verb, דָּשַׁן, "to remove ashes," Ex. xxvii. 3; Num. iv. 13.* [H. H.]

ASHI'MA (אֲשִׁימָא; Ἀσιμάθ; *Asima*), a god worshipped by the people of Hamath. The worship was introduced into Samaria by the Hamathite colonists whom Sargon settled in the land (2 K. xvii. 30). The name occurs only in this single instance. According to the Talmudists, the deity was represented by the figure of a hairless goat; but this statement is founded on a false etymology. Hamath was once occupied by the Hittites, and it is therefore possible that Ashima is of Hittite origin. Melito, in his Apology (*Spicileg. Solesmense*, ii. p. xliv.), states that Simi, the daughter of the supreme god Adad or Hadad at Hierapolis, put an end to the attacks of a demon by filling the pit in which he lived with water. [A. H. S.]

ASH'KELON, AS'KELON, Apocr. **AS'CALON** (אַשְׁקְלוֹן; once "the Eshkalonite," הָאֶשְׁקְלוֹנִי; Ἀσκάλων; Saad. عسقلان [note the change from Aleph to Ain]; *Ascalon*), one of the five cities of the lords of the Philistines (Josh. xiii. 3; 1 Sam. vi. 17), but less often mentioned, and, apparently, less known to the Jews than the other four. This, doubtless, arose from its remote situation, alone of all the Philistine towns, on the extreme edge of the shore of the Mediterranean (Jer. xlvii. 7), and also well down to the south. Gaza, indeed, was still further south, but then it was on the main road from Egypt to the centre and north of Palestine, while Ashkelon lay considerably to the left. The site, which retains its ancient name, fully bears out the above inference: but some indications of the fact may be traced, even in the scanty notices of Ashkelon which occur in the Bible. Thus, the name is omitted from the list in Josh. xv. of the Philistine towns falling to the lot of Judah (but comp. Jos. *Ant.*

* In 1 K. xx. 38, 41, the word אֵפֶר, "headband or turban," is in A. V. wrongly rendered "ashes," by confusion with אֵפֶר. The error is rectified in R. V.

v. 1, § 22, where it is specified), although Ekron, Ashdod, and Gaza are all named. Samson went down from Timnath to Ashkelon, when he slew the thirty men and took their spoil, as if to a remote place whence his exploit was not likely to be heard of; and the only other mention of it in the historical books is in the formulistic passages, Josh. xiii. 3 and 1 Sam. vi. 17, and in the casual notices of Jud. ii. 28, 1 Macc. x. 86, xi. 60, xii. 33. The other Philistine cities are each distinguished by some special occurrence or fact connected with it; but except the one exploit of Samson, Ashkelon is to us no more than a name. In the poetical books it occurs 2 Sam. i. 20; Jer. xxv. 20, xlvii. 5, 7; Amos i. 8; Zeph. ii. 4, 7; Zech. ix. 5.

Iskaluna, Ascalon, is mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions, and the names of four of its kings, Sidka, Sarludari, Rukibti, and Mitinti, appear in the annals of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon (Schrader, *KAT.*² pp. 165, 166). It twice submitted to Jonathan (1 Macc. x. 86, xi. 60), and was adorned with baths, fountains, and public buildings by Herod (Jos. *B. J.* i. 21, § 11), who is said to have been born there (Win. *R. L.* 481, *Anm.* 5). Augustus presented the royal palace at Ashkelon to Salome (*B. J.* ii. 6, § 3), but the town was afterwards burned by the Jews (*B. J.* ii. 18, § 1). At the commencement of the war Ashkelon was twice attacked by the Jews, who on each occasion were signally defeated by the Roman garrison (*B. J.* iii. 2, § 1).

In the post-biblical times Ashkelon rose to considerable importance. Near the town—though all traces of them have now vanished—were the temple and sacred lake[a] of Derceto, the Syrian Venus; and it shared with Gaza an infamous reputation for the steadfastness of its heathenism and for the cruelties there practised on Christians by Julian (Reland, pp. 588, 590). "The soil around the town was remarkable for its fertility; the wine of Ascalon was celebrated, and the *Al-henna* plant flourished better than in any other place except Canopus" (Kenrick, p. 28). It was also celebrated for its cypresses, for figs, olives, apples, and pomegranates, and for its bees, which gave their name to a valley in the neighbourhood (Kenrick, p. 28; Edrisi and Ibn Batuta in Ritter, *Paläst.* p. 88). Its name is familiar to us in the "Eschalot" or "Shallot," a kind of onion, first grown there, and for which this place was widely known (cp. Strabo, xvi. 2, 29, *κρομμυόν τ' ἀγαθὸς ἐστὶν ἡ χώρα τῶν* Ἀσκαλωντῶν). "The sacred doves of Venus still fill with their cooings the luxuriant gardens which grow in the sandy hollow within the ruined walls" (Stanley, p. 257). Ascalon played a memorable part in the struggles of the Crusades. "In it was entrenched the hero of the last gleam of history which has thrown its light over the plains of Philistia, and within the walls and towers now standing Richard held his court" (Stanley, *ib.*). By the Mahomedan geographers it was called "the bride of Syria" (Schultens, *Index Geogr.*). In it, according to Ibn Batuta, was at one time deposited the head of the celebrated Hussein, son of Ali.

[a] Possibly the name *El-Jûrah*, "the hollow," applied to the village outside Ashkelon, may preserve a tradition of this lake.

The town, now called *'Askalân*, is situated on the sea-coast, and surrounded by walls, now in ruins, and partially covered by drifting sand; it is semicircular in form, and the diameter, or sea-front, is ⅝ mile long; the total circumference is 1¾ miles. There is no harbour, but on the coast are rocky precipices from 20 to 70 feet high. To the south is a jetty, constructed with the shafts of granite columns, whence steps lead up the side of the precipice to the sea-gate (*P. F. Mem.* iii. 237–247; see also Guérin, *Judée*, ii. 135–171, and Thomson, *L. and B.* ii. 328).

There would appear to have once been a harbour or Maiumas of Ashkelon distinct from the city itself, as a synodical letter, signed by the bishop of each place, is inserted in the acts of the Council of Constantinople, and a Majuma Ascalonis is mentioned by Ant. Mart. (*Itin.* 33). Ben. of Tudela (*Early Trav.* pp. 87, 88) specifies two Ashkelons, but in one case he probably refers to *Kh. 'Askalân* between *'Ain Shems*, Bethshemesh, and *Beit Jibrîn*, Eleutheropolis. The position of the Maiumas is unknown; if it were situated near the town, it must have been destroyed or covered by drifting sand.

In the time of Origen some wells of remarkable shape were shown near the town, which were believed to be those dug by Isaac, or, at any rate, to be of the time of the Patriarchs. Comp. the "puteus pacis in modum theatri factus" of Ant. Mart. (*Itin.* 33); the *Bîr Ibrahim al-Khahil* of Ben. of Tudela (*Early Trav.* p. 88) and the *Bîr Ibrahim el-Haurâni* of Guérin (*Judée*, ii. 145). In connexion with this tradition may be mentioned the fact that in the Samaritan Version of Gen. xx. 1, 2, and xxvi. 1, Askelon (עסקלון) is put for the "Gerar" of the Hebrew text. [G.] [W.]

ASH'KENAZ (אַשְׁכְּנַז; Ἀσχανάζ; *Ascenez*), one of the three sons of Gomer, son of Japhet (Gen. x. 3); that is, one of the peoples or tribes belonging to the great Japhetic division of the human race, and springing immediately from that part of it which bears the name of GOMER or Cimmerians. Jeremiah (li. 27) makes Ashkenaz follow, in geographical order, Ararat and Minni, from which we may infer that the district lay to the south of Lake Urumiyeh, between the Minni and the Medes. This is precisely the position assigned by Sargon in his inscriptions to the kingdom of Asguza, which seems merely another form of Ashkenaz. In rabbinical phraseology the Jews of Germany are termed Ashkenazim. [A. H. S.]

ASH'NAH (אַשְׁנָה, Ges. *the strong, firm*), the name of two cities of Judah, both in the Shefelah or lowland: (1) named in the same group with Eshtaol and Zoreah; now probably *Kh. Hasan* N.N.W. of *Sûrah*, Zorah, and the Bethasan of the *Onomasticon* (*OS.*² p. 128, 9; Josh. xv. 33; B. Ἀσσά; A. Ἀσνά; *Asenu*); and (2) in the same group with Jiphthah and Nezib (Josh. xv. 43; B. Ἰανά; A. Ἀσεννά; *Esna*). The name has not been recovered, but it was probably near *Beit Nuzîb*, Nezib, 5½ miles east of *Beit Jibrîn*. Eusebius names another place, Ἀσνά, but with no indication of position. [G.] [W.]

ASH'PENAZ (אַשְׁפְּנַז, of uncertain origin; perhaps akin in form to the Ashkenaz of Gen.

x. 3, the primary form of which has been discovered in the monuments [see ASHKENAZ]; LXX. Ἀβιεσδρί; Ἀσφανές, Theodot.; *Asphaz*, *Abiezer*, Syr.), the master of the eunuchs of Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. i. 3). Some connect the first part of the word with the Sanscrit *açpa*, a horse, and identify the name with the Persian official Aspacana; Ἀσπαθίνης being the Greek equivalent (Herod. iii. 70). A Babylonian etymology is more probable; and in default of a better, Lenormant's conjecture deserves mention (*La Divination*, p 182). The LXX. Ἀβιεσδρί, if possibly a corruption of Aba(i)-Istar, the astronomer of the goddess Istar, indicated to Lenormant by the final ρ that Ashpenaz is a shortened form of Ashpenazar. If so, it would be a transcript of the Babylonian name, Assa-ibni-zir. [F.]

ASHRI'EL (אַשְׂרִיאֵל; B. Ἀσερειήλ, A. Ἐσριήλ; *Esriel*). Properly ASRIEL, the son of Manasseh (1 Ch. vii. 14). [W. A. W.] [F.]

ASH'TAROTH, and (once) AS'TAROTH (עַשְׁתָּרוֹת; Ἀσταρώθ; *Astaroth:* in Josh. xiii. 31, A. Ἀσθαρώμ; in 1 Ch. vi. 71 [LXX. *v.* 56], Ἀσηρώθ; A. Ῥαμώθ), a city on the E. of Jordan, in Bashan, in the kingdom of Og, probably a seat of the worship of the goddess Ashtoreth. [In Judg. x. 6 *al.* Ashtaroth is the plural form of Ashtoreth.] It is generally mentioned as a description or definition of Og,—who "dwelt in Astaroth in Edrei" (Deut. i. 4), "at Ashtaroth and at Edrei" (Josh. xii. 4, xiii. 12), or "who was at Ashtaroth" (ix. 10). It fell into possession of the half tribe of Manasseh (Josh. xiii. 31), and was given with its suburbs or surrounding pasture-lands (מִגְרָשׁ) to the Gershonites (1 Ch. vi. 71 [56]), the other Levitical city in this tribe being Golan. In the list in Josh. xxi. 27, the name is given as Beeshterah (quasi בֵּית ע' = "house of Astarte:" Reland, p. 621; Ges. *Thes.* pp. 175 *a*, 196 *uu*, 1083, and MV.[11]). Nothing more is heard of Ashtaroth. It is not named in any of the lists, such as those in Chronicles, or of Jeremiah, in which so many of the trans-Jordanic places are enumerated. Eusebius (*OS.*[2] p. 235, 35) places it 6 miles from Adraa, a place 15 miles from Bostra; Jerome (*OS.*[2] p. 122, 31), 6 miles from Adar, which was 25 from Bostra. Eusebius and Jerome further (*OS.*[2] pp. 120, 5; 209, 61) speak of two κωμαί, or castella, which lay 9 miles apart, "inter Adaram et Abilam civitates." These two sites have been recovered in *Tell 'Ashterah* and *Tell 'Asherah*, 7 miles apart, to the east of the Sea of Galilee. The former, which appears to be Ashtaroth, is described by Capt. Newbold (*R. G. S. Journal*, 1846) as a large mound partly natural, partly artificial, standing in the middle of the plain about 7½ miles S.S.W. of *Nawa*. The mound is from 50 to 100 feet high, and at its base are ancient foundations of massive stones and copious springs of water. See also Merrill (*East of Jordan*, p. 329). Uzzia the Ashterathite is named in 1 Ch. xi. 44. [G.] [W.]

ASHTE'RATHITE (הָעַשְׁתְּרָתִי; B. ὁ Ἀσταρωθεί [A. -θί], ℵ. Θεσταρωθεί; *Astarothites*). A native or inhabitant of Ashtaroth (1 Ch. xi. 44) beyond Jordan. Uzzia the Ashterathite was one of David's guard. [W. A. W.] [F.]

ASH'TEROTH-KARNA'IM (עַשְׁתָּרֹת קַרְנַיִם = "Ashtaroth of the two horns or peaks;" Sam. Vers. עפיניתק; Saad. الصنمين; A. Ἀσταρὼθ Καρνάιν, E. και Νάιν [? Καινάιν]; *Astaroth Carnaim*), a place of very great antiquity, the abode of the Rephaim at the time of the incursion of Chedorlaomer (Gen. xiv. 5), while the cities of the plain were still standing in their oasis. The name reappears but once, and that in the later history of the Jews as Carnaim, or Carnion (1 Macc. v. 26, 43, 44; 2 Macc. xii. 21, 26; Jos. *Ant.* xii. 8, § 4), "a strong and great city," "hard to besiege," with "a temple (τὸ τέμενος) of Atargatis" (τὸ Ἀταργατεῖον), but with no indication of its locality, beyond its being in "the land of Galaad," and not far from a stream.

It has been usually assumed to be the same place as the preceding [ASHTAROTH], but the few facts that can be ascertained are all against such an identification. 1. The affix "Karnaim," which certainly indicates some distinction,* and which in the times of the Maccabees, as quoted above, appears to have superseded the other name. 2. The fact that Eusebius and Jerome (*OS.*[2] pp. 142, 17; 269, 97), though not very clear on the point, yet certainly make a distinction between Ashtaroth and A.-Carnaim, describing the latter as a κωμὴ μεγιστὴ τῆς Ἀραβίας, vicus grandis in angulo Batanaeae. 3. Some weight is due to the renderings of the Samaritan Version and of the Arabic Version of Saadiah, which give Ashtaroth as in the text, but A.-Karnaim by entirely different names (see above). The first of these, *Aphinith*, is identified by Porter (*Hdbk.* p. 501) with *'Aphinek* on the S.W. declivity of *Jebel Haurân*, about eight miles from Bostra; the second, *es-Sunamein*, can hardly be other than the still important place which continues to bear precisely the same name, on the Haj route, about twenty-five miles south of Damascus, and to the N.W. of the *Lejah* (Burckh. p. 55; Ritter, *Syria*, p. 812). Perhaps it is some confirmation of this view that while the name Karnaim refers to some double character in the deity there worshipped, *es-Sunamein* is also dual, meaning "the two idols." A.-Karnaim has been identified by Oliphant (*Land of Gilead*, pp. 87–95) with *'Asherah*, a village crowning a *Tell* about seventy feet high on the south side of the main branch of the Yarmuk. There are here remains of an ancient city, so strongly fortified in the rear by three walls as to be almost impregnable (see also Schumacher, *Across the Jordan*, p. 203). This agrees with the indications in 1 Macc. v., where Judas, after taking Bosor, is said to have "encamped against Raphon beyond the brook" (*v.* 37), and to have recrossed (*vv.* 42, 43) the "brook," which was probably the main branch of the Yarmuk, to attack Karnaim. Compare Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 8, § 4). Leake (*Pref. to Burckh.* p. 12) identifies it with *el-Mezareib*, not far from *Tell 'Asherah;* Robinson

* This was held by the Jews at the date of the Talmud to refer to its situation between two high-peaked hills (see *Sukkah*, fol. 2), though it more probably alludes to the worship of the horned goddess, the "mooned Ashtaroth," or perhaps to the two high mounds on which the Ashtaroths were built.

(*Arabic Lists*, 2) with *el-Kurneîn* in the *Belka*, east of *es-Salt*. [G.] [W.]

ASHTO'RETH (עַשְׁתֹּרֶת; Ἀστάρτη; *Astarte*) was the principal female divinity of the Canaanites or Phoenicians, as Baal was the principal male divinity. She was, in fact, the double or reflection of the Sun-god Baal: just as the wife exists by the side of the husband or the woman by the side of the man, Ashtoreth existed by the side of Baal. Hence, as there were Baalim, there were also Ashtaroth or "Ashtoreths," representing the various forms under which the goddess was worshipped in different localities (Judg. x. 6; 1 Sam. vii. 4, xii. 10, &c.). At Carthage she had the special name of "the face of Baal," according to the most probable interpretation.

In Ashtoreth, accordingly, we have to see the personification of the female principle of productiveness in nature. But as the male principle of productiveness had its visible seat in the sun, so the female principle was identified with the moon. Ashtoreth, or "Astartê with the

Ashtoreth or the Moon Goddess. (Assyrian Cylinder: Layard.)

crescent horns," was therefore the goddess of the moon—the pale reflection of the sun—quite as much as she was the goddess of productive power. So we find Lucian (*de Syr. Dea*, 4) saying: Ἀστάρτην δ' ἐγὼ δοκέω Σεληναίην ἔμμεναι, and Herodian (v. 6, 10) asserts that Οὐρανίαν Φοίνικες Ἀστροάρχην ὀνομάζουσι, σελήνην εἶναι θέλοντες. As the moon-goddess, Ashtoreth was symbolised by the cow, since the lunar crescent in a southern country lies on its back, and thus resembles the horns of a cow (cp. the name Ashteroth-Karnaim [A.V. and R.V.], "Ashtoreth of the two horns," Gen. xiv. 5).

The name and conception of Ashtoreth were borrowed by the northern branch of the Semites from the old Accadian population of Chaldaea, and she appears in Assyrian under the form of Istar. The Accadian language possessed no genders; and Istar accordingly, though denoting a female deity, has no feminine suffix in Assyrian. This was added by the Canaanites, among whom Istar became Ashtor-eth. On the Moabite Stone, however, Ashtar is used and identified with the male divinity Chemosh, women and maidens being said to have been "devoted to Ashtar-Chemosh." In the Himyaritic inscriptions of Southern Arabia, also, we find 'Aṯtâr; and an Assyrian tablet states that Istar was androgynous.

Among the Accadians and Assyrians, Istar was the virgin goddess of love and war, and in the astro-theological system was identified with the planet Venus. The female divinity, however, occupied a very subordinate place in Canaanitish theology, and in Canaan accordingly Ashtoreth lost her individual character and became the mere reflection of the Sun-god.

Assyrian Ashtoreth. (Layard.)

The result of this was her identification with the moon, which was a male deity among the Assyrians. It was only in certain districts that she preserved her attributes as goddess of love and war. Thus she seems to have presided over war among the Philistines (1 Sam. xxxi. 10), and she was still regarded as the goddess of love at Ashkelon, where she was called Derketô or Semiramis, and at Paphos, where she was adored under the form of a conical meteoric stone. Hommel has shown that not only the person, but also the name of the Greek Aphroditê was derived from the Phoenician Ashtoreth, who was known in later times among the Greeks as "the Heavenly" (Οὐρανία).

In Phoenicia the worship of Ashtoreth was necessarily as wide-spread as that of Baal, and she was addressed by various epithets, such as Naamah, "the delightful one" (Greek Ἀστρονόη, the mother of Eshmun and the Kabeiri). She was at once the mother and bride of TAMMUZ (*q. v.*) or Adônis, and prostitution was practised in her honour by unmarried girls in Babylonia, Assyria, Cyprus, and Canaan (see Deut. xxiii. 18, and cp. Num. xxv. 1–5). Doves were sacred to her.

Assyrian Istar. (Layard.)

Ashtoreth must be carefully distinguished from ASHERAH (*q. v.*), a word which is mistranslated "grove" in the A. V. Asherah was the goddess of fertility among the southern Canaanites, and was worshipped under the form of a conical stone or a trunk stripped of its branches. There were Asherim just as there were Ashtaroth, and the name frequently denotes both the goddess herself and the symbol that

represented her. Asherah was unknown in Phoenicia proper.

In Syria Ashtoreth was generally known as ATARGATIS (*q. v.*). [A. H. S.]

ASH'UR (אַשְׁחוּר; B. Ἀσχώ, A. Ἀσδὼδ in 1 Ch. ii. 24; B. Σαρά, A. Ἀσχοὺρ in 1 Ch. iv. 5; *Ashur, Assur*), the "Father of Tekoa," which may mean that he was the founder of that village. [W. A. W.] [F.]

ASHU'RITES, the (הָאַשׁוּרִי; B. τὸν Θασειρί; A. Θασούρ; *Gessuri*). This name occurs only in the enumeration of those over whom Ishbosheth was made king (2 Sam. ii. 9). By some of the old interpreters—Syriac, Arabic, and Vulgate Versions—who are followed in modern times by Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. 145), Thenius, and Wellhausen, the word is read as Geshurites, the members of a small kingdom to the S. or S.E. of Damascus, one of the petty states which were included under the general title of Aram. [ARAM; GESHUR.] The difficulty in accepting this substitution is that Geshur had a king of its own, Talmai, whose daughter moreover was married to David somewhere about this very time (1 Ch. iii. 2, compared with *v.* 4), a circumstance not consistent with his being the ally of Ishbosheth, or with the latter being made king over the people of Geshur. Talmai was still king many years after this occurrence (2 Sam. xiii. 37). In addition, Geshur was surely too remote from Mahanaim and from the rest of Ishbosheth's territory to be intended here.

[Köhler, Kirkpatrick, and Klostermann prefer to follow the Targum of Jonathan, which has "those of the house of Asher," and to punctuate הָאֲשֵׁרִי. "The Asherites" will then denote the whole of the country west of the Jordan above Jezreel (the district of the plain of Esdraelon), and the enumeration will proceed regularly from north to south, Asher to Benjamin. The form "Asherite" occurs in Judg. i. 32. The reading of the LXX. points to ת for א, but affords no basis for a plausible restoration of the text.—S. R. D.]

There is clearly no reference here to the Asshurim of Gen. xxv. 3. [G.] [W.]

ASH'VATH (עַשְׁוַת; BA. Ἀσελθ; *Asoth*). One of the sons of Japhlet, of the tribe of Asher (1 Ch. vii. 33). [W. A. W.]

ASIA (ἡ Ἀσία; *Asia*). The passages in the N. T. where this word occurs are the following: Acts ii. 9, vi. 9, xvi. 6, xix. 10, 22, 26, 27, xx. 4, 16, 18, xxi. 27, xxvii. 2; Rom. xvi. 5 (where the true reading is Ἀσίας); 1 Cor. xvi. 19; 2 Cor. i. 8; 2 Tim. i. 15; 1 Pet. i. 1; Rev. i. 4, 11. [CHIEF OF ASIA; see ASIARCHAE.] In all these passages it may be confidently stated that the word is used, not for "the continent of Asia," nor for what we commonly understand by "Asia Minor," but for a Roman province which embraced the western part of the peninsula of Asia Minor, and of which Ephesus was the capital [*Speaker's Comm.* on Acts ii. 4]. This province originated in the bequest of Attalus, king of Pergamum, or king of Asia, who left by will to the Roman Republic his hereditary dominions in the west of the peninsula (B.C. 133). Some rectifications of the frontier were made, and "Asia" was constituted a province. Under the early Emperors it was rich and flourishing, though it had been severely plundered under the Republic. In the division of senatorial and made by Augustus imperial provinces, it was placed in the former class, and was governed by a proconsul (hence ἀνθύπατοι, Acts xix. 38, and on coins). It contained many important cities, among which were the seven Churches of the Apocalypse, and it was divided into assize districts for judicial business (hence ἀγοραῖοι, i.e. ἡμέραι, Acts, *ibid.*). It is not possible absolutely to define the inland boundary of this province during the life of St. Paul: indeed the limits of the provinces were frequently undergoing change; but generally it may be said that it included the territory anciently subdivided into Aeolis, Ionia, and Doris, and afterwards into Mysia, Lydia, and Caria. [MYSIA, LYCIA, BITHYNIA, PHRYGIA, GALATIA.]

The view of Meyer and De Wette on Acts xxvii. 2 (and of the former on Acts xix. 10), viz. that the peninsula of Asia Minor is intended, involves a bad geographical mistake; for this term "Asia Minor" does not seem to have been so applied till some centuries after the Christian era. Moreover the mistake introduces confusion into both narratives. It is also erroneous to speak of Asia in the N. T. as *A. proconsularis;* for this phrase also was of later date and denoted one of Constantine's subdivisions of the province of which we are speaking.

In the books of Maccabees, where reference is made to the pre-provincial period of this district (B.C. 200–150), we frequently encounter the word Asia in its earlier and more extended sense; and it is thus used in 2 Esd. xv. 46, xvi. 1. The title "King of Asia" was used by the Seleucid monarchs of Antioch, and was claimed by them even after it more properly belonged to the immediate predecessors of Attalus (see 1 Macc. viii. 6, xi. 13, xii. 39, xiii. 32; 2 Macc. iii. 3, x. 24; Conybeare and Howson's *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, ch. xiv.; Marquardt's *Röm. Alterthümer*, iii. pp. 130–146; *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geog.*, art. ASIA).

[J. S. H.] [W.]

ASIAR'CHAE (Ἀσιάρχαι; *principes Asiae*, Vulg.; *chief of Asia*, A. V.; *chief officers of Asia*, R. V.; Acts xix. 31), officers chosen annually by the cities of that part of the province of Asia, of which Ephesus was, under Roman government, the metropolis. They had charge of the public games and religious theatrical spectacles, the expenses of which they bore, as was done by the holders of λειτουργίαι at Athens, and the aediles at Rome (Niebuhr, iii. 35; Cicero, *De Offic.* ii. 16; Liv. xxiv. 33). Their office was thus, in great measure at least, religious, and they are in consequence sometimes called ἀρχιερεῖς, and their office ἱερωσύνη (*Mart. S. Polycarp. in Patr. Ap.* c. 21). That the office existed as early as B.C. 50 is certain, for Pythodorus of Tralles, a friend of Pompey, is described by Strabo as an Asiarch (xiv. p. 649). But in all probability it began much earlier, and obtained its name at the time when the kingdom of Attalus, having become a Roman province, began to be called Asia, *i.e.* proconsular Asia, about B.C. 130 (Strabo, xiii. p. 624).

Officers called Λυκιάρχαι are mentioned by

Strabo (xiv. p. 665), who exercised judicial and civil functions, subject to the Roman government; but there is no evidence to show that the Asiarchs exercised any but the religious functions above mentioned; and Modestinus, *c.* A.D. 230, mentions 'Ασιαρχία as well as Βιθυναρχία and Καππαδοκαρχία as religious offices conferring certain legal exemptions on the holders of them. (Dig. xxvii. tit. 1, 6, § 14.) It continued to exist as late as the time of the Emperor Honorius, A.D. 409 (Cod. Theodos. xv. tit. 9).

The office of Asiarch was annual, and subject to the approval of the proconsul, but might be renewed; and the title appears to have been continued to those who had at any time held the office. From its costliness, it was often (ἀεί) conferred on a citizen of the wealthy city of Tralles (Strabo, xiv. p. 649). Philip, the Asiarch at the time of S. Polycarp's martyrdom, was a Trallian. Coins or inscriptions bearing the names of persons who had served the office of Asiarch, once or more times, are known as belonging to the following cities:—Abydus, Acmonia, Adramyttium, Aphrodisias? Cyzicus, Ephesus, Hypaepa, Laodicea, Miletus, Otrus, Pergamus, Philadelphia, Saittae, Sardis, Smyrna, Stectorium, Synaus, Thyatira, Tichiussa. (Aristid. *Or.* xxvi. p. 518, ed. Dind.; Eckhel, ii. 507, iv. 207; Böckh, *Inscr.* vol. ii.; Van Dale, *Dissert.* p. 274 sq.; Krause, *Civitates Neocorae*, p. 71; Wetstein, *On Acts* xix.; Akerman, *Numismatic Illustr.* p. 51; Herod. v. 38; Hammond, *On N. T.*; and a monograph on the subject by Professor Churchill Babington, London, 1866, to which the writer of this art. is much indebted. Cp. Lightfoot's *Excursus on the Asiarchate* in "Apostolic Fathers," Pt. ii. St. Ignatius, St. Polycarp, ii. § ii. p. 987 sq.) [H. W. P.]

Greek Imperial Copper Coin ("medallion") of Laodicea of Phrygia; Commodus; with name of Asiarch.

Obv.: ΑΥΤΚΑΙΜΑΥΡ . ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟCCΕ. Bust of Emperor to right. Rev.: ЄΠΙΑΙΑΠΙΓΡ ΗΤΟCΑCΙΑΡ . ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ. Figure in triumphal quadriga of lions, to left.

ASIBI'AS (B. 'Ασεβείας, A. 'Ασιβίας; *Jamnebias*). One of the sons of Phorus, or Parosh, in 1 Esd. ix. 26, whose name occupies the place of MALCHIJAH in Ezra x. 25. [W. A. W.]

ASI'EL (עֲשִׂיאֵל = *created of God*; 'Ασιήλ; *Asiel*). **1.** A Simeonite whose descendant Jehu lived in the reign of Hezekiah (1 Ch. iv. 35).

2. One of the five writers whom Esdras was commanded to take to write the Law and the history of the world (2 Esd. xiv. 24). [W. A. W.]

ASI'PHA (A. 'Ασειφά, B. Ταστφά; *Gaspha*), 1 Esd. v. 29. [HASUPHA.]

AS'KELON, Judg. i. 18; 1 Sam. vi. 17; 2 Sam. i. 20. [ASHKELON.]

ASMA'VETH. [AZMAVETH.]

ASMODE'US (אַשְׁמְדַי; 'Ασμοδαῖος, Tob. iii. 8). The name also occurs in the forms אשמודין (Midrash Rabba on Lev. 5) and *Shamdon* (id. i. 37). He is called "Lord of the Spirits," "King of the demons" (*Gittin*, 68; *Pesachim*, 110; Targum on *Koheleth*, i. 13). The Jews regard him as one of the *Shedim*, or malignant spirits. Some consider him to be identical with אַבַדּוֹן, which in Job xxxi. 12, &c., means "destruction," and 'Απολλύων, Rev. ix. 11, where he is called "a king, the angel of the bottomless pit," and ὁ 'Ολοθρεύων, Wisd. xviii. 25, where he is represented as the "Evil angel" (Ps. lxxviii. 49) of the plague (Schleusner's *Thesaur.* s. v.) From the fact that the Talmud calls him מלכא דשידי, *rex daemonum* (cp. Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr. et Talm.* in Luke xi. 15), some assume him to be identical with Beelzebub, and others with Azrael. All these identifications are very precarious. The name is derived either from שָׁמַד, "to destroy," or, according to Reland (Winer, *s. v.*), from a Persian word = "to tempt" (comp. Matt. iv. 1) or (according to Windischmann) from Persian words meaning "leader of the Devs." [See *Speaker's Comm.* on Tob. iii. 8.] In the Book of Tobit this evil spirit is represented as loving Sara, the daughter of Raguel, and causing the death of seven husbands, who married her in succession, on the bridal night; gaining the power to do so (as is hinted) through their incontinence. Tobias, instructed by Raphael, burns on "the ashes of perfume" the heart and liver of the fish which he caught in the Tigris; "the which smell when the evil spirit had smelled, he fled into the utmost parts of Egypt, and the Angel bound him" (Tob. viii. 3).

It is obviously a vain endeavour to attempt to rationalise this story of

> ". . . Asmodēus with the fishy fume
> That drove him, though enamoured, from the spouse
> Of Tobit's son, and with a vengeance sent
> From Media post to Egypt, there fast bound,"

since it is throughout founded on Jewish demonology and "the loves of the angels," a strange fancy derived from Gen. vi. 2. Those however who attempt this task make Asmodëus the demon of impurity, and suppose merely that the fumes deadened the passions of Tobias and his wife. The Rabbis (among other odd fables) make this demon the offspring of the incest of Tubalcain with his sister Noema, and say (in allusion to Solomon's many wives) that Asmodëus once drove him from his kingdom, but being dispossessed was forced to serve in building the Temple, which he did noiselessly, by means of a mysterious stone Shamir (Calmet, *s. v.* and *Fragments*, p. 274, where there is a great deal of fanciful and groundless speculation). See the story at full length in the Babylonian Talmud (*Gittin*, f. 68, 1, 2). It is not found in the Jerusalem Talmud. The Rabbis of the first three centuries in Palestine, in the careful endeavour to exclude from Judaism all elements which they regarded as being of Christian or Gnostic origin, were also anxious to avoid all legends or notions which came from a Persian or foreign source. Rav and R. Samuel are the first who refer to Ashmedai and tell the famous legend about his dealings with Solomon. From them it found its way into many Talmudic writings, where other stories are told respecting him. Cp. *Tosephoth Menachoth*, 37, 1; Targum on *Koheleth*, i. 13; *Midrash Rabba* on Numbers, § 11; *Pesachim*, 110, &c. See Rappoport, *Erech. Millin.*; Hamburger, *Talm. Wörterb.* s. vv. Aschmedai, Schedim, &c.; Eisenmenger, *Ent. Judenth.* ii. 440, &c.; *Speaker's Comm.* on Tobit, *Excursus on Demonology*, i. p. 176.

[F. W. F.]

AS'NAH (אַסְנָה, *thornbush*; Ἀσενά; *Asena*). The children of Asnah were among the Nethinim who returned with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii. 50). The name is omitted from the list in Neh. vii. 52, and in 1 Esd. v. 31 it is written ASANA [B. Ἀσαννά, A. Ἀσανα]. [W. A. W.] [F.]

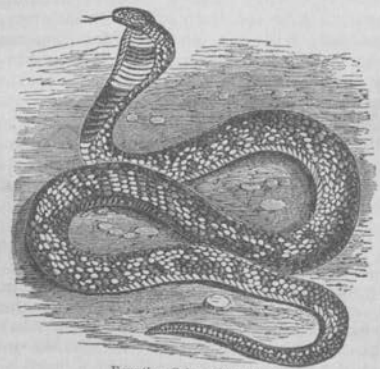
ASNAP'PER (אָסְנַפַּר, *i.e.* Osnappar [R.V.], or [Baer i. l.] אָסְנַפָּר, Asenappar; Syr. *Espir*; B. Ἀσσεναφάρ, A. Ναφάρ; *Asenapher*), a ruler mentioned in Ezra iv. 10 as the "great and noble" (רַבָּא וְיַקִּירָא) personage who had brought "the Dinaites, the Apharsathchites, the Tarpelites, the Apharsites, the Archevites, the Babylonians, the Susanchites (Susanians), the Dehavites, and the Elamites," and had settled them in the cities of Samaria. He has been variously identified with Shalmaneser, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon. Gelzer (*Zeitschr. für ägyptische Sprache*, xiii. [1875] p. 81) conjectures that Asnapper is the Aššur-banî-apli or Assurbanipal of the cuneiform inscriptions, and this has been accepted both by A. von Gutschmid (*Die Assyriologie in Deutschland*, p. 145) and Prof. Fried. Delitzsch, who is of opinion that the "one and only king, who was able to remove the Susanians to a distance, was Assurbanipal, the conqueror of Susa," and he joins with Gutschmid and Gelzer in regarding Asnapper as a mutilation of the (Persian pronounced) name Assurbanipal. Supposing this to be correct (as is most likely), there has been a change from *r* to *n* (*Asn* for *Asr* = Assur); *banî* (or *ban*) has disappeared altogether, leaving only a trace of its existence in the vowel *a*; and the *l* of the last compound has become *r* (*par* for *pal*)—all being changes for which analogies can be found.

Aššur-banî-apli or Assurbanipal ("Assur has created a son"), king of Assyria, was the eldest son of Esarhaddon, and ascended the Assyrian throne in April 667 or 668 B.C., shortly before the death of his father, being at the time probably about twenty-five years old. Of his three younger brothers, one, Šamaš-šum-ukin (Saosduchinos), was installed as king of Babylon under his brother the king of Assyria. Assurbanipal was one of the most renowned of all the kings of Assyria, and, though he probably never personally conducted any warlike expeditions, he nevertheless made himself master, through his generals, of considerable tracts on all sides. He made two expeditions to Egypt, with varying success. In the first his forces succeeded in replacing the governors whom Esarhaddon had appointed, and in overthrowing Tirhakah. These governors, however, themselves revolted against Assyrian rule, but the plot was discovered, and they were captured and sent to Nineveh. Assurbanipal now appointed Necho as king in Saïs, and Nabû-šêzibâni (Neboshazban), his son, as king in Athribes. Urdamanê, however, nephew of Tirhakah, now arose against the Assyrian overlordship, necessitating the second expedition to Egypt, which resulted in the expulsion of Urdamanê. Assurbanipal besieged Tyre, and brought that city, together with the petty states around, to submission. Gyges, king of Lydia, also gave tribute, but afterwards sent secretly to aid Tušamilki, king of Egypt, thus bringing down upon him the curse of the Assyrian king. Gyges died a violent death at the hands of the Cimmerians. His son, who succeeded him, was submissive to the Assyrian overlordship. Assurbanipal subdued also the Mannâa (= Wannâa) or Armenians, and the tribes lying in the neighbourhood of that district: he repulsed the invasion of Urtag or Urtak, king of Elam, and afterwards carried the conflict into the enemy's country, defeating Te-umman, who had succeeded Urtak as king, and proclaiming Umman-igaš, an Elamite prince, as king of Elam, in Shushan and Madaktu. Later, he defeated the combined forces of the Babylonians, Elamites, and Arabians, and annexed Babylonia to Assyria; again invading (partly, probably, in revenge for the part which the Elamites had taken against him) Elam twice, and Arabia once. After his Arabian successes, Assurbanipal again turned his attention to Elam, and captured Ummanaldas, who was then king of that country, bringing him to Nineveh, and compelling him to drag, in company with other captive princes, his royal chariot to Ê-mašmaš, the temple of Beltis and Assur in that city. From the above outline of his conquests it will be seen that, of all the kings of Babylonia and Assyria, Assurbanipal had best right to the epithets "great and glorious," and that he was also best able to transplant the Babylonians, Susanians, Elamites, and other nations or tribes, to Samaria, as is recorded in the 4th chapter of Ezra. [T. G. P.]

A'SOM (Ἀσόμ; *Asom*), 1 Esd. ix. 33. [HASHUM.]

ASP (פֶּתֶן, *pethen*; ἀσπίς, δράκων, βασιλίσκος; *aspis*, *basiliscus*). The Hebrew word occurs in the six following passages:— Deut. xxxii. 33; Ps. lviii. 5, xci. 13; Job xx. 14, 16; Is. xi. 8. It is expressed in the passages from the Psalms by *adder* in the text of the A. V. and R. V., and by *asp* in the margin: elsewhere the text of both Versions has *asp*[a] as the representative of the original word *pethen*.

That some kind of poisonous serpent is denoted by the Hebrew word is clear from the passages quoted above. We further learn from Ps. lviii. 5, that the *pethen* was a snake upon which the serpent-charmers practised their art. In this passage the wicked are compared to "the deaf adder that stoppeth her ear, which will not hearken to the voice of charmers, charming never so wisely;" and from Is. xi. 8, "the sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp," it would appear that the *pethen* was a dweller in holes of walls, &c. Bochart contributes nothing in aid to a solution of identity when he attempts to prove that the *pethen* is the *asp* (*Hieroz.* iii. 156), for this species of serpent, if a species be signified by the term, has been so vaguely described by authors, that it is not possible to say what known kind is represented by it. The term *asp* in modern zoology is generally restricted to the *Vipera aspis* of Latreille, but it is most probable that the name, amongst the ancients, stood for different kinds of venomous serpents. Solinus (c. xxvii.) says, "plures diversaeque sunt aspidum species;" and Aelian (*N. Anim.* x. 31) asserts that the Egyptians enumerate sixteen kinds of *asp*. Bruce thought that the *asp* of the ancients should be referred to the *cerastes*, while Cuvier considered it to be

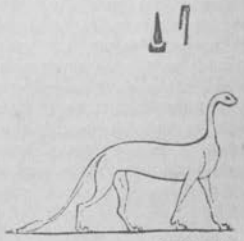


Egyptian Cobra (*Naja haje*).

the Egyptian *cobra* (*Naja haje*). Be this, however, as it may, there can be little doubt that the Hebrew name *pethen* is specific, as it is mentioned as distinct from *'acshûb*, *shephîphôn*, *tsiphôni*, &c., names of other members of the *Ophidia*.

Many pages of conjecture have been written as to the species intended by *pethen*, but one important question has been generally omitted by the champions of rival claimants, viz. Does the species exist in Bible lands? With our present knowledge of the herpetology of Syria, we can have little hesitation in assigning the *pethen* of Scripture to the hooded cobra of Egypt, *Naja haje*. It does not occur in the cultivated districts of Palestine, but it is well known in the plains, and the downs south of Beersheba. I have met with it near Gaza. It is an African species, extending from Arabia Petraea through Egypt, Nubia, the Soudan, and the Sahara. In India it is represented by an allied species, *Naja tripudians*. It is needless here to discuss the conjectures of many writers on the Arabian *Coluber baetan* of Forskâl or the *C. lebetinus* of Linnaeus, since no one has yet been able to identify Forskâl's species; and *C. lebetinus* is most probably a synonym of *Vipera Euphratica* [ADDER], which would not meet the conditions of the Biblical allusions, as it neither lives in holes, nor is it a species on which the snake-charmers practise.

The hooded cobra, or asp (*Naja haje*), lives in holes in rocks or old walls, and has the power of dilating its neck by raising the anterior ribs so as to expand the front of the breast into the shape of a flat dish. When alarmed or disturbed, it raises itself into an upright posture, supported on the lower vertebrae of the tail, and bounds forward with great force. In this position it is often portrayed on Egyptian monuments, and is used to symbolise immortality. It was also employed as the emblem of the protecting Divinity of the world, and we find sculptured over the portals of their temples a cobra on each side of a winged globe (Horapollo, i. 1; Kalisch, *Hist. and Crit. Comm. Gen.* iii. 1). Sometimes the Egyptian paintings represent a monster with the head of an asp or some other serpent (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* iii. p. 310, ed. 1878).



Asp-headed monster. (Wilkinson.)

The art of serpent-charming referred to in Ps. lviii. 4, Jas. iii. 7, is of immense antiquity, and is practised in India on the *Naja tripudians* as in Africa on the *Naja haje*. The resources of the charmers appear to be very simple—the shrill notes of a flute, which are the only kind of tones which the serpent, with its very imperfect sense of sound, is capable of distinctly following, and, above all, coolness and courage, combined with gentleness in handling the animal, so as not to irritate it. The charmers are not impostors, for though they may sometimes remove the fangs, it is a well-attested fact that they generally allow them to remain, and they will operate on the reptiles when just caught as willingly as on those which have been long in their possession; but they are very reluctant to make experiments on any other species than the cobra. When a cobra has been discovered in a hole, the charmer plays at the mouth till the serpent, attracted by the sound, comes out, when it is suddenly seized by the tail, and held at arm's

[a] *Asp* (the Greek ἀσπίς, the Latin *aspis*) has by some been derived from the Heb. אָסַף, "to gather up," in allusion to the coiling habits of the snake when at rest; but this etymology is very improbable. The shield (ἀσπίς) may be derived from the form of the animal at rest.

length. Thus suspended, it is unable to turn itself so as to bite; and when it has become exhausted by its vain efforts, it is put into a basket, the lid of which is raised while the music is playing, but at each attempt of the captive to dart out, the lid is shut down upon it, until it learns to stand quietly on its tail, swaying to and fro to the music, and ceases to attempt an escape. If it shows more than ordinary restlessness, the fangs are extracted as a precaution. Instances are not uncommon, in which, with all their care, the jugglers' lives are sacrificed in the exhibition.

The expression in Ps. lviii. 4, "the deaf adder that stoppeth her ears," seems simply to allude to the fact that there are some species of serpents not amenable to the charmer's art, or that there are individuals of the ordinary cobra which defy all his attempts to soothe them. These are called *deaf*. The force of the comparison with wicked men made by the Psalmist lies in the fact that they, like the adder, can hear the charmer's song, but obstinately refuse to do so. If reference had been made, as some have supposed, to a species of serpents which had not the power of hearing, the whole force of the illustration would be lost. There is therefore no occasion to search for some species which is literally deaf, or to consider the groundless stories of Bythner, Thomson (*Land and the Book*, p. 155), and others of serpents stopping their ears with their tails or with dust, in order not to hear the charmer, inasmuch as no serpent possesses any external openings to the ear. There is doubtless a popular impression that the serpent is deaf, grounded perhaps on the absence of external ears, or perhaps on a mistaken interpretation of the passage in the Psalms.

Serpents, though comparatively speaking deaf to ordinary sounds, are no doubt capable of hearing the sharp, shrill sounds which the charmer produces either by his voice or by an instrument; and this comparative deafness is, it appears to us, *the very reason* why such sounds as the charmer makes produce the desired effect on the subject under treatment. [SERPENT-CHARMING.] It has been stated that the jugglers, by pressing the nape of the cobra's neck with the fingers, know how to throw it into a mesmeric state, which renders it stiff and immovable, thus seeming to change it into a rod or stick. This may throw light on the contest of the magicians with Moses before Pharaoh. I cannot vouch for this from personal observation. [H. B. T.]

ASPAL'ATHUS (ἀσπάλαθος ἀρωμάτων; Compl. πάλαθος; *balsamum*), the name of some sweet perfume mentioned in Ecclus. xxiv. 15, to which Wisdom compares herself:—"I gave a sweet smell like cinnamon and aspalathus." The question as to what kind of plant represents the aspalathus of the ancients has long been a puzzling one. From Theocritus (*Id.* iv. 57) we learn that the aspalathus was of a thorny nature, and (from *Id.* xxiv. 87) that the dry wood was used for burning. Pliny (*H. N.* xii. 24) says that the aspalathus grows in Cyprus; that it is a white thorny shrub, the size of a moderate tree; that another name for this plant was *erysceptrum* or *sceptrum*, "sceptre," or "red sceptre," a name perhaps which it owed to the fact of the flowers clustering along the length of the branches: but in another place (xxiv. 13) he speaks of *aspalathus* as distinct from the *erysceptrum*, as growing in Spain, and commonly employed there as an ingredient in perfumes and ointments. He states that it was employed also in the washing of wool. Theophrastus (*Hist. Plant.* ix. 7, § 3, ed. Schneider) enumerates *aspalathus* with cinnamon, cassia, and many other articles which were used for ointments, and appears to speak of it as an Eastern production. In *Fr.* iv. 33 he says it is sweet-scented and an astringent. He also states that it has large fleshy roots (*μεγάλαι καὶ σαρκώδεις*). Dioscorides (i. 19) says that the *aspalathus* was used for the purpose of thickening ointment.

It appears that there were at least two kinds or varieties of plants known by the name of *aspalathus;* for all the authorities cited above clearly make mention of two: one was white, inodorous, and inferior; the other had red wood under the bark, and was highly aromatic. The plant was of so thorny a nature that Plato (*Repub.* 616 A, ed. Bekker) says cruel tyrants were punished with it in the lower world.

Gerarde (*Herbal.* p. 1625) mentions two kinds of *aspalathus: aspal. albicans torulo citreo*, and *aspal. rubens*. "The latter," he says, "is the better of the two; its smell is like that of the rose, whence the name *Lignum Rhodium*, rather than from Rhodes, the place where it is said to grow." The *Lignum Rhodium* is by some supposed to be the substance indicated by the *aspalathus;* the plant which yields it is the *Convolvulus scoparius* of Linnaeus.[a] Dr. Royle (*Encycl. Bib. Lit.* s. v.) is inclined to believe that the bark of a tree of the Himalayan mountains, the *Myrica sapida* of Dr. Wallich, is the article indicated, because in India the term *Darshishan*, which by Avicenna and Serapion are used as the Arabic synonyms of *aspalathus*, is applied to the bark of this tree. If the *aspalathus* of the Apocrypha be identical with the *aspalathus* of the Greeks, it is clear that the locality for the plant must be sought nearer home, for Theocritus evidently mentions the *aspalathus* as if it were familiar to the Greek colonists of Sicily or the south of Italy in its growing state. For other attempts to identify the *aspalathus*, see Salmasius, *Hyl. Iat.* cap.

[a] On this subject Sir W. Hooker in a letter writes: "We must not go to *Convol. scoparius*, albeit that may possess the two needful qualifications: it is peculiar to the Canary Islands. Many plants with fragrant roots are called rose-roots. Such is the *Lignum aloes*, the lign aloes of Scripture; and there is the ῥοδιαρίζα of Dioscorides, which came from Macedonia. A late learned friend of mine writes, 'This was certainly Linnaeus's *Rhodiola rosea*, figured as such by Parkinson in his *Theatrum Botanicum*, after Lobel. Soon after the discovery of the Canary Islands this name was transferred to *Convol. scoparius*, and afterwards to several American plants. It is called in the Canary Islands *Leña Noël*, a corruption of *Lignum aloes*, and, though now in little request, large quantities of it were formerly exported, and the plant nearly extirpated. The apothecaries sold it both as *Lignum Rhodium* and as the *aspalathus* of Dioscorides; it soon, however, took the latter name, which was handed over to a wood brought from India, though the original plant was a thorny shrub growing on the shores of the Mediterranean, probably *Spartium villosum*, according to Sibthorpe (*Flor. Graec.* vol. vii. p. 69).'"

lxxxiv.; Dr. Royle, in passage referred to above; Sprengel, *Hist. Herb.* i. pp. 45, 183: but in all probability the term has been applied to various plants. Comparing the accounts of Theophrastus with the commentaries of Gerarde and others, it seems to me that there are two plants of the family *Leguminosae* which may answer to the description,—*Spartium junceum*, L. *Sp.* 995, and *Calycotome villosa*, Vahl. *Symb.* ii. p. 80, more probably the latter. Both these shrubs are found in Syria, the Levant, and Southern Italy. They may possibly be the two species spoken of by Gerarde. [W. H.] [H. B. T.]

ASPA'THA (אַסְפָּתָא, of uncertain derivation, but probably Persian [Bertheau-Ryssel and Oettli in loco]; if so, contracted from the Pers. aspadatha, *given by the horse*, i.e. by the god Behram in the form of a horse; T.[1] Φασγά, [2] Φιαγά; *Esphatha*), one of the ten sons of Haman slain by the Jews (Esth. ix. 7). [F.]

AS'PHAR, THE POOL (λάκκος Ἀσφάρ; A. λ. Ἀσφάλ; *lacus Asphar*), in the "wilderness of Thecoe." By this "pool" Jonathan and Simon Maccabaeus encamped at the beginning of their struggle with Bacchides (1 Macc. ix. 33; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 1, § 2). It was apparently one of the small reservoirs for collecting rain-water still used by the Bedawín; it has, however, been suggested that the name may possibly be a corruption of λάκκος Ἀσφαλτίτης? Xenophon (*Anab.* iv. 2, § 22) uses the word λάκκος for the excavations underground in which he stored his wine. [G.] [W.]

ASPHA'RASUS (Ἀσφαράσος; *Machpsatochor*), one of those who returned from the Captivity with Zerobabel (1 Esd. v. 8). [MISPERETH.] [F.]

ASRI'EL (אַשְׂרִיאֵל; B. Ἐσριήλ, AF. -λι [Num.], B. Ἰεζειήλ, A. Ἐριήλ [Josh.]; *Asriel, Esriel*). The son of Gilead, and great-grandson of Manasseh (Num. xxvi. 31 [LXX. v. 35]; Josh. xvii. 2). He was the founder of the family of the ASRIELITES. The name is spelt ASHRIEL in the A. V. of 1 Ch. vii. 14, but Asriel in R. V.; and the LXX. makes Asriel [B. Ἀσερειήλ, A. Ἐσριήλ] the son of Manasseh by his Syrian concubine. [W. A. W.] [F.]

ASRIE'LITES, THE (הָאַשְׂרִאֵלִי; B. ὁ Ἐσριηλεί, A. -ί; *Asrielitae*). Num. xxvi. 31. [ASRIEL.] [W. A. W.] [F.]

ASS. The five following Hebrew names of the genus *Asinus* occur in the O. T.:—*Chamôr*, *'Athôn*, *'Âir*, *Pere*, and *'Arôd*. The last two apply to species of the wild ass.

1. *Chamôr* (חֲמוֹר*; ὄνος, ὑποζύγιον, γομὸρ in 1 Sam. xvi. 20; *asinus*, "ass," "he-ass") denotes the male domestic ass, though the word was no doubt used in a general sense to express any ass, whether male or female. The ass is frequently mentioned in the Bible; it was used (i.) for carrying burdens (1 Sam. xxv. 18; Gen. xlii. 26, xlv. 23; 2 Sam. xvi. 1; 1 Ch. xii. 40; Neh. xiii. 15; 1 Sam. xvi. 20)—(ii.) for riding (Gen. xxii. 3; Ex. iv. 20; Num. xxii. 21; 1 K. xiii. 23; Josh. xv. 18; Judg. i. 14, v. 10, x. 4, xii. 14; 1 Sam. xxv. 20; 2 Sam. xvii. 23, xix. 26; Zech. ix. 9; Matt. xxi. 7)—(iii.) for ploughing (Is. xxx. 24, xxxii. 20; Deut. xxii. 10), and perhaps for treading out corn, though there is no clear scriptural allusion to the fact. In Egypt asses were so employed (Wilkinson's *Anc. Egypt.* i. 231 [1878]), and by the Jews, according to Josephus (*contr. Apion.* ii. § 7)—(iv.) for grinding at the mill (Matt. xviii. 6, R. V. marg. Gr. *a millstone turned by an ass*)—(v.) for carrying baggage in wars (2 K. vii. 7, 10)—(vi.) for the procreation of mules (Gen. xxxvi. 24; 1 K. iv. 28; Esth. viii. 10, &c.).

The origin of the domestic ass (*Asinus vulgaris*, or *A. asinus*) is from the wild ass of N. E. Africa, South Arabia, and Socotra, the true *Onager*, which Pallas has unfortunately confounded with the wild ass or Ghorkhur of Central Asia and Beluchistan. It is to Egypt we must look for the reclamation of the ass, the region where the particular species is still found wild, and where also the finest and least altered of the domestic races prevail. The date of its domestication is lost in antiquity. It is repeatedly mentioned in the Pentateuch before the horse is noticed—as in the sacrifice of Abraham; in his visit to Egypt, where he received presents from Abimelech; and in the spoils of Shechem, where, along with other cattle, the ass occurs, but the horse is not mentioned. The horse is supposed to have been introduced into Egypt by the Hyksos. In Assyria it had been reclaimed at the period of the oldest known monuments. It is remarkable that, notwithstanding the length of time that has elapsed since the domestication of the ass, and entirely changed, as it is, in its habits and disposition, it has altered less from its pristine form and colour, and is less liable to variation in these respects, than any other domestic animal. It still in all climates and under all circumstances retains the general tone of colour which belongs to the wild race, and from which it derives its name, as well as the black line down the back, and the transverse black stripe on the shoulders; and the diversities of colour are, for the most part, merely different shades of the same primitive hue.

It is almost needless to observe that the ass in Eastern countries is a very different animal from what he is in Western Europe; there the greatest care is taken of the animal, and much attention is paid to cultivate the breed by crossing the finest specimens; the riding on the ass therefore conveys a very different notion from the one which attaches to such a mode of conveyance in our own country; the most noble and honourable amongst the Jews were wont to be mounted on asses; and in this manner our Lord Himself made His triumphant entry into Jerusalem (Matt. xxi. 5, 7). He came indeed "meek and lowly," but it is a mistake to suppose, as many do, that the fact of His riding on the ass had, according to our English ideas, aught to do with His meekness; although thereby, doubtless, He meant to show the peaceable

* חֲמוֹר, from root חָמַר, "to be red," from the reddish colour of the animal in southern countries. MV.[11] compare the Spanish *burro, burrico*. In 2 Sam. xix. 27, the word is used as a feminine. The Arabic حمار, *himâr*, is identical.

nature of His kingdom, as horses were used only for war purposes.

In illustration of the passage in Judg. v. 10, "Speak, ye that ride on white asses," it may be mentioned that Buckingham (*Trav.* p. 389) tells us that one of the peculiarities of Bagdad is its race of white asses, which are saddled and bridled for the conveyance of passengers; that they are large and spirited, and have an easy and steady pace. Bokhara is also celebrated for its breed of white asses, which are sometimes more than thirteen hands high; they are imported into Peshawar, and fetch from 80 to 100 rupees each.

In Syria, white asses, which I have seen of the height of 13 hands, are highly prized, and choice he-asses will fetch ordinarily £40 sterling, both for riding and for mule-breeding. The Pasha of Jerusalem always rides a white ass within the city, on account of its surefootedness on the steep and slippery streets, and only appears on horseback when going outside the walls. It is curious to see the Pasha on his ass, attended by his body-guard comprising officers on horseback.

There are two distinct races of domestic asses represented in ancient Egyptian paintings, and the two may be seen side by side in any Syrian town to-day—one very large, with remarkably long ears, the other small and rather inferior to ours in England; bearing the same relation to the other as a pony does to a horse. The smaller race only has been domesticated in Northern Europe; or if the larger, it has degenerated, the ass being less capable of resisting cold than the horse. The ass of the large breed in the East possesses vivacity and humour, as well as ingenuity, and can exhibit personal likes and dislikes to members of the caravan. It can accomplish with ease as long a day's journey as a horse, and longer than a camel.

In Deut. xxii. 10, "plowing with an ox and an ass together" was forbidden by the law of Moses. Michaelis (*Comment. on the Laws of Moses*, transl. vol. ii. 392) believes that this prohibition is to be traced to the economic importance of the ox in the estimation of the Jews; that the coupling together therefore so valued an animal as the ox with the inferior ass was a dishonour to the former animal: others, Le Clerc for instance, think that this law had merely a symbolical meaning, and that by it we are to understand improper alliances in civil and religious life to be forbidden; he compares 2 Cor. vi. 14, "Be ye not unequally yoked with unbelievers." It is not at all improbable that such a lesson was intended to be conveyed; but we think that the main reason in the prohibition is a physical one, viz., that the ox and the ass could not pull pleasantly together on account of the difference in size and strength (see *Speaker's Comm.* in loco); perhaps also this prohibition may have some reference to the law given in Lev. xix. 19.

The expression used in Is. xxx. 24, "The young asses that *ear* the ground," would be more intelligible to modern understandings were it translated the asses that *till* [so R. V.] the ground; the word *ear* from *aro*, "I till," "I plough," being now obsolete (cp. 1 Sam. viii. 12, R. V. "plough").

Although the flesh of the wild ass was deemed a luxury amongst the Persians and Tartars, yet it does not appear that any of the nations of Canaan used the ass for food. The Mosaic law considered it unclean, as "not dividing the hoof nor chewing the cud." In extreme cases, however, as in the great famine of Samaria, when "an ass's head was sold for eighty pieces of silver" (2 K. vi. 25), the flesh of the ass was eaten. Some commentators on this passage, following the LXX., have understood a measure (*a chomer of bread*) by the Hebrew word. Dr. Harris says, "No kind of extremity could compel the Jews to eat any part of this animal for food;" but it must be remembered that in cases of extreme need parents ate their own offspring (2 K. vi. 28; Ezek. v. 10). This argument therefore falls to the ground; nor is there sufficient reason for abandoning the common acceptation of these passages (1 Sam. xvi. 20; xxv. 18), and for understanding a *measure* and not the *animal*. For an example to illustrate 2 K. *l. c.* comp. Plutarch, *Artax.* i. 1023, "An ass's head could hardly be bought for sixty drachms."[b]

The Jews were accused of worshipping the head of an ass. Josephus (*contr. Apion.* ii. § 7) very indignantly blames Apion for having the impudence to pretend that the Jews placed an ass's head of gold in their holy place, which the grammarian asserted Antiochus Epiphanes discovered when he spoiled the Temple. Plutarch (*Sympos.* iv. ch. 5) and Tacitus (*Hist.* v. §§ 3 and 4) seemed to have believed in this slander (see Bochart, *Hieroz.* iii. 199 *seq.*). The same charge was brought against Christians (see Tertullian, *Apolog.* xv. xvi.; and *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.* s. n. "Asinarii").

2. *'Athôn* (אָתוֹן[c]; ἡ ὄνος, ὄνος, ὄνος θηλεία, ἡμίονος, ὄνος θηλεία νομάς; *asina, asinus*, "ass," "she-ass"). There can be no doubt that this name represents the common domestic she-ass, nor do we think there are any grounds for believing that the *'athôn* indicates some particular valuable breed which judges and great men only possessed, as Dr. Kitto (*Phys. Hist. Pal.* p. 383) and Dr. Harris (*Nat. Hist. of Bible*, art. *Ass*) have supposed. *'Athôn* in Gen. xii. 16, xlv. 23 is clearly contrasted with *Chamôr*. Balaam rode on a she-ass (*'athôn*). The asses of Kish which Saul sought were she-asses. The Shunammite (2 K. iv. 22, 24) rode on one when she went to seek Elisha. They were she-asses which formed the especial care of one of David's officers (1 Ch. xxvii. 30). While, on the other hand, Abraham (Gen. xxii. 3, &c.), Achsah (Josh. xv. 18), Abigail (1 Sam. xxv. 20), the disobedient prophet (1 K. xiii. 23) rode on a *chamôr*.

3. *'Air* (עַיִר); πῶλος, πῶλος νέος, ὄνος, βοῦς [in Is. xxx. 24]; *pullus asinae, pullus onagri, jumentum, pullus asini*, "foal," "ass colt," "young ass," "colt"), the name of a young ass, which occurs Gen. xlix. 11, xxxii. 15; Judg. x. 4, xii. 14; Job xi. 12; Is. xxx. 6, 24; Zech. ix. 9. In the passages of the Books of Judges and

[b] The Talmudists say that the flesh of the ass causes avarice in those who eat it; but it cures the avaricious of the complaint (*Zool. des Talm.* § 165).

[c] A word of uncertain derivation, derived by Ges. from a root used in Arabic, "to be slow," "to walk with short steps."

Zechariah the *'air* is spoken of as being old enough for riding upon; in Is. xxx. 6, for carrying burdens, and in v. 24 for tilling the ground: perhaps the word *'air* is intended to denote an ass rather older than the age we now understand by the term *foal* or *colt*.

Our Lord entered Jerusalem "riding upon an ass, *even*" (as it might be translated) "upon a colt," as did the sons of Jair. The colt never having before been ridden, was also symbolical: a new time, a new prince, a new animal to ride upon, which had not been under the yoke. The mother is led with it, to quiet it for the service.

The saddle of the ass, so often mentioned in Scripture, is a very elaborate structure, wholly different from that of the horse. Under it are spread several folds of thick woollen stuff. The saddle itself is of great thickness, made of straw stitched under carpet, very flat above, with a high rounded pommel. Over it is spread a saddle-cloth of Persian carpet or velvet, of the brightest colours, ornamented with a fringe hanging over the ass's tail. The stirrups are small and narrow. The bridle is ornamented with tassels, embroidery, and cowries, and sometimes little bells are attached to the reins.

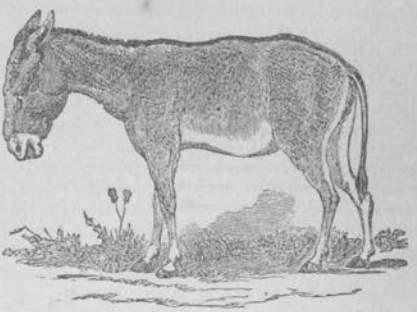
[W. H.] [H. B. T.]

ASS, WILD. Two words are used to represent wild asses. 1. *Pere* (פֶּרֶא; ὄνος ἄγριος, ὄνος ἐν ἀγρῷ, ὄναγρος, ὄνος ἐρημίτης, ἄγριος ἄνθρωπος; *ferus homo*, Vulg.; *onager*, "wild ass"). The name of a species of wild ass mentioned in Gen. xvi. 12; Ps. civ. 11; Job vi. 5, xi. 12, xxxix. 5, xxiv. 5; Hos. viii. 9; Jer. ii. 24; Is. xxxii. 14. In Gen. xvi. 12, *Pere Adâm*, a "wild-ass man," is applied to Ishmael and his descendants, a character that is well suited to the Arabs at this day. Hosea (viii. 9) compares Israel to a wild ass of the desert, and Job (xxxix. 5) gives an animated description of this animal, and one which is amply confirmed by both ancient and modern writers.

2. *'Arôd* (עָרוֹד,[a] omitted by the LXX. and Vulg., which Versions probably supposed *'arôd* and *pere* to be synonymous; "wild ass"). The Hebrew word occurs only in Job xxxix. 5, "Who hath sent out the *pere* free, or who hath loosed the bands of the *'arôd*?" The Chaldee plural *'arâdaŷah* (עֲרָדַיָּא) occurs in Dan. v. 21: Nebuchadnezzar's "dwelling was with the wild asses." Bochart (*Hieroz.* ii. 218), Rosenmüller (*Sch. in V. T.* l. c.), Lee (*Comment.* on Job, *l. c.*), and Gesenius (*Thes.* and MV.[11] s. v.) suppose *'arôd* and *pere* to be identical in meaning; the last-named writer says that *pere* is the Hebrew, and *'arôd* the Aramaean; but it seems more probable that the two names stand for different animals, two species of wild ass being found in Bible lands.

It is only recently that the wild ass or *A. onager* of Central Asia has been discriminated from the wild ass of N.E. Africa, *Asinus vulgaris* or *asinus*. The Russian naturalist, Pallas, the first modern writer on the subject, identified the two; and though both were most probably known to the Jews, they did not distinguish them. But they did distinguish the wild ass of Syria and North Arabia, known by naturalists as *Asinus hemippus*. This was probably *pere*, the species most frequently mentioned; while *'arôd*, the species of Babylonia, is naturally mentioned as the animal with the herds of which Nebuchadnezzar was driven out to consort (see *Speaker's Comm.* on Dan. v. 21).

The late Mr. E. Blyth enumerates seven species of the division Asinus. In all probability the species known to the ancient Jews are *Asinus hemippus*, which inhabits the deserts



Syrian Wild Ass (*Asinus hemippus*).
Specimen in Zoological Gardens of London.

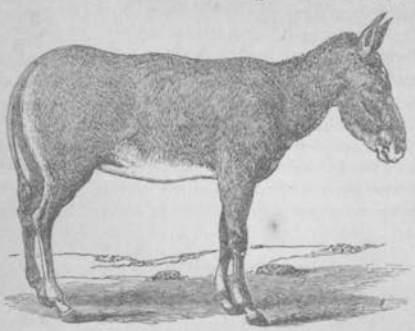
of Syria, Mesopotamia, and the northern parts of Arabia; and *Asinus vulgaris* of N.E. Africa, South Arabia, and Socotra, the true onager or aboriginal wild ass, whence the domesticated breed is sprung; probably also the *Asinus onager*, the Koulan or Ghorkhur, which is found in Western Asia from 48° N. latitude southward to Persia, Beluchistan, and Western India, was not unknown to the ancient Hebrews, though in all probability they confounded these species. The *Asinus hemionus*, or Dziggetai, which was

Dziggetai or Kyang (*Asinus hemionus*).
Specimen in Zoological Gardens of London.

separated from *Asinus hemippus* (with which it had long been confounded) by Is. St. Hilaire, could hardly have been known to the Jews, as this animal, which is perhaps only a variety of *Asinus onager*, inhabits Tibet, Mongolia, and Southern Siberia, countries with which the Jews

[a] עָרוֹד, from root עָרַד, "to flee," "to be untamed." Bochart thinks the word is onomatopoetic.

were not familiar. We may therefore safely conclude that the *'athôn* and *pere* of the sacred



Ghorkhur or Koulan (*Asinus onager*). Specimen in British Museum.

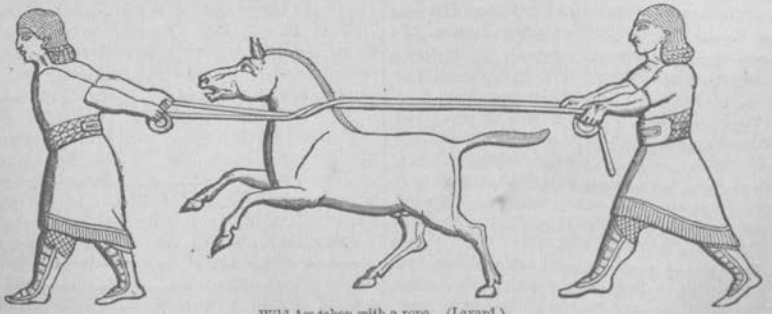
writings stand for the different species now discriminated under the names of *Asinus hemippus*, the Assyrian wild ass, *Asinus vulgaris*, the true onager—and perhaps *Asinus onager*, the Koulan or Ghorkhur of Persia and Western India.

The following quotation from Mr. Blyth's valuable paper is given as illustrative of the scriptural allusions to wild asses:—"To the west of the range of the Ghor-khur lies that of *Asinus hemippus*, or true Hemionus of ancient writers—the particular species apostrophised in the Book of Job, and again that noticed by Xenophon. There is a recent account of it by Mr. Layard in *Nineveh and its Remains* (p. 324). Returning from the Sinher, he was riding through the desert to Tel Afer, and there he mistook a troop of them for a body of horse with the Bedouin riders concealed!" "The reader will remember," he adds, "that Xenophon mentions these beautiful animals, which he must have seen during his march over these very plains ... 'The country,' he says, 'was a plain throughout, as even as the sea, and full of wormwood; if any other kind of shrubs or reeds grew there, they had all an aromatic smell, but no trees appeared ... The asses, when they were pursued, having gained ground on the horses, stood still (for they exceeded them much in speed); and when these came up with them, they did the same thing again ... The flesh of

Wild Ass pursued by dogs. (Layard.)

those that were taken was like that of a red deer, but more tender' (*Anab.* i. § 5). 'In fleetness,' continues Mr. Layard, 'they equal the gazelle, and to overtake them is a feat which only one or two of the most celebrated mares have been known to accomplish.'" (*Annals and Mag. of Nat. Hist.* vol. vi. No. 34, p. 243.)

We find on the bas-reliefs of Assyrian monuments frequent representations of the chase of the wild ass. He is pursued by the king on horseback, armed with bow and arrows. In one bas-relief the animal is represented as having been caught by a kind of lasso, with which the huntsmen lead it away (Layard). [W. H.] [H. B. T.]



Wild Ass taken with a rope. (Layard.)

ASSA'BIAS (Σαβίας; *Hasabias*), 1 Esd. i. 9. [HASHABIAH.]

ASSAL'IMOTH (B. Σαλειμώθ, A. Ἀσσαλιμώθ; *Salimoth* [Vulg. v. 39]), 1 Esd. viii. 36. [SHELOMITH.] One of those who went up from Babylon. [W. A. W.]

ASSA'NIAS (B. Ἀσσαμίας, A. Ἀσα-; *Assannas*), 1 Esd. viii. 54. [HASHABIAH.] One of those entrusted with the holy vessels, &c., on the return to Jerusalem. [W. A. W.]

ASSARE'MOTH. Cp. *D. B.* Amer. ed. In 1 Macc. iv. 15, the E. V. places this word in the

marg. as the Greek equivalent of the Gazera in the text. According to Grimm (*Kyf. exeg. Hdbuch. zu den Apokryphen d. A. T.*, note on *l. c.*) Ἀσσαρημὼθ is the reading of the Complut. and Aldine texts, supported by five minor codices; the reading of the Alexandrine text is Γασηρών (T.[7] Γασηρώ) [GAZERA]. The form Ἀσσαρημὼθ (א[c], T.[7] Ἀσα-, א[a] Σαρ-) also occurs in Jer. xxxviii. 40 (LXX.; Heb. xxxi. 40) as the reproduction of הַשְּׁדֵמוֹת (Kethib), the A. V. and R. V. adopting with many commentators the Keri, הַשְּׂדֹמוֹת ("the fields"), from the similar passage (2 K. xxiii. 4; B. Σαλημώθ, A. Σαδημώθ). In the *Speaker's Comm.* (note on Jer. xxxi. 40) the more difficult reading is preferred, and Graf's rendering, "the quarries," advocated. [F.]

ASSHUR. [ASSYRIA.]

ASSH'URIM (אַשּׁוּרִם; A. Ἀσουρίμ, *D.* Ἀσσουριείμ, E. -ριήλ; *Assurim*). A tribe descended from Dedan, the grandson of Abraham (Gen. xxv. 3), which has not been identified (Delitzsch, *Genesis* in loco [1887]). Knobel's view that they were the Asshur of Ezek. xxvii. 23 is now given up. [W. A. W.] [F.]

ASSIDE'ANS (Ἀσιδαῖοι; *Assidaei*: i.e. חֲסִידִים, *the pious*, "puritans;" *οἱ εὐσεβεῖς, οἱ ὅσιοι*), the name assumed by a section of the orthodox Jews (1 Macc. ii. 42; Cod. A, *συναγωγὴ* Ἀσιδαίων, Vulg. "Synagoga Asideorum," alii Ἰουδαίων probably by correction; 1 Macc. vii. 13; 2 Macc. xiv. 6), as distinguished from "the impious" (*οἱ ἀσεβεῖς*, 1 Macc. iii. 8; vi. 21; vii. 5, &c.), "the lawless" (*οἱ ἄνομοι*, 1 Macc. iii. 6; ix. 23, &c.), "the transgressors" (*οἱ παράνομοι*, 1 Macc. i. 11, &c.), that is, the Hellenizing faction.

[Their rise as a party may be assigned to the days of Simon the Just (circ. 200 B.C.), when the Jewish nation had begun to realise the corruptions as well as the fascinations of Greek culture. Jewish tradition ascribed their origin to a voluntarily exaggerated exercise of the Nazarite vow (Tosephta *Nedarim*, חסידים הראשונים היו מתנדבים בנזירות), in which case it is probable that the first Assideans combined merely to protest against the intemperate lives of the Greeks and their imitators (Grätz, *Gesch. d. Jüd.* ii. 6, 240). They became recognised as the sternest upholders of Judaism, and the most uncompromising opposers of the Hellenizing faction. The party is a true forerunner of the Pharisees, who emerge from the Maccabean epoch in which the Assideans become lost to view. (Cp. Schürer, *Gesch. d. Jüd. Volkes*, i. 157, n. 41.)—H. E. R.]

They were probably bound by some peculiar vow to the external observance of the Law (1 Macc. ii. 42, *ἐκουσιάζεσθαι τῷ νόμῳ*). They were among the first to join Mattathias, and it was probably a body of the Assideans whose fanatical reverence for the Sabbath led to such disastrous results (1 Macc. ii. 32–38; 1 Macc. *l. c.*); and seem afterwards to have been merged in the general body of the faithful (2 Macc. xiv. 6, *οἱ λεγόμενοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων Ἀσιδαῖοι, ὧν ἀφηγεῖται Ἰούδας ὁ Μακκαβαῖος . . .*). When Bacchides came against Jerusalem, they used their influence (1 Macc. vii. 13, *πρῶτοι οἱ Ἀσιδ. ἦσαν ἐν υἱοῖς* Ἰσραὴλ) to conclude a peace, because "a priest of the seed of Aaron" (Alcimus) was with him, and sixty of them fell by his treachery [ALCIMUS]. The name *Chasidim* occurs frequently in the Psalms (*e.g.* Ps. lxxix. 2 = 1 Macc. vii. 17; cxxxii. 9, &c.), and the words "His praise in the congregation of saints," Ps. cxlix. 1 (תהלתו בקהל חסידים), has been supposed by some to be a reference to the Assidean party; and it has been adopted in recent times by a sect of Polish Jews, who take as the basis of their mystical system the doctrines of the Cabbalistic book Zohar (Beer in Ersch und Gruber, *Encykl.* s. v. *Chassidäer*). [B. F. W.]

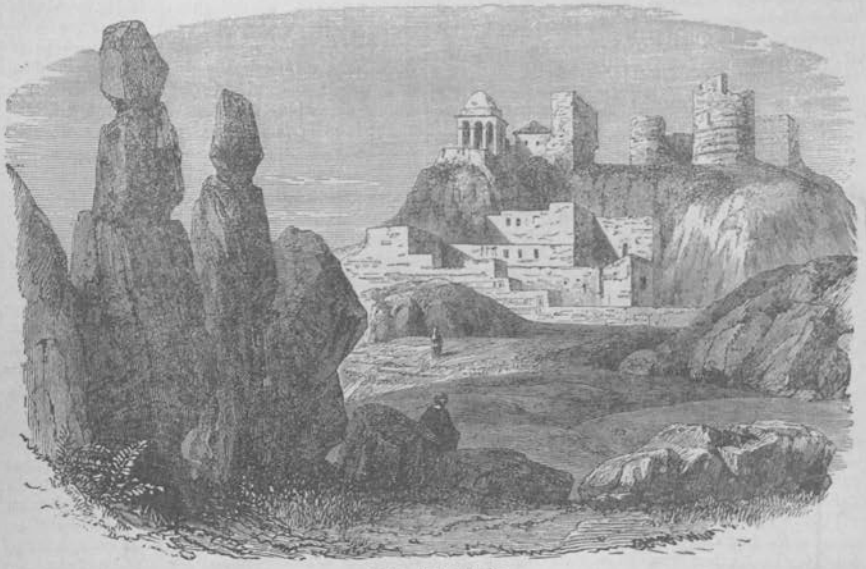
AS'SIR (אַסִּיר). **1.** Son of Korah (Ex. vi. 24, B. Ἀσείρ, A. Ἀσήρ, *Aser;* 1 Ch. vi. 22, Heb. *v.* 7, B. Ἀρεσεί, A. Ἀσείρ, *Asir*). **2.** Son of Ebiasaph, and a forefather of Samuel (1 Ch. vi. 23, Heb. *v.* 8, B. Ἀσερεί, A. Ἀσείρ; *v.* 37, Heb. *v.* 22, Ἀσείρ, *Asir*). **3.** Son of Jeconiah (1 Ch. iii. 17, Ἀσίρ, *Asir*), unless יְכָנְיָה אֲסִר (ed. Baer) be translated "Jeconiah the captive" (Bertheau, and Oettli in Strack u. Zöckler's *Kyf. Komm.* in loco). The accents and the best codices (see Baer in loco) favour the view that Jeconiah-Assir is the name of but one man, and the Midrash and Talmud explain the cognomen as given to Jeconiah because a son was born to him in exile; but the absence of the art. before אסר is an objection to this interpretation, and Keil (in loco) may be right in treating *Assir* as the name of Jeconiah's son. [G.] [F.]

AS'SOS or AS'SUS (Ἄσσος [called also Apollonia, Plin. v. 32]), a town and seaport of the Roman province of ASIA, in the district anciently called Mysia. It was situated on the northern shore of the gulf of ADRAMYTTIUM, and was only about seven miles from the opposite coast of Lesbos, near Methymna (*Strab.* xiii. p. 618). A good Roman road, connecting the towns of the central parts of the province with Alexandria Troas [TROAS], passed through Assos, the distance between the two latter places being about twenty miles (*Itin. Anton.*). These geographical points illustrate St. Paul's rapid passage through the town, as mentioned in Acts xx. 13, 14. The ship in which he was to accomplish his voyage from Troas to Caesarea went round Cape Lectum, while he took the much shorter journey by land. Thus he was able to join the ship without difficulty, and in sufficient time for her to anchor off Mitylene at the close of the day on which Troas had been left.

The chief characteristic of Assos was that it was singularly Greek. Fellows found there "no trace of the Romans." Leake says that "the whole gives perhaps the most perfect idea of a Greek city that anywhere exists." The remains are numerous and remarkably well preserved, partly because many of the buildings were of granite. The citadel, above the theatre, commands a glorious view, and must itself have been a noble object from the sea. The Street of Tombs, leading to the Great Gate, is one of the most remarkable features of Assos. Illustrations of the ancient city will be found in Texier, Clarac, Fellows, and Choiseul-Gouffier. It is now utterly desolate. On the site of the town

stands now a small village called Bairam Kalessi. Two monographs on the subject are mentioned by Winer: Quandt, *De Assos.* Regiom. 1710; Amnell, *De* Ἄσσῳ, Upsal. 1738. See *Dict. of G. and R. Geog.* art. Assus; Conybeare and Howson's *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, ii. 215 [4th ed.]; J. F. Clarke, *Report of Excavations at Assos* (36 plates), Boston, U.S., 1882; J. R. S. Sterrett, *Inscriptions of Assos*, in vol. i. pp. 1–90, of *Papers of American School of Classical Studies at Athens.*

It is now a matter of curiosity to refer to the interpretation which used to be given to the words ἄσσον παρελέγοντο, in Acts xxvii. 13. In the Vulgate they were rendered "cum sustulissent de Asson," and they were supposed by Erasmus, Luther, and the English Versions (except the Genevan) up to 1611, to point to a city of this name in Crete. Such a place is actually inserted by Padre Georgi, in the map which accompanies his *Paulus Naufragus* (Venet. 1730, p. 181); but the Asus (so spelt) of Crete was a long way inland (see *Speaker's Comm.* and Zöckler's *Kyf. Komm.* on Acts xxvii. 13). The true sense of the passage was first given by Beza. [J. S. H.] [F.]



Assos. The Acropolis.

ASSUE'RUS (B. Ἀσύηρος, A. Ασηρος), Tob. xiv. 15. [AHASUERUS.] The name given in the Gk. and E. Versions to the colleague of Nebuchadnezzar in the conquest of Nineveh. The Itala and ℵ (for the variations in the MS. see Swete's ed. of LXX.) have "Achicharus king of the Medes." This may be a variant form of Cyaxares, by which name Nebuchadnezzar's ally is better known. Assuerus, in its turn, may be a corruption of Ahasuerus, a name identical with Cyaxares, or it may be an error of the scribe (see *Speaker's Comm.* in loco). [F.]

AS'SUR (אַשּׁוּר; Ἀσσούρ; *Assur*). **1.** (Ezra iv. 2; Ps. lxxxiii. 8; 2 Esd. ii. 8; Jud. ii. 14, v. 1, vi. 1, 17, vii. 20, 24, xiii. 15, xiv. 3, xv. 6, xvi. 4.) [ASSHUR; ASSYRIA.] **2.** (B. Ἀσούρ; *Aziu*), 1 Esd. v. 31. [HARHUR.] [W. A. W.]

ASSY'RIA, ASSH'UR (אַשּׁוּר; Ἀσσούρ, Jos. Ἀσσυρία; Assyrian: Aušar, Ašur, Aššur), a great and powerful country to the north of Babylonia, whose capital was, in later times, Nineveh; but during the early period, Aššur (Kileh-Shergat), a city about 50 miles south of Mosul. It is probably from this city that the country took its name; and as the Assyrians often call their land "the land of the god Assur," it is likely that this name comes from that of Assur, the deified son of Shem (Gen. x. 22; 1 Ch. i. 17), the chief seat of whose worship the city Assur probably was. The now received rendering of the earliest form Aušar, which was borrowed from Akkadian, is "waterland," or "meadow," and it is probable therefore that the name of the god and that of the country were at first quite distinct, but were afterwards assimilated on account of their likeness in sound. The *city* Assur is never mentioned in the Old Testament.

1. *Country.* — Assyria was a rather narrow strip of country immediately to the north of Babylonia, which country formed its southern boundary, beginning between 34 and 35 degrees of north latitude, and stretching upwards in a north-westerly direction to between 37 and 38 degrees; following, roughly speaking, the courses of the rivers Tigris and Euphrates, which latter probably formed its western boundary. The north of Assyria was mountainous, but the greater part was flat, being an extension of the Babylonian plains. It was bounded on the north by Armenia (*Urṭû* or *Urartu* = Ararat), on the south by Babylonia (*Akkad*, *Bâb-ili*, *Kar-Duniaš*), and on the east by Media (*mât Madâa*). The western boundary was probably the

Euphrates, but the Assyrian sway probably extended as far as the kingdom of which Til-Barsip (Bir or Birajik) was the capital, and which seems to have been regarded as a part of the district called Hatti (identified with Hit).

Assyria is first mentioned in the Bible (Gen. ii. 14) as the country towards the east (Revised Version), in front of which the Hiddekel (Tigris) flows, and farther on as the land into which Nimrod went forth (so the marginal reading of Gen. x. 11 and the Revised Version —the alternative reading being, "out of that land [Shinar] went forth Assur"). The phrase "as thou goest towards Assyria," which occurs in Gen. xxv. 18, apparently refers to the pathway between Egypt and that country. Assyria is mentioned also in 2 K. xv. 19, 20, where "Pul the king of Assyria" is spoken of as having been bought off by Menahem; and in *v.* 29, where the invasion of "Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria" is recorded. Afterwards Ahaz sought the alliance of the Assyrian king (2 K. xvi. 7–18), who, complying with his request, came and captured Damascus; and the next chapter records how Hoshea became the servant of Shalmaneser king of Assyria, and afterwards conspired against him, with the result that Shalmaneser invaded the country, took Samaria, and carried Israel away captive (*vv.* 3–6; see also *vv.* 23, 24, and ch. xviii. 9–12). The next reference to Assyria is in connexion with the famous siege of Jerusalem by Sennacherib (2 K. xviii. 13–27, xix. 1–37; 2 Ch. xxxii. 1–22; Is. xxxvi. 1–xxxvii. 38). See the historical section below. In Is. vii. 18, "the bee that is in the land of Assyria" is mentioned, and in *v.* 20 the king of Assyria is compared to a "hired razor" in the hands of the Lord (these passages probably refer to the stinging and cutting [chastising] disposition of these scourges of the ancient Eastern world; see Is. xxx. 31); in xi. 11–16, the delivery of a remnant of Israel from Assyria is spoken of; again, in xix. 23–25, a holy covenant between Egypt, Israel, and Assyria is mentioned; in xxvii. 13, the coming forth of "those which were ready to perish in Assyria" is referred to; and the destruction of Assyria is foretold in xxx. 31 and xxxi. 8. In Jer. ii. 18, the prophet asks, "What hast thou to do in the way of Assyria, to drink the waters of the river?" probably referring to joining in the ceremonies, in some of which drinking the water of a river formed a part. Compare *v.* 36,

Aššur-nasir-apli or Aššur-nasir-pal hunting Lions. From Nimroud. (Layard.)

"Why gaddest thou about so much? . . . Thou shalt be ashamed of Egypt, as thou wast ashamed of Assyria." The reception of Assyrian polytheism by Samaria (=Israel) and Judah is denounced by Ezekiel (ch. xxiii., R. V.) under the simile of the whoredoms of Oholah and Oholibah. Assyria is likened to a cedar in Lebanon (Ezek. xxxi. 3–17), and his pride and fall are also spoken of. The going (of Ephraim) to Assyria is mentioned in Hos. vii. 11, viii. 9, and the Israelites are to eat unclean things there (ix. 3). As an empty vine, Israel is to be carried to Assyria as a present to king Jareb, x. 6 (see p. 286, n. l.); she was to tremble as a dove out of Assyria, xi. 11 (Assyria was probably celebrated for its doves, which are often mentioned on the tablets). "The wasting of the land of Assyria" is spoken of by Micah, v. 6 (the "land of Nimrod," mentioned immediately after, is Babylonia). The destruction of Assyria is again referred to in Zeph. ii. 13; in Zech. x. 10 the gathering of the chosen people from Assyria is foretold; and the country is again mentioned in Mic. vii. 12 and Zech. x. 11.

The principal rivers were the Tigris (Akkadian, *Idigna;* Assyrian, *Idiglat;* Heb., *Hiddekel*, "that is eastward of Assyria," Gen. ii. 14), and the Euphrates (Akkadian, *Puranunu;* Assyrian, *Purattu;* Heb., *Prath*, Gen. ii. 14), with their tributaries, of which may be mentioned the Upper and Lower Zab, and the Choser, which, coming from the Gebel-el-Maklub, flowed through Nineveh into the Tigris.

2. *Climate, &c.*—The climate is that of a high-lying land, being cool; and consequently, having a plentiful supply of water for irrigation, a thriving vegetation flourished. All kinds of grain, hemp, and cotton grew there, as well as mulberry-trees, melons, apples, walnut- and almond-trees, pomegranates, figs, olives, and dates. There were excellent pasture-lands, and honey was very plentiful. The mention of wine, called by the Akkadians "the drink of life," testifies to the cultivation of the vine.

The animals which abounded in ancient times were stags, roebucks, wild goats, wild asses, and large-horned wild oxen. Lions (the short-maned variety) were also very plentiful, and often afforded sport for the Assyrian kings. The preceding cut of a lion hunt by the king is described by Layard as one of the finest specimens hitherto discovered of Assyrian sculpture. The Assyrians possessed also excellent breeds of horses, brought probably from Cappadocia.

3. *Chief Cities.*—Assyria, on account of its fruitfulness, its temperate climate, and the energetic nature of the people, soon became a very powerful and prosperous country. Cities, towns, and villages sprang up everywhere. The chief city in later times was the renowned Nineveh, now represented by the mound of Kouyunjik, beside the Tigris. Close to Nineveh lay the city Calah (*Kalḫu*), now Nimroud, where many early kings held court. About 50 miles south lay Assur, now represented by the mound Kileh-Shergat. Sargon of Assyria built a splendid palace at a town seemingly founded by himself, which he called Dûr-Sargina, "Sargon's town," now Khorsabad. Among the other chief cities of Assyria may be mentioned *Arba'-il* or *Irba'-il* (Arbela), *Ekallâte* ("the city of palaces"), *Imgur-Bêl* (Balawat), and *Kalzu*, where Sennacherib had a palace.

4. *People.*—Judging from the records which have come down to us, we may infer that Assyria was originally a Babylonian colony, whose first settlement was probably the city of Assur, which afterwards became the capital of the country. The Assyrians therefore, speaking, as they did, the same language as the Babylonians, must have been of the same race, being the result of intermarriage between Semitic Babylonians and non-Semitic Akkadians and other tribes dwelling in Mesopotamia. The Assyrians, like the Babylonians, were a powerfully-built race, thick-set, and muscular. Their faces were rather round, the eyes full, with the eyebrows meeting over the nose. The mouth was rather small, the nose short, curved downwards at the tip, and provided with large nostrils. The hair and beard were very dark. The preceding cut shows well the type of face. In disposition, judging from the general type of the people, from the royal portraits, and from the correspondence between the king and his subjects which has been found, they were mild and good-humoured, but cruel and relentless in war. They were very fond of pomp and show, but seem to have far surpassed the peoples around them in intelligence and energy. They were in every respect as learned as the Babylonians from whom they had sprung, and also quite as superstitious.

Assyrian groom, time of Sargon. From Khorsabad. (Layard.)

Impression from a cylinder-seal. Deity and winged bulls. This shows the Assyrian type of face with great exactness.)

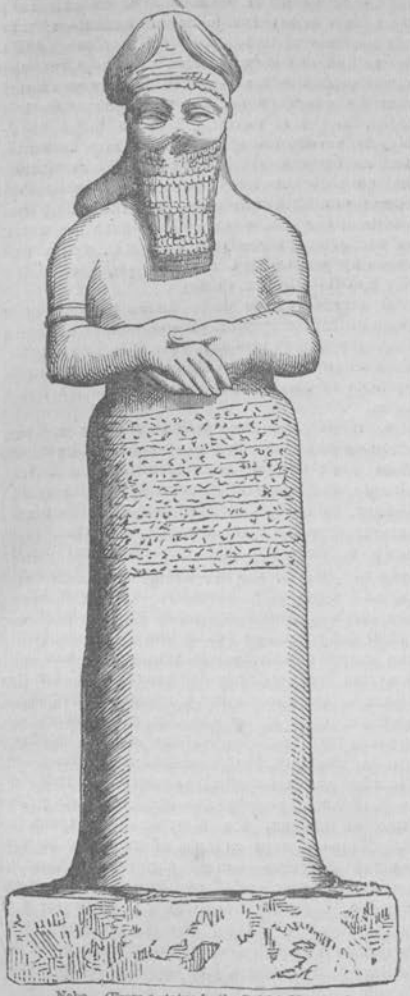
5. *Religion.*—The religion of the Assyrians was the same as that of their Babylonian ancestors. The chief divinities were Assur (probably the deified founder of the nation, cp. Gen. x. 22), the national god, who was probably another form of Bel (see above upon the name of the city and country of Assur or Assyria); Bêltu or Beltis, wife of Assur or Bel; Merodach (see Jer. l. 2), the god who went about doing good to mankind, and Zîr-panitum his consort; Êa[a] (Hea) or Oannes, god of the sea, rivers, &c., and of deep wisdom, and Dam-kina or Dauké his consort; Nabû or Nebo (see Is. xlvi. 1), the god of learning and literature, and Tašmêtu his consort; Nergal, god of war, and his consort Laz; Anu, god of the heavens, and his consort Anatu, also called Laḫmu and Laḫamu (compared, by change of Λ into Δ, with the Dakhê and Dakhos of Damascius); Šamaš, the sun-god, and his consort, the moon-goddess Aa; Sin, the moon-god, also called Nannaru (Nanaros), the "light-giver;" Istar of Arbela, goddess of war, and Istar of Nineveh, goddess of love; Rammânu or Addu (Rimmon or Hadad, see 2 K. v. 18), "the Thunderer," god of the atmosphere, the winds, storms, &c.; Gula, "the great one," goddess of healing; Ninip, "lord of arms," also called Uraš; Zagaga, "lord of the sanctuary;" Ennu-gi, "lord of brook and watercourse;" Bilgi or Gibil, the fire-god; Dumu-zi, Tammuz or Adonis, consort of Istar, worshipped by the Assyrians and Babylonians, and also by the Hebrew women, with lamentations (Ezek. viii. 15); besides many others, whose names and by-names are too numerous to mention.

Emblem of Assur. (After Layard.)

The religious system of the Assyrians, which, like the Babylonian, was of Akkadian origin, was essentially astral, the determinative prefix for divinity being an eight-rayed star ✳ (corrupted to ⋙ in late Assyrian and Babylonian texts). As this character was, after a time, always used to indicate a divinity, the group which stood for *constellation* (three stars clustered together) came to be used to designate the heavenly bodies. These were distinguished by the following names:—*Aku* (compare *Ari-aku* = Arioch, Gen. xiv. 1) = Sin, the moon-god; *Bîšebi* = *Šamaš* (Heb. Shemesh), the sun-god; *Dapinu*

[a] Better, perhaps, Aê, as many texts give.

= *Dun-sig-êa*, identified with Mercury; *Ṣib* or *Ṣib-zaga* = *Dilbat*, Delephat or Istar (Venus); *Ludlim* = *Lubat-sag-uš*, the planet Saturn; *Bibbu*



Nebo. (From a statue in the British Museum.)

= *Lubat-guda* or *Mušziz-bulim* (also *Muštarilu*, Arab. Mustari), Jupiter; and *Simutu* = *Mustabarrû-mûtânu*, "the foreboder of deaths," probably the planet Mars (Nergal; see 2 K. xvii. 30). The beginnings of the gods, according to Babylonian cosmogony, are poetically told in the first tablet of the Creation story:

Emblems of the principal Gods. (Layard.)

When on high the heavens proclaimed not,
Beneath the earth recorded not a name,
The primæval abyss begot them,
Mummu-Tiamat was she who bare them;
Their waters at once burst forth, and
Harvest was not gathered, the plain was unsought;
When none of the gods shone forth,
A name was not recorded, a symbol was not [raised?],
The [great] gods were made:
Laḥmu and Laḥamu shone forth [alone?],
Until [the gods] grew up.
Šar and Kišar were made . . . . .
The days grew long . . . . . .
Anu . . . . . .
Šar and [Kišar] . . . . . .

Laḥmu and Laḥamu (= Anu and his consort Anatu) were therefore the first of the gods, and it is probably for this reason that he was designated by the number 1.[b] In like manner some of the other gods were distinguished by numbers, Ninip's number being 50; the goddess Istar's, 15; Nergal's, 10; Nebo's, 10. Merodach's number is unknown; but that of the god Sin seems to have been 30, from the thirty days of the month, and that of the Sun-god 20. It is noteworthy that in the above list of gods identified with the planets, the order is the same as that of the days of the week, except that the Moon-god Sin precedes the Sun-god Šamaš.

There was also a number of minor deities, among which may be mentioned the fourteen sons of Maḥ, "the supreme one;" the four porters of Maḥ; the two porters of Ê-sagila (the temple of Bêl at Babylon); Ukkumu, Akkulu, Ikšuda, and Iltebu, the four dogs of Merodach; Dumuzi-abzu ("Tammuz of the Abyss"), Kigula, Nira, Bara, Baragula, and Bur-nun-ta-sâ, the six sons of Êa or Aê (Oannes); together with others, by-names or manifestations of the other deities. Thus other names of Ninip are *Sukkut* (Siccuth, if we may take the marginal reading of Amos v. 26) and *Kâwanu* (Chiun, Amos v. 26).

Besides these divinities, to whom the Assyrians mostly attributed a beneficent power, they believed in a large number of evil spirits, who were only mentioned—and then not by name—to be exorcised. Thus we read of the evil *ûtukku*, the evil *âlû*, the evil *êdimmu*, the evil demon

Mythological representation, probably typifying protection from an evil spirit. (Layard.)
Time of Aššur-banî-apli or Aššur-bani-pal.

[b] The single wedge, standing for 1, is also read "60," being the "sexagesimal unit."

(*gallû*), the evil god, the evil incubus, the hag, the *labaṣu*, the seizer, the *lilû* and the *lilîtu* (evil spirits of the abyss, of which the feminine, *lilitu*, occurs in Hebrew under the form of *lîlîth*, which is translated "screech-owl" in the Authorized Version, and "night-monster" in the Revised. See Is. xxxiv. 14). According to the Rabbins, the *lîlîth* was a spectre in the form of a beautiful woman, which lay in wait for children by night. Besides these there were the servants of the *lilû* and a whole row of spirits of evil, who were believed to bring on sickness, misfortune, and all the ills that flesh is heir to. Against these, incantations of various kinds were used, the favourite formulae being those in which Merodach, the god who went about doing good to mankind, was invoked. Merodach was supposed to inquire of his father Êa or Aê (Oannes), the "lord of deep wisdom," dwelling in the abyss, who seems never to have failed to inform his son how the suppliant might be cured or relieved.

The religious duties of the Assyrians consisted of sacrifices, libations, prayers, and psalms. The ceremonies were of varying forms. In some, a kind of visitation was made to the shrine of

Winged figure with offerings. (Laya.d.)
Time of Aššur-naṣir-apli.

each god, and a verse was said or chanted before the image of each, with bowings and other tokens of adoration. Each day of the month was the festival of, or sacred to, one or more deities: the first day, for example, was sacred to Anu and Bel, the second to Istar, the third to Merodach and Zîr-panîtum, the fourth to Nebo (and Merodach), the fifth to "the lord of the temple and the lady of the temple," &c. Every seventh day of each month, together with the nineteenth day, was a kind of Sabbath, on which "the prince of the great nations" was not to eat flesh cooked by fire, was not to change his dress, was not to put on white, was not to make sacrifice; the king was not to ride in his chariot, and was not to talk "victoriously;" the seer was not to try to find out secret places, the physician was not to attend to the sick, and the day was not a suitable one to make an incantation. In the night, however, the king was to make offerings to Merodach and Istar, or Ninip or Gula, &c., as the case might be, to sacrifice a victim, and to raise his hands to the god in prayer. Sometimes, it would seem, the image, or the shrine of the god, was sprinkled with the water of the river (Tigris or Euphrates), which was probably consecrated for this purpose. Each day had its religious duties.

A very favourite deity seems to have been Istar of Arbela, goddess of war, whose oracle in that city was in great repute. It is probable that other deities had oracles as well, but few or none of their enunciations have come down to us.

6. *Writing.* — The wedge-writing in use amongst the Assyrians was inherited by them from their Babylonian forefathers, and had already, at the earliest period of real Assyrian history, taken the form of groups of wedges, several of which form a single character. The early writing is rather complex, and differs only slightly from the Babylonian of the same period. Gradually, however, it became much simpler, and about the time of Tiglath-pileser I. (1120 B.C.) reached (with but few exceptions) the simple form which it retained to the last. Assyrian handwriting is remarkable for its clearness and the care which has evidently been bestowed upon it by the Assyrian scribes. A great advantage, also, to the modern student, lies in the fact that the tablets bearing the records are always kiln-burnt, and not, as in Babylonia, merely sun-dried. During the time of Sargon, the Assyrian conquests in Babylonia—always a land of romance to the learned Assyrian—caused the introduction of certain Babylonian forms into the Assyrian sign-list, but these were kept mostly for the lapidary style. Like the Babylonians, the Assyrians sometimes used the archaic style of writing in late times, just as we sometimes use the old black letter.

The characters were originally hieroglyphs: , for (the fingers of the hand), standing for "hand" (*ḳâtu*); , for (the sun's disc, the intermediate form of which was), for "sun" (*šamšu*), "day" (*ûmu*), "to be bright" (*êlêlu*), &c.; , for (a star), standing for "god" (*ilu*), "heaven" (*šamê*), &c.; , for (= , a foot), for "to go" (*âlâku*), "to fix" (*i.e.* "to set down the foot," *ḳânu*), &c., with many others of which the hieroglyphic form can be traced. As remarked above, the latest inscriptions show the simplest forms, the examples here given being written , , , and . Besides the *pronunciation* of these characters given above (the *ideographic value* or *meaning*),

each character had one or more *syllabic values*, borrowed from Akkadian or Assyrian, as the case might be. Thus was pronounced *šu* (Akkadian), and *kat* (Assyrian); was pronounced *ut*, *tu*, *tam*, *par*, *pir*, *laḫ*, and *ḫiš* (apparently all from Akkadian); was pronounced *an* (Akkadian), and *il* (Assyrian), and was pronounced *ʾu*, *gin*, and *gub* (Akkadian values). These values go to form new words in Assyrian; and despite their polyphony, there is seldom any doubt upon that score as to how a word is to be read. The system of writing in Assyrian was threefold—it might be wholly ideographic, as , *ḳât ili Šamaš ukân*, "the hand of the sun-god will establish," where each character stands for a word; partly ideographic, as , *ḳât ili-šu uka-an* (for *ukân*, the final *an* being the "phonetic complement"), "the hand of his god will establish," where the first, second, and fourth characters are ideographic and the others syllabic;[c] or wholly syllabic, as , *a-na muḫḫi lu-mut* (*ana muḫḫi lûmût*), "may I die for (it)."[d] As a rule, the omens, medical texts, and a few others, are written ideographically, or mostly so; whilst the historical texts, letters, interlinear translations, legends, &c., are almost entirely syllabically written. The Assyrians used the Babylonian character as well as the Assyrian, and of this the last phrase given above is an example. The Assyrian forms of the same characters would be .

The study of the Assyrian language and syllabary is much lightened by the many bilingual lists and syllabaries, the latter class of tablets being, in fact, the fundamental texts for the study of the language.[e] These syllabaries are of three classes: the first giving the syllabic values of the characters (these are mostly Akkadian words), the characters themselves, and their names; the second the syllabic values, the characters, and their meanings; and the third the syllabic values, the characters, their names, and their meanings. In the *bilingual* lists the Akkadian words are often accompanied by glosses indicating the pronunciation, but the names of the characters are but rarely given. As their name indicates, they give merely the Akkadian word, group, or phrase, with the Assyrian equivalent, and are written, as a rule, in double columns. The syllabaries, however, are written in threefold or fourfold columns, as indicated above.

7. *Literature and Learning.*—The literature of the Assyrians was the same as that of the Babylonians, and derived from the same Akkadian and Sumerian sources. This inheritance from their non-Semitic ancestors consisted of tablets on language, Akkadian and Sumerian and Assyrian word-lists and syllabaries or sign-lists with explanations, tablets of phrases and bilingual hymns, prayers, and incantations. They had also the legends of the Creation and the Flood, the former seemingly of Sumerian origin. A large number of omen-tablets testifies to their superstition in respect to the affairs of every-day life. Among native Assyrian literary productions may be mentioned the historical inscriptions, which are often well and vigorously written, and a large number of letters and despatches referring to all kinds of civil and military matters. The Assyrians wrote (and consequently spoke) a purer dialect than the Babylonians, though the literary ability of the two nations was probably equal.

Like the learned Babylonian, the Assyrian in the same station of life had to be well instructed. He was expected to know the old languages of Sumer and Akkad as well as Aramaic and Phoenician. That the Assyrians knew Aramaic, and also Hebrew, is proved by the passage in 2 K. xviii. 17–35, in which the Rab-shakeh (*rab-šaḳi*) having harangued the people in Hebrew, is requested to speak "in the Syrian language" (Aramean), but refuses, and continues his rather boastful and impudent speech in very good Hebrew, in order that "the people on the wall" might understand. The dragoman (*targumanu* or *turgumanu*) was a recognised institution in the principal cities. The Assyrian physician (*âsû*) knew the use of medicine, and surgical operations were sometimes performed.

8. *Trade.*—The Assyrians were hardly such keen traders as the Babylonians, but it is probable that, if the Assyrian empire had not been overthrown, they would have become the rivals of the sister kingdom. The contracts which have been found at Nineveh extend from the time of Shalmaneser II. (859 B.C.) until the downfall of the empire at the end of the 7th century B.C. These contracts refer to field-produce of various kinds, cattle, tracts of land, slaves, &c. &c. They often bear Aramaic (Phoenician) dockets, and were sometimes written in duplicate (like the ancient Babylonian contracts), consisting of a small inner tablet and an envelope inscribed with the same transaction. There seems to have been a brisk trade in horses carried on with Cappadocia, and the existence of small objects of art of Egyptian and Phoenician workmanship testifies to a certain amount of commercial relationship between Assyria and those countries. The dating of all trade and official documents was by means of the so-called eponymies (public officials whose term of office lasted a year, and was taken in rotation by those who were eligible), of whom lists were made, from the remains of which modern scholars have been able to reconstruct the greater part of the Assyrian chronology. [BABYLON (the country), *Time-reckoning*, *Dating Records*, *Trade*, *Slavery*.]

9. *Art, Architecture, &c.*—Of the art of the ancient Assyrians we have many specimens, con-

[c] These two examples are not taken from any text—they are phrases made up by means of the four characters given in illustration of the writing, to show how diversely the same characters may be used.

[d] From the tablet K. 1249 (S. A. Smith's *Keilschrifttexte Aśurbanipals*, iii.), line 26.

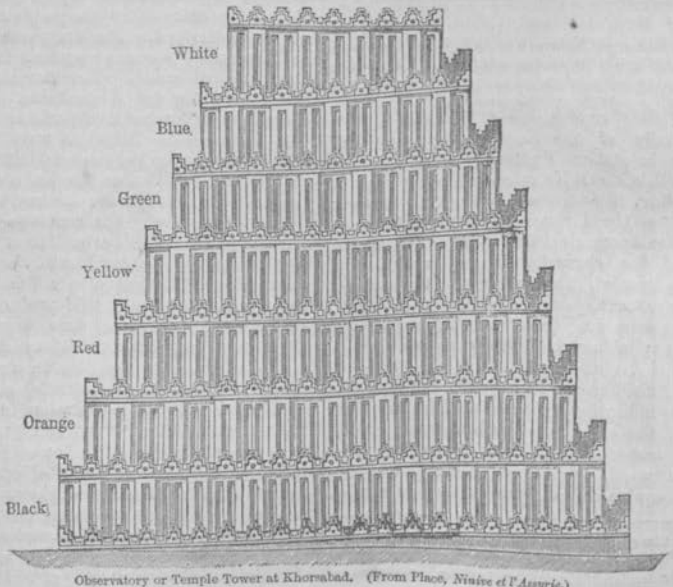
[e] Even these, however, would have been of but little use had it not been for the trilingual inscriptions of Persia, which were worked out by Grotefend, Sir H. C. Rawlinson, and others. The Behistun inscription, the text of which was obtained at great personal risk, and was studied by Sir H. C. Rawlinson, is the most important of the documents of this class.

sisting of a splendid series of bas-reliefs and a few statues, small clay figures of very fair execution, and some ivory carvings. From these objects it is easy to see that the style of their art was essentially vigorous, the muscles of both human and animal forms being very prominently and carefully marked. They were also skilful engravers and workers in bronze and gold. From the embroidered robes of the kings represented on the sculptures, it is certain that their textile fabrics were not by any means inferior to those of the Babylonians. In all branches of art, it is in the reproduction of animal forms that they were most successful. Especially noteworthy are the splendid hunting scenes at the time of Aššur-banî-apli, B.C. 668–626.

Assyrian ornament. (Layard.)

The royal palaces, built upon mounds, were adorned with sculptures and mural paintings, and the entrances were generally ornamented with figures of colossal bulls, the stone of which was brought from a distance, roughly shaped up, dragged by means of ropes pulled by multitudes of captives, and with the help of enormous levers, upon the palace-mound, and, once in position, there finished off. Captives were also employed to form these enormous mounds.

From an architectural point of view, it is probable that the city and palace of Dûr-Sargina (Khorsabad), excavated by Botta and Place, are the most interesting. As the name indicates, the city was founded by Sargon of Assyria, about the year 720. The city was four-square, with the angles pointing to the four cardinal points. On each side were two gates, eight in all,[f] some of them of simple form and little ornamentation, others more highly decorated, and flanked with the well-known winged-bulls, together with human figures. The walls were provided with turrets at regular intervals, and both walls and turrets had battlements like steps. On the north-west side of the city was the royal palace, built partly outside the rectangle of the city. The palace consisted of a series of buildings erected on a rectangular platform, the portion outside the city being surrounded by towers with the usual step-battlements. Access was gained to the platform by flights of steps, and by inclines leading up to the walls, which seem to have been level with the platform. The palace itself consisted of series of chambers, with the necessary communications, built round courtyards of various dimensions. To the left were the chambers regarded as belonging to the

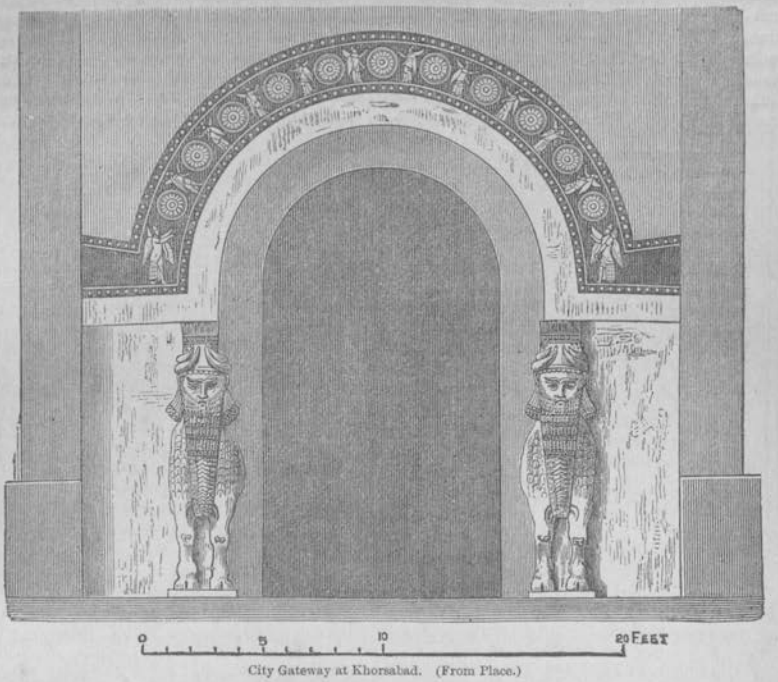


Observatory or Temple Tower at Khorsabad. (From Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie.*)

harem, beyond which the observatory- or temple-tower (*zikkurat*) could be seen. This was a tower similar to that at the Birs-Nimroud. [See BABEL, TOWER OF.] It was built in stages, formed by an inclined rampart, which ran round the structure seven times, and enabled the visitor to reach the top. The four lower storeys are still perfect; each of them is panelled and coloured: the three upper storeys are gone, but may be easily restored from those below, as shown in the annexed cut. The remainder of the royal palace consisted of re-

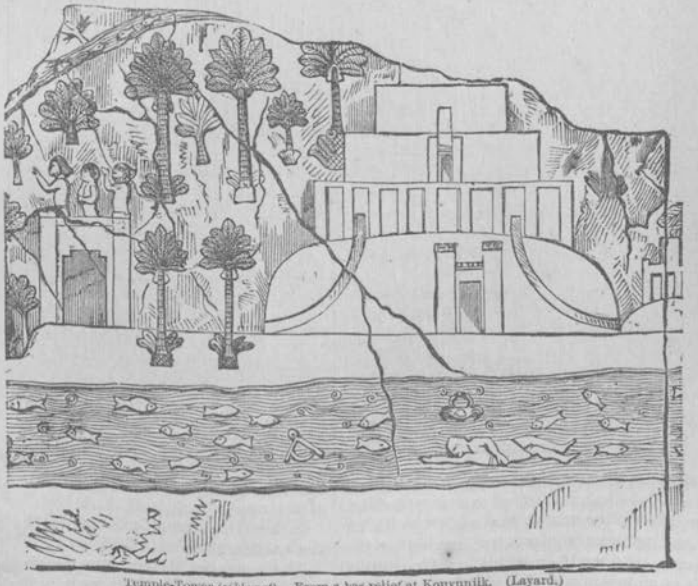
[f] Named the gates of Šamaš, Rimmon, Bel, Beltis, Anu, Istar, Ea, and the "Lady of the Gods," respectively.

ception-rooms, dwelling-rooms, and store-rooms, the last occupying the eastern portion. The total of the rooms, great and small, numbered about 209. Many of them were decorated with



City Gateway at Khorsabad. (From Place.)

mural paintings, bas-reliefs, &c., like those in the British Museum, representing the conquests, victories, and hunting-exploits of the king. The architectural decorations of the walls were

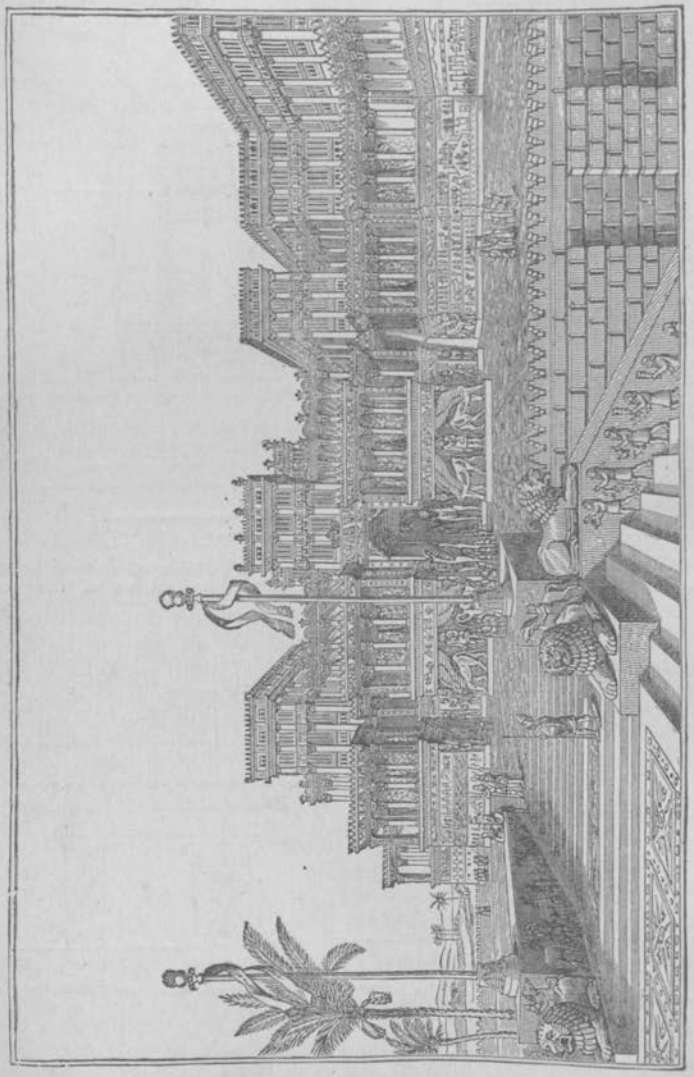


Temple-Tower (*zikkurat*). From a bas-relief at Kouyunjik. (Layard.)

simple, being merely, in most cases, a series of flutings forming long rows of recesses. The effect of the whole, however, was good. The south-eastern gateway (that looking towards the town) was adorned by winged bulls and figures of the hero Gištubar, holding in one

arm a struggling lion. The gateways were arched; and flanked by towers, adorned by the recess-ornaments above mentioned. The whole must have been grand in its simplicity. This palace at Khorsabad may be regarded as a typical specimen of the best kind of Assyrian architecture. The other palaces differed from it in the arrangement and number of the rooms, &c., but they were all built upon the same general principle.

One of the most distinctive features of Assyrian as of Babylonian architecture is the *zikkurat* or temple-tower, such as the Tower of Babel must have been. Besides the form with an inclined rampart running round, as described above, others were to be seen, of a less pretending but, at the same time, more picturesque and symmetrical nature. These were provided with steps leading up to an upper platform and



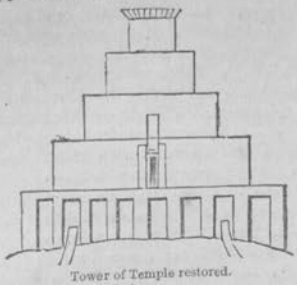
Palace of Kouyunjik restored. (Fergusson.)

a central door, from which walks branched off on each side, so that, instead of entering the first chamber, the visitor might make his way to an incline leading to an upper stage, and so, by the same means, in some, to a third, on the top of which it is supposed a shrine was built, for the statue of the god there worshipped. Such a tower is seen in a bas-relief found at Kouyunjik (see cut), containing four stages, of which the topmost is imperfect, owing to the destruction of the upper portion of the tablet.

A similar tower is found in the remains of the ancient temple at Mukeyyer.

The houses of the common people were mostly very simple in design, and were probably, for the most part, built of unburnt brick. Of their exact form, however, there is some doubt, as the sculptures do not, as a rule, show Assyrian houses.

They were probably similar to those still found in the country (see Rawlinson's *Anc. Monarchies*, vol. i. pp. 403, 404).



Tower of Temple restored.

The Assyrians, as builders, were clever and systematic. They knew the use of the arch, but were timid in its employment. In their lighter style of architecture they used columns of various shapes, some of them resembling the Corinthian, Ionic, and Doric columns of Greek architecture. These columns sometimes rest on bases similar to the capitals, sometimes on the backs of animals. As an additional ornament, an ibex is sometimes placed on the summit. The walls of their palaces were not only lined with sculptured slabs, they were decorated also with mural paintings of scenes in the battle-field, &c., elegant patterns, and other devices. In some, if not most cases, the ceilings were decorated, and furnished with a central knob, pierced for the suspension of a lamp.

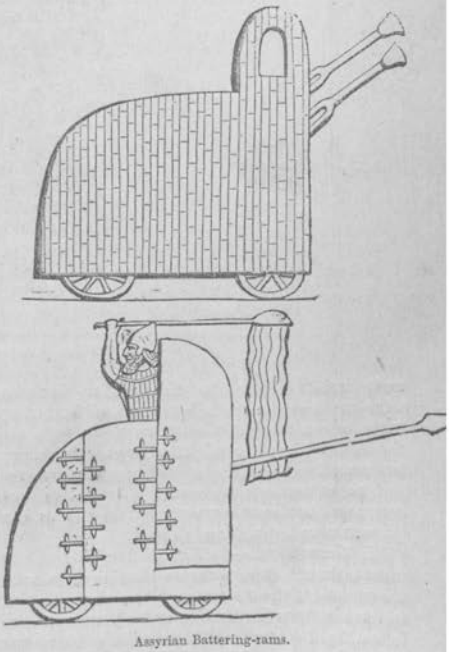
The Assyrians were skilful agriculturists, having inherited a knowledge of this science from the Babylonians. Like them, too, they had an extensive system of canals, watercourses, &c., for the irrigation of their fields. One of the sculptures has a small but well-executed representation of the use of the shadouf for raising water for irrigation. They were also extensive breeders of cattle, horses, asses, mules, camels, hunting-dogs, &c. It is probable that "the bee that is in the land of Assyria" (Isa. vii. 18) refers as much to the industry of the people as to their warlike (stinging and chastising) nature.

10. *War.*—It is clear, from the sculptures and inscriptions, that the Assyrians possessed disciplined and organized troops, well-drilled, hardy, experienced in war, and well exercised in the use of the sword, spear, dagger, bow, and sling. They must have known something of military tactics: the movement of troops to the attack, the retreat, and the various other movements necessary, were apparently executed in military order. The king led in person, accompanied by his *turtanu* or *tartanu* (*Tartan*), "commander-in-chief;" *šud-šaki*,[8] "major-generals;" *rab-šaki* (Rab-shakeh), "generals;" *šaki*, "captains," and other officers. The army was attended by a large following; and the king, and probably his officers also, had every luxury which could at such a time and under such conditions be supplied to them. Musicians accompanied the troops.

In besieging a city, banks were cast up against it, battering-rams were used to overthrow the walls and to make breaches in them, sappers and miners were set to work, large missiles were thrown by means of catapults and similar engines. Forts were built around the city (cp. Jer. iv. 2 and lii. 4), and from these, as well as from the

Assur-nasir-apli in his War Costume. (Nimroud.)

tops of the battering-rams and from the ground, the Assyrian sharpshooters picked off the defenders who were on the wall. Slingers also went to work with their missiles. A very good



Assyrian Battering-rams.

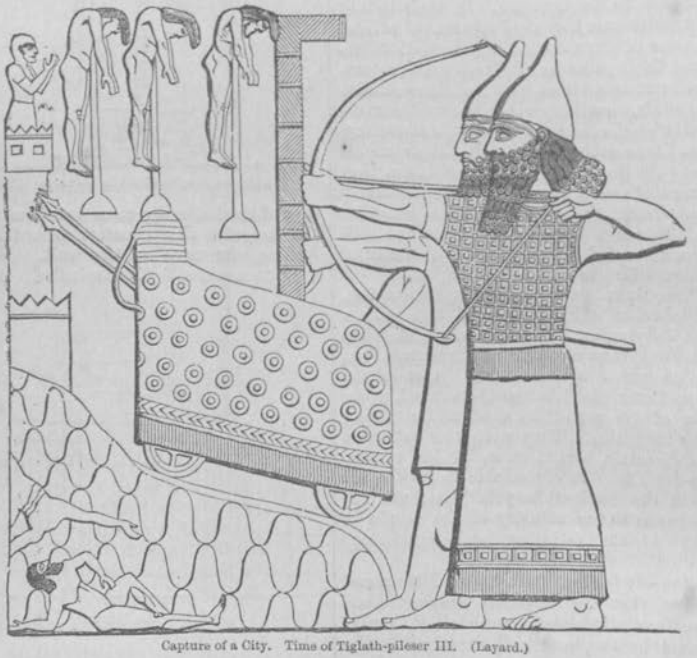
but short account of a siege is given by Sennacherib when speaking of his attack on Jerusalem. He says that he besieged and captured the cities around "with smiting (?) of battering rams (?) and shooting (?) with the catapult (?),

[8] The *šud-šaki* was sometimes a eunuch.

breaking away the wall (?) at the foot, breaching, cutting, and earthworks."[h] After the capture of a city, the king, when present, sat in state to receive the prisoners and spoils. Those of the inhabitants who had incited to resistance were often executed and impaled. After the capture the cities were often destroyed by fire, and the inhabitants carried away into captivity. [ARMY.]

The arms of the Assyrians were the sword, dagger, spear, bow, and sling. The defensive armour of the soldiers varied considerably. Some seem to be quite naked as to the upper part of the body, whilst others wore cuirasses, chain mail, or scale armour. They wore also helmets of bronze and iron. They had shields of varying sizes and shapes, made of metal (bronze), hide, or wicker-work, the smaller being of the former and the larger of the latter material. The large shields or *pavois* were often of a sufficient size to shelter two or three men completely. From these portable walls they attacked their foes, and it is probably to the excellence of their defensive armour that their successes were often due. For drawings of the Assyrian arms, see ARMS.

Of all the Eastern nations of old time, probably none surpassed the Assyrians in love of deeds of arms. The extent of their conquests alone is a sufficient proof of their energy in this respect. War was with them a study, and none of the surrounding nations had better arms, both offensive and defensive, than they. They were also no mean military engineers for their time. Rivers were crossed by means of pontoon bridges; every camping-place was carefully fortified. In besieging a town, towers, from which the soldiers might attack it by shooting and otherwise killing the defenders,



Capture of a City. Time of Tiglath-pileser III. (Layard.)

were raised close to the walls; breaches were made in the walls by means of battering-rams, so constructed that from their tops also the Assyrian archers might annoy the defenders; and sometimes also the walls were undermined, and an entrance thus made. As rulers over conquered nations they were harsh, and as conquerors usually ruthlessly cruel.

11. *Government.*—In Assyria the king was supreme, though it is probable that he often asked the counsel of the chief men of the country. Next to the king was the *turtānu* or *tartānu* ("tartan," Is. xx. 1; 2 K. xviii. 17), the chief of the army, and under him the *rab-sakē* ("Rabshakeh," Is. xxxvi. 2, &c.), the chief of the captains, who, when the king did not himself go on an expedition, took the command. The country was divided into several districts, administered by a *šalaṭ*, or "ruler," who seems to have sent in periodically reports to the king as to the administration of affairs in his district; and, if that district were an outlying one, he gave accounts also of the movements of the people, and especially of the army, on the other side of the boundary. The government in Assyria itself seems to have been mild, and rebellions against the authority of the "great king" were comparatively rare. Those unjustly treated, or against whom any complaint had been lodged, seem to have had the right of appeal, or of justification, before the king himself.

12. *History.*—Assyria seems to have been a colony of Babylonia, but the period at which the colonisation took place is quite unknown. In

[h] These last three expressions are, in Assyrian: *pilše, nikṣi, û labbanāti*, from *palāšu*, "to make a hole," *nakāsu*, "to cut," and *labānu*, "to lay bricks."

the earliest times the country was governed by viceroys or underkings (in Akkadian *patesi*, and in Assyrian *iššakku*), subject, probably, to the principal Babylonian kingdom. On a brick from the site of Assur are found the names of Irišu and his father Ḥallu, who seem to have restored the temple of Assur in that city. Later, probably, came Išmî-Dagan and his son Samsi-Rammānu I., who reigned about 1820 B.C. The latter built a temple in the city of Assur to the gods Anu and Rammānu. There is no real history, however, until the time of Aššur-zakir-êšir, who was engaged in some disputes with Babylonia (probably about 1600 B.C.), the result of which seems to have been that war broke out in the time of his successor, Ninip-tukul-Aššuri.

About the year 1450 B.C. Aššur-bêl-nîši-šu ruled in Assyria, and discussions took place between him and Kara-indaš, king of Karduniaš, about the boundaries of Assyria and Babylonia, pledges being given and received on both sides. The discussion, however, was continued during the reign of the next king, Buzur-Aššur, who came to an agreement about the boundaries with Burna-buriaš, who had, in the meanwhile, come to the Babylonian throne.

About the year 1400 B.C., Aššur-uballiṭ came to the throne of Assyria, and the two nations were upon such good terms that Aššur-uballiṭ gave his daughter Muballiṭat-Šerûa in marriage to the king of Babylonia. Kara-Murdaš, the fruit of this marriage, duly became king of Babylon. Some discontented Kassites, however, arose, and killed Kara-Murdaš, setting Nazi-bugaš on the Babylonian throne instead. The Assyrian king marched into Babylonia and avenged the death of his grandson, by deposing and killing Nazi-bugaš, and setting Kuri-galzu on the Babylonian throne. Aššur-uballiṭ was renowned as a conqueror, and also restored several temples of his country. He was succeeded by his son Bêl-nirari, who—evidently thinking that Kuri-galzu, who was forming an alliance with Ġur-ba-tila, king of Elam, was getting too powerful—marched into Babylonia and defeated them at Sugaga. A new rectification of the boundary now took place.

The next two kings, Budu-îlu and Rammānu-nirari I., extended considerably the limits of the empire. He defeated Nazi-Murudas at the battle of Kar-Istar-Akarsalu, and the boundary of the two countries was afterwards again rectified, probably to the great advantage of the Assyrians. Shalmaneser I. succeeded his father Rammānu-nirari about 1300 B.C., and continued his conquests. He removed the royal seat of government from Assur, the old capital, to Nineveh, and built there a temple to the goddess Ishtar. The Assyrian empire continued to increase under Tukulti-Ninip, who conquered Babylonia, and ruled over the whole country from the Armenian mountains to the Persian Gulf. The next king of Assyria, Bêl-kudurri-uṣur, was attacked and killed by the Babylonian king, who during his reign had declared himself independent. Ninip-apil-êkur, who came to the throne about 1220 B.C., had to be continually on the alert to defend himself against the various hostile tribes around Assyria.

Aššur-dân,[1] son of Ninip-apil-êkur, made inroads into Babylonia. His reign was, on the whole, very prosperous, for it is said of him that he "was the bearer of a glorious sceptre, the ruler of the people of Bêl, the work of whose hands and the giving of whose offering pleased the great gods, so that he attained to a good old age." He pulled down the great temple of Anu and Rimmon at Assur, intending to restore it, but died before the rebuilding was begun. Of Mutakkil-Nusku, his son, nothing is known except that he rebuilt the palace at Nineveh. He seems not to have been a very energetic ruler, but his son, Aššur-rêš-îšî, who mounted the throne about 1150 B.C., carried his arms far and wide. He made expeditions in both Armenia and Babylonia, and "overthrew all the mighty ones."

Figure of Tiglath-pileser I. (From a rock tablet near Korkhar.)

Most glorious, however, was the reign of Tiglath-pileser I., who succeeded his father, Aššur-rêš-îšî, about 1120 B.C. He claims to have fought with sixty kings, and the countries mentioned in his annals include the Muškaia or people of Mesech; the land Hattê, supposed to be Hit; the land Naïri or Armenia, then governed by no less than twenty-three kings, with many other districts. He is said also to have captured Babylon and ravaged the whole of Upper Babylonia. At the death of Tiglath-pileser I. Assyria was the foremost power in the world. It is probable, however, that this empire decayed greatly under his son and successor, Aššur-bêl-kala. This ruler made a treaty with Marduk-šapik-kullat, king of Karduniaš or Babylonia, and afterwards married the daughter of his successor.

A gap of about 130 years now occurs in the history of Assyria, for it is not until about the year 950 B.C. that the kingdom again emerges from obscurity. The first ruler after the gap was Tiglath-pileser II., of whom nothing is known. Aššur-dân or Assur-danan II. rebuilt the cities and temples of Assyria. Rammānu-nirari II. made many expeditions, and again extended the limits of the kingdom. In the year 892 B.C. Tukulti-Ninip II. came to the throne, and during a short reign of seven years greatly extended his dominions, especially on

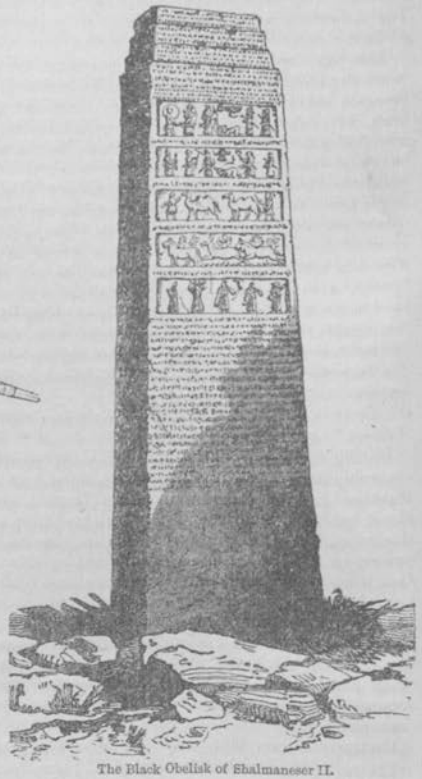
[1] This name may also be read Aššur-danan.

the north-east of Assyria. This king ruled also over Babylonia, but how he came to the throne of that country is unknown. This prince's end was, on the whole, a sad one. A revolt took place in Akkad, which proved successful, and Tukulti-Ninip was obliged to flee. After his

Aššur-naṣir-apli or Aššur-naṣir-pal. (Layard.)

arrival at the city called, after him, Kar-Tukulti-Ninip, a revolt took place in Assyria itself, led by the king's own son, Aššur-naṣir-apli, the result being the death of the king, and the accession of Aššur-naṣir-apli to the throne of Assyria about the year 885 B.C.

The new king was most warlike, and exceedingly successful in his expeditions. He carried the arms of Assyria to the coast of the Mediterranean on the west, and to Suḥi (supposed to be the land of Bildad the Shuhite, Job ii. 11) on the east. He claims to have conquered the



The Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser II.

whole of the land of Naïri (Armenia), and to have reconquered the district of Babylonia called Birâti. He was a most able ruler, and raised

"The tribute of Jehu, son of Omri." Black Obelisk. (Layard.)

his country to a great pitch of prosperity. He was succeeded, about the year 860 B.C., by his son Salmanu-âšarid or Shalmaneser II.

Shalmaneser II. was in every way as warlike as his father. His first expeditions were to the countries north and west of Assyria, Van and Ararat, and the kingdoms of which Til-Barsip and Carchemish were the capitals. Til-Barsip he annexed to Assyria, changing its name to Kar Salmanu-âšarid ("Shalmanesersburgh").

The next important struggle in which the Assyrians were engaged was that with the Syrian league, in which the leading state was Damascus, then ruled by Addu-'idri (Benhadad). The united forces of the twelve states engaged amounted to between 80,000 and 90,000 men, and to this vast army Ahab of Israel contributed 10,000 footmen and 2,000 chariots. The Assyrians gained the victory, but probably at heavy cost.

The next war in which the Assyrian arms were engaged was in Babylonia, whither Shalmaneser led his forces to help Marduk-šum-iškun, king of Babylonia, against Marduk-bêl-ûsâte, who had rebelled. The Assyrian king seems to have succeeded in restoring order.

In the following years, Shalmaneser tried again twice to put down the Syrian league, but it was not until the year 842 B.C. that he finally crushed it. On this occasion Hazael (Ḥaza'ilu), who was then king of Samaria, was defeated at Saniru, a mountain near Lebanon. 16,000 of his troops are said to have been slain, and his camp captured. Hazael was afterwards besieged by the Assyrian army in his capital Damascus. Shalmaneser next went to Ba'ilira'isi, near the seacoast, and whilst there received tribute from the Tyrians, the Sidonians, and from Jehu, "son of Omri."

During the last four years of his reign Shalmaneser had to contend with a wide-spread disaffection in Assyria, in which a revolt took place, headed by Aššur-dân-apli, the king's own eldest son. Šamši-Rammânu, a younger son, put down the revolt, and, Shalmaneser having died whilst the struggle was going on, succeeded him about the year 825 B.C.

The new king followed in his father's footsteps, and raised again the influence of Assyria. He reconquered Naïri, and conquered several other nations north and east of Assyria. He invaded Babylonia several times, and annexed some parts of it.

Rammânu-nirari, his son, was also a great conqueror. He attacked the Hattê, the Tyrians and Sidonians, and the "land of Omri." On the north he invaded Van, and on the south and east Babylonia and Media. The wife of this king was named Sammuramat or Semiramis.

Rammânu-nirari was succeeded by Shalmaneser III. 783 B.C. He attacked the region of Itu' in Babylonia, Armenia, Van, Syria, Ḥarḥar, Media, &c. He died in 773 B.C., and was succeeded by Aššur-dân III., a king of whom very little is known. At the beginning of his reign he attacked Damascus and Hadrach, and afterwards made an expedition to the mountainous district of Gannanâti, near the modern Hulwân. In the year 763 a revolt took place at the old capital Assur, and lasted for six years, during which no foreign expeditions took place.

Aššur-nirari II. succeeded Aššur-dân III. in the year 735 B.C. This ruler does not seem to have been so active as to his foreign policy as his predecessor, the only expedition made being to Hadrach, Arpad, and Namri. This inactivity probably caused discontent, for Tiglath-pileser III., the successor of Aššur-nirari II., came to the throne about 745 B.C. The reign of this king is one of the most important in the history of Assyria. He was called Pulu by the Babylonians, and must therefore be the same as the Pul of 2 K. xv. 19, and 1 Ch. v. 26.[1] In the first years of his reign he made an expedition against Babylonia, at that time split up into a great many small states, and conquered the whole of the southern part of the country.

Other conquests of this king were the people of Namri, the Medes, the Armenians, and the people of Kummuḥa. On the west the Syrians, including Rezon of Samaria, Hiram of Tyre, and Pisiris of Carchemish, were obliged to give tribute. The next year, however, Arpad, one of the principal cities of Syria, was fortified to resist the Assyrian inroads; and Tiglath-pileser, finding that his former vassals had thrown off their allegiance, again marched against them. It was apparently whilst he was known to the Israelites as Pul that Menahem of Israel gave him a thousand talents of silver to withhold from attacking that country (2 K. xv. 19). This probably took place whilst he was on one of these western expeditions.

For two years the Assyrian army besieged Arpad, but the city was at the end of that time captured, and the whole of Northern Syria submitted. After this Tiglath-pileser went against the allied forces of Judah (then ruled by Azariah) and Hamath. The forces of these two nations were defeated, and the Assyrian king divided the conquered countries amongst his generals. He afterwards received tribute from all the kings of Syria, amongst whom were Rezon of Syria, Hiram of Tyre, &c., together with Zabibe, queen of Arabia. According to 2 K. xv. 29. Ijon, Abel-beth-maachah, Janoah, Kedesh, Hazor, Gilead, and Galilee, in Naphtali, were all taken, and the people carried into captivity by Tiglath-pileser. This apparently took place on one of these expeditions.

Tiglath-pileser, after again making expeditions against Media and Armenia, marched, at the request of Ahaz, king of Judah, against Syria, with which Judah was then at war (see 2 K. xvi. 7–9, &c.). The army of Rezon, king of Syria, was totally defeated, and Rezon himself took refuge in his capital, Damascus, which the Assyrian king besieged, and, leaving there part of his army, overran with the other part the kingdom of Israel, whose king, Pekah, whilst the Assyrian army was ravaging the country, took refuge in Samaria. The Ammonites, Moabites, and Philistines were alike compelled to submit to the Assyrian king.

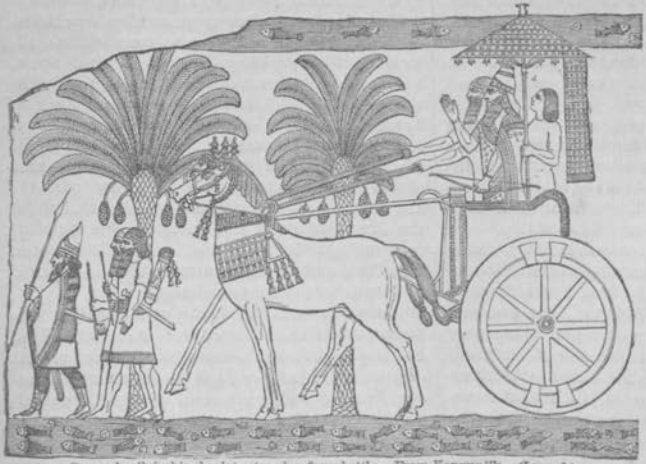
Damascus was at last captured by the Assyrians in 732. Rezon was taken and slain, and the inhabitants carried into captivity. At a great court held by Tiglath-pileser at Damascus, Ahaz of Judah appeared among the vassals of Assyria who came to do homage to the Assyrian king. Tiglath-pileser made conquests

[1] There is considerable difference of opinion concerning these two kings, Pul and Tiglath-pileser, some scholars believing them to be the same, others regarding them as different rulers. In the passages here quoted, it reads as if Pul and Tiglath-pileser were two different rulers, but the silence of the Assyrian and Babylonian records concerning any conflict makes it almost certain that they were one and the same. It was not unusual for kings of Assyria to assume the names of the renowned hero-kings of former times (Sargon of Assyria is supposed to have done so), and for an ambitious ruler to assume the glorious name of Tiglath-pileser I. was only to be expected.

also in Syria and Babylonia, and ruled over the latter country for two years. He died about the year 727 B.C., and was succeeded by Shalmaneser IV.

Shalmaneser IV.,[k] who was king of Babylon as well as of Assyria, invaded Palestine, and attacked Hoshea, king of Israel, who "became his servant, and gave him presents" (2 K. xvii. 3), in order to buy off the Assyrian king. Shalmaneser finding, however, that his vassal was transferring his allegiance to So, king of Egypt (*v.* 4), marched against him, threw him into prison, and besieged Samaria, his capital. The city was taken after a three years' siege (*vv.* 5, 6), and the Israelites were carried captive to Assyria, and placed in Gozan and the cities of the Medes. He died in the year 722 B.C. Sargon, founder of a new dynasty, succeeded Shalmaneser IV. as king of Assyria; and four months after the death of Shalmaneser, Merodach-baladan took advantage of the state of affairs in Assyria to mount the Babylonian throne.

Sargon was a most vigorous ruler, and his conquests were very extensive. He fought with the Babylonians under Merodach-baladan, the Elamites under Humbanigaš, the Hamathites, and the people of Van. He directed also an expedition against Yavan, king of Ashdod, under the command of the Tartan, or commander-in-chief of the army, who took that city (Is. xx. 1). Bît-Ḫumria (Beth-Omri) was also attacked. Each foe was in turn conquered, and in the end Merodach-baladan, who had resisted well, was captured and deposed, Sargon himself mounting the Babylonian throne and ruling the country for five years. This ruler built the city Dûr-Sargina ("Sargonsburgh"), now called Khorsabad, about ten miles from Nineveh.[l]



Sennacherib in his chariot returning from battle. From Konyunjik. (Layard.)

Sennacherib, son of Sargon, succeeded him in the year 705 B.C. He soon found himself engaged in a war with Babylon, Merodach-baladan having profited by the death of Sargon to get an army together. The Babylonian forces were defeated by Sennacherib at the battle of Kêš, near Babylon. Merodach-baladan fled, and escaped by hiding himself in the marshes of Guzummu. Sennacherib set a young man named Bêl-ibnî upon the throne of Babylon.

The next important expedition of Sennacherib was against Hezekiah, king of Judah. He began by attacking the nations lying on the coast of the Mediterranean, and brought to submission Great Sidon, Little Sidon, Achzib, Accho, &c. Menahem of Samaria, Abdi-li'ti of Arvad, Mitinti of Ashdod, together with the chiefs or kings of many other well-known nations, gave tribute. Ṣidḳâ (Zedekiah) of Askelon, however, being unsubmissive, was deposed, and Šarru-ludâri was made king in his stead. Beth-Dagon, Joppa, Beneberak, and Azuru, cities dependent on Askelon, were next captured.

Padî, king of Ekron, had been more obedient to the Assyrian king than his subjects liked; and they, loading their royal master with chains, had delivered him up to Hezekiah, and they had also made alliance with the kings of Egypt and the king of Ethiopia. These princes came with their armies to help the people of Ekron, and made ready for battle within sight of Eltekeh. The Assyrians, however, were victorious over this large force, and Eltekeh and Timnah naturally fell. The people who had dethroned Padî were executed, and Sennacherib caused him to be brought out of Jerusalem and seated him again on his throne. Sennacherib now says that he took twenty-six strong cities of Judah, with innumerable smaller towns around them, and then besieged Hezekiah within Jerusalem, making him, as the Assyrian account says, "like a caged bird." The cities captured by Sennacherib were separated from his country, and distributed among the kings of Ashdod, Ekron, and Gaza. Hezekiah himself sent, as tribute, 30 talents of gold, 800 talents of silver, many kinds of precious stones and woods, &c., to Nineveh, and made obeisance by his ambassador to the Assyrian king.

The story of the Assyrian king, however, is a lame account, and it is clear, from what the Assyrians themselves say, that the expedition was not by any means successful, and that the account given in 2 Kings xviii., Is. xxxvi.–xxxvii., and 2 Chron. xxxii. is the right one. The taking of "all the fenced cities of Judah" refers evidently to the twenty-six strong cities, with the numberless small towns around, mentioned by Sennacherib. Then, according to 2 K. xviii. 14, followed the giving of tribute, 300 talents of silver and 30 talents of gold—the amount of gold given agreeing in both accounts. This tribute was, according to the Assyrian account, sent to Nineveh. Notwith-

[k] This king is apparently the same as Ululâa, the Elulaeus of the Canon of Ptolemy.

[l] The king Jareb mentioned in Hosea v. 13 is regarded by Prof. Sayce as being the same as Sargon.

standing this, the siege of Lachish was continued, and thence the Tartan, the Rabsaris, and the Rabshakeh were sent to Jerusalem to demand full submission and to enforce their demand by laying siege to the city. In the meantime, Sennacherib had left Lachish, and gone against Libnah. [LACHISH.] Then it was that the Assyrian king heard of the advance of Tirhakah, king of Egypt, and, marching to meet him, defeated him at the battle of Eltekeh. Then followed the disaster to the Assyrian army around Jerusalem—probably they were smitten with some kind of plague—and the abandonment of the expedition.

Sennacherib next went against Babylon, and defeated, at Bît-tûtu, the forces of the pretender Šuzub. Sennacherib set on the throne of Babylon his own eldest son, Aššur-nadin-šum. The Assyrian king then attacked various tribes of Asia Minor, and chastised the Chaldean settlers on the shores of the Persian Gulf. Šuzub now came forth again; raised, with the help of the king of Elam, an army, and proclaimed himself king of Babylon, but was again defeated, and sent in chains to Nineveh. Sennacherib's next expedition was against Elam.

Another Šuzub, the Mušêzib-Marduk of the Babylonian Chronicle, now arose. He made alliance with Elam and with the son of Merodach-Baladan. The enormous forces of the allied armies were defeated at the battle of Halulê. Šuzub, who was afterwards delivered by the Elamite king into the hands of the Assyrians, seems to have succeeded in getting free once more, but was killed, in Northern Babylonia, by a fall from his horse.

Sennacherib was killed, in 681 B.C., by his sons, Adrammelech (see ADRAMMELECH 2) and Sharezer, who revolted against their father. Civil war now ensued for a space of nearly three months, at the end of which time Esarhaddon mounted the Assyrian throne (B.C. 681). Compare 2 K. xix. 37; Is. xxxvii. 38; 2 Ch. xxxii. 21.

The new ruler was mild, but vigorous. He rebuilt Babylon, conquered the son of Merodach-Baladan, defeated the Phoenicians, and made all the kings of the district, including Manasseh of Judah, tributary to him. He made also the kings of Cyprus tributary, checked the inroads of the Cimmerians, fought against the Medes, Vanites, and Arabians, and conquered Tirhakah, king of Egypt, taking possession of that country, and dividing it into twelve states, appointing a native ruler to each. Besides this, he carried many of the Israelites captive (Ezra iv. 2), and brought Manasseh, king of Judah, in chains to Babylon, where he held his court (2 Ch. xxxiii. 11). He died in the year 668 B.C., whilst on his way to Egypt, to quell a revolt there. Aššur-banî-apli, his eldest son, succeeded Esarhaddon in Assyria.

The first expedition of this king is seemingly that in which his father had died. Tirhakah, the leader of the revolt in Egypt, was defeated, and compelled to flee to Ethiopia. On the withdrawal of the Assyrians from Egypt, another revolt took place, Tirhakah having allied himself with the native governors set up by Esarhaddon. The allied forces were defeated, and Tirhakah fled to Ethiopia, where he soon afterwards died. Rud-ammon, however, nephew of Tirhakah, had more success, and put an end, for a time, to the Assyrian dominion in Egypt, but the Assyrians afterwards reconquered the country.

Aššur-banî-apli's next expedition was against Tyre, which state he compelled to submit, together with several small kingdoms on the sea-coast. Later, Gyges of Lydia sent an embassy with rich presents to Assyria, but at the same time made alliance with Tušamilki, king of Egypt, against Aššur-banî-apli, the result being the overthrow of the Assyrian power in Egypt.

About the year 660 B.C. the Assyrian king made an expedition to try to check the inroads which were being made on the eastern border of Assyria, and then directed his forces against Aḫšêri, king of Van, whom he defeated. Birizḫadri, chief of the land Aa, and two chiefs of the Saḫi, sons of Gâgi (or Gog), were next attacked and captured. Later on, affairs in Elam attracted the attention of the Assyrian king, who was obliged to send an army against Urtak, king of Elam. On being defeated, Urtak, in his mortification, committed suicide. He was succeeded by Te-Umman, who tried to kill all the relatives of the late king; and these, to escape his fury, took refuge in Assyria. On the Assyrian king refusing to give them up, war was declared. Te-Umman fell in the battle of Shushan, and the whole of Elam was at the mercy of the conqueror, who raised one of the fugitives, named Umman-igaš, to the throne.

For a while Assyria was at peace, but this was at last broken by Saosduchinos, brother of Aššur-banî-apli, who tried to free Babylonia from the Assyrian yoke. The Assyrians, however, were again victorious; Babylon was taken, and Saosduchinos, fearing to fall into the hands of his brother, set fire to his palace and perished in the flames (648 B.C.).

The Assyrian king next had a dispute with Umman-aldaš, who had succeeded Umman-igaš as king of Elam. An expedition was set on foot, and Elam was again conquered, and another king, named Tammaritu, was placed on the Elamite throne. The new king, however, began at once to plot against the power which had raised him, the result being that he was deposed and thrown into prison, and Umman-aldaš came back and resumed the government. Aššur-banî-apli was nevertheless determined to try to completely crush the Elamites, and to this end set another expedition on foot, the pretext being the detention by the Elamites of an image of the goddess Nanâ, carried away by an Elamite king from Erech in Babylonia 1535 years before. In every encounter the Elamites were defeated, the image of Nanâ was restored to its long-forsaken home, and Elam was completely wasted. The next and last recorded war of Aššur-banî-apli was against Uâte', king of Arabia, who, with some other Arabian princes, was taken prisoner. The Assyrian king afterwards held a thanksgiving-festival at Nineveh, in which Uâte', Tammaritu, Pa'e, and Umman-aldaš took an unenviable part, being obliged to draw the Assyrian king, in his chariot, to the temple called Bît-maśmašu, where the religious ceremony took place.

The history of the last years of this king is unknown, but it is supposed that he made,

during this period, an expedition against Tyre, whose king was deposed and an Assyrian governor appointed in his place. If he be, as is supposed, the Asnapper of the Book of Ezra iv. 10, it is probable that it was on this occasion that the nations mentioned in v. 9 were settled in the cities of Samaria. [ASNAPPER.] Assurbanipal seldom or never conducted his expeditions in person; he was, in fact, no warrior. He boasts, however, of his exploits in the hunting-field; and the sculptures representing his adventures with lions, &c., are among the best which Assyrian art has produced.

Aššur-banî-apli is supposed to have been succeeded, about 626 B.C., by Aššur-êtêl-îlâni-kân, of whom nothing is known except that he reigned at least four years. The next king seems to have been Sin-šarra-iškun, who was apparently an Assyrian, though his records are written after the Babylonian model. Unfortunately, none of the inscriptions which he has left are historical. All that can be said is that the principal document bearing his name is dated in the eponymy of Daddî, the *Tukulu*, an officer whose turn generally fell in the fifth, but sometimes also in the seventh year of a king's reign, implying that Sin-šarra-iškun had occupied the throne of Assyria for at least five years. Nineveh was, in his time, still in existence, and he calls the people over whom he ruled "a vast people," and says that the gods had caused his enemies to be slain. Assyria certainly existed in his time as a nation, and apparently as an independent power.

This king was evidently the Saracus of Syncellus,[m] and under him the overthrow of Nineveh took place. The history of the end is well known. Saracus, having heard that a great band of barbarians had come up from the sea to attack him, sent his general Busalossor (Nabopolassar) to Babylon. Having arrived there, he plotted against Saracus, and made alliance with the Medes, cementing it by arranging the betrothal of Nebuchadnezzar, his son, with Amuhia, a daughter of Asdahages, a Median prince. Busalossor then hastened to attack Nineveh; and when the Assyrian ruler heard of his march, he set fire to his royal palace

Aššur-banî-apli or Assurbanipal hunting the lion. (Layard.)

and was burned to death. Nabopolassar (Busalossor), father of Nebuchadnezzar, received the government of the Chaldeans and of Babylon.

Until we get more certain information, it is impossible to say how the fall of Assyria really happened, but it is most likely that the above, which is that given by Eusebius from Abydenus, is correct. If, however, Nabopolassar were under the king of Assyria, it was as vassal-king of Babylon and not as a general of the Assyrian army. B.C. 606, the received date of the fall of Nineveh, was the 19th year of Nabopolassar as king of Babylon, and agrees therefore fairly with the indications furnished by the wedge-inscriptions, both of Assyria and Babylonia.

After the fall of Nineveh, Assyria was divided between Media and Babylonia, the latter power taking as her share only that part which lay along and to the west of the Euphrates. The lion's share, therefore, fell to the Medes, and this accounts at once for her silence in history and progress; for if the whole of Assyria had become annexed to Babylonia, a nation of the same tongue, religion, manners, and customs as herself, her art and her literature would naturally have continued to flourish, and the whole history of the East in later times would probably have been different. The ravages of war must have greatly reduced the population, and the Median dominion, likely enough, caused all who could do so to flee into Babylonia (several clearly Assyrian names are to be found on the Babylonian contract-tablets), with the inhabitants of which they naturally assimilated, and thus became lost. After the conquest of Babylon by Darius Hystaspis, the country was reckoned as a part of the satrapy of Babylon, and an annual tribute of a thousand talents of silver was paid by them to their suzerain.

On the whole, the Assyrians were a remark-

[m] Saracus has been identified with a second Esarhaddon, who is supposed to have reigned after Sin-šarra-iškun. The identification of Saracus with Sin-šarra-iškun is however much better—*sarra*, the second element, would agree excellently, and the whole would present an abbreviation similar to that of the Babylonian king Nadios, the full form of whose name was Nabû-nadin-zêri.

able race. From a small nation—practically a colony, or a series of colonies, from Babylonia—they had risen by slow degrees to be one of the greatest, if not the greatest, of the powers of the ancient Eastern world. As the monuments and records depict them, they were brave, intelligent, and industrious; and their success and prosperity made them also proud, boastful, and cruel (see Is. x. 5–15). When they put their battle in array, and their mailed warriors marched over the lands which they invaded, great must have been the terror which they spread. The people flee before them; the cities fall into their hands as they march. The storm, the capture, the sack, the pillage, the roaring flames, the piles of human heads, the impaled captives—all these rise before us as we contemplate their remains and read their records; and if we wish for anything more realistic, we have only to turn to the fine description of the prophet Isaiah, who, in vivid words, describes the march of the Assyrian army: "He is come to Aiath, he is passed through Migron; at Michmash he layeth up his baggage: they are gone over the pass; they have taken up their lodging at Geba: Ramah trembleth; Gibeah of Saul is fled. Cry aloud with thy voice, O daughter of Gallim! Hearken, O Laishah! O thou poor Anathoth! Madmenah is a fugitive; the inhabitants of Gebim gather themselves to flee. This very day shall he halt at Nob: he shaketh his hand at the mount of the daughter of Zion, the hill of Jerusalem" (Is. x. 28–32, R. V.).

Such was the Assyrian at the height of his power, but this was not to last. In the very chapter in which Isaiah gives the above vivid word-picture, he foretells also the downfall of that nation so holden with pride. The Lord of Hosts, he prophesies, will stir up against them a scourge (x. 26), punishing the fruit of the stout heart of the king of Assyria, and the glory of his high looks (x. 12).

Nahum, who is supposed to have written about 645 B.C., devotes his whole prophecy to the Assyrians—the burden of Nineveh, their capital city. He describes the state of the "bloody city" (ch. iii.), which was vile, full of lies and rapine. Nineveh was to be laid waste (iii. 7); the shepherds of the king of Assyria were slumbering—there was none to gather in the people. There was to be no assuaging of Assyria's hurt (iii. 18, 19). The Lord would stretch forth His hand against the north, and destroy Assyria, and make Nineveh a desolation and dry like the wilderness (Zeph. ii. 13). Dreadful indeed was the retribution which fell upon the devoted country. She had been so hard, so severe, so merciless towards the lands which she had conquered, that she, in her turn, could expect but little mercy from those who, when the time came, found her at their mercy. The "cedar in Lebanon," with his fair branches (Ezek. xxxi. 3), in whose boughs all the fowls of heaven made their nests, and under whose shadow dwelt all great nations (*v.* 6), was cut off by strangers (the Medes and Babylonians); all the people of the earth went down from his shadow and left him, all the fowls of the heaven dwell upon his ruin (*vv.* 12, 13). His wide empire is departed. The nations whom he sheltered, and whom he kept in submission by the terror of his power, gladly forsook him when his glory had departed; and those wild birds of passage, the fanatical Arabs, whose forefathers the Assyrian so often overcame, now dwell in his land; and their vigorous yet guttural language has taken the place of the soft, regular, and beautiful Assyrian tongue. There was no healing of Assyria's bruise (Nah. iii. 19). During the troubles which followed the accession of Darius Hystaspis, they attempted, in conjunction with Armenia and Media, to revolt. The result was utter failure. When the talent which had got together that mighty empire, and had kept it up, failed, the courage which had served them so well in former days gave place to despair. The mighty empire had had its day, and it sank, wounded even to death.

See Layard's *Nineveh and its Remains;* Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies;* George Smith's *Assyrian Discoveries, Chaldean Genesis, Histories of Sennacherib, Assurbanipal, and Assyria;* Sir H. C. Rawlinson's most valuable contributions to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Athenaeum,* &c.; Sayce's, Lenormant's, Oppert's, and Pinches' contributions to the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology;* Pinches' *Introduction* to the *Guide to the Kouyunjik Gallery* and the *Guide to the Nimroud Central Saloon* of the British Museum (printed by order of the Trustees); Schrader's *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament;* Sayce's *Religion of the Ancient Babylonians* (Hibbert Lectures); the translations in the *Records of the Past,* 1st and 2nd series (by preference the latter); Delitzsch's *Wo lag das Paradies?* Compare NINEVEH. [T. G. P.]

ASSYR'IANS (אַשּׁוּר; Ἀσσύριοι, Ἀσσούρ, υἱοὶ Ἀσσούρ; *Assur, Assyrii, filii Assyriorum*). The inhabitants of Assyria. The name in Hebrew is simply *Asshur,* the same as that of the country, and there appears to be no reason in most cases for translating it as a gentilic one (Is. x. 5, 24, xiv. 25, xxxi. 8; Lam. v. 6; Ezek. xvi. 28; Jud. xii. 13, &c.). [W. A. W.]

ASTA'ROTH (עַשְׁתָּרוֹת; Ἀσταρώθ; *Astaroth*), Deut. i. 4. [ASHTAROTH.]

ASTAR'TE. [ASHTORETH.]

AS'TATH (Ἀστάθ; *Ezead* [Vulg. *v.* 41]), 1 Esd. viii. 38, one of the chiefs who went up with Ezra the scribe from Babylon in the reign of Artaxerxes. [AZGAD.] [W. A. W.]

ASTROLOGER. [DIVINATION; STAR.]

ASTRONOMY. [MAGI; STAR.]

ASTY'AGES (Ἀστυάγης; Herod. i. 107, Ἀστυίγας, Ctes. Ἀσπάδας), the last king of the Medes, B.C. 595–560, or B.C. 592–558, who was conquered by his grandson Cyrus (Bel and Dragon, *v.* 1; see *Speaker's Comm.* in loco). The name is identified by Rawlinson and Niebuhr (*Gesch. Assur's,* p. 32) with Deioces = Adjiahak (*Arm.*), Aji-dahák (*Pers.*), "the biting snake," the emblem of the Median power (see *Speaker's Comm.*[2] Excursus on Dan. v. p. 311). The passage in Bel and the Dragon states that Cyrus "received the kingdom" of Astyages on the death of the latter; Herodotus (i. 129) that Cyrus deprived him of it in battle. Cuneiform records support Herodotus. From the cylinder

of Nabonidus (*TSBA.* vii. pp. 146, 155, 156) it would seem that the army of Astyages (Istuvegu) revolted against him and delivered him to Cyrus (cp. Schrader, *Keilinschr. Bibl.* iii. 129). [B. F. W.] [F.]

ASUP'PIM, and **HOUSE OF** (הָאֲסַפִּים, and בֵּית הָאֲסַפִּים; 1 Ch. xxvi. 15, B. *οἶκος ἐσεφείν*, A. *ἀσαφείν*; 1 Ch. xxvi. 17, B. *τὸ ἐσεφείν*, A. *ἀσα-*; *domus seniorum concilium* [*v.* 15], *concilium* [*v.* 17]; R. V. "the storehouse," lit. "house of the gatherings"). Nothing is known of it except that it was the name given to certain store-chambers in the outer court of the Temple near the southern gate (Bertheau or Keil, *l. c.*). The Vulg. seems to have understood it of the council-chambers in the outer court of the Temple in which the elders held their deliberations. The same word in A. V. of Neh. xii. 25 (LXX. omits) is rendered "thresholds;" but rightly in R. V. "storehouses." [W. A. W.] [F.]

ASYN'CRITUS (Ἀσύγκριτος; *Asyncritus*), a Christian at Rome, saluted by St. Paul (Rom. xvi. 14; see *Speaker's Comm.* in loco). [G.]

A'TAD, the threshing-floor of (גֹּרֶן הָאָטָד) = "the floor [or trodden space] of the thorn;" Sam. Vers. אדאר עמרה; Saad. العوسج; ἄλως Ἀτάδ, *area Atad*), a spot "beyond Jordan," at which Joseph and his brethren, on their way from Egypt to Hebron, made their seven days' "great and very sore mourning" over the body of Jacob; in consequence of which we are told it acquired from the Canaanites the new name of Abel-Mizraim (Gen. l. 10, 11). According to Jerome (*OS.*[2] p. 121, 15, s. v. *Area Atath*), it was "trans Jordanem," and in his day called Bethagla or Bethacla (Beth-Hoglah), a name which he connects with the gyratory dances or races of the funeral ceremony: "locus gyri; eo quod ibi more plangentium circumierint." But Beth-Hoglah was situated between the Jordan and Jericho, and therefore on the west side of Jordan [BETH-HOGLAH]; and this identification is not compatible with *v.* 11. Dillmann,[5] Keil,[3] and Delitzsch [1887] unite in placing Atad on the east side of the Jordan; and count the place otherwise unknown. [G.] [W.]

ATA'RAH (עַטָּרָה = *a garland* or *crown*; B. Ἀταρά, A. Ἐτ-; *Attra*), wife of Jerahmeel, and mother of Onam (1 Ch. ii. 26). [W. A. W.]

ATAR'GATIS (Ἀταργάτις, Strab. xvi. p. 785, where the native pronunciation is said to be *Athara*), or according to another form of the word DERCETO (Δερκετώ, Strab. *l. c.*; Luc. *de Syria Dea*, p. 884, ed. Bened.; Plin. *H. N.* v. 19, *prodigiosa Atargatis Graecis Derceto;* Ov. *Met.* iv. 45, *Dercetis*), a Syrian goddess, represented generally with the body of a woman and the tail of a fish (Luc. *l. c.*; Ovid, *l. c.*, comp. DAGON). Her most famous temples were at Hierapolis (Mabug or *Membij*, called Bambykê by classical writers) and Ascalon. Herodotus identified her with *Aphrodite Urania* (i. 105, compared with Diod. Sic. ii. 4). Lucian compared her with Here, though he allowed that she combined traits of other deities (Aphrodite, Rhea, Selene, &c.; see ASHTORETH). Plutarch (*Crass.* 17) says that some regarded her as "Aphrodite, others as Here, others as the cause and natural power which provides the principles and seeds for all things from moisture" (*τὴν ἀρχὰς καὶ σπέρματα πᾶσιν ἐξ ὑγρῶν παρασχοῦσαν αἰτίαν καὶ φύσιν*). This last view is probably an accurate description of the attributes of the goddess, and explains her fish-like form and popular identification with Aphrodite. Lucian also mentions a ceremony in her worship at Hierapolis which appears to be connected with the same belief. Twice a year water was brought from distant places and poured into a chasm in the temple; because, he adds, according to tradition, the waters of the Deluge were drained away through that opening (*de Syria Dea*, p. 883). Compare Burm. *ad* Ovid, *Met.* iv. 45, where most of the references are given at length; Movers, *Phoeniz.* i. 584 sq.

There was a temple of Atargatis (Ἀταργατεῖον, A. Ἀτεργ—2 Macc. xii. 26) at Karnion (Karnaim, 1 Macc. v. 43; i.e. *Ashtaroth-Karnaim*) which was destroyed by Judas Maccabaeus (1 Macc. v. 44).

An interesting coin representing Atargatis is engraved and described in the *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. lxi. pp. 346 sq.

On the coins of Hierapolis-Membij the name and figure of עתר־עתה, *'Atar-gatis*, occurs, as well as the simple עתי. The latter is the Greek Γάτις, made a deified queen by Antipater of Tarsus (*ap.* Athen. viii. p. 346). According to the Apology of Melito, 'Ati was the goddess of Adiabene, and עתי and עתה both appear as the name of a divinity in the inscriptions of Palmyra, while a deity יכונ־עתה or Yakun-'Athah (cp. *Jeconiah*) is found on the coins of Membij. Atargatis or 'Athah was in fact the supreme goddess whose attributes the Hittites had borrowed from Babylonia, where her proper name was Nana. But she was also identified with Istar, the Ashtoreth of the Canaanites, who became the male deity 'Attâr of the Himyaritic inscriptions, like the Ashtar-Chemosh of the Moabite Stone (where the compound name is similar to that of Atar-gatis). In Assyria Istar, as the planet Venus, was androgynous. The cult of the goddess spread from the Hittite capital Carchemish through Asia Minor, where she was known under the various names of Kybebe, Kybele, Omphale, and the Ephesian Artemis. At Carchemish she seems also to have been called Semi-ramis, an Assyrian title of Istar, which reminds us of the Syrian goddess Simi, the daughter of Hadad, who, according to Melito, put an end to the attacks of a demon by filling the pit in which he lived with water. When the new Hierapolis at Membij succeeded to the older Hierapolis at Carchemish (Jerablûs), the temple and cult of Atargatis were transferred to the new city. [A. H. S.]

ATAROTH (עֲטָרוֹת, and once עֲטָרֹת = crowns; ἡ Ἀταρώθ; *Ataroth*), the name of several places in Palestine both on the E. and W. of Jordan.

1. A. Ἀταρών, in Num. xxxii. 3. One of the towns in the "land of Jazer and land of Gilead" (Num. xxxii. 3), "built" by the tribe of Gad (xxxii. 34). See the interesting notice in king Mesha's inscription on the "Moabite stone," lines 10–13. It is mentioned with

Dibon, and is probably *Kh.* '*Attarûs*, about six miles N.W. of *Dhibân* (Dibon). About a mile from the ruins, which are insignificant, is the mountain of *Jebel* '*Attarûs* (عتروس), crowned with the ruins of an ancient fortress (Tristram, *Land of Moab*, pp. 271–3). A difficulty arises from the position of *J.* '*Attarûs*, which lies considerably to the S. of Heshbon (*Hesbân*), a town assigned to Reuben, and named apparently as the southernmost limit of Gad (Josh. xiii. 26). The same difficulty, however, occurs with regard to Dibon, which was built by Gad (Num. xxxii. 34), but assigned to Reuben (Josh. xiii. 17). Atroth-Shophan was probably in the neighbourhood of Ataroth, perhaps on *J.* '*Attarûs*, the Shophan serving as a distinction; but for this see ATROTH.

2. A place on the boundary of Ephraim and Manasseh (Josh. xvi. 7, B. Ἀσταρώθ). It is mentioned between Janohah and Naarath, and as being at a lower altitude, "went down," than the former. Janohah is probably *Yanûn*: the latter is placed in *OS.*[2] (pp. 165, 20; 268, 59) five Roman miles north of Jericho, a position which agrees with *el-'Aujeh* (compare Josephus, *Ant.* xvii. 13, § 1). These indications place Ataroth in the Jordan Valley to the north of *Kh. Fusail*, but the name has not been recovered.

3. A place on the south boundary of the children of Joseph (Josh. xvi. 2) mentioned next after Archi, now '*Ain* '*Arîk*. The Versions differ here. A. V. reads "unto the borders of Archi to Ataroth," R. V. "unto the border of the Archites to A.;" and these two names are fused in the Greek, B. Χαταρωθεί, A. Ἀρχιαταρώθ. This Ataroth is probably the same as,

4. ATAROTH-ADAR, or -ADDAR (עֲטָרוֹת אַדָּר; in Josh. xvi. 5, A. Ἀταρὼθ [B. Ἀσταρὼθ] καὶ Ἀδάρ [B. Ἐρόκ]; in Josh. xviii. 13, B. Μααταρωθορέχ, A. ἀπὸ Ἀταρὼθ Ἀδδάρ; *Ataroth Addar*); on the west border of Benjamin, "near the 'mountain' that is on the south side of the nether Beth-horon" (Josh. xviii. 13). In xvi. 5 it is accurately rendered Ataroth-addar. It is now *Kh. Dârieh*, about a mile W.S.W. of *Beit 'Ur et-Tahta*, the nether Beth-horon (*P. F. Mem.* iii. 35).

In *OS.*[2] (p. 129, 25) mention is made of an Ataroth in Ephraim, in the mountains, four miles N. of Sebaste: as well as of two places of the name "not far from" Jerusalem (*OS.*[2] p. 129, 36). The former cannot be that seen by Robinson (ii. 265), now '*Atâra*. Robinson discovered another about six miles S. of Bethel (i. 575). In the Arabic chronicle of Abulfetad, of the return of the Samaritans, mention is made of '*Atârah Tarafain* as one of the places re-occupied (Ewald, iv. 108).

5. "ATAROTH,* THE HOUSE OF JOAB" (*i.e.* Ataroth [R. V. *Atroth*]-beth-Joab), a place (?) occurring in the list of the descendants of Judah (1 Ch. ii. 54; Ἀταρὼθ οἴκου Ἰωὰβ [A. Ἰωβάβ]; *Coronae domûs Joab*). [G.] [W.]

A'TER (אָטֵר, Ges. = *bound* or *closed* [cp. Judg. iii. 15, Heb.]; B. Ἀτήρ, A. Ἀττὴρ in Ezra; *Ater*). **1.** The children of Ater were among the porters or gate-keepers of the Temple who returned with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii. 42; Neh. vii. 45, B. *vioὶ* Ἀτήρ, *vioῦ* Ἀτήρ, A. omits the last two words). They are called in 1 Esd. v. 28 [A. Ἀταρ', B. omits], "the sons of JATAL."

2. The children of Ater of Hezekiah, to the number of ninety-eight, returned with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii. 16; Neh. vii. 21), and were among the heads of the people who signed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 17, A. Ἀτήρ, B. Ἀδήρ). The name appears in 1 Esd. v. 15 as ATEREZIAS. [W. A. W.] [F.]

ATEREZI'AS (marg. *Ater Hezekiah*; B. [*vioὶ*] Ἀζήρ, Ἐζεκίου [*vioῦ*], A. Ἀτήρ; *Aderectis* [*filii*]). A corruption of "Ater of Hezekiah" (1 Esd. v. 15; cp. Ezra ii. 15). The addition of the title (son of) Hezekiah was probably given to distinguish this Ater from Ater the door-keeper of Ezra ii. 42 (see *Speaker's Comm.* note on 1 Esd. v. 15). [W. A. W.] [F.]

ATHA'CH (עָתָךְ; B. Νοά; A. Ἀθάγ; *Athach*). The Syriac and Arabic Versions read, evidently in error, Taanach. It is mentioned only in 1 Sam. xxx. 30 as one of the towns to which David sent a portion of the Amalekite spoil. From its position in the list it would appear to have been to the south of, and not far from, Hebron; the site has not yet been recovered. It is not impossible that it is identical with Ether, Josh. xv. 42 (B. Ἰθάκ), xix. 7 (B. Ἰέθερ); but whether the *ch* or the *r* is correct cannot be determined (cp. Wellhausen, *Der Text d. BB. Samuelis*, in loco). [W.]

ATHAI'AH (עַתַּיָּה; B. Ἀθεά, א. Ἀθεέ, A. Ἀθεαί; *Athaias*). A descendant of Pharez, the son of Judah, who dwelt at Jerusalem after the return from Babylon (Neh. xi. 4), called UTHAI in 1 Ch. ix. 4. [W. A. W.] [F.]

ATHALI'AH. **1.** (עֲתַלְיָה; meaning doubtful; Ges., from the Arabic, = *Jah hath treated violently*; Γοθολία; *Athalia*), daughter of Ahab and Jezebel. She married Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat king of Judah, and introduced into the S. kingdom the worship of Baal, which had already defiled and overspread the N. After the great revolution by which Jehu seated himself on the throne of Samaria, she killed all the members of the royal family of Judah who had escaped his sword (2 K. x. 14), availing herself probably of her position as King's Mother [ASA], to perpetrate the crime. Most likely she exercised the regal functions during Ahaziah's absence at Jezreel (2 K. ix.), and resolved to retain her power, especially after seeing the danger to which she was exposed by the overthrow of the house of Omri and of Baal-worship in Samaria. It was not unusual in those days [and later, cp. *Speaker's Comm.*[2] on Dan. v. 10] for women in the East to attain a prominent position, their present degradation being the result of Mahometanism. Miriam, Deborah, and Abigail are instances from the Bible, and Dido was not far removed from Athaliah, either in birthplace or date, if Carthage was founded B.C. 861 (Joseph. *c. Apion.* i. 18). From the slaughter of the royal house, one infant named Joash, the youngest son of Ahaziah, was rescued by his aunt Je-

* The marginal note to this name in the Bibles of the present day, viz. *Asarites*, &c., is a corruption of Atarites in the edition of 1611.

hosheba, daughter of Jehoram (probably by another wife than Athaliah: cp. Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 7, § 1), who had married Jehoiada (2 Ch. xxii. 11) the high-priest (2 Ch. xxiv. 6). The child was brought up under Jehoiada's care, and concealed in the "house of the Lord" [R. V.] for six years, during which period Athaliah reigned over Judah. At length Jehoiada thought it time to produce the lawful king to the people, trusting to their zeal for the worship of God, and loyalty to the house of David, which had been so strenuously called out by Asa and Jehoshaphat. After communicating his design to five "captains of hundreds," whose names are given in 2 Ch. xxiii. 1, and securing the co-operation of the Levites and chief men in the country-towns in case of necessity, he brought the young Joash into the "house of the Lord" to receive the allegiance of the soldiers of the guard. It was customary on the Sabbath for a third part of them to do duty at the palace, while two-thirds restrained the crowd of visitors and worshippers who thronged the Temple on that day, by occupying the gate of Sur (סוּר, 1 K. xi. 6, called "of the foundation," יְסוֹד, 2 Ch. xxiii. 5. See SUR), and the gate "behind the guard" (*porta quae est post habitaculum scutariorum*, Vulg.), which seem to have been the N. and S. entrances into the "house of the Lord," according to Ewald's description of it (*Geschichte*, iii. pp. 306, 307). On the day fixed for the outbreak there was to be no change in the arrangement at the palace, lest Athaliah, who did not worship in the "house of the Lord," should form any suspicions from missing her usual guard, but the other two-thirds were "to be a barrier" (2 K. xi. 6, R. V.) to protect the king's person by forming a long and closely-serried line across the "house of the Lord," and killing any one who should approach within "the ranks" (R. V.). They were also furnished with David's spears and shields, that the work of restoring his descendant might be associated with his own sacred weapons. When the guard had taken up their position, the young prince was anointed, crowned, and presented with the Testimony or Law, and Athaliah was first roused to a sense of her danger by the shouts and music which accompanied the inauguration of her grandson. She hurried into the "house of the Lord," but found Joash already standing "by a pillar," or more properly *on* it, *i.e.* on the tribunal or throne, apparently raised on a massive column or cluster of columns, which the king occupied when he attended the service on solemn occasions (cp. 2 K. xxiii. 3, and Ezek. xlvi. 2). She arrived however too late, and was immediately put to death by Jehoiada's commands, without the "house of the Lord." The only other recorded victim of this almost bloodless revolution was Mattan, the priest of Baal (Ewald, *Geschichte*, iii. p. 574 sq.). Usher's date for Athaliah's usurpation is B.C. 884–878 Kamphausen corrects this (after the Assyrian Inscriptions) to B.C. 842–836. [On the text of 2 K. xi., which in parts is difficult and probably in disorder, cp. Wellh.-Bleek's *Einl.*[4] (1878), p. 258 (=Wellh. *Compos. des Hex. u.s.w.* 1889, p. 361); Stade, *ZATW.* 1885, pp. 280–88.—S. R. D.] In modern times the history of Athaliah has been illustrated by the music of Handel and of Mendelssohn and the stately declamation of Racine. [G. E. L. C.] [F.]

2. B. Ὀγοθολιά, A. Γοθολίας; *Otholia*. A Benjamite, one of the sons of Jeroham who dwelt at Jerusalem (1 Ch. viii. 26).

3. B. Ἀθελέλ, A. Ἀθλία; *Athalia*. One of the Bene-Elam, whose son Jeshaiah with seventy males returned with Ezra in the second caravan from Babylon (Ezra viii. 7). [W. A. W.] [F.]

ATHARI'AS (Ἀταθαρίας; *et Astharas*), a corruption of הַתִּרְשָׁתָא, THE TIRSHATHA (1 Esd. v. 40; see *Speaker's Comm.* in loco). [W. A. W.]

ATHENIANS (Ἀθηναῖοι; *Athenienses*), the people of Athens (Acts xvii. 21; in *v.* 22, "men of Athens"). [W. A. W.]

ATHENO'BIUS (Ἀθηνόβιος), an envoy sent by Antiochus VII. Sidetes to Simon, the Jewish high-priest (1 Macc. xv. 28–36). He is not mentioned elsewhere. [B. F. W.]

ATHENS (Ἀθῆναι; *Athenae*), the capital of Attica, and the chief seat of Grecian learning and civilisation during the golden period of the history of Greece. This city is fully described elsewhere (*Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geogr.* s. n.); and an account of it would be out of place in the present work. St. Paul visited it in his journey from Macedonia, and appears to have remained there some time (Acts xvii. 14, 15 sq.; cp. 1 Thess. iii. 1). At the time of St. Paul's visit, Athens was a free city of the Roman province of Achaia. "Athens was never placed under the *fasces* of the Roman governor, and never paid tribute to Rome; it always had a sworn alliance with Rome, and granted aid to the Romans only in an extraordinary and (at least as to form) voluntary fashion" (T. Mommsen's *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, i. 258). During St. Paul's residence there he delivered his memorable discourse on the Areopagus to the "men of Athens" (Acts xvii. 22–31) [AREOPAGUS]. In order to understand the localities mentioned in the sacred narrative, it may be observed that four hills of moderate height rise within the walls of the city. Of these one to the north-east is the celebrated Acropolis, or citadel, being an oblong craggy rock rising about 200 feet above the city, 350 feet above the Attic plain, and 470 feet above the level of the sea. Immediately to the west of the Acropolis, little more than half its height above the city and only 28 feet higher than the rising ground that intervenes, is a second hill of irregular form, called the Areopagus. To the south-west of the Areopagus and at a slightly lower elevation rises a third hill, the Pnyx, on which the assemblies of the citizens are generally supposed to have been held; while to the south of the Areopagus is a fourth hill, known as the Museum, whose summit is only fourteen feet lower than that of the Acropolis. According to the view maintained in Forchhammer's *Topographie von Athen*, published at Kiel in 1841, the Agora or "market" (where St. Paul disputed daily) was situated in the valley between the Acropolis, the Areopagus, the Pnyx, and the Museum, being bounded by the Acropolis on the N.E. and E., by the Areopagus on the N., by the Pnyx on the N.W. and W., and by the Museum on the S. According to this view there was only one Agora at Athens, and the

position which it probably occupied in primitive times remained unchanged (see *Dict. of Geogr.* i. p. 293 sq.). But it is now generally believed that the primitive market-place towards the S. or S.W. of the Acropolis was superseded, possibly as early as the time of the Peisistratidae, by a market-place situated in the inner Ceramicus, and lying to the N. of the Areopagus, between the Acropolis and the temple of Theseus (E. Curtius, *Attische Studien*, ii. 1865, and *Erläuternder Text der sieben Karten zur Topographie von Athen*, 1868, p. 50 and map opposite p. 55, and Dyer's *Athens*, pp. 197–206). The Agora of the time of St. Paul in 54 A.D. cannot have been different in position from the Agora described by Pausanias, who flourished 120 years later; and recent investigations make it more than probable that Pausanias began his tour of the monuments at the *Dipylum*, the principal gate of Athens, in the N.W., where the road from Eleusis and one of the roads from the Peiraeus entered the precincts of the city (B. Schmidt, *Die Thorfrage in der Topographie Athens*, 1879, quoted by Lolling in I. Müller's *Handbuch der klassischen Alterthumswissenschaft*, iii. 310, 1889; see also Milchhöfer's article on Athens in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, i. 160). Hence it is inferred that the Agora of Pausanias, and of St. Paul, lay not to the S. but to the N. of the Areopagus.

In the "Plan of Athens" in Smith's *Classical Atlas* the '*vetus agora*' indicates that which Forchhammer regarded as the market-place from the earliest times to those of Pausanias. The '*Agora*' (in the S. W. of the *Ceramicus interior*) shows its position from the latter part of the sixth century B.C., according to the view now prevalent. Of the buildings round this later Agora, part of the Stoa Attali alone is now standing. The exact position of the other buildings is uncertain, as it depends to some extent on the question whether Pausanias approached the Agora from the *Dipylum* (as held by O. Müller and E. Curtius) or from the *Portae Piraeicae* (as held by Leake, Bursian, Wachsmuth, and the author of the plan). The plan necessarily includes several structures of a later date than the visit of St. Paul, *e.g.* the *porta Hadriani*, the Odeum of Regilla, the monument of Philopappus, and the sepulchre of Herodes Atticus.

The Acropolis restored.

The remark of the sacred historian respecting the inquisitive character of the Athenians (Acts xvii. 21) is attested by the unanimous voice of antiquity. The great Athenian orator rebukes his countrymen for their love of constantly going about in the market, and asking one another, What news? (*βούλεσθ', εἰπέ μοι, περιϊόντες αὐτῶν πυνθάνεσθαι [κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν], λέγεταί τι καινόν*; Dem. *Philipp.* i. § 10, p. 43, Reiske. Compare Plato's *Euthyphro*, ad init., and Theophrastus *περὶ λογοποιίας*). Their natural liveliness was partly owing to the purity and clearness of the atmosphere of Attica, which also allowed them to pass much of their time in the open air (Eurip. *Medea*, 829, and Cicero, *de Fato*, iv. § 7, "Athenis tenue caelum, ex quo etiam acutiores putantur Attici." Cp. Aristides, *Panathenaicus*, i. 305 Dindorf).

The remark of St. Paul upon the "somewhat superstitious" character of the Athenians (xvii. 22, R.V.; in marg. Or, *religious*) is in like manner confirmed by the ancient writers. Thus Pausanias says that the Athenians surpassed all other states in the attention which they paid to the worship of the gods (*Ἀθηναίοις περισσότερόν τι ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐς τὰ θεῖα ἐστι σπουδῆς*, Paus. i. 24, § 3); and hence the city was crowded in every direction with temples, altars, and other sacred buildings. The altar "To the Unknown God" (Acts xvii. 23. R. V. in text, "To an Unknown God"), which St. Paul mentions in his address, has been spoken of under ALTAR. On St. Paul's visit in general, see Conybeare and Howson's *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, chap. x.

In Athens was a synagogue in which St. Paul disputed with the Jews (Acts xvii. 17). Among the Attic inscriptions (*Inscr. Att. Aetatis Rom.* 404) is one engraved upon a stone and containing the Greek Version of Ps. cxviii. 18 (*αὕτη ἡ πύλη τοῦ Κυρίου, κ.τ.λ.*). It is possible, but not certain, that this may have formed part of the gate to the synagogue. Another Jewish inscription found at Athens is surmounted by a representation of the seven-branched candlestick (*Inscr. Att.* 3546. Cp. Marshall, "The Account of St. Paul at Athens," in *PSBA.* x. p. 282).

Of the Christian Church founded by St. Paul at Athens, we have no particulars in the N. T.;

but, according to ecclesiastical tradition (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 4), Dionysius the Areopagite, who was converted by the preaching of the Apostle, was the first bishop of the Church. [DIONYSIUS.]

Near the N.E. extremity of the Areopagus is the site of the ancient church named after Dionysius, mentioned as follows by the Jesuit Père Babin in 1672: "L'Archevêque a son logis sur les anciens fondemens de la maison de *S. Denys Areopagite*, joignant les ruines d'une petite Eglise fort ancienne, dont les mazures et murailles paroissent encore toutes embellies de diverses peintures, et proche de laquelle est un puits, où l'on assure que *S. Paul* demeura caché 24 heures, dans une persecution que ses ennemis exciterent contre luy, après la conversion de ce Senateur de l'Areopage." Cp. Laborde, *Athènes*, i. 192; Wheler's *Travels*, p. 384; Stuart's *Athens*, ii. p. 17; Leake's *Athens*, p. 165; A. Mommsen, *Athenae Christianae*, pp. 42, 43; Gregorovius, *Stadt Athen im Mittelalter*, i. 69.

[W. S.] [J. E. S.]

ATH'LAI (עַתְלַי [Ges. = abbreviated from עֲתַלְיָה, ATHALIAH]; B. Θαλί, Ν. Θαλείμ, A. Ὀθαλί; *Athalai*). One of the sons of Bebai, who put away his foreign wife at the bidding of Ezra (Ezra [LXX. 2 Esd.] x. 28); called AMATHEIS in 1 Esd. ix. 29. [W. A. W.] [F.]

ATIPHA (Ατεφά; *Agisti*), 1 Esd. (Vulg. 3 Esd.) v. 32 [HATIPHA]. One of the heads of the "servants of the Temple" who returned with Zerubbabel. [W. A. W.] [F.]

ATONEMENT, THE DAY OF (יוֹם הַכִּפֻּרִים; ἡμέρα ἐξιλασμοῦ; *dies expiationum* and *dies propitiationis*; in the Talmud, יוֹמָא, i.e. *the day*, or צוֹמָא רַבָּא, i.e. *the great fast*, to distinguish it from fasts appointed after the Captivity; in Philo, ἡ νηστείας ἑορτή, *Lib. de Sept.* vol. v. p. 47, edit. Tauchn.; in Acts xxvii. 9, ἡ νηστεία), the great day of national humiliation, and the only one commanded in the Mosaic Law. [FASTS.] This day gathered up and consummated the various injunctions of purification previously described (Lev. xi.–xv.). The mode of its observance, partly indicated in Ex. xxx. 10, is described in Lev. xvi., where it should be noticed that in *vv.* 3 to 10 an outline of the whole ceremonial is given, while in the rest of the chapter certain points are mentioned with more details. The victims which were offered in addition to those strictly belonging to the special service of the day, and to those of the usual daily sacrifice, are enumerated in Num. xxix. 7–11; and the conduct of the people is emphatically enjoined in Lev. xxiii. 26–32; Deut. xxix. 7–11.

II. It was kept on the tenth day of Tisri (the seventh month); that is, from the evening of the ninth to the evening of the tenth of that month, five days before the joyous Feast of Tabernacles, for which festival, as for the Jubilee year (Lev. xxv. 9), it formed a most fitting preparation. [FESTIVALS.] Some have inferred from Lev. xvi. 1, that the day was instituted on account of the sin and punishment of Nadab and Abihu. Maimonides (*More Nevochim*, xviii.) regards it as a commemoration of the day on which Moses came down from the mount with the second tables of the Law, and proclaimed to the people the forgiveness of their great sin in worshipping the golden calf. In any case Lev. xvi. 29, &c., gives the general object of the institution.

III. The observances of the day, as described in the Law, were as follows. It was kept by the people as a solemn sabbath (σάββατα σαββάτων, LXX.). They were commanded to set aside all work and "to afflict their souls," or fast, under pain of being "cut off from among the people." It was on this occasion only that the high-priest was permitted to enter into the Holy of Holies. Having bathed his person and dressed himself entirely in the holy white linen garments, he brought forward a young bullock for a sin-offering and a ram for a burnt-offering, purchased at his own cost, on account of himself and his family, and two young goats for a sin-offering with a ram for a burnt-offering, which were paid for out of the public treasury, on account of the people. He then presented the two goats before the Lord at the door of the Tabernacle (R. V. "tent of meeting"), and cast lots upon them. On one lot לַיהוָה (*i.e.* for *Jehovah*) was inscribed, and on the other לַעֲזָאזֵל (*i.e.* for *Azazel*. See § VI.). He next sacrificed the young bullock as a sin-offering for himself and his family. Taking with him some of the blood of the bullock, he filled a censer with burning coals from the brazen altar, took a handful of incense, and entered into the most holy place. He then threw the incense upon the coals and enveloped the mercy-seat in a cloud of smoke. Then, dipping his finger into the blood, he sprinkled it seven times before the mercy-seat, eastward.[a]

The goat upon which the lot "*for Jehovah*" had fallen was then slain, and the high-priest sprinkled its blood before the mercy-seat in the same manner as he had done that of the bullock. Going out from the Holy of Holies, he purified the holy place, sprinkling some of the blood of both the victims on the altar of incense.[b] At

[a] See Lev. xvi. 14. The English Version (A. V. and R. V.), "upon the mercy-seat," if opposed to every Jewish authority, is supported by modern criticism (see *Speaker's Comm.* in loco). The Vulgate omits the clause; the LXX. follows the ambiguity of the Hebrew. The word *eastward* must mean either the direction in which the drops were thrown by the priest, or else *on the east* (R. V.) of the ark, *i.e.* the side towards the veil. The last clause of the verse may be taken as a repetition of the command, for the sake of emphasis on the number of sprinklings: "*seven times* shall he sprinkle the blood with his finger before the mercy-seat."

[b] That the altar of incense was thus purified on the Day of Atonement we learn expressly from Ex. xxx. 10. Most critics consider that this is what is spoken of in Lev. xvi. 18, 20. But some suppose that it is the altar of burnt-offerings which is referred to in these verses, the purification of the altar of incense being implied in that of the holy place mentioned in *v.* 16 (see *Speaker's Comm.* in loco. The arguments pro and con are briefly stated in Riehm's *HWB.* and Herzog's *RE.*[2] s. n. *Versöhnungstag*). That the expression, "the altar before the Lord," does not necessarily mean the altar within the Tabernacle, is evident from Ex. xxix. 11. If the golden altar is here referred to, it seems remarkable that no mention is made in the ritual of the cleansing of the brazen altar. But perhaps the practice spoken of by Josephus and in the Mishna of pouring what remained

this time no one besides the high-priest was suffered to be present in the holy place.

The purification of the Holy of Holies, and of the holy place, being thus completed, the high-priest laid his hands upon the head of the goat on which the lot "*for Azazel*" had fallen, and confessed over it all the sins of the people. The goat was then led, by a man chosen for the purpose, into the wilderness, into "a land not inhabited," and was there let loose.

The high-priest after this returned into the holy place, bathed himself again, put on his usual garments of office, and offered the two rams as burnt-offerings, one for himself and one for the people. He also burnt upon the altar the fat of the two sin-offerings, while their flesh was carried away and burned outside the camp. They who took away the flesh and the man who had led away the goat had to bathe their persons and wash their clothes as soon as their service was performed.

The accessory burnt-offerings mentioned in Num. xxix. 7–11, were a young bullock, a ram, seven lambs, and a young goat. It would seem that (at least in the time of the second Temple) these were offered by the high-priest along with the evening sacrifice (see below, § V. 7).

It will be seen that in the special rites of the Day of Atonement there was a natural gradation. In the first place the high-priest and his family were cleansed; then atonement was made by the purified priest for the sanctuary and all contained in it; then for the brazen altar in the court; and lastly, reconciliation was made for the people.

IV. In the short account of the ritual of the day which is given by Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 10, § 3) there are a few particulars which are worthy of notice. His words of course apply to the practice in the second Temple, when the ark of the covenant had disappeared. He states that the high-priest sprinkled the blood with his finger seven times on the ceiling and seven times on the floor of the most holy place, and seven times towards it (as it would appear, outside the veil), and round the golden altar. Then going into the court he either sprinkled or poured the blood round the great altar. He also informs us that the kidneys, the top of the liver, and the extremities (*αἱ ἐξοχαί*) of the victims were burned with the fat.

V. The treatise of the Mishna, entitled *Yoma*,[c] professes to give a full account of the observances of the day according to the usage in the second Temple. The following details appear either to be interesting in themselves or to illustrate the language of the Pentateuch.

1. The high-priest, dressed in his coloured official garments, used himself, on the Day of Atonement, to perform all the duties of the ordinary daily service, such as lighting the lamps, presenting the daily sacrifices, and offering the incense. After this he bathed himself, put on the white garments, and commenced the special rites of the day. There is nothing in the Old Testament to render it improbable that this was the original practice.

2. The high-priest went into the Holy of Holies four times in the course of the day: first, with the censer and incense, while a priest continued to agitate the blood of the bullock lest it should coagulate: secondly, with the blood of the bullock: thirdly, with the blood of the goat: fourthly, after having offered the evening sacrifice, to fetch out the censer and the plate which had contained the incense. These four entrances, forming, as they do, parts of the one great annual rite, are not opposed to a reasonable view of the statement in Heb. ix. 7 and of that in Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* v. 5, § 7. Three of the entrances seem to be very distinctly implied in Lev. xvi. 12, 14, and 15.

3. It is said that the blood of the bullock and that of the goat were each sprinkled *eight* times, once towards the ceiling and seven times on the floor. This does not agree with the words of Josephus (see above, IV.).

4. After he had gone into the most holy place the third time, and had returned into the holy place, the high-priest sprinkled the blood of the bullock eight times towards the veil, and did the same with the blood of the goat. Having then mingled the blood of the two victims together and sprinkled the altar of incense with the mixture, he came into the court and poured out what remained at the foot of the altar of burnt-offering.

5. Most careful directions are given for the preparation of the high-priest for the services of the day. For seven days previously he kept away from his own house and dwelt in a chamber appointed for his use. This was to avoid the accidental causes of pollution which he might meet with in his domestic life. But to provide for the possibility of his incurring some uncleanness in spite of this precaution, a deputy was chosen who might act for him when the day came. In the treatise of the Mishna entitled *Pirke Avoth*, it is stated that no such mischance ever befel the high-priest. But Josephus (*Ant.* xvii. 6, § 4) relates an instance of the high-priest Matthias, in the time of Herod the Great, when his relation Joseph took his place in the sacred office. During the whole of the seven days the high-priest had to perform the ordinary sacerdotal duties of the daily service himself, as well as on the Day of Atonement. On the third day and on the seventh he was sprinkled with the ashes of the red heifer in order to cleanse him in the event of his having touched a dead body without knowing it. On the seventh day he was also required to take a solemn oath before the elders that he would alter nothing whatever in the accustomed rites of the Day of Atonement.[d]

6. Several curious particulars are stated regarding the scapegoat. The two goats of the sin-offering were to be of similar appearance, size, and value. The lots were, originally, of boxwood, but in later times they were of gold. They were put into a little box or urn, into which the high-priest put both his hands and took out a lot in each, while the two goats stood

of the mixed blood at the foot of the large altar, was an ancient one, and was regarded as its purification.

[c] Published in a handy and separate form by Strack, Berlin, 1888.

[d] This, according to the Jerusalem Gemara on *Yoma* (quoted by Lightfoot), was instituted in consequence of an innovation of the Sadducean party, who had directed the high-priest to throw the incense upon the censer outside the veil, and to carry it, smoking, into the Holy of Holies.

before him, one at the right side and the other on the left. The lot in each hand belonged to the goat in the corresponding position, and when the lot "*for Azazel*" happened to be in the right hand, it was regarded as a good omen. The high-priest then tied a piece of scarlet cloth on the scapegoat's head, called "the scarlet tongue," from the shape in which it was cut. Maimonides says that this was only to distinguish him, in order that he might be known when the time came for him to be sent away. But in the Gemara it is asserted that the red cloth ought to turn white, as a token of God's acceptance of the atonement of the day, referring to Is. i. 18. A particular instance of such a change, when also the lot "*to Azazel*" was in the priest's right hand, is related as having occurred in the time of Simon the Just. It is further stated that no such change took place for forty years before the destruction of Jerusalem. The prayer which the high-priest uttered over the head of the goat was as follows:—"O Lord, the house of Israel, Thy people, have trespassed, rebelled, and sinned before Thee. I beseech Thee, O Lord, forgive now their trespasses, rebellions, and sins which Thy people have committed, as it is written in the law of Moses, Thy servant, saying that in that day there shall be 'an atonement for you to cleanse you that ye may be clean from all your sins before the Lord'" (Gemara on *Yoma*, quoted by Frischmuth). The goat was then goaded and rudely treated by the people till it was led away by the man appointed. As soon as it reached a certain spot, which seems to have been regarded as the commencement of the wilderness, a signal was made, by some sort of telegraphic contrivance, to the high-priest, who waited for it. The man who led the goat is said to have taken him to the top of a high precipice and thrown him down backwards, so as to dash him to pieces. If this was not a mistake of the writer of *Yoma*, it must have been, as Spencer argues, a modern innovation. It cannot be doubted that the goat was, originally, set free. Even if there be any uncertainty in the words of the Hebrew, the rendering of the LXX. must be better authority than the Talmud—*καὶ ὁ ἐξαποστέλλων τὸν χίμαρον τὸν διεσταλμένον εἰς ἄφεσιν κ. τ. λ.* (Lev. xvi. 26).

7. The high-priest, as soon as he had received the signal that the goat had reached the wilderness, read some lessons from the Law, and offered up some prayers. He then bathed himself, resumed his coloured garments, and offered either the whole, or a great part, of the accessory offering (mentioned in Num. xxix. 7–11) with the regular evening sacrifice. After this, he washed again, put on the white garments, and entered the most holy place for the fourth time, to fetch out the censer and the incense-plate. This terminated the special rites of the day.

8. The Mishna gives very strict rules for the fasting of the people. In the Law itself no express mention is made of abstinence from food. But it is most likely implied in the command that the people were "to afflict their souls." According to *Yoma*, every Jew (except invalids and children under 13 years of age) is forbidden to eat anything so large as a date, to drink, or to wash from sunset to sunset.

VI. There has been much discussion regarding the meaning of the word Azazel. The opinions which seem most worthy of notice are the following:—

1. It has been regarded as a designation of the goat itself. This view has been most favoured by the old interpreters. They in general supposed it to mean *the goat sent away*, or *let loose* (as though = עֵז אזל, *the going goat*). In accordance with this Symmachus renders it, *ὁ τράγος ἀπερχόμενος*; Aquila, *ὁ τράγος ἀπολελύμενος*; the Vulgate, *caper emissarius*; Luther, *der ledige Bock*; the English translators, *the scapegoat*, &c. The LXX. uses the term *ὁ ἀποπομπαῖος*, applied to the goat itself. Theodoret and Cyril of Alexandria consider the meaning of the Hebrew to be *the goat sent away*, and regard that as the sense of the word used in the LXX. If they were right, *ἀποπομπαῖος* is, of course, not employed in its ordinary meaning (*Averruncus*: see Suicer, *s. v.*). It should also be observed that in the latter clause of Lev. xvi. 10 the LXX. renders the Hebrew term as if it was an abstract noun, translating לַעֲזָאזֵל by *εἰς τὴν ἀποπομπήν* (F. *ἀποπεμπταίῳ*). But the application of עֲזָאזֵל to the goat itself involves the Hebrew text in insuperable difficulties. It can hardly be supposed that the prefix which is common to the designation of the two lots should be used in two different meanings. If one expression is to be rendered *for Jehovah*, it would seem that the other must be *for Azazel*, with the preposition in the same sense. If this is admitted, it does not seem possible to make sense out of Lev. xvi. 10, 26, if Azazel be taken for the goat itself. In these verses the Versions are driven to strange shifts. We have already referred to the inconsistency of the LXX. In the Vulgate and our own Version the first clause of *v.* 10 stands "cujus (*sc.* hirci sors) autem in caprum emissarium"—"but the goat on which the lot fell to be the scapegoat" (R. V. "for Azazel"). In *v.* 26 our Version reads, "And he that let go the goat for the scapegoat" (R. V. "for Azazel"), while the Vulgate cuts the knot to escape from the awkward tautology—"ille vero, qui dimiserit caprum emissarium."

2. Some have taken Azazel for the name of the place to which the goat was sent. (*a*) Abenezra quotes the words of an anonymous writer referring it to a hill near Mount Sinai. Vatablus adopts this opinion (*Critici Sacri*, in Lev. xvi.). (*b*) Some of the Jewish writers, with Le Clerc, consider that it denotes the cliff to which the goat was taken to be thrown down, according to *Yoma*. (*c*) Bochart regarded the word as a pluralis fractus signifying *distant places*, and understood it as a general name for any fit place to which the goat might be sent. But Gesenius remarks that the pluralis fractus, which exists in Arabic, is not found in Hebrew, and he objects also to the tautology.

3. Most modern critics take Azazel for a personal being to whom the goat was sent. (*a*) Gesenius gave to עֲזָאזֵל the same meaning as the LXX. has assigned to it, if *ἀποπομπαῖος* is to be taken in its usual sense; but the being so designated he supposed to be some false deity who was to be appeased by such a sacrifice as

that of the goat. He derived the word from a root unused in Hebrew, but found in Arabic, עזל, *to remove* or *take away* (*Heb. Lex.* s. v.). Ewald, Oehler, H. Schultz, Riehm, Delitzsch, and Dillmann adopt a similar view, supposing Azazel to be the name of an evil spirit popularly supposed to have its dwelling in the desert (cp. Lev. xvii. 7, R. V. marg.; Is. xiii. 21, xxxiv. 14). (*b*) Others have regarded it as denoting the devil himself. In the Book of Enoch (vi. 7, viii. 14, xiii. 14, lxix. 2) the name Azalzel is given to one of the fallen angels; and assuming, with Spencer, that this is a corruption of Azazel, if the book were written, as is generally supposed, by a Jew, c. B.C. 160 (see *Speaker's Comm.* on Apocrypha, i. p. 173, n. 7), it represents an old Jewish opinion on the subject. Origen, adopting the word of the LXX., identifies him with the devil: ἔτι τε ἐν τῷ Λευιτικῷ ἀποπομπαῖος ὃν ἡ Ἑβραικὴ γραφὴ ὠνόμασεν Ἀζαζήλ, οὐδεὶς ἕτερος ἦν (*sc.* ἢ ὁ διάβολος; *c. Cels.* vi. p. 305, ed. Spenc.), and Spencer and Hengstenberg have most elaborately defended the same opinion. Spencer supposes that the goat was given up to the devil, and committed to his disposal. Hengstenberg affirms with great confidence that Azazel cannot possibly be anything but another name for Satan. He repudiates the conclusion that the goat was in any sense a sacrifice to Satan, and does not doubt that it was sent away laden with the sins of God's people, now forgiven, in order to mock their spiritual enemy in the desert, his proper abode, and to symbolize by its free gambols their exulting triumph. He considers that the origin of the rite was Egyptian, and that the Jews substituted Satan for Typhon, whose dwelling was the desert. The obvious objection to Spencer's view is that the goat formed part of a sin-offering to the Lord, and that it, with its fellow, had been formally presented before the Lord at the door of the Tabernacle. Few, perhaps, will be satisfied with Hengstenberg's mode of meeting this difficulty.

4. To obviate the objections which have been felt in supposing the goat to have been sent to an evil spirit or demon, it has been proposed to treat לעזאזל as an appellative, and to render "for dismissal" (R. V. marg.). Thus understood, the word would come from עָזַל (the root adopted by Gesenius), being the Pealal form, which indicates intensity. This view is held by Tholuck (quoted and approved by Thompson), by Bähr, and by Winer. The objection to it is (1) that the antithesis "to Jehovah" suggests strongly that לעזאזל is a designation of a personal being; (2) that the Pealal form indicates intensity of a very peculiar kind (Ges.-Kautzsch, § 55, 3; Stade, *Lehrb.* § 156), such as would not be probable in such a connexion as the present.

On the whole the opinion that Azazel is a personal name is the most probable, though the precise derivation must remain uncertain, as Azazel seems not to be a genuinely Hebrew word. With Dillmann (note on Lev. xvi. 10) and Driver (*Expositor*, 1885, p. 214 sq.) it is sufficient to recognise here the survival of an older stage of religious belief, probably Egyptian, engrafted upon or accommodated to the sacrificial system of the Hebrews.

VII. The Talmudist view of the Day of Atonement in *Yoma* (cap. viii.) is sound and edifying: "The Day of Atonement and death work atonement where there is penitence. Penitence itself makes atonement for slight transgressions, and in the case of grosser sins it obtains a respite until the Day of Atonement comes and works reconciliation. If a man say, 'I will continue to sin, and repent on the Day of Atonement,' no opportunity shall be given him of completing his repentance. Or if he say, 'I will sin and the Day of Atonement will make it right,' that Day will bring him no atonement." Authorities quoted by Frischmuth (p. 917) seem to indicate that the peculiar atoning virtue of the day was supposed to rest in the scapegoat.

Philo (*Lib. de Septenario*) regarded the day in a very noble light. He spoke of it as an occasion for the discipline of self-restraint in regard to bodily indulgence, and for bringing home to our minds the truth that man does not live by bread alone, but by whatever God is pleased to appoint. The prayers proper for the day, he says, are those for forgiveness of sins past and for amendment of life in future, to be offered in dependence, not on our own merits, but on the goodness of God.

It cannot be doubted that what especially distinguished the symbolical expiation of this day from that of the other services of the Law, was its broad and national character, with perhaps a deeper reference to the sin which belongs to the nature of man. Ewald instructively remarks that though the least uncleanness of an individual might be atoned by the rites of the Law which could be observed at other times, there was a consciousness of secret and indefinite sin pervading the congregation, which was aptly met by this great annual fast. Hence, in its national character, he sees an antithesis between it and the Passover, the great festival of social life; and, in its atoning significance, he regards it as a fit preparation for the rejoicing at the ingathering of the fruits of the earth in the Feast of Tabernacles. Philo looked upon its position in the Jewish calendar in the same light.

In considering the meaning of the particular rites of the day, three points appear to be of a very distinctive character. 1. The white garments of the high-priest. 2. His entrance into the Holy of Holies. 3. The scapegoat. The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews (ix. 7–25) teaches us to apply the first two particulars. The high-priest, with his person cleansed and dressed in white garments, was himself the best outward type which a living man could present in his own person of that pure and Holy One Who was to purify His people and to cleanse them from their sins.

But respecting the meaning of the scapegoat, we have no such light to guide us, and (as has been already implied in what has been stated regarding the word Azazel) the subject is one of great doubt and difficulty.

Of those who take Azazel for the Evil Spirit, some have supposed that the goat was a sort of bribe, or retaining fee, for the accuser of men. Spencer, in supposing that it was given up with its load of sin, to the enemy to be tormented

made it a symbol of the punishment of the wicked; while, according to the strange notion of Hengstenberg, that it was sent to mock the devil, it was significant of the freedom of those who had become reconciled to God.

Some few of those who have held a different opinion on the word Azazel, have supposed that the goat was taken into the wilderness to suffer there vicariously for the sins of the people. But it has been generally considered that it was dismissed to signify the carrying away of their sins, as it were, out of the sight of Jehovah.[a]

If we keep in view that the two goats are spoken of as parts of one and the same sin-offering, and that every circumstance connected with them appears to have been carefully arranged to bring them under the same conditions up to the time of the casting of the lots, we shall not have much difficulty in seeing that they form together but one symbolical expression. Why there were two individuals instead of one may be simply this—that a single material object could not, in its nature, symbolically embrace the whole of the truth which was to be expressed. This is implied in the reasoning of the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews on the office and sacrifice of Christ (Heb. ix.). Hence some, regarding each goat as a type of Christ, supposed that the one which was slain represented His death, and that the goat set free signified His resurrection (Cyril, Bochart, and others, quoted by Spencer). But we shall take a simpler and perhaps a truer view, if we look upon the slain goat as setting forth the act of sacrifice, in giving up its own life for others "to Jehovah," in accordance with the requirements of the Divine law; and the goat which carried off its load of sin "for complete removal" (§ vi. 4), as signifying the cleansing influence of faith in that sacrifice. Thus in his degree the devout Israelite might have felt the truth of the Psalmist's words, "As far as the east is from the west, so far hath he removed our transgressions from us" (Ps. ciii. 12). But for us the whole spiritual truth has been revealed in historical fact, in the life, death, and resurrection of Him Who was made sin for us, Who died for us, and Who rose again for our justification. This Mediator, it was necessary, should, "in some unspeakable manner, unite death and life" (Maurice on Sacrifice, p. 85).

Spencer, *de legibus Hebraeorum Ritualibus*, lib. iii. Dissertatio viii.; Lightfoot's *Temple Service*, c. xv.; *Yoma*, with the notes in Surenhusius' ed. of the *Mishna*, vol. ii., and Strack's edition already named; Frischmuth, *Dissertatio de Hirco Emissario*, in the Thesaurus Theologico-Philologicus; Ewald, *Die Alterthümer des Volkes Israel*, p. 370 sq.; Hengstenberg, *Egypt and the Books of Moses*, on Lev. xvi. (English Translation), and *Christologie, Protevangelium;* Thomson (Archbp. of York), *Bampton Lectures*, Lect. iii. and notes. Cp. also Wünsche, *Der Babylon. Talmud in seinen haggadischen Bestandtheilen*, i. § viii. Tractat *Joma;* Oehler, *Theol. of the Old Test.* § 140, 12, 13; Schultz,[4] *A. T. Theol.* pp. 368, 650; Riehm, *Alttest. Theol.* § 37. For the modes in which the Modern Jews have regarded and observed the Day of Atonement, see Buxtorf, *Synagoga Judaica*, cap. xx.; Picart, *Cérémonies Religieuses*, vol. i.; Mills, *The British Jews*, pp. 167–174. [On critical questions arising in connexion with Lev. xvi., see D. Hoffmann, *Mag. für Wiss. d. Jud.* 1876, p. 1 sq.; Delitzsch, *ZKWL.* 1880, p. 173 sq.; Dillmann, *EL.* pp. 523-526; *NDJ.* p. 673; Wellh. *Hist.* pp. 110–112; Adler, *ZATW.* 1883, p. 178 sq.; Kuenen, *Hex.* §§ 6. 23, 15. 32; *Theol. Tijdschr.* 1883, pp. 207–212; Stade, *Gesch.* ii. pp. 182, 258–260; Benzinger, *ZATW.* 1889, p. 65 sq.—S. R. D.] [S. C.]

Lev. xvi., the chief passage dealing with the ritual and meaning of the Day of Atonement, forms part of what is now usually called the Priests' Code (see BIBLE, p. 427). This Code dates, according to the Book of Leviticus itself, from the time of Moses; according to Dillmann, from the 9th cent. B.C.; according to Wellhausen, from after the time of the Exile. The subject generally is discussed elsewhere [FASTS, FEASTS]; a few words only are introduced here with reference to this special holy day. One of the arguments urged in favour of a late date and late composition is the *argumentum e silentio*. No allusion to the fast is said to be found, outside of the Pentateuch, till the days of Simon the High Priest (Ecclus. l. 1–5; *i.e.* in the 3rd cent. if Simon I. be intended, or in the 2nd cent. if Simon II. See *Speaker's Comm.* on Apocrypha, Introd. to Ecclus. § ii.), and all mention of it is absent from certain passages in the historical and prophetical Books, where it is thought mention should have been made. The *argumentum e silentio* is always precarious, and a careful examination of the context and bearings of the passages in question (*e.g.* 1 K. viii. 2, 65; Ezra iii. 1–6; Neh. viii.; Ezek. xlv. 18–20; Zech. vii. 8) does not by any means support the view that allusion to the great day was requisite. [F.]

AT'ROTH (עַטְרוֹת = *crowns of*), a city of Gad, named with Aroer and Jaazer (Num. xxxii. 35). No doubt the name should be taken with that following it, Shophan; the addition serving to distinguish this place from the Ataroth in the same neighbourhood, and mentioned in *v.* 34. The Vulgate has *Etroth et Sophan;* A. V. "Atroth, Shophan;" R. V. more correctly, *Atroth-shophan*. In the LXX. reminiscences of Shophan alone remain (B. Σοφάρ, A. γὴν Σωφάρ, F. Σωφάν). It was perhaps on *Jebel 'Attarûs*, N.W. of *Dhibân*, Dibon [ATAROTH]. [G.] [W.]

AT'TAI (עַתַּי; B. Ἐθθεί, A. Ἰεθθί; *Ethei*). **1.** Grandson of Sheshan the Jerahmeelite through his daughter Ahlai, whom he gave in marriage to Jarha, his Egyptian slave (1 Ch. ii. 35, 36). His grandson Zabad was one of David's mighty men (1 Ch. xi. 41).

2. B. Ἐθοί, A. Ἐθθεί; *Ethi*. One of the lion-faced warriors of Gad, captains of the host, who forded the Jordan at the time of its overflow, and joined David in the wilderness (1 Ch. xii. 11).

3. B. Ἰεθθεί, A. -ί; *Ethai*. Second son of king Rehoboam by Maachah the daughter of Absalom (2 Ch. xi. 20). [W. A. W.] [F.]

[a] In the similar part of the rite for the purification of the leper (Lev. xiv. 6, 7), in which a live bird was set free, it must be evident that the bird signified the carrying away of the uncleanness of the sufferer in precisely the same manner.

ATTALI'A (Ἀτταλεία; *Attalia*), a coast-town of Pamphylia, mentioned only very casually in the New Testament (Acts xiv. 25), as the place from which Paul and Barnabas sailed on their return to Antioch from their missionary journey into the inland parts of Asia Minor. It does not appear that they made any stay, or attempted to preach the Gospel in Attalia. This city, however, though comparatively modern at that time, was a place of considerable importance in the 1st century, and has continued to exist till now. Its name in the 12th century was *Satalia*, a corruption, of which the crusading chronicler, William of Tyre, gives a curious explanation. It is now called *Adalia*, and sometimes *Antalia*.

Attalus Philadelphus, king of Pergamum, ruled over the western part of the peninsula from the N. to the S., and was in want of a port which should be useful for the trade of Egypt and Syria, as Troas was for that of the Aegean. Thus Attalia was built and named after the monarch. It occupies a fine site, and probably soon became, as it is now, the chief port on the south coast of Asia Minor. It appears to have had close relations with Perga. There are many inscriptions and ruins of the Roman period.

There has been considerable doubt concerning the exact position of Attalia. There is a discrepancy even between Strabo and Ptolemy, the former placing it to the W. of the river Catarrhactes, the latter to the E. This may probably be accounted for by the peculiar character of this river, the calcareous waters of which are continually making changes in the channels. Beaufort thought that the modern *Adalia* is the ancient Olbia, and that *Laara* is the true Attalia. Forbiger, after Mannert, is inclined to identify the two places. But Spratt and Forbes found the true Olbia further to the west, and have confirmed Leake's opinion, that Attalia is where the modern name would lead us to expect to find it (Beaufort's *Karamania*; Spratt and Forbes' *Lycia*; *Dict. of G. and R. Geog.*, art. ATTALEIA). [J. S. H.] [W.]

AT'TALUS (Ἄτταλος, a Macedonian name of uncertain origin), the name of three kings of Pergamus who reigned respectively B.C. 241–197, 159–138 (Philadelphus), 138–133 (Philometor). They were all faithful allies of the Romans (Liv. xlv. 13); and the last-named appointed the Romans his heirs. It is uncertain whether the letters sent from Rome in favour of the Jews (1 Macc. xv. 22) were addressed to Attalus II. (Polyb. xxv. 6, xxxi. 9, xxxii. 3, 5, 8, &c., 25 f.; Strab. xiii. 4; Just. xxxv. 1, xxxvi. 4, 5; App. *Mith.* 62) or Attalus III., as their date falls in B.C. 139–8 [LUCIUS], about the time when the latter succeeded his uncle. Josephus quotes a Pergamene decree in favour of the Jews (*Ant.* xiv. 10, § 22) in the time of Hyrcanus (c. B.C. 112); cp. Rev. ii. 12–17. [B. F. W.]

ATTHARA'TES (Ἀτθάρατης; *Atharathes*), 1 Esd. ix. 49 (see *Speaker's Comm.* in loco); a corruption of the title "the Tirshatha" (cp. Neh. viii. 9); cp. ATHARIAS. [W. A. W.]

AU'GIA (Αὐγία; om. in Vulg.). The daughter of Berzelus, or Barzillai, according to 1 Esd. v. 38 (the names in the LXX. are different). Her descendants by Addus were among the priests whose genealogy could not be substantiated after the return from Babylon. The name does not occur in the lists of Ezra or Nehemiah. [W. A. W.]

AUGUSTUS (Αὐγοῦστος, Luke ii. 1; Σεβαστός, Acts xxv. 21 and 25; *Augustus*). In Luke ii. 1 the name designates Octavian, who first bore the title, and is generally known in history as Augustus. In the two references in Acts "Augustus" is simply equivalent to "emperor," and is so rendered in R. V. to avoid the confusion which might arise from the A. V. "Augustus." The emperor there intended is Nero. Augustus (Octavian) is mentioned by St. Luke as the author of the decree which was the occasion of Joseph's journey to Bethlehem. For the decree and questions connected with it, see CYRENIUS. Only a very short sketch of Octavian's life can be given here. He was born B.C. 63. His father was Caius Octavius, and his mother Atia, daughter of Julia, sister to C. Julius Caesar, the dictator. Having lost his father while young, he came under the charge of his great uncle Julius. After the murder of his uncle, the young C. Octavius succeeded to a great part of his wealth, and, being adopted into the Gens Julia, was thenceforth known as C. Julius Caesar Octavianus, and no longer as C. Octavius. He fought for the Republic against Antony at Mutina; but soon we find him marching upon Rome, and extorting his election to the consulship, B.C. 43. Sent to defend the Republic against Antony and Lepidus, he met them in friendly conference near Bononia, and formed with them a triumvirate for the government of the empire. They divided among themselves the provinces and the legions. After the deposition of Lepidus the West was entirely in the hands of Octavian. His final struggle with Antony for the supreme power could not long be delayed. It was decided by his naval victory at Actium, B.C. 31, and the suicide of Antony. On Octavian's return to Rome, B.C. 29, instead of surrendering his military command (*imperium*) he retained with the name of Imperator the permanent control of all the military forces of the empire. By virtue of this control, together with the principate of the senate, the consulate, the tribunician power, &c., he was in fact, though not in name, the absolute master of the state. The offices and forms of the Republic were retained to give a popular colour to the government of an irresponsible ruler. For a detailed account of this system, see Merivale, *Hist. Emp.* xxxi. No single title expressed the aggregate of powers combined in Octavian's person; but the honorific epithet Augustus conferred on him, B.C. 27, marked his unique position, and was inherited by his successors, *e.g.* Nero, as in the passages quoted (Acts xxv. 21, 25). The title—for such it became—was closely connected with the growing opinion of the sacredness of the prince's person, which culminated in emperor-worship. Dion says that Augustus took the title as "being (himself) something more than human." This aspect of the title is emphasised in the alternative Greek form Σεβαστός (cp. Dion Cass. liii. 16 and 18, quoted by Westcott, *Epp. St. John*, The Church and the World, where see whole passage, pp. 255–

269). Merivale says, "The adjunct, though never given to a man, had been applied to things most noble, most venerable, most divine. The rites of the gods were called august, the temples were august."

The principal point of contact between Augustus and Jewish history lies in the support and favour which he gave to Herod the Great. Immediately after the defeat at Actium of his early patron Antony, Herod contrived to ingratiate himself with Augustus, and before long received back Jericho, which Antony had taken away, with considerable additions of territory, B.C. 30 (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 6, § 5 sq., and 7, § 3). Other marks of favour followed, and Josephus, writing of a later period, said that, next to Agrippa, Augustus preferred no one to Herod. In compliance with the custom of emperor-worship mentioned above, Herod built temples in his patron's honour at Panium (Caesarea Philippi) and at Caesarea Sebaste. Augustus was well disposed towards the nation, as well as its ruler. With his wife he presented wine-flagons to the Temple at Jerusalem (Jos. *B. J.* v. 13, § 6); and Josephus gives an edict of his, granting the fullest security and religious liberty to the Jews in Asia and Libya (*Ant.* xvi. 6, § 2). For the partition by Augustus of Herod's dominions, see ARCHELAUS. He died at Nola in Campania, A.D. 14, in his seventy-sixth year, and was succeeded by Tiberius. For a fuller account, see AUGUSTUS, *Dict. Biogr. and Mythol.* [E. R. B.]

Medal of Augustus. (British Museum.)

AUGUSTUS' BAND (Acts xxvii. 1). [ARMY, p. 247 a.] [G.]

AU'RANUS (τις Αὐράνος), leader of a riot at Jerusalem (2 Macc. iv. 40). In the LXX. B. and in the Vulgate the name is rendered τις τυράννος, *quidam tyrannus*. [W. A. W.]

AUTE'AS (T.ʳ Αὐταίας; Vulg. omits), name of a Levite who taught the Law under Ezra (1 Esd. ix. 48). [HODIJAH.] [W. A. W.]

A'VA (עַוָּא = Avva; Ἀιά; *Avah*), a place at present unknown in the empire of Assyria, from which colonies were brought to re-people the cities of Samaria after the deportation of the Jews (2 K. xvii. 24). From the names in connexion with which it is introduced, some think it the same place as Ivah. [IVAH.] Schrader (*KAT.*² p. 281) notes that the name has not yet been found in the inscriptions. [F.]

AV'ARAN (Αὐαράν; *Abaron*), surname of Eleazar, brother of Judas Maccabaeus (1 Macc. ii. 5). [ELEAZAR, 8.] [W.]

A'VEN (אָוֶן = *nothingness*; ⁷Ων; *idolum*). **1.** The "plain of Aven," marg. "Bikath-aven"; R. V. "Valley of A." (בִּקְעַת־אָוֶן) is mentioned by Amos (i. 5), in his denunciation of Aram (Syria) and the country to the N. of Palestine. It has not been identified with certainty. Michaelis (notes on Amos) heard from a native of Damascus of a valley near that city, called Un, and he quotes a Damascene proverb referring to it; but the information was at best suspicious, and has not been confirmed, although the neighbourhood of Damascus has been tolerably well explored by Burckhardt (App. iv.) and by Porter. The Prophet, however, would seem to be alluding to some principal district of the country, of equal importance with Damascus itself; and so the LXX. have understood it, taking the letters as pointed אֹון, and expressing it in their version as πεδίον ⁷Ων. By this they doubtless intended the great plain of Lebanon, Coelesyria, in which the renowned idol temple of Baalbek or Heliopolis was situated, and which still retains the very same name by which Amos and Joshua designated it, *el Bûka'a*. This name is also applied to a "fine large valley" six hours south of Jerash (Van de Velde, *Map*; and Lindsay, p. 278). The application of Aven as a term of reproach or contempt to a flourishing idol sanctuary, and the play or paronomasia therein contained, is quite in keeping with the manner of Amos and of Hosea. The latter frequently applies the very same word to Bethel. [BETHAVEN.]

2. In Hos. x. 8, "the high places of Aven" (בָּמוֹת אָוֶן; βωμοὶ ⁷Ων; *excelsa idoli*), the word is clearly a contraction of Beth-aven; that is, Bethel (cp. iv. 15, &c. See *Speaker's Comm.* i. l.).

3. In Ezek. xxx. 17, A. V. and R. V. "Aven" (A. V. marg. *Heliopolis*); אָוֶן (Cornill). In this manner are pointed the letters of the name which is elsewhere given as On, אוֹן, the sacred city of Heliopolis or On, in Egypt. [ON.] The LXX. and Vulgate both render it accordingly, Ἡλιουπόλις, *Heliopolis*. The intention of the prophet is doubtless to play upon the name in the same manner as Amos and Hosea. See above (1). [G.] [W.]

A'VIM, A'VIMS, or A'VITES[a] (הָעַוִּים = the Avvim, as in R. V.; *oi* Εὐαῖοι, the word elsewhere used by the LXX. for Hivites; *Hevaei*). **1.** An early, but perhaps not an aboriginal[b] people among the inhabitants of Palestine, whom we meet with in the S.W. corner of the sea-coast, whither they may have made their way northwards from the Desert (Stanley, *Sinai and Pal.* App. § 83). The only notice of them which has come down to us is contained in a remarkable fragment of primeval history preserved in Deut. ii. 23. Here we see them "dwelling in 'the' villages" (or nomad encampments—*Chatzerim*) in the S. part of the Shefela, or great western lowland, "as far as Gaza." In these rich possessions they were attacked by the invading Philistines, "the Caphtorim which came forth out of Caphtor," and who "destroyed" them, and "dwelt in their stead." The remains of them are spoken of in Josh. xiii. 3, 4, "the Avvim on

[a] It is characteristic of the looseness of the A. V. that this name is given differently each time it occurs, and that they are all inaccurate.

[b] According to Ewald (*Geschichte*, i. 310) and Bertheau, the Avvim were an *Urvolk* of Palestine proper. They may have been so, but there is nothing to prove it, while the mode of their dwellings points rather to the desert as their origin.

the south" (so R. V., with LXX., Pesh., Vulg., Dillm., Keil) as dwelling south of the Philistines.

Nothing more is told us of this ancient people. Possibly a trace of their existence is to be found in the town "Avim" (accurately, as in the other cases, "the Avvim") which occurs among the cities of Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 23), and which may have preserved the memory of some family of the extinct people driven up out of their fertile plains to take refuge in the wild hills of Bethel; just as in the "Zemaraim" of the preceding verse we have probably a reminiscence of the otherwise forgotten Zemarites. [ZEMARAIM.] But, on the other hand, it is possible that the word in this place is but a variation or corruption of the name of Ai. [So Dillmann. Keil remarks that the site of Avvim is unknown.—S. R. D.] [AI.]

2. The people of Avva, among the colonists who were sent by the king of Assyria to reinhabit the depopulated cities of Israel (2 K. xvii. 31). [AVA.] They were idolaters, worshipping gods called Nibhaz and Tartak. [G.] [W.]

AVITH (עֲוִית; A. Γεθθάιμ, in Gen.; in 1 Ch. B. Γεθθάιμ; A. Γεθθάμ; *Avith*), the city of Hadad ben-Bedad, one of the kings of Edom before there were kings in Israel (Gen. xxxvi. 35; 1 Ch. i. 46; in the latter passage the text [*Chetib*] has עִיּוֹת, which in the *Keri* is corrected to agree with the reading in Genesis). The name may be compared with *el-Ghoweitheh* (الغويثة) a "chain of low hills," mentioned by Burckhardt (p. 375) as lying to the E. of the district of *Kerek* in Moab (Dillmann,[5] *Genesis*, l. c.). [G.] [W.]

AWL (מַרְצֵעַ; ὀπήτιον; *subula*), a tool of which we do not know the ancient form. The only notice of it is in connexion with the custom of boring the ear of the slave (Ex. xxi. 6; Deut. xv. 17). [W. L. B.]

AXE. Seven Hebrew words are thus rendered in the A. V.

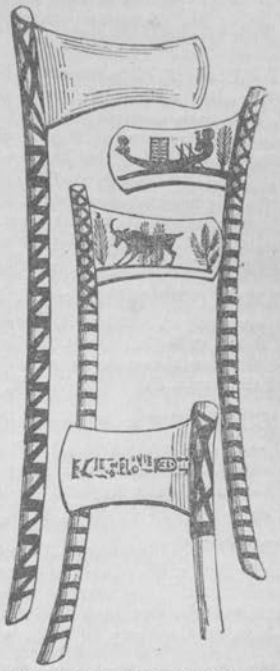
1. גַּרְזֶן, *Garzen*, from a root signifying "to cut or sever," as "hatchet," from "hack," corresponds to the Lat. *securis*. It consisted of a head of iron (cp. Is. x. 34), fastened, with thongs or otherwise, upon a handle of wood, and so liable to slip off (Deut. xix. 5; 2 K. vi. 5). It was used for felling trees (Deut. xx. 19), and also for shaping the wood when felled, or rather perhaps for hewing stone, as on the Siloam Inscription (1 K. vi. 7).

2. חֶרֶב, *Chereb*, which is usually translated "sword," is used of other cutting instruments, as a "knife" (Josh. v. 2) or razor (Ezek. v. 1), or a tool for hewing or dressing stones (Ex. xx. 25), and is once rendered "axe" (Ezek. xxvi. 9; R. V. marg., Heb. *swords*), evidently denoting a weapon for destroying buildings, a pickaxe.

3. כַּשִּׁיל, *Casshîl*, occurs but once (Ps. lxxiv. 6), and is evidently a later word, denoting a large axe. It is also found in the Targum of Jer. xlvi. 22.

4. מַגְזֵרָה, *Magzêrâh* (2 Sam. xii. 31), and

5. מַגֵּרָה, *Mĕgêrâh* (1 Ch. xx. 3), are found in the description of the punishments inflicted by David upon the Ammonites of Rabbah. The word מַגֵּרָה is found twice in this verse; once in the singular, where it is translated by A. V. and R. V. "saws," and once in the plural, where it is translated by A. V. and R. V. "axes." Some have thought 5 an error of the transcriber for 4.

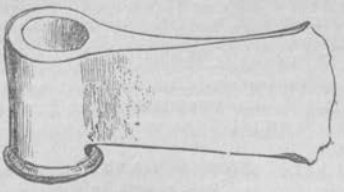


Egyptian Axes or Hatchets. (Thebes and in the Brit. Museum.)

6. מַעֲצָד, *Ma'ătsâd*, rendered "axe" in the text of R. V. and in the margin of the A. V. of Is. xliv. 12, and in Jer. x. 3 (A. V. and R. V.). This was an instrument employed both by the ironsmith and the carpenter, and is supposed to be a curved knife or bill, smaller than

7. קַרְדֹּם, *Kardôm*, a large axe used for felling trees (Judg. ix. 48; 1 Sam. xiii. 20, 21; Ps. lxxiv. 5; Jer. xlvi. 22).

The words 1 and 5 have an etymological affinity with each other, the idea of cutting being that which is expressed by their roots. The "battle-ax," מַפֵּץ, *mappêts* (Jer. li. 20), was probably, as its root indicates, a heavy mace or maul (R. V. marg.), like that which gave a surname to a "Maccabee" or to Charles *Martel*. [W. A. W.]



Assyrian Axe.

AZ'AEL (Ἀζάηλος; *Ezelus*), father of the Jonathan who with Ezechias undertook the rectification of the matter of the strange mar-

riages (1 Esd. ix. 14. On the difficulty connected with the passage, see note in *Speaker's Comm.*). [ASAHEL.] [W. A. W.] [F.]

AZAE'LUS (B. Ἀζάηλος, A. Ἀζαήλ; *Dielus*), an Israelite in the time of Esdras; the name is thought to be a repetition of that preceding it, Ezril (1 Esd. ix. 34. See note there in *Speaker's Comm.*). [W. A. W.] [F.]

A'ZAL (Atzel, אָצֵל, in pause אָצֶל, R. V. *Azel*; T.' Ἰασόδ, A. Ἀσαήλ; *usque ad proximum*), a name only occurring in Zech. xiv. 5. It is mentioned as the limit to which the "ravine" or cleft (גַּיְא) of the Mount of Olives will extend when "Jehovah shall go forth to fight." Nothing more is known about it; but it is thought by many to be identical with Bethezel (Mic. i. 11). Against the view that it is an appellative, see Keil, i. l. [G.] [S. R. D.]

AZALI'AH (אֲצַלְיָהוּ, Ges. = *Jah hath set apart* or *reserved*; B. Ἐλίας, A. Ἐσσελίας in K., BA. Σελιὰ in 2 Ch.; *Aslia, Eselias*). The father of Shaphan the scribe under Josiah (2 K. xxii. 3; 2 Ch. xxxiv. 8). [W. A. W.] [F.]

AZANI'AH (אֲזַנְיָה = *Jah heareth*; B. Ἀζανεία, A. -νία, ℵ. -νιήλ; *Azanias*). The father or near ancestor of Jeshua the Levite in the time of Nehemiah, one who sealed the covenant (Neh. x. 9). [W. A. W.] [F.]

AZA'PHION (B. Ἀσσαφειώθ, A. Ἀσαφφιώθ; *Sephegus*), 1 Esd. v. 33. Possibly a corruption of SOPHERETH (E. V. *l. c.* marg.). One of the descendants "of the servants of Solomon" who went up from the Captivity. [W. A. W.] [F.]

AZ'ARA (Ἀσαρά; *Attre*), one of the "servants of the Temple" (1 Esd. v. 31). No corresponding name can be traced in the parallel list in Ezra. [W. A. W.]

AZAR'AEL (the same name as the succeeding one; עֲזַרְאֵל; B. Ὀζειήλ, ℵ$^{c.a}$ Ὀζριήλ [ρ supersc.]; *Azareel*), a Levite musician among those who "went on the right hand upon the wall" in the solemn dedication of the walls (Neh. xii. 36). [W. A. W.] [F.]

AZAR'EEL (עֲזַרְאֵל = *El hath helped*; B. Ὀζριήλ, A. Ἐλιήλ; *Azareel*). 1. A Korhite who joined David in his retreat at Ziklag (1 Ch. xii. 6).

2. B. Ἀζαριά, A. Ἐζριήλ. A Levite musician of the family of Heman in the time of David, 1 Ch. xxv. 18; called UZZIEL in xxv. 4.

3. B. Ἀζαραήλ, A. Ἐζριήλ; *Ezrihel*. Son of Jeroham, and prince of the tribe of Dan when David numbered the people (1 Ch. xxvii. 22).

4. B. Ἐζερήλ, A. Ἐζριήλ, ℵ Ἐσριήλ; *Ezrel*. One of the sons of Bani, who put away his foreign wife on the remonstrance of Ezra (Ezra x. 41); apparently the same as ESRIL (1 Esd. ix. 34).

5. B. Ἐσδριήλ, A. Ἐζριήλ (ℵ has here some additions. See Swete's text in Neh. *l. c.*); *Azreel*. Father, or ancestor, of Maasiai, or Amashai, a priest who dwelt in Jerusalem after the return from Babylon (Neh. xi. 13; cp. 1 Ch. ix. 12). [W. A. W.] [F.]

AZARI'AH (עֲזַרְיָה and עֲזַרְיָהוּ; Ἀζαρίας; *Azarias*; = *whom Jah hath helped*). It is a common name in Hebrew, and especially in the families of the priests of the line of ELEAZAR, whose name has a similar meaning to AZARIAH. It is nearly identical, and is often confounded with Ezra as well as with Zerahiah and Seraiah. The principal persons who bore this name were:—

1. B. Ζαρειά, A. Ἀζαρία. Son of Ethan, of the sons of Zerah, where, perhaps, Zerahiah is the more probable reading (1 Ch. ii. 8).

2. Son of Ahimaaz (1 Ch. vi. 9). He appears from 1 K. iv. 2 to have succeeded Zadok, his grandfather, in the high-priesthood, in the reign of Solomon, Ahimaaz having died before Zadok. [AHIMAAZ.] To him, it can scarcely be doubted, instead of to his grandson, Azariah the son of Johanan, belongs the notice in 1 Ch. vi. 10, "He it is that executed the priest's office in the Temple that Solomon built at Jerusalem," meaning that he officiated at the consecration of the Temple, and was the first high-priest that ministered in it. The other interpretation which has been put upon these words, as alluding to the Azariah who was high-priest in Uzziah's reign, and who resisted the king when he attempted to offer incense, is quite unsuited to the words they are meant to explain, and utterly at variance with the chronology. For this Azariah of 1 Ch. vi. 10 precedes Amariah, the high-priest in Jehoshaphat's reign, whereas Uzziah was king five reigns after Jehoshaphat. Josephus merely mentions Azarias as the son and successor of Ahimaaz.

3. The son of Johanan (1 Ch. vi. 10, 11). He must have been high-priest in the reigns of Abijah and Asa, as we know his son Amariah was in the days of Jehoshaphat, the son of Asa. It does not appear what part he took in Asa's zealous reformation (2 Ch. xv.), nor whether he approved the stripping of the House of God of its treasures to induce Benhadad to break his league with Baasha king of Israel, as related in 2 Ch. xvi., for his name and his office are never alluded to in the history of Asa's reign, either in the Books of Kings or Chronicles. The active persons in the religious movement of the times were the king himself and the two prophets,—Azariah the son of Oded, and Hanani. The silence concerning Azariah, the high-priest, is, perhaps, rather unfavourable than otherwise to his religious character. His name is almost lost in Josephus's list of the high-priests. Having lost, as we saw in the article AMARIAH, its termination ΑΣ, which adhered to the following name, it got by some process transformed into Ἰσσος.

4. The high-priest in the reign of UZZIAH, tenth king of Judah (2 K. xiv. 21; xv. 1, 6, 7, 8, 17, 23, 27; 1 Ch. iii. 12). The most memorable event of his life is that which is recorded in 2 Ch. xxvi. 17–20. When king Uzziah, elated by his great prosperity and power, "transgressed against the Lord his God, and went into the Temple of the Lord to burn incense upon the altar of incense," Azariah the priest, accompanied by eighty of his brethren, went in boldly after him, and withstood him. With unflinching faithfulness, and a high sense of his own responsibility as

ruler of the House of God, he addressed the king with the well-merited reproof—"*It* appertaineth not unto thee, Uzziah, to burn incense unto the Lord, but to the priests the sons of Aaron, that are consecrated to burn incense: go out of the sanctuary, for thou hast trespassed: neither shall it be for thine honour from the Lord God." And it is added that when "Azariah the chief priest and all the priests looked upon him, behold he was leprous in his forehead, and they thrust him out from thence; yea himself hasted to go out, because the Lord had smitten him." Uzziah was a leper unto the day of his death, and, as such, was never able again to go to the Lord's House, which he had so presumptuously invaded. Azariah was contemporary with Isaiah the Prophet, and with Amos and Joel, and doubtless witnessed the great earthquake in Uzziah's reign (Amos i. 1; Zech. xiv. 5). He is not mentioned in the list of Josephus. Ἰούηλος occurs instead; possibly the name of the *prophet* inadvertently substituted for that of the *high-priest*. Neither is he in the priestly genealogy of 1 Ch. vi.

5. The high-priest in the days of Hezekiah (2 Ch. xxxi. 10–13). He appears to have co-operated zealously with the king in that thorough purification of the Temple and restoration of the Temple-services which was so conspicuous a feature in Hezekiah's reign. He especially interested himself in providing chambers in the House of the Lord in which to stow the tithes and offerings and consecrated things for the use of the priests and Levites, and in appointing overseers to have the charge of them. For the attendance of priests and Levites, and the maintenance of the Temple-services, depended entirely upon the supply of such offerings, and whenever the people neglected them the priests and Levites were forced to disperse themselves to their villages, and so the House of God was deserted (cp. Neh. x. 35–39; xii. 27–30, 44–47). His name seems to be corrupted into Νηρίας in Josephus. He succeeded Urijah, who was high-priest in the reign of Ahaz. Who his successor was is uncertain. He is not, any more than the preceding, included in the genealogy of 1 Ch. vi.

6. Another Azariah is inserted between Hilkiah, in Josiah's reign, and Seraiah, who was put to death by Nebuchadnezzar (1 Ch. vi. 13). But Josephus does not acknowledge him, making Seraiah the son of Hilkiah, and there seems to be scarcely room for him. It seems likely that he may have been inserted to assimilate the genealogy to that of Ezra vii. 1, where, however, the Seraiah and Azariah are probably neither of them the high-priests of those names.

7. Several other priests and Levites of this name occur, as (*a*) Son of Zephaniah and ancestor of Elkanah, taken by some to be the father of Samuel the prophet (1 Ch. vi. 36). (*b*) Son of Hilkiah in the genealogy of Ezra (Ezra vii. 1; 1 Ch. ix. 11, called Seraiah in Neh. xi. 11). (*c*) One of the leaders of the children of the province who went up with Zerubbabel from Babylon (Neh. vii. 7); elsewhere called Seraiah (Ezra ii. 2) and ZACHARIAS (1 Esd. v. 8). (*d*) Son of Maaseiah, one of the priests, "the men of the plain," who repaired a portion of the wall (Neh. iii. 23, 24). (*e*) A Levite who assisted Ezra in instructing people in the knowledge of the Law (Neh. viii. 7), called AZARIAS in 1 Esd. ix. 43. (*f*) One of the priests who sealed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 2), and probably the same as the Azariah who assisted in the dedication of the city wall (Neh. xii. 33). (*g*) Two other Levites (2 Ch. xxix. 12) in the days of Hezekiah; one the father of Joel the Kohathite, the other the son of Jehalelel the Merarite.

8. B. Ὀρνειά, Bᵇ. -ια, A. Ἀζαρίας. A chief officer of Solomon, the son of Nathan, perhaps David's grandson (1 K. iv. 5).

9. עֲזַרְיָה. Son of Jehoshaphat king of Judah (2 Ch. xxi. 2); not to be confounded with his brother, also called Azariah (עֲזַרְיָהוּ). B. omits; A. inserts it once, after Zacharias).

10. The original name of Abed-nego (Dan. i. 6, 7, 11, 19). He appears to have been of the seed-royal of Judah, and for this reason selected, with Daniel and his other two companions, for Nebuchadnezzar's especial service. The "three children," as they were called, were remarkable for their beauty, wisdom, knowledge, and intelligence. They were not less remarkable for their piety, their strict adherence to the Law of Moses, the steadfastness of their faith even unto death, and for their wonderful deliverance.

11. Azariah, the son of Oded (2 Ch. xv. 1; in *v.* 8 there is some error in the text), was a remarkable prophet in the days of king Asa, and a contemporary of Azariah the son of Johanan the high-priest, and of Hanani the seer. He powerfully stirred up the spirit of Asa, and of the people of Judah and Benjamin, in a brief but pithy exhortation, which has been preserved, to put away all idolatrous worship, and to restore the altar of the one true God before the porch of the Temple. Great numbers of Israelites from Ephraim, Manasseh, Simeon, and all Israel, joined in the national reformation, to the great strengthening of the kingdom; and a season of rest and great prosperity ensued. Oded, the prophet in the days of Ahaz, may probably have been a descendant of Azariah.

12. At 2 Ch. xxii. 6, Azariah is a clerical error for Ahaziah (A. V. and R. V. marg.; B. Ὀχοζίας; *Ochozias*).

13. Several other persons of this name are mentioned as belonging to different *tribes*, as *e.g.* (*a*) The son of Jehu of the family of the Jerahmeelites, and descended from Jarha the Egyptian slave of Sheshan (1 Ch. ii. 34, 38). He was probably one of the captains of hundreds in the time of Athaliah mentioned in 2 Ch. xxiii. 1, and there called the son of Obed. His name is very important, as marking clearly the time when the genealogy in 1 Ch. ii. 36–41 was made out, viz. in Hezekiah's reign; for Azariah would be about one generation older than Joash. Now there are six generations after Azariah in that genealogy, ending with Elishama, and, counting Joash, there are from Joash to Hezekiah also six generations, viz. Joash, Amaziah, Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, Hezekiah. Elishama, therefore, was contemporary with Hezekiah. Zabad, in 1 Ch. ii. 36, 37, we know too from xi. 41, to have been a contemporary of David. (*b*) In the same passage (2 Ch. xxiii. 1) is another Azariah, the son of Jeroham, and also one of the captains of Judah in the time of Athaliah.

(*c*) A. 'Αζαρίας, B. Οὐδειά, son of Johanan, one of the captains of Ephraim in the reign of Ahaz, who sent back the captives and spoil that were taken in the invasion of Judah by Pekah (2 Ch. xxviii. 12). (*d*) A son of Hoshaiah, Jer. xliii. 2; cp. Neh. xii. 32, 33; called JEZANIAH in Jer. xlii. 1. [A. C. H.] [W. A. W.] [F.]

AZARI'AS ('Αζαρίας; *Azarias*). **1.** 1 Esd. ix. 21, elsewhere called UZZIAH (Ezra x. 1). **2.** 1 Esd. ix. 43 = URIJAH (Neh. viii. 4). **3.** 1 Esd. ix. 48, elsewhere called AZARIAH (Neh. viii. 7). **4.** *Azareus*, priest in the line of Esdras (2 Esd. i. 1), elsewhere AZARIAH and EZERIAS. **5.** Name assumed by the Angel Raphael (Tob. v. 12; vi. 6, 13; vii. 8; ix. 2). **6.** A captain in the army of Judas Maccabaeus (1 Macc. v. 18, 56, 60). [W. A. W.]

A'ZAZ (עַזָּז = *strong*; 'Οζούς; *Azaz*), a Reubenite, Bela's father (1 Ch. v. 8). [W. A. W.]

AZAZEL, the marginal rendering in A. V. of the "scape-goat" of the text (Lev. xvi. 8). The R. V. puts Azazel in the text, and inserts "Or, *dismissal*" in the margin. See ATONEMENT, DAY OF, § VI. [F.]

AZAZI'AH (עֲזַזְיָהוּ = *whom Jah hath strengthened*; BN. 'Οζείας, A. -ιας; *Ozaziu*). **1.** A Levite musician in the reign of David, appointed to play the harp in the service when the ark was brought up from the house of Obed-Edom (1 Ch. xv. 21). **2.** The father of Hosea, prince of the tribe of Ephraim when David numbered the people (1 Ch. xxvii. 20). **3.** A. 'Οζαζάς; *Azarias*. One of the Levites in the reign of Hezekiah who had charge of the tithes and dedicated things in the Temple under Cononiah and Shimei (2 Ch. xxxi. 13). [W. A. W.]

AZBAZ'ARETH (A. 'Ασβασαρέθ, B. 'Ασβακαφάθ; *Asbazareth*), king of the Assyrians (1 Esd. v. 69; LXX. *v.* 66). In Ezra iv. 2 the name is Esar-haddon (A. 'Ασαραδδών, B. 'Ασαρεαθών), of which Azbazareth may be (?) a corruption (see *Speaker's Comm.* on 1 Esd. v. 69). The A. V. of 1611 spells the name more correctly Asbazareth. [W. A. W.] [F.]

AZBU'K (עַזְבּוּק; B. 'Αζαβούχ, N. 'Αζαβού, A. 'Αζβούχ; *Azboc*). Father or ancestor of Nehemiah the prince of part of Bethzur (Neh. iii. 16). [W. A. W.]

AZE'KAH (עֲזֵקָה, from a root signifying to dig or till the ground,* see Gesen. *s. v.*; 'Αζηκά, usually; *Azeca*), a town of Judah, with dependent villages ("daughters") lying in the Shefelah or rich lowland, a situation quite in accordance with the derivation of the name given above. It is named (Josh. xv. 35, B. 'Ιαζηκά) in the same group with Jarmuth, Adullam, and Socoh; places which have been identified with *Kh. el-Yarmûk*, *Kh.'Aid el-Mâ* and *Kh. Shuweikeh*. In 2 Ch. xi. 9, 10, Azekah, Zorah, and Aijalon are named in succession, the two last being now *Sûrah* and *Yalô*; and it may be inferred from 1 Sam. xvii. 1, that it was not far from Shocoh (*Shuweikeh*), and that a valley separated the two places. [SHOCHOH.] Joshua's pursuit of the Canaanites after the battle of Beth-horon extended to Azekah (Josh. x. 10, 11). Between Azekah and Shochoh, an easy step out of their own territory, the Philistines encamped before the battle in which Goliath was killed (1 Sam. xvii. 1). It was among the cities fortified by Rehoboam (2 Ch. xi. 9), was still standing at the time of the invasion of the kings of Babylon (Jer. xxxiv. 7), and is mentioned as one of the places re-occupied by the Jews after their return from Captivity (Neh. xi. 30).

The indications contained in the above passages seem necessarily to place Azekah at *Tell Zakariya*, or *Zakariya*, S.S.E. of *'Ain Shems*, an identification already proposed by Schwarz (p. 102) and Van de Velde. This agrees with the statements of Eusebius and Jerome (*OS.*[2] pp. 125, 22; 238, 16) that the place lay between (ἀνὰ μέσον) Eleutheropolis and Jerusalem, *i.e.* on the Roman road from the former place which passed through *Zakariya*, *'Ain Shems*, and Bethlehem to Jerusalem (*PEF. Map*). For *Tell Zakariya* and *Zakariya*, see *PEF. Mem.* ii. 441 and iii. 27. [G.] [W.]

A'ZEL (אָצֵל, in pause אָצֶל; 'Εσήλ, usually; *Asel*), a descendant of Saul (1 Ch. viii. 37, 38, ix. 43 [B. 'Εσαήλ], 44 [N. 'Εσαήλ, *bis*]). [W.]

A'ZEM (עֶצֶם, in pause עָצֶם, *a bone*; B. 'Ασόμ, 'Ιασόν; A. 'Ασέμ, 'Ασόμ; *Esem*, *Asem*; R. V. *Ezem*, *bis*), a city in the extreme south of Judah (Josh. xv. 29), afterwards allotted to Simeon (xix. 3). [EZEM.] [G.] [W.]

AZEPHU'RITH (B. 'Αρσειφουρείθ, A. 'Αρσιφρ-; Vulg. omits), 1 Esd. v. 16: the head of a family whose sons returned to Jerusalem after the Captivity. The name answering to this in the list of Ezra (ii. 18) is Jorah, and in Nehemiah (vii. 24) is Hariph; and it has been conjectured that Azephurith arose from a transcriber's mistaken combination of the two names. The uncial Σ of the second syllable was in that case confounded with E. [W. A. W.]

AZE'TAS ('Αζητάς; *Zelas*), the name of the head of a family which returned with Zerubbabel (1 Esd. v. 16). The name is absent from the lists of Ezra and Nehemiah. [W. A. W.]

AZ'GAD (עַזְגָּד; Ges. *Thes.* = *powerful is Gad*, i.e. the god Fortune; cp. Nöldeke, *ZDMG.*, 1888, p. 479: *Azgad*). The children of Azgad, 1222 in number (Ezra ii. 12 [B. 'Ασγάδ, A. 'Αβγάδ]; 2322 in Neh. vii. 17 [B. 'Ασγάδ, N. 'Αστάδ, A. 'Αγεστάδ]), were among "the men of the people of Israel" who returned with Zerubbabel. A second detachment of 110, with Johanan at their head, accompanied Ezra in the second caravan (Ezra viii. 12, B. 'Ασστάδ, A. 'Αζγάδ). With the other heads of the people they joined in the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 15, B. 'Ασγάδ, A. 'Αζγάδ). The name appears as SADAS in 1 Esd. v. 13 (B. 'Αργαί, A. 'Ασταά), and the number of the family is there given as 3222. In 1 Esd. viii. 38 it is written ASTATIS ('Αστάθ). [W. A. W.] [F.]

AZI'A (B. 'Οζείος, A. -ι-; *Ozius*), a Temple servant (1 Esd. v. 31), who returned with Zerubbabel, called UZZA in Ezra ii. 49. [W. A. W.]

* The verb occurs only in Is. v. 2, where it is rendered in the A. V. "fenced;" but by Gesenius, in his *Jesaia*, "grub ihn um;" R. V. "made a trench about it"

AZI'EI (*Asiel*). **1.** One of the ancestors of Esdras (2 Esd. i. 2), elsewhere called AZARIAH (Ezra vii. 3) and EZIAS (1 Esd. viii. 2).

2. עֲזִיאֵל; B. Ὀζειήλ, A. -ι-; *Oziel.* A Levite skilled in the use of the psaltery (1 Ch. xv. 20). The name is a shortened form of JAAZIEL (יַעֲזִיאֵל, 1 Ch. xv. 18). [W. A. W.] [F.]

AZI'ZA (עֲזִיזָא; B. Ὀζειά, A. Ὀζιζά; *Aziza*). A layman of the family of Zattu, who had married a foreign wife after the return from Babylon (Ezra x. 27): called SARDEUS in 1 Esd. ix. 28 (A. Ζαρδαίας, B. Ζεραλίας). [W. A. W.]

AZMA'VETH (עַזְמָוֶת, Ges. *Thes.* perhaps = *strong is Death*; B. Ἀσβώθ, Bᵇ. Ἀσμώθ, A. Μώθ [2 Sam.]; B. Ἀζβών, A. Ἀζμώθ [1 Ch.]; *Azmaveth, Azmoth*). **1.** One of David's mighty men, a native of Bahurim (2 Sam. xxiii. 31; 1 Ch. xi. 33), and therefore probably a Benjamite.

2. *Azmoth.* A descendant of Mephibosheth, or Merib-baal (1 Ch. viii. 36 [B. Σαλμώ, A. Ἀζμώθ], ix. 42 [B. Γαζαώθ, A. Ἀζμώθ]).

3. B. Ἀσμώθ, A. Ἀζμώθ. The father of Jeziel and Pelet, two of the skilled Benjamite slingers and archers who joined David at Ziklag (1 Ch. xii. 3), perhaps identical with **1.** It has been suggested that in this passage "sons of Azmaveth" may denote natives of the place of that name.

4. B. Ἀσμώθ, A. Ἀζμώθ. Overseer of the royal treasures in the reign of David (1 Ch. xxvii. 25). [W. A. W.] [F.]

AZMA'VETH (עַזְמָוֶת; A. Ἀζμώθ, B. Ἀσμώθ [Ezra]; *Azmaveth*), a place to all appearance in Benjamin, being named with Anathoth, Kirjath-Jearim, and other towns belonging to that tribe. Forty-two of the Bene-Azmaveth returned from the Captivity with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii. 24). The "sons of the singers" seem to have settled round it (Neh. xii. 29, ℵᶜ·ᵃᵐᵍ Ἀζμώθ, B. omits). The name elsewhere occurs as BETH-AZMAVETH and BETH-SAMOS. Azmaveth does not make its appearance in the lists in Joshua, but the name was borne by several Benjamites of the kindred of Saul (1 Ch. viii. 36, ix. 42, xii. 3; in the last passage Bene-A. may merely denote natives of the place, especially as natives of Anathoth, Gibeah, &c. are mentioned in the same verse). In Neh. xii. 29 it is mentioned in close connexion with Geba, and it is now probably *Hizmeh*, a village between *'Anâta*, Anathoth, and *Jeb'a*, Geba (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 9). [G.] [W.]

AZ'MON (עַצְמוֹן or עֶצְמוֹן; B. Ἀσεμώνα, AF. Ἀσελμώνα [Num. *v.* 4]; B. Σελμώνα, A. Ἀσεμώνα [Josh.]; *Asemona*), a place named as being on the S. boundary of the Holy Land, apparently near the torrent of Egypt (*Wâdy el-'Arish*) (Num. xxxiv. 4, 5 [A. Σελμώνα, F. Ἀσελμώνα]; Josh. xv. 4). It has not yet been identified; but was possibly at, or near, *Kh. Lussân* at the S.W. corner of the Negeb. It is mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome (*OS.*² pp. 123, 25; 236, 58), but evidently was not actually known to them. Knobel (*Ex. Hbh.* xiii. 414) compares the name with that of the *'Azâzimeh*, an Arab tribe at the S. end of the *Negeb*. In the Targum Jon. it is rendered by ܩܣܡ, *Kessam*, which Schwarz (p. 23) would identify with *W. Kusaimeh*, S. of *Birein*. [G.] [W.]

AZ'NOTH-TA'BOR (אַזְנוֹת־תָּבוֹר; A. Ἀζανὼθ Θαβώρ, B. Ἐνὰθ Θ.; *Azanotthabor*) = "the ears (*i.e.* possibly the summits) of Tabor," one of the landmarks of the boundary of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 34). The town, if town it be, or the reason for the expression contained in the name, has hitherto escaped recognition. By Eusebius (*OS.*² p. 242, 88, *s. v.* Ἀζανὼθ) it is mentioned as lying in the plain on the confines of Diocaesarea.

For the use of the word אֹזֶן = ear, cp. UZZEN-SHERAH; and for the metaphor involved in the name, comp. CHISLOTH-TABOR. [G.] [W.]

A'ZOR (Ἀζώρ; *Azor*), son of Eliakim, in the line of our Lord (Matt. i. 13, 14). [G.]

AZO'TUS. [ASHDOD.]

AZO'TUS, MOUNT (Ἀζώτου ὄρος or Ἄζωτος ὄρος; *Mons Azoti*). The mountain on which Judas Maccabaeus was killed (1 Macc. ix. 15–18). Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 11, § 2) gives the name of the mountain as Ἀζά. Bacchides, advancing from Jerusalem, pitched (1 Macc. ix. 4) at Berea, probably *Bireh* [BEREA (3)]; whilst Judas encamped at Eleasa, *Il'asa*, near Bethhoron. In the fight that ensued Judas broke the right wing of the army of Bacchides and pursued it to Mount Azotus, which Major Conder, following Ewald, proposes (*PEF. Mem.* ii. 294) to identify with the hill of the modern village *Bir ez-Zeit*, near *Jufna*, Gophna. [W.]

AZRI'EL (עַזְרִיאֵל = *the help of God.* Cp. the Punic Hasdrubal = עזרו בעל = *help of Baal*; B. Ἐσδριήλ, A. Ἰεζριήλ; *Ezriel*). **1.** The head of a house of the half-tribe of Manasseh beyond Jordan, a man of renown (1 Ch. v. 24).

2. B. Ἐσρειήλ, A. Ὀζιήλ; *Ozriel.* A Naphtalite, ancestor of Jerimoth the head of the tribe at the time of David's census (1 Ch. xxvii. 19); called UZZIEL in two Heb. MSS., and apparently in the LXX. (A.).

3. Ἐσριήλ, A. Ἐσζριήλ; *Ezriel.* The father of Seraiah, an officer of Jehoiakim (Jer. xxxvi. 26). [W. A. W.] [F.]

AZRI'KAM (עַזְרִיקָם, MV.¹¹ = *my help hath uplifted itself*; B. Ἐζρεικάν, A. Ἐσρικάμ; *Ezricam*). **1.** A descendant of Zerubbabel; and son of Neariah of the royal line of Judah (1 Ch. iii. 23).

2. Eldest son of Azel, and descendant of Saul (1 Ch. viii. 38 [B. Ἐζρεικαί (Bᵃᵇ -κε), A. -καμ], ix. 44 [B. Ἐσδρεικάν, ℵ* Ἐζρ-, A. -καμ]).

3. *Azaricam.* A Levite, ancestor of Shemaiah who lived in the time of Nehemiah (1 Ch. ix. 14 [B. Ἐσρεικάν, A. -καμ]; Neh. xi. 15 [B. Ἐζερεί, ℵ*ᵛⁱᵈ Ἐεχρεί, ℵᶜ·ᵃ Ἐζρικάν, A. Ἐσζρί]).

4. B. Ἐζεκρεί, A. -ρι. Governor of the house, or prefect of the palace to king Ahaz, who was slain by Zichri, an Ephraimite, in the successful invasion of the southern kingdom by Pekah, king of Israel (2 Ch. xxviii. 7). [W. A. W.] [F.]

AZU'BAH (עֲזוּבָה, *forsaken*; B. Γαζουβά, A. Ἀζουβά; *Azuba*). **1.** Wife of Caleb, son of Hezron (1 Ch. ii. 18, 19). **2.** Ἀζουβά, B. [1 K.] Ἀζαεβά. Mother of king Jehoshaphat (1 K. xxii. 42; 2 Ch. xx. 31). [W. A. W.]

AZ'UR, properly AZ'ZUR (עַזּוּר, *helper*; Ἀζώρ; *Azur*). **1.** A Benjamite of Gibeon, and father of Hananiah the false prophet (Jer. xxviii. 1). He may have been a priest, as Gibeon was one of the priestly cities (see *Speaker's Comm.* l. c.). **2.** עַזֻּר; T.[7] Ἔζερ, A. Ἰάζερ. Father of Jaazaniah, one of the princes of the people against whom Ezekiel was commanded to prophesy (Ezek. xi. 1). [W. A. W.]

AZU'RAN (B. Ἀζαρός, A. Ἀζουρός; *Azoroc*). The sons of Azuran are enumerated in 1 Esd. v. 15 among those who returned from Babylon with Zorobabel, but there is no corresponding name in the catalogues of Ezra and Nehemiah. Azuran may perhaps be identical with Azzur in Neh. x. 17. [W. A. W.]

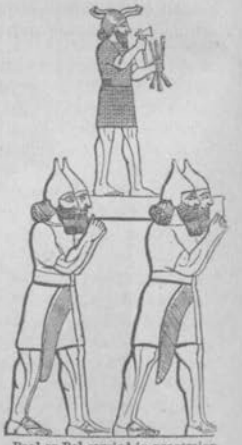
AZ'ZAH (עַזָּה = *strong*; Γάζα; *Gaza*; R. V. *Gaza*). This is the more accurate rendering of the name of the well-known Philistine city, Gaza (Deut. ii. 23; 1 K. iv. 24; Jer. xxv. 20). [GAZA.] There is apparently nothing to explain why an exception should have been made in these three places from the usual (but less correct) version of the name. The name is accurately rendered by Milton, a Hebraist, in 'Samson Agon.,' line 147. In 1 Ch. vii. 28 R. V. reads *Azzah* (marg. *Ayyah*) where A. V. has Gaza (marg. *Adasa*). [G.] [W.]

AZ'ZAN (עַזָּן, perhaps *strong*; Ὀξά; *Ozan*). The father of Paltiel, a prince who represented his tribe of Issachar in the division of the promised land (Num. xxxiv. 26). [W. A. W.]

AZ'ZUR (עַזּוּר, *helper*; ℵA. Ἀζούρ, B. Ἀδούρ; *Azur*). One of the heads of the people who signed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 17). The name is probably that of a family, and in Hebrew is the same as is elsewhere represented by AZUR. [W. A. W.]

B

BA'AL (בַּעַל; Βάαλ; *Baal*), the supreme *male* [on Baal with the *feminine* article, see below] divinity of the Phoenician and Canaanitish nations, as ASHTORETH was their supreme female divinity. Both names have the peculiarity of being used in the plural, and it seems certain that these plurals designate not (as Gesenius, *Thes.* s. vv., maintained) statues of the divinities, but different modifications of the divinities themselves. That there were many such modifications of Baal is certain from the fact that his name occurs with numerous adjuncts, both in the O. T. and elsewhere, as we shall have occasion to notice hereafter. The plural Baalim is found frequently alone (*e.g.* Judg. ii. 11, x. 10; 1 K. xviii. 18; Jer. ix. 14; Hos. ii. 17), as well as in connexion with Ashtoreth (Judg. x. 6; 1 Sam. vii. 4) and with Asherah, misrendered "groves" by A. V., but correctly rendered by R. V. "Asheroth" (Judg. iii. 7; 2 Ch. xxxiii. 3). There is no difficulty in determining the meaning of the name since the word is in Hebrew a common noun of frequent occurrence, having the meaning *Lord*, not so much, however, in the sense of Ruler as of *Master*, *Owner*, *Possessor*. The name of the god, whether singular or plural, is always distinguished from the common noun by the presence of the article (הַבַּעַל, הַבְּעָלִים), except when it stands in connexion with some other word which designates a peculiar modification of Baal. The Assyrian form of the word is Bilu, the Greek Βῆλος, more commonly known to us as Bel. Bel was properly the deity of the earth and air, answering to Mul-lil, the second god of the Accadian trinity, but in later times the name was almost entirely confined to "the younger Bel," Bel Merodach, "the lord Merodach." Merodach was a form of the Sun-god, and was the tutelary deity of Babylon, as Nebo was of its suburb Borsippa; and when Babylon became the capital of Babylonia, its chief divinity also became the supreme god of the whole country.



Baal or Bel carried in procession. (Layard.)

[Layard conjectures (*Nineveh and its Remains*, p. 287 smaller edit.) that Baal is the figure in the above cut, from a bas-relief found at Nimrud, representing a procession of warriors carrying away the idols of a conquered nation. Diodorus Siculus (ii. 9) says that the god was represented in the act of walking; and in the epistle supposed to have been written by the Prophet Jeremiah to the captive Jews we are told, "Now shall ye see in Babylon gods of silver, and of gold, and of wood, *borne upon shoulders*, ... he hath also in his right hand a *dagger and an axe*" (Bar. vi. 4, 15), as in the above cut.]

Baal as a Sun-god. (Renan.)

Baal was the most usual title of the Sun-god in his various manifestations among the Canaanites, and consequently there were as many Baalim or forms of Baal as there were aspects under which the Sun-god could be worshipped. [Hence he

is represented with his head encircled with rays.] These forms may be divided into two classes,—those which represent the beneficent and generative side of solar action, and those which reflect its destructive side. It was as the fierce deity who scorches in anger the beings he has himself created that Baal was appeased with human victims burnt in the fire. He was then addressed as Baal-Hammâm or Ammon, "the lord of heat." He was also known at Tyre as Baal-Tsur, "lord of Tyre," and Baal-Melkarth (Melech-kirjath, "king of the city," the Greek Hêraklês). [Baal-Ammon is sometimes represented in the form somewhat like the Egyptian Ammon, as in the annexed cut. (Rawlinson,

Baal-Hammon. (Perrot et Chipiez.)

Phoenicia, pp. 325, 326.)] More usually, however, the destructive Baal was called Moloch, "the king," a word which took the form of Milcom or Malcham among the Ammonites. Each state and city had its own special form of Baal: thus Baal-Tsur was the Baal of Tyre; Baal-Zebub of Ekron; Baal-Gad, "the lord of good luck," of Baal-Gad or Baalbek (Josh. xi. 17). The Baalim were also named from the mountains on which their high-places stood, and the streams at whose sources their temples were erected, as Baal-Hermon, "the Baal of Hermon" or "the sanctuary" (Judg. iii. 3). Baal-Zephon, "Baal of the North" [see, however, BAAL-ZEPHON], was especially dreaded by sailors, as he governed the north wind and was worshipped on the dangerous headlands of Mount Kasios in Syria and in Egypt (Ex. xiv. 2, 9). By the side of Baal stood his female double or reflexion, called Penê-Baal, "the face of Baal," in Carthaginian inscriptions, but more usually known as Ashtoreth.

The name of Baal might be combined with other titles of the Sun-god—such as El, "god;" Adonai, "lord;" Elyon, "the most high;" Sydyk (Zedek), "righteousness"—or might be replaced by them. The title of Adonai or Adonis, however, was specially reserved for the Sun-god when regarded as the young and beautiful deity prematurely slain by the boar's tusk of Winter, and he was then addressed by the old Accadian name of Tammuz, though Hadad and Rimmon were also used. Among the Moabites the supreme Baal was called Chemosh. In all cases, however, Baal, or more fully Baal-shemaim, "the lord of heaven," was considered a single deity who manifested himself under an almost endless variety of forms, some one of which was specially honoured by the worshipper at a given time and in a given place. The worship, therefore, of the Baalim of the Canaanites (Judg. ii. 11–13, vi. 26, viii. 33, x. 10; 1 Sam. vii. 4) or of the Phoenicians (1 K. xvi. 31–33; xviii. 19, 21) meant apostasy from the national God of Israel and amalgamation with the native population of Canaan (cp. Ruth i. 15, 16; 1 Sam. xxvi. 19). The God of Israel Himself, however, had once been addressed as Baal, "Lord." Both Jonathan and David had sons called Merib-baal (1 Ch. viii. 34) and Beel-iada (1 Ch. xiv. 7); and it was not until the associations connected with the title had made it abhorrent to the pious Israelite that Hosea declared that the God of Israel should no longer be termed Baali, "my Baal" (Hos. ii. 16). Henceforward Baal became synonymous with the name of a heathen deity. Consequently the shrine of the Phoenician sun-god which had been erected in the vicinity of the Lord's house at Jerusalem, probably by Ahaziah, is called "the house of Baal" in 2 K. xi. 18, and Manasseh is said to have "reared up altars for Baal" in 2 K. xxi. 3 (see also 2 Ch. xxviii. 2).

Like the Assyrian Bilu or Bel, Baal entered largely into the composition of proper names, such as Baal-hanan (Gen. xxxvi. 38) or Hannibal, "Baal is gracious;" Beal-yah, "Jehovah is Baal" (1 Ch. xii. 5); Esh-baal, "man of Baal" (1 Ch. viii. 33; ix. 39), or Jerub-baal (Judg. vi. 32; viii. 29). Sometimes the worshipper called himself simply by the name of the god; thus there were two Baals, kings of Tyre (B.C. 675 and 575), and a Baal was king of Gebal in the time of Xerxes, while a Reubenite named Baal is mentioned in 1 Ch. v. 5, and an uncle of Saul was also called Baal (1 Ch. viii. 30; ix. 36).

The worship of Baal amongst the Jews appears to have been appointed with much pomp and ceremonial. Temples were erected to him (1 K. xvi. 32; 2 K. xi. 18); his images were set up (2 K. x. 26); his altars were very numerous (Jer. xi. 13), and were erected particularly on lofty eminences (1 K. xviii. 20) and on the roofs of houses (Jer. xxxii. 29); there were priests in great numbers (1 K. xviii. 19) and of various classes (2 K. x. 19); the worshippers appear to have been arrayed in appropriate robes (2 K. x. 22); the worship was performed by burning incense (Jer. vii. 9) and offering burnt-sacrifices, which occasionally consisted of human victims (Jer. xix. 5). The officiating priests danced with frantic shouts around the altar, and cut themselves with knives to excite the attention and compassion of the god (1 K. xviii. 26–28; cp. Lucian, *de Dea Syra*, 50; Tert. *Apol.* 9; Lucan, i. 565; Tibull. i. 6, 47).

The particular forms of Baal alluded to in the O. T. are the following:—

1. BA'AL-BERI'TH (בַּעַל בְּרִית; Βααλβερίθ; *Baalberit*). This form of Baal was worshipped at Shechem by the Israelites after the death of Gideon (Judg. viii. 33; ix. 4). The name

signifies the *Covenant-Baal*, and has been compared with the Greek Ζεὺς ὅρκιος or the Latin *Deus fidius*. The meaning, however, does not seem to be the god who presides over covenants, but the god who comes into covenant with the worshippers. In Judg. ix. 46 he is called אֵל בְּרִית. We know nothing of the particular form of worship paid to this god.

2. Ba'al-zebu'b (בַּעַל זְבוּב; Βάαλ μυῖα; *Beelzebub*), the form of Baal worshipped at Ekron (2 K. i. 2, 3, 16). The meaning of the name is *Baal of the fly*, the Sun-god being associated with the flies which swarm during the summer in hot climates. It has been supposed that the god was represented under the form of a monstrous fly, but possibly the epithet was derived from the office he was asked to undertake of driving away the plague of insects from his worshippers. Similarly the Greeks gave the epithet ἀπόμυιος to Zeus (Pausan. v. 14, § 2; Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* ii. 38), and Pliny (*N. H.* x. 40) speaks of a fly-god Myiagros at Elis (see also Solin. i.). As an oracle was established in the temple of Baal-zebub, the priests may have determined the future by watching the movements of flies. The name occurs in the N. T. in the well-known form Beelzebub.

3. Ba'al-peo'r (בַּעַל פְּעוֹר; Βεελφεγώρ; *Beelphegor*), the god of the mountains of Moab, and a form of the national deity Chemosh. The narrative (Num. xxv.) seems clearly to show that this form of Baal-worship was connected with licentious rites. We can lay no stress on the Rabbinical derivation of the word פְּעוֹר, *hiatus*, i.e. "aperire hymenem virgineum," since the god clearly derived his title from the name of the mountain of Peor (Num. xxiii. 28), still known as Fa'ûr. Baal-Peor was identified by the Rabbins and early Fathers with Priapus (see the authorities quoted by Selden, *de Diis Syris*, i. 4, 302 sq.). Selden himself dissents from this view, and in this he is followed by many critics (cp. Baudissin in Herzog, *RE.*² s. n.; Dillmann² on Num. xxv. 3). More detailed information on some points will be found in Creuzer's *Symbolik* and Movers' *Phönizier*.

4. Ba'al-Gad (בַּעַל גָּד, "Baal of good fortune"; Βαλαγάδ; *Baal-gad*), the form of the sun-god worshipped at Baal-Gad, a town called after his name, and probably to be identified with Baalbek. Gad, the god of good luck, is mentioned in Is. lxv. 11, along with Meni, the Assyrian Manu, where the proper names, misrendered "troop" and "number" in the A. V., are rendered "Fortune" and "Destiny" by R. V. [A. H. S.]

BA'AL, with the *feminine* article; a title used contemptuously. The LXX. constantly (esp. Jeremiah, *e.g.* ii. 23, vii. 9; cp. Hos. ii. 10, xiii. 1. In Rom. xi. 4, τῇ Βάαλ takes the place of τῷ Βάαλ of 1 K. xix. 18) prefixes the feminine article to the name of the male god. Αἰσχύνη (בשת) or *shame* is frequently a substitution for Baal (*e.g.* Jer. iii. 24; cp. *QPB.*²), and Dillmann has ingeniously shown that the feminine article ἡ, when prefixed to Baal, indicated that αἰσχύνη was intended to be read (see Driver, *Notes on the Heb. Text of the BB. of Samuel*, p. 195, n. 2). Baudissin (Herzog, *RE.*² "Astarte," p. 723) thinks that the androgynous character of Baal may be represented by the fem. article, but Driver points out that no traces of an androgynous Baal have been found in the Phoenician inscriptions. [F.]

BA'AL (בַּעַל), *geographical*. This word occurs as the prefix or suffix to the names of several places in Palestine. Many of these (see the list in Ges. *Thes.* i. 225) have reference to the worship of the god Baal, as inhabitant or owner of a particular spot, or contain original forms of his name (cp. Baudissin in Herzog, *RE.*² s.n. "Baal"; Baethgen, *Beiträge z. Semit. Religionsgesch.* p. 19 sq.; W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, i. 93 sq.; Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the BB. of Samuel*, p. 50).

1. Ba'al (A. Βάαλ, B. Βάλαθ; *Baal*), a town of Simeon, named only in 1 Ch. iv. 33, and which from the parallel list in Josh. xix. seems to have been identical with Baalath-beer.

2. Ba'alah (בַּעֲלָה; in Josh. xv. 9, B. Ἰεβάαλ, A. εἰς Βάαλ; *Baala*).

(*a.*) Another name for Kirjath-Jearim, or Kirjath-Baal. It is mentioned in Josh. xv. 9, 10; 1 Ch. xiii. 6 (εἰς πόλιν Δαυίδ; *ad collem Cariathiarim*). In Josh. xv. 60 and xviii. 14, it is called Kirjath-Baal. From the expression "Baalah, which is Kirjath-jearim" (cp. "Jebusi, which is Jerusalem," xviii. 28), it would seem as if Baalah were the earlier or Canaanite appellation of the place. In 2 Sam. vi. 2 for "Baale Judah" [R. V.] (מִבַּעֲלֵי יְהוּדָה, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων Ἰούδα, *de viris Juda*) should be read בַּעֲלָה: cp. 1 Ch. xiii. 6.

(*b.*) B. Βαλά, A. Βααλά. A town in the south of Judah (Josh. xv. 29), which in xix. 3 is called Balah [B. Βωλά], and in the parallel list (1 Ch. iv. 29) Bilhah [B. Ἀβελλά, A. Βαλαά]. A proposal has been made (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 261) to identify it with *Kh. Umm Baghlek*, twelve miles south of *Beit Jibrin*, but the identification is doubtful.

(*c.*) Mount (הַר) Baalah (B. ἐπὶ λίβα, A*. Βαλά; *Baala*). A point on the boundary of Judah, mentioned between Shicron and Jabneel, *Yebnah*, Josh. xv. 11. The site has not yet been discovered.

3. Ba'alath (בַּעֲלַת; *Balaath*, 1 K. *Baalath*), a town of Dan named in the same group with Eltekeh and Gibbethon (Josh. xix. 44; B. omits, A. Βααλών). It is possible that the same town is referred to in 1 K. ix. 18 (B. omits, A. Βαλάθ) and 2 Ch. viii. 6 (B. Βαλαά, A. -αs). Josephus, *Ant.* viii. 6, § 1 (Βαλέθ), states that it and Beth-horon were not far from Gezer. The site appears to have been recovered at *Bel'ain*, about 2¼ miles N. of Beth-horon the nether *PEF. Mem.* ii. 296).

4. Ba'alath-bëër (בַּעֲלַת בְּאֵר, *Baalah of the well*; B. Βαρέκ, A. Βααλθερηρραμμώθ; *Baalath-Beer*), a town among those in the south part of Judah, given to Simeon; and which also bore the name of Ramath-Negeb, or "the heights of the South" (Josh. xix. 8). In another list it appears in the contracted form of Baal. [See 1.] Other sacred wells in this parched region were the Beer-lahai-roi, the "well of

the vision of God;" and Beer-sheba, the "well of the oath."

5. BA'AL-GAD (בַּעַל גָּד); BA. Γαλγὰδ in Josh. xiii. 5; B. Βαλαγαδά, A. Βαλγάδ, F. Βααλγὰδ in xii. 7; *Baalgad*), a place evidently well known at the time of the conquest of Palestine, and as such used to denote the most northern (Josh. xi. 17, xii. 7), or perhaps north-western (xiii. 5, Hamath being to the extreme north-east) point to which Joshua's victories extended. It was in all probability a Phoenician or Canaanite sanctuary of Baal, under the aspect of Gad, or Fortune (see BAAL [god] No. 4). No trace of its site has yet been discovered. The words "the plain (בִּקְעָה) of Lebanon" would lead to the supposition that it lay in the great plain between the two ranges of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, which is still known by the same Hebrew word *el-Bûkâ'a;* and it has accordingly been identified by Iken and others with Baalbek (Rob. iii. 519). But against this are the too great distance of Baalbek to the north, and the precise expression of the text—"under Mount Hermon" (Jerome, *ad radices montis Hermon*). The conjecture of Schwarz (p. 60), supported by Robinson with his usual care, is, that the modern representative of Baalgad is *Bâniâs*, a place which long maintained a great reputation as the sanctuary of Pan. [CAESAREA PHILIPPI.]

6. BA'AL-HA'MON (בַּעַל הָמוֹן; *Baal of multitude;* T.[7] Βεελαμών, א. Βεελλαμών, B. Βεεθλαμών; *ea quae habet populos*), a place at which Solomon had a vineyard, evidently of great extent (Cant. viii. 11). The only possible clue to its situation is the mention in Judith viii. 3 of a Belamôn or Balamôn (BA. Βαλαμών; *Bethulia;* E. V. BALAMO) near Dothaim; and therefore in the mountains of Ephraim, not far north of Samaria.

7. BA'AL-HA'ZOR (בַּעַל חָצוֹר; B. Βαιλασώρ, A. Βελλασώρ; *Baalhasor;* Josephus, *Ant.* vii. 8, § 2, gives the form Βελσεφών), a place "'by' Ephraim" (עִם־אֶפְרַיִם), where Absalom appears to have had a sheep-farm, and where Amnon was murdered (2 Sam. xiii. 23. The text is disputed; see Driver *l. c.*). It appears to have been the next property to Joab's (2 Sam. xiv. 31), and is now probably *Tell 'Asûr*, 2¼ miles N.W. of *et-Taiyibeh*, Ephraim (*P. F. Mem.* ii. 298, 371–2).

8. MOUNT BA'AL-HER'MON (הַר בַּעַל חֶרְמוֹן; B. τὸ ὄρος τοῦ Αερμών, A. τ. ὄ. τ. Βαλαερμῶ; *Mons Baal-Hermon*, Judg. iii. 3), and simply Baal-hermon (A. Βαὰλ Ἐρμών, B. Βαιλείμ, 1[ab] Βααλείμ; *Baal-Hermon*, 1 Ch. v. 23). This is usually considered as a distinct place from Mount Hermon; but the only apparent ground for so doing is the statement in the latter of the above passages, "unto Baal-hermon, and Senir, and* Mount Hermon;" but it is quite possible that the conjunction rendered "and" may be used here, as often elsewhere, as an expletive,—"unto Baal-hermon, even Senir, even Mount Hermon." Perhaps this derives some colour from the fact, which we know, that this mountain had at least three names (Deut. iii. 9). May not Baal-hermon have been a fourth, in use among the Phoenician worshippers of Baal, one of whose sanctuaries, Baal-gad, was at the foot of this very mountain? Cp. *Speaker's Comm.* note on 1 Ch. v. 23; W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, i. 93, n. 3.

9. BA'AL-ME'ON (בַּעַל מְעוֹן; in Num. B. Βεελμεών, A. Βαμώ, F. Ναβώ; in 1 Ch. B. Βεελμασσών, A. Βεελμαών; in Ezek., most Gk. MSS. om.; *Baalmeon, Beelmeon*), one of the towns which were "built" by the Reubenites (Num. xxxii. 38), and to which they "gave other names." The "Beth," which is added to the name elsewhere, probably preserves the fact that it was once the house or sanctuary of the Baal of Meon. [BETHBAAL-MEON; BETH-MEON.] It is also named in 1 Ch. v. 8, and on each occasion with Nebo. In the time of Ezekiel it was Moabite, and under that prosperous dominion had evidently become a place of distinction, being noticed as one of the cities which are the "glory of the country" (Ezek. xxv. 9). It is mentioned in the inscription on the "Moabite stone" as having been built by King Mesha (*Records of the Past*, N. S., ii. 201; Driver, *Notes on the Heb. Text of the BB. of Samuel*, p. lxxxvii.). In the days of Eusebius and Jerome (*OS.*[2] pp. 136, 5; 246, 45) it was still a "vicus grandis" called Beelmaus, 9 miles distant from Heshbon (Εσεβοῦς, *Esbus*), near the "mountain of the hot springs," and reputed to be the native place of Elisha. It is now *Ma'in*, on the banks of the *Zerka Ma'in;* the ruins are of "vast extent," occupying "the crests and slopes of four adjacent hills" (Tristram, *Land of Moab*, pp. 303–4; *PEFQy. Stat.* 1871, p. 71).

10. BA'AL-PERA'ZIM (בַּעַל פְּרָצִים, *Baal of breaches; Baal-pharasim*), the scene of a victory of David over the Philistines, and of a great destruction of their images, and so named by him in a characteristic passage of exulting poetry—R. V. "The LORD hath broken (פָּרַץ; see another rendering in marg.) mine enemies before me, like the breach (פֶּרֶץ) of waters. Therefore he called the name of that place 'Baal-perazim,'" *i.e.* the place of breakings forth (R. V. marg: 2 Sam. v. 20; 1 Ch. xiv. 11). The place and the circumstance appear to be again alluded to in Is. xxviii. 21, where it is called *Mount* P. Perhaps this may point to the previous existence of a high place or sanctuary of Baal at this spot, which would lend more point to David's exclamation (see Gesenius, *Jes.* p. 844). Driver thinks (*Notes on the Heb. Text of the BB. of Samuel*, l. c.) that Baal, as applied here, does not denote the Phoenician god, but is a title of Jehovah (cp. iv. 4, note). The LXX. twice render the name in 2 Sam. v. 20 ἐπάνω διακοπῶν, and in 1 Ch. xiv. 11, at the beginning of the verse, B. Φααλφαθισείμ, א. Φαλααδ' φαθεισεί, A. Βααλ'φαρασείν; and, at the end of the verse, B. Διακοπὴ Φαρισίν, א. Δ. Φαρισίν, A. Δ. Φαρασείν. It was near the Valley of Rephaim, and not far from Jerusalem.

11. BA'AL-SHALI'SHA (בַּעַל שָׁלִשָׁה; Βαιθσαρισά, B. Βαιθαρεῖσα, A.[txt.vid.] (ras σα A?) Βαθσαρίσα; *Baalsalisa*), a place named only in 2 K. iv. 42; apparently not far from Gilgal, possibly *Jiljilia*, in the mountains N. of Bethel (cp. *v.* 38). It was possibly situated in the district, or "land" of the same name. [SHALISHA.] It is probably the same as the Bethsalisa or Βαιθσαρισάθ (*OS.*[2]

* The "unto" in the A. V. is interpolated, and is omitted in the R. V.

pp. 141, 11; 250, 92), which is placed 15 miles N. of Diospolis in the Thamnitic toparchy and is now *Kh. Sirisia*. In the Targum it is rendered by Daroma, and in *PEF. Mem.* (ii. 285) it is identified with *Kh. Kefr Thilth*.

12. Ba al-ta'mar (בַּ֫עַל תָּמָר, *Baal of the palm*; Βαὰλ Θαμάρ; *Baalthamar*), a place named only in Judg. xx. 33, as near Gibeah of Benjamin. The palm-tree (תָּמָר) of Deborah (iv. 5) was situated somewhere in the locality, and is possibly alluded to (Stanley, pp. 145–6). In the days of Eusebius it was still known under the altered name of Βηθθαμάρ (*OS.*[2] p. 250, 77); but no traces of it have been found by modern travellers. In the Targum it is given as "the plains of Jericho," probably a conjecture, and not a happy one, as Jericho was too far distant from Gibeah. Conder (*Hdbk. to Bible*, p. 404) states that Jewish tradition identifies it with the large ruin *'Attâra*, near Gibeah. [G.] [W.]

BA'AL-ZE'PHON (בַּעַל צְפוֹן; Βεελσεπφών, Βεελσεφών; *Beelsephon*), a place near which the Israelites crossed the Red Sea (Ex. xiv. 2, 9; Num. xxxiii. 7). The name is clearly Semitic, and is usually supposed to mean a shrine of Baal of the quarter צָפוֹן, "the North." The position of Baal-Zephon must have been in the territory which the Egyptians called "the East." [Pithom.] We should therefore rather have expected the name Baal of the East than of the North, like "Supt of the East," the divinity of Kesem, the city of Goshen, and of "the East" generally. [Goshen.] Although the rendering of צָפוֹן is on Hebrew authority only, and the Semitic names in Egypt are not proved to be of Hebrew origin, there is no ground in the different orientations of the ancient East for the conjecture that the word can here mean "east" instead of "north." It is quite true that in later Hebrew the term יָם, "the west," as the direction of the sea, sometimes naturally serves for "the south" (Ps. cvii. 3; Is. xlix. 12), the sea being southward of the land of exile, whereas it was westward of the land of promise, but צָפוֹן remains "the north." If it mean the "dark" quarter, it could never stand for the direction of the sun-rising. Another and more probable etymology for Baal-Zephon may be suggested. We could derive the name from צָפָה rather than צָפַן, and render Baal-Zephon, "Baal of the watch-tower." M. Naville's geographical indications support this view. Migdol and Baal-Zephon, on opposite sides of the sea, would be two corresponding watch-towers, and Pi-Hahiroth with its temple of Osiris would again stand in the like relative position to Baal-Zephon, the temple of Baal or Set, the antagonist of Osiris; the last shrine of the protector of cultivation facing the outpost of the personification of the desert. [R. S. P.]

From the recent identification of the site of the city of Pithom-Succoth and the region of Succoth [Pithom, Succoth], it appears that the Israelites crossed the Red Sea near the ancient head of the Heroöpolite Gulf (the Gulf of Suez), upwards of thirty miles north of the present head [Red Sea, Passage of], and Baal-Zephon would therefore have stood near the head of the gulf. Its foreign name, made of two Semitic words, seems to indicate that it was not situated in Egypt, like Pi-Hahiroth, but on the Asiatic side of the sea (Ex. xiv. 2, 9, B. ἐξ ἐναντίας Βεελσεπφών, AF. ἐξ ἐ. Βεελσεφών). The name of *Baal Zaphna* has been found in a papyrus of the British Museum (Sallier, iv.), without any reference to its position. It is not likely that it was a city, but was probably only a hill or a mound used as a place of worship, and perhaps connected with a watch-tower.

Brügsch, who advocated the theory of the Exodus along the Mediterranean, considered Baal-Zephon as the sanctuary of Mons Casius, at the extreme limit of Egypt on the coast (*The Exodus and the Egyptian Monuments*, p. 278). Ebers, who adheres to the old view of the crossing near Suez, places Baal Zephon on the summit of Gebel Attaka, above Suez (*Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, p. 524). The opinion which is derived from the excavations is that Baal-Zephon must be looked for south of Lake Timsah on a hill like Sheykh Ennedek. [E. N.]

BA'AL (בַּעַל; B. Ἰωήλ, A. Βάαλ; *Baal*). **1.** A Reubenite, whose son or descendant Beerah was carried off by the invading army of Assyria under Tiglath-pileser (1 Ch. v. 5).

2. B. Βααλακαίμ, A. Βααλ' καὶ Νήρ. The son of Jehiel, father or founder of Gibeon, by his wife Maachah; brother of Kish, and grandfather of Saul (1 Ch. viii. 30, ix. 36). [W. A. W.]

BA'ALAH. [Baal, 2.]

BA'ALATH. [Baal, 3, 4.]

BA'ALE of Judah. [Baal, 2 *a*.]

BA'AL-HA'NAN (בַּעַל חָנָן, *Baal is gracious*: in Gen. A. Βαλαεννών, D. -ενών, E. Βαλεννών; in 1 Ch. i. B. Βαλαεννώρ, A. -ω̃; *Balanan*; cp. יְהוֹחָנָן, Ἰωάννης, *Jehovah is gracious*). 1. The name of one of the early kings of Edom (Gen. xxxvi. 38, 39; 1 Ch. i. 49, 50). 2. The name of one of David's officers, who had the superintendence of his olive and sycamore plantations (1 Ch. xxvii. 28; B. Βαλανᾶς, A. -να; *Balanan*). He was of the town of Gederah (Josh. xv. 36) or Beth-Gader (1 Ch. ii. 51), and from his name probably of Canaanitish, not Jewish origin [A. H. S.]

BA'ALI (בַּעְלִי; Βααλείμ; *Baali*). The word occurs as a name in Hos. ii. 16 (Heb. *v.* 18): "At that day thou shalt call Me Ishi (my husband); and shalt call me no more Baali (my Baal or my master);" and the change announced is evidently the change from a name connected with idolatry and unfaithfulness to a name significant of loyal and faithful attachment. The passage is histor cally important as testifying to the use of the word Baal not as a proper name but as an appellation of the God of Israel. A similar use of Baal is to be traced when the word forms part of the name of Saul's son Eshbaal, or of David's son Beeliada. And this may be readily admitted without the further assumption that Israel had identified God with the god of the Canaanites. Cp. *Speaker's Comm.* and Orelli, *Kgf. Komm.* (edd. Strack u. Zöckler) in loco; König, *Die Hauptprobleme d. altisrael.*

Religionsgeschichte, pp. 35–38; Baethgen, *Beiträge z. Semit. Religionsgesch.* p. 144. [F.]

BAALIM. [BAAL.]

BA'ALIS (בַּעֲלִיס). Cp. MV.[11] Perhaps = בֶּן־עַלִּיס or בַּעַל ע׳, *son* or *lord* of exultation; Baethgen (p. 16) conjectures, *lord* or *husband* of *Isis*; BA[3] *βελεισά*, A. -ι-; *Baalis*), king of the Bene-Ammon (*βασιλεὺς υἱὸς Ἀμμὼν*) at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. xl. [LXX. xlvii.] 14). [F.]

BA'ANA (בַּעֲנָא, meaning uncertain, possibly MV.[11] = *son of Anu* [cp. Anammelech]). **1.** A. *Βαανὰ υἱὸς Ἐλούδ*, B. *Βακχὰ υἱὸς Ἀχεμμάχ*; *Bana*, the son of Ahilud, Solomon's commissariat officer in Jezreel and the north of the Jordan valley (1 K. iv. 12). **2.** *Βαανά*; *Baana*. The father of Zadok, one of those who repaired the wall of Jerusalem after the return from the Captivity (Neh. iii. 4). **3.** 1 Esd. v. 8. [BAANAH, 4.]

BA'ANAH (בַּעֲנָה = בַּעֲנָא [above]; A. *Βαανὰ* always; B. in *vv.* 5, 9, *Βαάμ*, in *v.* 6 *Βαμμά*; *Baana*). **1.** Son of Rimmon, a Benjamite, who with his brother Rechab murdered Ish-bosheth. For this they were killed by David, and their mutilated bodies hung up over the pool at Hebron (2 Sam. iv. 2, 5, 6, 9).

2. A Netophathite, father of Heleb or Heled, one of David's mighty men (2 Sam. xxiii. 29, A. *Βαανααί*, B. omits; 1 Ch. xi. 30, A. *Βαανά*, B. *Νοοζά*).

3. Accurately Baana, בענא; B. *Βαανά*, A. *-ὰς*; *Baana*), son of Hushai, Solomon's commissariat officer in Asher (1 K. iv. 16).

4. A man who accompanied Zerubbabel on his return from the Captivity (Ezra ii. 2, A. *Βαανά*, B. *Βαλλειά*; Neh. vii. 7). Possibly the same person is intended in Neh. x. 27. [BAANA, 3.] [W. A. W.] [F.]

BAANI'AS (BA. *Βαννίας*; *Bannas*). BENAIAH, of the sons of Pharosh (1 Esd. ix. 26; cp. Ezra x. 25). [W. A. W.]

BA'ARA (בַּעֲרָא, meaning uncertain, Ges. = *foolish*, MV.[11] = *a burning*; A. *Βααρά*, B. *Ἰβααδά*; *Bara*), one of the wives of Shaharaim, a descendant of Benjamin (1 Ch. viii. 8). [F.]

BAASEI'AH (בַּעֲשַׂיָה, probably an error for מַעֲשַׂיָה, *the work of Jah*. The same error occurs in some texts [not א] of LXX. in Jer. xxi. 1. Cp. here B. *Μααναί*, A. *Βααναά*; *Basaiä*), a Gershonite Levite, one of the forefathers of Asaph the singer (1 Ch. vi. 40 [25]). [F.]

BA'ASHA (בַּעְשָׁא or בַּעֲשָׁא; *Βαασά*; Joseph. *Βασάνης*; *Baasa*), third sovereign of the separate kingdom of Israel, and the founder of its second dynasty. He was the son of Ahijah of the tribe of Issachar. He conspired against king Nadab, son of Jeroboam, when he was besieging the Philistine town of Gibbethon, and killed him with his whole family (1 K. xv. 27–29). He appears to have been of humble origin, as the prophet Jehu speaks of him as having been "exalted out of the dust" (1 K. xvi. 2). In matters of religion his reign was no improvement on that of Jeroboam; he equally forgot his position as king of the nation of God's election, and upon him and his house there equally fell the destruction which had befallen the house of Jeroboam (1 K. xvi. 3, 12). Further, his reign was chiefly remarkable for his persevering hostility to Judah (1 K. xv. 32). It was probably in the 13th year of his reign that he made war on its king ASA, and began to fortify Ramah as an *ἐπιτείχισμα* against it. He was defeated by the unexpected alliance of Asa with Benhadad I. of Damascus, who had previously been friendly to Baasha. Benhadad took several towns in the N. of Israel, and conquered lands belonging to it near the sources of Jordan. Baasha died in the 24th year of his reign, and was honourably buried in the beautiful city of Tirzah (Cant. vi. 4), which he had made his capital. The dates of his accession and death according to Usher are B.C. 953 and B.C. 930, according to Kamphausen and as corrected by the Assyrian Chronology B.C. 914 and B.C. 891 (see Herzog, *RE.*[2] 'Zeitrechnung,' p. 477). Cp. 1 K. xv. 27, xvi. 7; 2 Ch. xvi. 1–6. [G. E. L. C.] [F.]

BA'BEL, BAB'YLON (בָּבֶל; *Βαβυλών*), the capital of the country Babylon or Babylonia, called, in Gen. x. 10, *Shinar* (שִׁנְעָר), and in the later books Chaldaea (כַּשְׂדִּים, [the land of the] Chaldeans, also אֶרֶץ כַּשְׂדִּים in full). The name Babel is connected, in Gen. xi. 9, with the Hebrew root בָּלַל, "to confound," referring to the confusion of tongues which took place at the building of the Tower of Babel. The native name, however, was *Bâb-ili* (also *Bâbilu* and *Bâbilam*), "gate of God," and Bâb-îlani, "gate of the gods." The ancient Akkadian (non-Semitic) names are *Ka-dingira*, "gate of God" (a translation of *Bâbîli*); *Tin-tir*, "life-seat" (in Semitic Babylonian *šubat balâṭi*, "seat of life"); *Ê* or *E-ki*, "house" or "hollow," and *Šu-anna*, the city with "the high defence" (a reference to the great walls of Babylon).[a] Babylon was probably at first only the principal town of the district in which it was situated, and afterwards rose, by the power of its kings, to be the capital of the whole district known later as Babylonia.

The Biblical account of the foundation of the city (Gen. xi. 2–9) states that as they (the descendants of Cush and followers of Nimrod) journeyed from the east, they found a plain in Shinar, and dwelt there. This statement apparently refers to one of the migrations of the people of Kingi-Ura, as they called themselves —the Sumero-Akkadians, as scholars now name them—a race which seems to have come from the east, or rather north-east, of Mesopotamia. Their first act, after settling down, was to build "a city and a tower" with burnt brick and "slime" (bitumen). Such was the beginning of the mighty city of Babylon, and in the same way, likely enough, the other cities of Mesopotamia had their origin—a number of

[a] The form *Bâb-ili* and its Akkadian translation, *Ka-dingira*, are probably the results of a folk-etymology. The original form of the name seems to have been Babalam—a form differing but slightly from that of *Bâbilam* above. The final *m* in both cases is the *mimmation*.

simple dwellings scattered around a temple-tower (Assyro-Babylonian, *zikkuratu*). Any discontinuance of the building of the city must have been comparatively short, for, as is well known, it grew to be the largest city of the ancient world.

The date of the foundation of the city is uncertain, but it seems not unlikely that, as it is mentioned before Erech, Akkad, and Calneh (Gen. x. 10), it was at least as old as those cities. It first came into prominence about the year 2232 B.C., a date which corresponds very closely with that of 2230 B.C., which the Greeks derived from the Babylonians in Alexander's age. The city itself, however, must have been much older. The various names of the city existed at a much earlier date, and it is not unlikely that it owed its origin to the existence of renowned temples and sacred places, visited by the primitive inhabitants; the principal being, probably, the great temple-tower of Babel itself. It is likely that the many names which the city bears in the inscriptions come from the fact that originally several distinct towns or villages occupied the site and, growing, became one single city, just as, in later times, Tê, Tema, Âlu-êššu, and other towns were incorporated and formed part of it.

Patron deities.—The principal god of the city was Merodach, whose seat it was (*Bâbîlu maḫâz Marduk*, "Babylon, the stronghold of Merodach"), and the principal goddess was his consort, Zîr-panîtum or Zêr-banîtum. Splendid shrines for the worship of these deities existed in the city from the earliest times. Innana, Nanâ, or Ištar was also regarded as one of the patron deities of the city.

History.—From the accounts left by the Babylonians themselves we get no detailed history of the rise of the city. Hammurabi (or Hammuragaš, in Babylonian *Ḫimta-rapaštum*), king of Babylon about 2120 B.C., who belonged to what was known as "the dynasty of Babylon," seems to have fixed his court there. He greatly added to the temple of Merodach, and restored the temple of the god Zagaga, called Mite-ursag, in the city of Kêš, to the east of Babylon. Samsu-iluna, son of Hammurabi, dedicated images overlaid with gold to the god Merodach, whose shrine was in Ê-sagila. Another early king, Agu-kak-rime, known to us from a long inscription from the library of Aššur-banî-apli or Assurbanipal at Nineveh, gives a long account of the restoration of the shrines of Merodach and his consort Zîr-panîtum in Ê-sagila at Babylon; and how he clothed their images (brought back from captivity in the land of Hanî) with splendid vestments, and adorned the shrines with gold, silver, and many kinds of rare and costly stones. This king also restored at the same time the whole of the temple Ê-sagila.

After this period, however, hardly anything is known as to the progress made in the city of Babylon. It continued doubtless to grow in size and in splendour, but the kings by whom the work was accomplished seem to have left little or no record of the part they took in adorning the city. The constant invasions of the Assyrian kings also not only retarded but quite checked the growth of the city, and Sennacherib, in his last invasion of Babylonia, completely razed it to the ground. Esarhaddon, his son, a king of milder disposition, came to Babylon soon after his accession to the thrones of Assyria and Babylonia. He completely restored the city, rebuilt the great temples and towers, and brought back the images of the gods. The temples Ê-sagila in Babylon and Ê-zida in Borsippa were afterwards restored with great splendour by Šamaš-šum-ukîn (Saosduchinos or Sammughes), and his brother Aššur-banî-apli or Assurbanipal, king of Assyria. To Nabopolassar and his son Nebuchadnezzar, however, it was that Babylon, in later times, owed most of her splendour. Nebuchadnezzar was especially energetic in the work, and the number of edifices rebuilt or restored by him gives great justification to the question "Is not this great Babylon that I have built?" (Dan. iv. 30,) which is attributed to him. All the Babylonian kings claim, however, more or less, to have rebuilt or restored the temples of Babylon and Borsippa, especially those called Ê-sagila and Ê-zida. Antiochus Soter, whose record is inscribed on the cylinder found at the Birs-Nimroud by Mr. Rassam, was probably the last king to do any work of this kind. Herodotus (i. 183) states that Xerxes plundered the temple of Belus of the golden statue that Darius had not dared to remove, and Arrian says (iii. 26) that he destroyed the temple itself on his return from Greece; and that, it being in ruins when Alexander was at Babylon, that king formed the design of rebuilding it, and restoring it to its former grandeur. The work, however, was not done on account of the magnitude of the task, as it would have taken 10,000 men to clear away the ruins. Babylon decayed rapidly after Alexander's death; and, after the building of Seleucia by Seleucus Nicator, became a desert. There are, however, no native records which would shed light on the history of the city at this time. There is a small tablet, dated "219th year, Arsaces, king of kings" (= 93 B.C.), recording that two priests of Ê-sa-bad, the temple of the goddess Gula, which had been restored by Nebuchadnezzar (see below), had borrowed 18 shekels of silver from the treasury of the temple of Bêl. This would seem to indicate that the sacred places of the great city were still in existence and that the worship was carried on as late as the reign of Mithridates II., the ninth of the Arsacidae.

Greek accounts.—According to Herodotus (i. 178–186), who himself saw the glories of the great city of Babylon, it formed a vast square, 120 stades or 13 miles 1385 yards on each side, so that its circumference was 480 stades (55¼ miles). The city was surrounded by two walls, the inner one narrower, but not much weaker, than the outer one. Here and there, on each bank of the river, were certain fortified places, on one side the palace of the king and on the other the temple of Belus (the temple called Ê-sagila), which consisted of a massive tower within a square enclosure measuring two stades (400 yards) each way, and provided with brazen gates. The tower within, which was a kind of pyramid in eight stages (counting also the lowest), had a winding ascent to allow visitors to reach the top. On the highest stage of this tower or pyramid was a sanctuary, containing no statue, but regarded by the Babylonians as

the abode of the god. Lower down was another sanctuary, containing a great statue of Zeus (Bêl-Merodach) sitting, and before it a large table. Both statue and table were of gold, as also the throne and its steps. Outside the sanctuary were two altars, one small and made of gold, on which only unweaned lambs were sacrificed, and the other larger, for other victims.

The city itself, so Herodotus says, was filled with houses of three and four stories high, laid out in streets crossing each other at right angles, those leading to the Euphrates being closed at the river-ends by brazen gates, which guarded the passages leading from the quays which lined the banks of the Euphrates the whole extent of its course through the city.

Two of the greatest works in Babylon were the changing of the course of the Euphrates and the building of a bridge, so as to form a communication between the two quarters of the city. These works are attributed to two queens, Semiramis and Nitocris. The first-named is said to have made some very remarkable embankments to prevent the waters of the Euphrates from deluging the country around. Nitocris, who reigned five generations later, formed the plan of changing the course of the Euphrates, so that it flowed no longer in a straight line before entering the city, but made three considerable windings, and the traveller by water approached the city Ardericca three times in three days. This queen made also embankments and a large reservoir, the vast outline of which, 420 stades, navigators of the stream were obliged to follow at the end of their journey. The object in delaying the approach to the city by water was to lessen the chances of its being captured by an enemy. Whilst the water was drained off, Nitocris made use of the opportunity thus afforded to connect the two divisions of the city by a bridge. A series of stone piers, built with iron and lead, were constructed; and were, during the daytime, connected by means of drawbridges, thus enabling the inhabitants of each division of the city to communicate with greater ease.

Ctesias (*ap.* Diod. Siculus, ii. 7 *et seqq.*) makes the circuit of the city much less than Herodotus —360 stades (41 miles 600 yards) instead of 480 stades. The city lay, he says, on both sides of the Euphrates, and the two parts were connected by a bridge (built where the river was narrowest) five stades (3,032 feet) long and 30 feet broad, of the kind described by Herodotus. At each end of the bridge was a royal palace, that in the eastern division of the city being the more magnificent. The part called the twofold royal city by Diodorus had three walls, the outmost being 60 stades, or 7 miles, round; the second, which was circular, 40 stades, or 4½ miles; and the third 20 stades, or 2¼ miles. The height of the middle wall was 300 feet, and its towers 420 feet, but the height of the inmost wall was even greater. The walls of both the second and third enclosures were made of *coloured* bricks, ornamented with figures of different kinds, among which were to be seen Semiramis and Ninus slaying the leopard and the lion. Diodorus mentions a square lake, 300 stades long and 35 feet deep; and speaks also of the temple of Belus, with its statues of Zeus, Hera, and Rhea (Bel-Merodach, Zîr-panîtum his consort, and probably the goddess Damkina). The statue of Zeus was, he says, 40 feet high, and weighed 1000 Babylonian talents. The two palaces were not only joined by a bridge, but also by a tunnel under the river. Diodorus gives a description (still, apparently, quoting Ctesias) of the famous hanging gardens of Nebuchadnezzar. These, it appears, were of square form, 400 feet each way, and rose in terraces. Earth of sufficient depth was placed on this structure to allow the growth of trees of great size.

All the ancient writers agree in giving to Babylon an immense size. As mentioned above, Herodotus makes the wall surrounding the city 480 stades, and Ctesias 360 stades, this last number being evidently allegorical and giving the numbers of the days in the year (12 months of 30 days = 360 days): for this reason, as acknowledged by Diodorus, it was corrected into 365 by Clitarchus. These numbers were more or less accurately copied by the later writers, Strabo (xvi. 1, § 5) giving 385, Pliny (*H. N.* vi. § 121) 480, Q. Curtius (v. 1, § 26) 368. The estimate of Herodotus seems to be the most trustworthy one; for, if the builder of this wall had followed any symbolism for its length, it would be in Babylonian and not Greek measures. The Greek historian is the only writer who speaks of the inner wall, but without giving any measurement (i. 81). Both walls were protected by large ditches filled with water. Dr. Oppert believes that he has found traces of the two walls, but the state of the ruins does not permit any restoration. The disappearance of the walls is easily accounted for, either by the constant quarrying or by the subsidence of the bulwark into the moat from which it was raised. This immense enclosed area was not entirely covered with houses. Diodorus states that two plethra of ground unbuilt on were preserved near the walls, and Q. Curtius says that Babylon contained large gardens and fields; it was in fact not a town, but a fortified district.

For the height of the outer wall Herodotus gives 200 cubits or 337½ feet, and Ctesias 50 fathoms or 300 feet. The later writers merely copied these numbers, changing the cubits into feet, and the fathoms into cubits. This enormous height, being nearly that of the dome of St. Paul's, seems almost incredible, notwithstanding that modern explorations indicate that the Babylonian and Assyrian city-walls were, so to say, real artificial mountains (see Nebuchadnezzar's account, below). The thickness of the outer wall is given by Herodotus as 50 cubits or 85 feet. This measure is also softened down by later writers, who have again changed the cubits into feet.

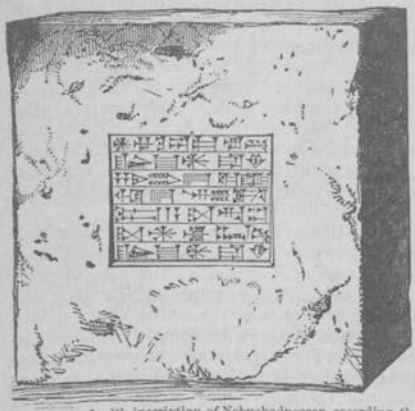
According to Ctesias, the wall was strengthened by 250 towers, irregularly arranged, to guard the weakest parts; and according to Herodotus this wall was pierced by a hundred gates, which were made of brass, and had brazen lintels and side-posts. It is not unlikely, however, that "a hundred" means simply "a large number." The gates and walls are both mentioned in Scripture (Jer. li. 58; cp. l. 15 and li. 53).

Herodotus and Ctesias both say also that the course of the Euphrates was regulated by an embankment built of baked brick, and describe a

bridge said to be made of stone piles with a movable wooden floor. Modern explorers believe that they have found traces of both these structures. The remains of a quay or embankment on the eastern side of the stream (E; see Plan, p. 315, col. 2) still exist, the bricks of which bear the name of Nabonidus, the last native king of Babylon.

Turning now to the native records, we find a certain amount of likeness in the descriptions, but considerable divergence as to the origin of the many wonders of this great city of the ancient Eastern world.

Nebuchadnezzar's account. — According to Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, it was Nabopolassar, his father, who built the walls of Babylon. These were called Imgur-Bêl ("Bêl has been merciful") and Nêmitti-Bêl ("foundation of Bêl") respectively, the former being the outer, and the latter the inner wall of the city. He had dug the ditch, had raised two strong walls on its banks, and had built the wall or dam of the Âraḫtu or Araxes. He had also lined the banks of the Euphrates with embankments (probably the quays to which Herodotus refers) of brick, but he had not finished the whole of the work which he had undertaken. Within the city itself Nabopolassar had constructed a road reaching from Du-azag, the place where the oracles were declared, to Aa-îbur-sabû, the street of Babylon, close to the gate of Beltis, for the great yearly procession of the god Marduk or Merodach.



Brick stamped with inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, recording the restoration of the temples Ê-sagila at Babylon and Ê-zida at Borsippa.

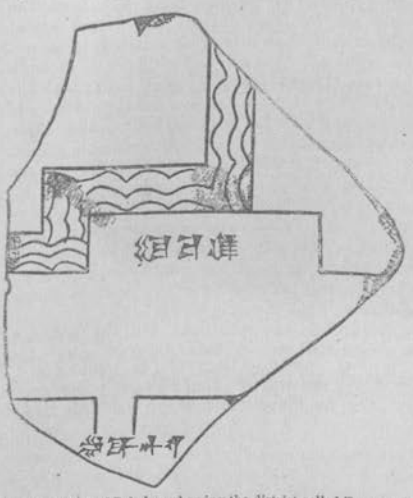
Nebuchadnezzar completed Imgur-Bêl and Nêmitti-Bêl, bricked their ditches, and added to the thickness of the two walls which Nabopolassar his father had built. He built a wall on the west side of Babylon, and raised the level of the great street Aa-îbur-sabû, from the "glorious gate" to the gate of Nanâ. This raising of the pathway of the street necessitated also the raising of the gateways through which it went. The gates themselves, Nebuchadnezzar says, were made of cedar covered with copper, probably after the style of the great gates of Balawat in Assyria. Probably no gate in Babylon was of solid metal, though no mention of their being constructed of wood occurs in Herodotus. The thresholds of these gates were of bronze, and they were guarded by images of bulls and serpents of the same metal. Nebuchadnezzar constructed also a wall on the east side of the city, 4,000 cubits distant, high like a mountain, so that no enemy could come near. In this wall were also gates of cedar covered with copper. As an additional protection, he constructed also an enormous lake, "like unto the broad sea to cross." This great sheet of water was kept in by means of dams and embankments. He thus made Babylon, as he says, quite "a fortress."

Nebuchadnezzar speaks also of the royal palace in Babylon—the palace which Nabopolassar had built and wherein he had lived. This palace, which reached from Imgur-Bêl to Lîbil-ḫegala, the eastern canal, and from the banks of the Euphrates to the sacred street Aa-îbur-sabû, had somewhat fallen into decay, the foundation having become ruinous through the floods when the river was high; and the doorways were now too low in consequence of the raising of the roadway of Aa-îbur-sabû. Nebuchadnezzar completely restored this edifice, rebuilding its foundations with bitumen and brick, and raising the whole, as he says, "mountain-like." The roof of this building was of cedar, and the doors were of cedar covered with bronze or copper. The thresholds were, as usual, of bronze, and the palace was also otherwise adorned with gold, silver, precious stones, and every kind of costly thing.

Imgur-Bêl, the principal wall of Babylon, was situated, so Nebuchadnezzar says, 490 cubits from Nêmitti-Bêl; and in order that no hostile attack should reach the former, he built, as a protection, two strong walls and an outer wall, "like a mountain," with a great building between them which should serve as a castle and a royal residence. This building was in connexion with the old palace of Nabopolassar above named. According to the Babylonian king's account, this work took only fifteen days! The decoration, in the same style as the other palace, followed, and the battlements were strengthened by blocks of alabaster and other stones. Other defences also surrounded this stronghold.

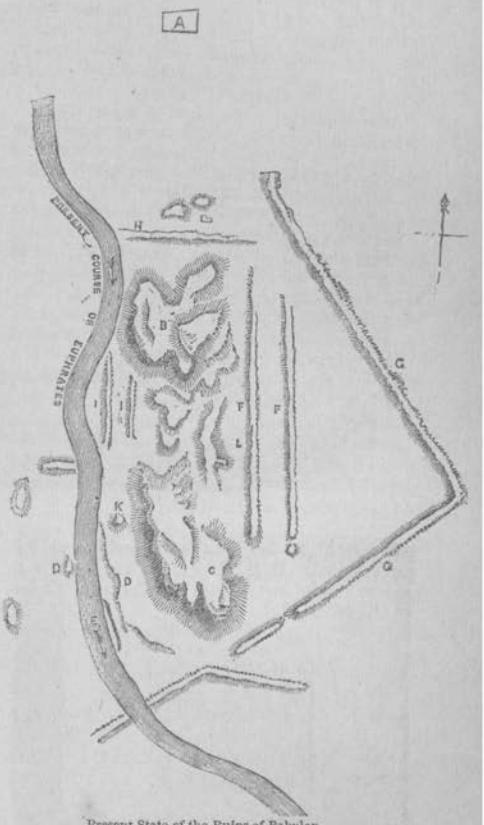
As may well be supposed, there was a large number of other temples, besides that of Belus, at Babylon, as well as smaller erections which adorned the city. These Nebuchadnezzar claims to have rebuilt or restored. Among those which he mentions may be cited *E-kua*, the shrine of Merodach in the temple Ê-sagila; and a sanctuary called Du-azag, or the "place of fate," where yearly, at the new-year's festival on the 8th and 9th (of Nisan), "the king of the gods of heaven and earth" was placed, and the future of the king asked and declared. Nebuchadnezzar also restored Ê-temen-ana-ki, called by the Babylonians "the tower of Babylon" (*zikwrat Bâbîli*) within that city. For the goddess Nin-maḫ he rebuilt or restored Ê-maḫ; for Nebo, Ê-nig-ĝad-kalama-suma; for Sin, the moon-god, "the white limestone temple;" for the sun-god, Ê-ditar-kalama; for the goddess Gula, Ê-sa-bad and Ê-ĝarsag-ella, &c. The above will give an idea of a small portion of the work which Nebuchadnezzar claims to have done in Babylon, his favourite city. Notwithstanding that (unlike the other kings before him, who

had taken different cities as their favourites) Nebuchadnezzar looked upon Babylon only with the eye of affection, he nevertheless duly restored the temples of the other great cities of Babylonia, as his predecessors had also done. Nebuchadnezzar's claim, that Nabopolassar his father had built the great walls and other defences of Babylon, cannot be taken literally—he probably only began their restoration, for these great works which he claimed as his father's are mentioned in documents which were not only written long before the time of either, but which are themselves copies of still older texts. It is very probable, however, that these two great rulers did more to render them really effective than any other king before them.



Plan of the city of Babylon, showing the district called Tuma and the Great Gate of the Sun-god, from a tablet from Babylon, now in the British Museum.[b]

Present state of the ruins.—About five miles above Hillah, on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, are "three great masses of building—the high pile of unbaked brickwork called by Rich 'Mújellibe,' but which is known to the Arabs as 'Bábel' (A); the building denominated the 'Kasr,' or palace (B); and a lofty mound (C), upon which stands the modern tomb of Amrám-ibn-'Alí" (Loftus's *Chaldea*, p. 17). These are mostly "enclosed within an irregular triangle formed by two lines of ramparts (GG) and the river, the area being about eight miles." Besides these are two parallel lines of rampart (FF) bounding the chief ruins on the east, some similar but inferior remains on the north and west (H and II), an embankment along the river-side (E), and a noteworthy isolated heap (K) in the middle of a long valley regarded by some as possibly the ancient bed of the stream. On the west or right bank the remains are very slight and scanty. There are mounds which give the appearance of an enclosure, traces of a structure of moderate size within it (D). Besides these, there is a number of remarkable mounds, usually standing single, scattered over the country on both sides of the Euphrates. Of



Present State of the Ruins of Babylon.

these, by far the most striking is the vast ruin, crowned apparently by the remains of a tower rising to the height of 153½ feet above the plain, and having a circumference of somewhat more than 2000 feet, called the *Birs-i-Nimrúd* (the *Ê-zida* of the inscriptions). This mass of brickwork is generally regarded as the remains of the Tower of Babel. This tower, however, being situated within the city of Borsippa, does not properly fall within the limits of the city of Babylon, though one of the names by which Borsippa was known was that of "the second Babylon." [See BABEL, TOWER OF.]

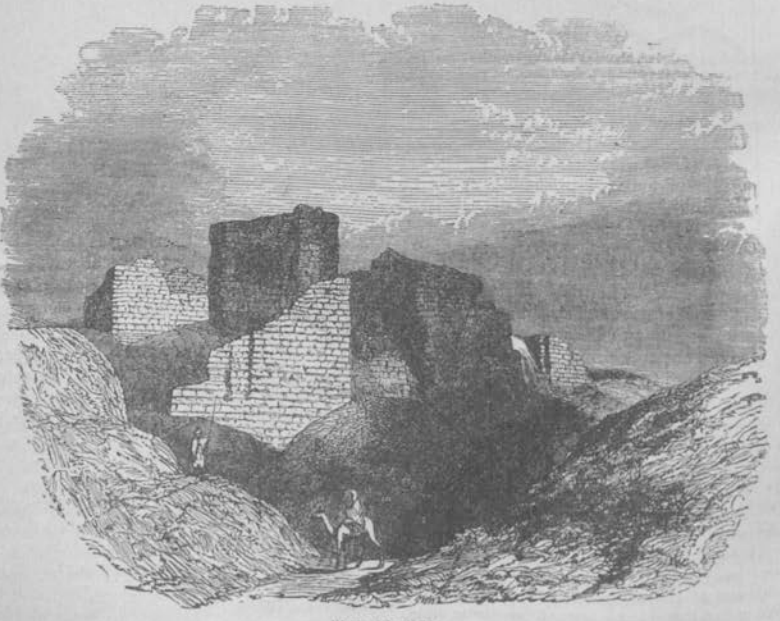
The great difficulty which meets us on attempting to identify these sites is the fact, that the remains are situated almost exclusively on the left bank of the river. It is probable, however, that the edifices existing on the western bank have been almost entirely swept away by the waters of the Euphrates, which have a tendency to run off in that direction. It has been also supposed that the ancient authors may have confounded one of the great canals, which

[b] The other side of the fragment bears an inscription referring apparently to the topography of Babylon, the name of which, as well as that of the great temple Ê-sagila, occurs in the first column of the obverse, which is very mutilated. The second column contains references to the three watches of the day, the closing of the gates, and mentions the upper and lower east and west strongholds. The text seems to have contained principally instructions for guarding the city.

existed in ancient times, with the main stream. This (which is not altogether unlikely) would do away with many difficulties, and reconcile the conflicting evidence. The ruin known as Babil (A) has been identified with the temple of Belus. Tiele (*Zeitschr. für Assyriologie*, vol. ii. p. 190) is of opinion that Ê-sagila (which has been identified with the temple of Belus) lay, if not in the old royal palace itself, at least in its immediate neighbourhood, on account of its having been found impossible by Nebuchadnezzar to enlarge the palace without desecrating the holy place. This mound of Babel is an oblong mass, chiefly of unbaked brick, about

View of Babil, from the West. Ruins of Babylon.

140 feet high, 200 feet long, and about 140 yards broad. It is flattish at the top. Originally it was coated with fine burnt brick laid in excellent mortar (Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* pp. 503–5), and was no doubt built in stages, most of which have crumbled down. All the



View of the Kasr.

inscribed bricks found in it bear the name of Nebuchadnezzar. The *Kasr* (B) is regarded as marking the site of the great palace of Nebuchadnezzar. It is an irregular square of about 700 yards each way, and probably consists of the old palace-platform with certain portions of

the ancient royal residence. The walls are built of burnt brick of a pale yellow colour and excellent quality, laid in fine lime-cement, and stamped with the name and titles of Nebuchadnezzar. They "contain traces of architectural ornament — piers, buttresses, pilasters, &c." (Layard, p. 506); and slabs inscribed with the name of Nebuchadnezzar, and giving an account of the building of the edifice, have been found in the rubbish at their base; together with sculptured fragments and pieces of enamelled brick of brilliant hues. These last-named, which show sculptured figures of animals and fabulous monsters, recall the statements of Ctesias (*ap.* Diod. Sic.) as to the walls of the palace being coloured and having representations of hunting-scenes. No plan of the palace, however, is to be made out. The mound of *Amrâm* (C) is thought by Professor Oppert to represent the site of the "hanging gardens" of Nebuchadnezzar, but this is hardly likely. The materials are much poorer than those of the other edifices of that prince; and the whole being, according to Rich, 1100 yards long by 800 yards broad,[e] gives an area much too great for the site of the hanging gardens, which are

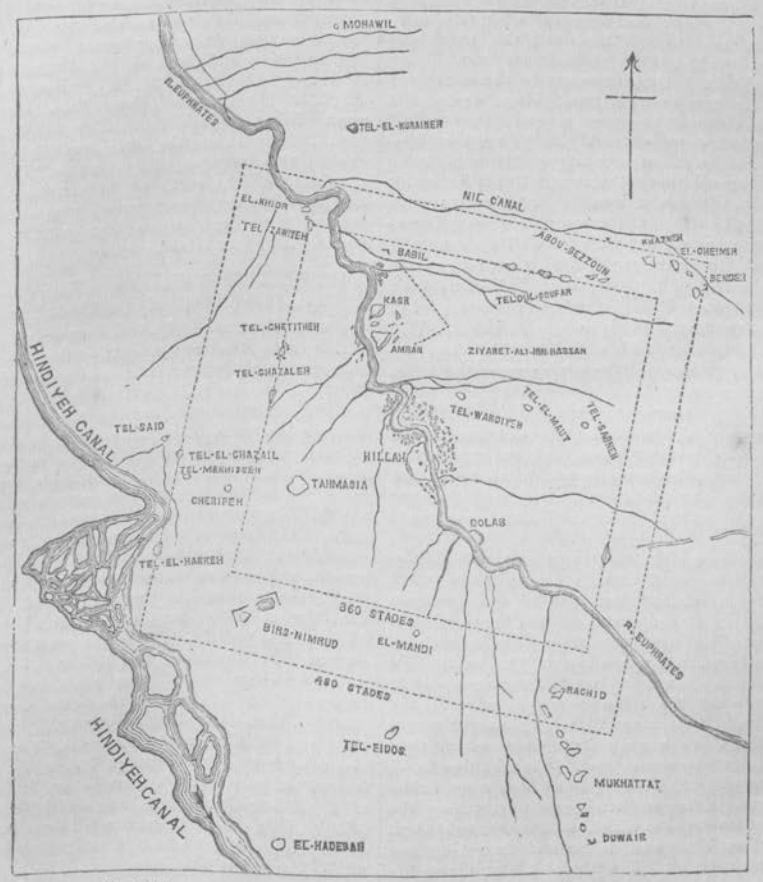


Chart of the country round Babylon, with limits of the ancient city, according to Oppert.

said to have been only 400 feet each way. It most likely represents the ancient palace of Babylon, it being the only mound from which bricks have been obtained bearing the names of kings older than Nebuchadnezzar. The identifications of the other ruins or remains are still more doubtful, but it is not unlikely that the parallel lines of embankment (II and FF) mark the outlines of the ancient reservoirs mentioned by Nebuchadnezzar and the Greek historians, though they may mark the positions of ancient enclosures or defences of the palace. The position of the "festival-street" (*Aa-ibur-sabû*) mentioned by Nebuchadnezzar is unknown. The embankment (E) is undoubtedly a portion of the work which Berosus ascribes to the last king of Babylon—Labynetus, Nabonidus, or *Nabû-na'id*.

Babylon in the time of its glory compared with its present condition probably presents the greatest contrast which it is possible to imagine. Poor though the materials were, the inhabitants and rulers had nevertheless erected edifices which, for genius and grandeur of conception, provoked comparison with the pyramids of Egypt, and even in their decay excite the

[e] Ker Porter regards the shape as that of a triangle, the sides of which are respectively 1400, 1100, and 850 ft.

admiration and astonishment of the traveller. In default of stone, the early inhabitants built houses and palaces of baked or unbaked brick, wood, or even of reeds. Most of the houses were probably very simple structures, with flat roofs, such as are still to be seen in the East. Ancient Babylon must, however, have been a beautiful city, for many of the houses were situated in the midst of gardens and orchards, and here and there might be seen large fields of waving corn of various kinds, and everywhere date-palms and other Eastern trees raised their lofty heads. A vast trade was, from the 6th century to the time of Darius, carried on in the city, which became filled with rich merchants and slaveholders, and the taxes and tithes paid by the inhabitants must have brought in a large revenue to the exchequer and the temple-treasuries. Here, during the period above named, were representatives of all the principal nations of the then known world—Jews and Assyrians mourning over their captivity and the desolation of their respective fatherlands; Median, Persian, Phoenician, and Syrian merchants; Chaldean and Aramean soldiers and mercenaries; slaves and serfs from all the countries around. Here the son of Neriglissar lent money upon security, the judges of Nabonidus dealt out justice, and Belshazzar's servant engaged in trade, seemingly on his master's account. This most important and well-populated city, the abode of princes and the great ones of the earth, where so many historical events have taken place, and so much affecting the surrounding nations passed, the capital of one of the greatest nations of ancient times, is now represented merely by a few mounds and ruins, and a few thousand clay tablets from which scholars are slowly gleaning her eventful and chequered record.

Babylon is often mentioned in the Old Testament, and we get from it not only the record of its foundation, but also of the greatness which it ultimately attained, and the prophecies of its fall and utter desolation. The inhabitants of Babylon, by whose rivers the captive Israelites sat down and wept, hanging up their harps upon the *willows* which were in the midst of it (Ps. cxxxvii.), can no longer mockingly ask for a song from those whom they have carried away captive. She who was to be destroyed (*v.* 8) has long since been razed to the ground. Often and often, probably, during the numerous sieges to which she has been subjected, were her little ones taken and dashed against the rocks (*v.* 9). The "burden" which, at the hands of the Medes, was to fall upon the devoted city, is detailed at length by the prophet Isaiah (ch. xiii.). "Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldeans' pride," was to become "as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah" (*v.* 19). Besides the great ruins, which are to be seen there, "other shapeless heaps of rubbish cover for many an acre the face of the land. The lofty banks of ancient canals fret the country like natural ridges of hills. Some have long been choked with sand; others still carry the waters of the river to distant villages and palm-groves. On all sides, fragments of glass, marble, pottery, and inscribed brick are mingled with that peculiar nitrous and blanched soil, which, bred from the remains of ancient habitations, checks or destroys vegetation, and renders the site of Babylon a naked and hideous waste. Owls start from the scanty thickets, and the foul jackal skulks through the furrows." (Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 484.) From time to time a few black tents and flocks of sheep and camels are seen scattered over the yellow plain, but no permanent dwelling is erected there, and the sheep of the Arabs probably find but little food among Babylon's barren ruins. "But wild beasts of the desert shall dwell there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures; and ostriches shall dwell there, and he-goats shall dance there. And wolves shall cry in their castles, and jackals in the pleasant palaces: and her time is near to come, and her days shall not be prolonged" (Is. xiii. 21, 22). Compare also Jer. l. 39. It is now a long time since the sword fell upon the inhabitants of Babylon (Jer. l. 34), and since the battle was set in array against the daughter of Babylon (*v.* 42). The trembling of the earth at "the noise of her capture" has long since passed away, and the echoes of the cry which then went up are making their last resound. [T. G. P.]

BA'BEL, TOWER OF. The "tower" (מִגְדָּל) of Babel is only mentioned once in Scripture (Gen. xi. 4, 5), and then only in connexion with the city (Babel) which certain immigrants, probably Akkadians (see the article BABEL) began to build in the plain of Shinar, but left incomplete in consequence of the confusion of tongues. No reference to it appears in the prophetic denunciations of the punishments which were to fall on Babylon for her pride. It is therefore quite uncertain whether the building ever advanced beyond its foundations. As, however, the classical writers universally in their descriptions of Babylon gave a prominent place to a certain tower-like building, which they called the temple (Herod., Diod. Sic., Arrian, Pliny, &c.), or the tomb (Strabo) of Belus (see pp. 312, 313), it has generally been supposed that the tower, the building of which, it may be conjectured, was abandoned when "they left off to build the city," was in course of time finished, and became the principal temple of the Chaldaean metropolis. Certainly this may have been the case; but, while there is some evidence against, there is none in favour of it. A Jewish tradition, recorded by Bochart (*Phaleg*, i. 9), declared that fire fell from heaven, and split the tower through to its foundation; while Alexander Polyhistor (*Fr.* 10) and the other profane writers who noticed the tower (as Abydenus, *Frs.* 5 and 6), said that it had been blown down by the winds. Such authorities therefore as we possess, represent the building as destroyed soon after its erection. When the Jews, however, were carried captive into Babylonia, struck with the vast magnitude and peculiar character of certain of the Babylonian temples, they imagined that they saw in them, not merely buildings similar in type and mode of construction to the "tower" of their Scriptures, but in this or that temple they thought they recognised the very tower itself. The predominant opinion was in favour of the great temple of Nebo at Borsippa, the modern *Birs-Nimrud*, although the distance of that place

from Babylon is an insuperable difficulty in the way of the identification. Similarly when Christian travellers first began to visit the Mesopotamian ruins, they generally attached the name of "the tower of Babel" to whatever mass, among those beheld by them, was the loftiest and most imposing. Rawulf in the 16th century found the "tower of Babel" at *Felugiah*, Pietro della Valle in the 18th identified it with the ruin *Babil* near *Hillah*, while early in the present century Rich and Ker Porter revived the Jewish notion, and argued for its identity with the *Birs*. There are, in fact, no real grounds for identifying the tower with the Temple of Belus, even supposing that any remains of it long survived the check which the builders received, when they were "scattered abroad upon the face of the earth," and "left off to build the city" (Gen. xi. 8).

The *Birs-Nimrud*, though it cannot be the tower of Babel itself, which was at Babylon (Gen. xi. 9), may, perhaps, as the most perfect representative of an ancient Babylonian temple-tower, be regarded as showing, better than any other ruin, the probable shape and character of the edifice. This building appears from the careful examinations that have been made of it, to have been a sort of pyramid built in seven stages. "Upon a platform of crude brick, raised a few feet above the level of the alluvial plain, was built of burnt brick the first or basement stage—an exact square, 272 feet each way, and 26 feet in perpendicular height. Upon this stage was erected a second, 230 feet each way, and likewise 26 feet high; which, however, was not placed exactly in the middle of the first, but considerably nearer to the south-western end, which constituted the back of the building. The other stages were arranged similarly—the third being 188 feet, and again 26 feet high, the fourth 146 feet square, and 15 feet high, the fifth 104 feet square, and the same height as the fourth; the sixth 62 feet square, and again the same height; and the seventh 20 feet square, and once more the same height. On the seventh stage there was probably placed the ark or tabernacle, which seems to have been again 15 feet high, and must have nearly, if not

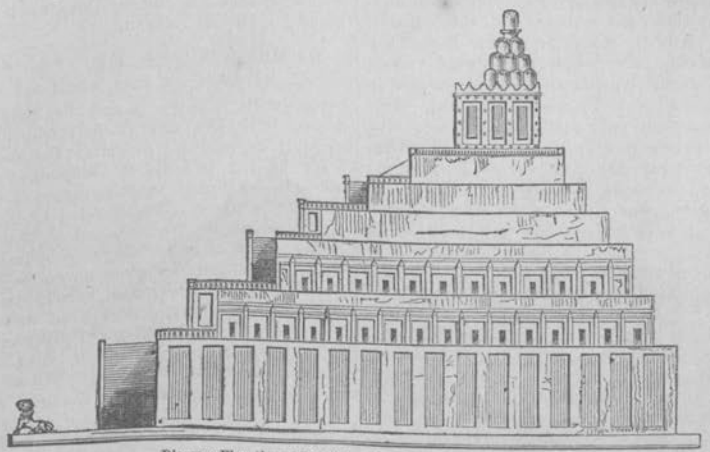


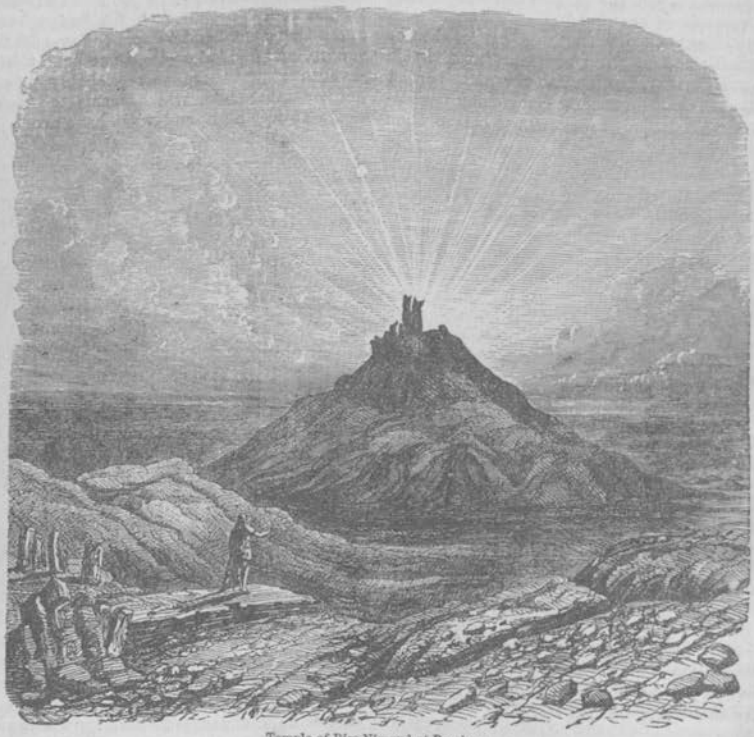
Diagram Elevation of Birs-Nimrud. (Restored by Fergusson.)

entirely, covered the top of the seventh story. The entire original height, allowing three feet for the platform, would thus have been 156 feet, or, without the platform, 153 feet. The whole formed a sort of oblique pyramid, the gentler slope facing the N.E., and the steeper inclining to the S.W.[a] On the N.E. side was the grand entrance, and here stood the vestibule, a separate building, the debris from which, having joined those from the temple itself, fill up the intermediate space, and very remarkably prolong the mound in this direction" (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. pp. 582, 583). The *Birs* temple, which was called the "Temple of the Seven Spheres of Heaven and Earth," was ornamented with the planetary colours, the basement being black, the second story orange, the third red, the fourth yellow, the fifth green, the sixth blue, and the seventh white, while on the top was a shrine or chapel. The above cut shows its conjectural restoration by Fergusson. The other chief features of it seem to have been common to most, if not all, of the Babylonian temple-towers. The feature of stages is found in the temples at Warka and Muḳeyyer (Erech and Ur; Loftus's *Chaldæa*, pp. 129 and 168), which belong to very primitive times (about 2500 B.C.); that of the emplacement, so that the four angles face the four cardinal points, is likewise common to those ancient structures; while the square form is universal. A similar tower was found at Khorsabad. [See ASSYRIA, p. 278.] On the other hand, it may be doubted whether so large a number of stages was common. The Muḳeyyer and Warka temples have no more than two, and probably never had more than three, or at most four, stages. The great temple of Belus at Babylon (*Babil*) shows only one stage, though, according to the best authorities, that too was a sort of pyramid (Herod., Strab.). The height of the Birs is 153½ feet, that of *Babil* 140 (?), that of the Warka temple 100, that of the temple at Muḳeyyer 50 feet. Strabo's statement that the

[a] Messrs. Perrot and Chipiez, in their *History of Art in Chaldea and Assyria*, vol. i. chap. iv. (English edit.), are more correct in making each successive stage to have been placed exactly in the centre of that below it

tomb of Belus was a stade (606 feet) in height would thus seem to be a gross exaggeration. Probably no Babylonian tower ever equalled the Great Pyramid, the original height of which was 480 feet.

With regard to the materials used in the tower, and the manner of its construction, more light is to be obtained from the Warka and Muḳeyyer buildings than from the *Birs*. The *Birs* was rebuilt from top to bottom by Nebuchadnezzar, and shows the mode of construction prevalent in Babylon at the best period; the temples at Warka and Muḳeyyer remain to a certain extent in their primitive condition, the upper stories alone having been renovated. The Warka temple is composed entirely of sun-dried bricks, which are of various shapes and sizes; the cement used is mud; and reeds are largely employed in the construction. It is a building of the most primitive type, and exhibits a ruder style of art than that which we perceive from Scripture to have obtained at the date of the tower. Burnt bricks were employed in the composition of the tower (Gen. xi. 3), and the Arab. حمر implies that the *ḥemar* (חֵמָר) used for mortar was bitumen, which abounds in Babylonia. Now the lower basement of the Muḳeyyer temple exhibits this combination in a decidedly primitive form. The burnt bricks are of small size and of an inferior quality; they are laid in bitumen[b]; and they face a mass of sun-dried brick, forming a solid wall outside



Temple of Birs-Nimrud at Borsippa.

it, ten feet in thickness. No reeds are used in the building. Writing appears on it, but of an antique cast. The supposed date is B.C. 2500—rather earlier than the time commonly assigned to the building of the tower. Probably the erection of the two buildings was not separated by a very long interval, though it is reasonable to suppose that of the two the tower was the earlier. The date assigned by the Babylonians to Sargon of Agadé is 3800 B.C., and the erection of the Tower of Babel may be set down roughly at about this period.

There is little or nothing to be said as to the probable position of the Tower of Babel. That it ought to be found within the city of Babylon is implied by its name, and by the scriptural account of its erection. The improbability of its having been the Birs-Nimroud (the Ê-zida of the Babylonian inscriptions) has been referred to above; and there is no indication, in the ancient records, that it was the great and renowned temple called Ê-sagila ("the House of the High Head") at Babylon, though it must be confessed that the name would support such a view. There was, however, at Babylon another temple or temple-tower, apparently held by the Babylonians next in veneration, and called by them Ê-temen-ana-ki ("the House of the Foundation of Heaven and Earth"). Further it was also generally spoken of as "the Tower of Babylon" (*zikkurat Bâbili* or *zikurat Babilam*). This

[b] *Muḳeyyer* means literally "coated with bitumen."

tower seems to have been mentioned, on a geographical tablet, at the head of the list, before that of Borsippa (Ê-zida, or the Temple of the Seven Spheres). Nebuchadnezzar, too, in many of his inscriptions, speaks of having restored it. He says, "Ê-temen-ana-ki, the Tower of Babylon, I made, I completed, and with brick and bright marble I raised its top." It must be left to future research to determine whether Ê-sagila, Ê-temen-ana-ki, or Ê-zida be the Tower of Babel, but the choice may be regarded as lying rather between the first two.

It is not necessary to suppose that any real idea of "scaling heaven" was present to the minds of those who raised either the Tower of Babel, or any other of the Babylonian temple-towers. The expression used in Genesis (xi. 4) is a mere hyperbole for great height (cp. Deut. i. 28; Dan. iv 11, &c.), and should not be taken literally. Military defence may have been the primary object of such edifices in early times: but the probability is that it was intended to be used as an observatory, and for the offering of sacrifices and performance of religious ceremonies. Most, if not all of the principal cities of Babylonia and Assyria had a tower, and some of them probably more than one.[a] These towers were called *zikkurāti*, a word which comes from the root זכר, and which probably means, therefore, "memorial-peak," or something of that kind. Um-napištim, the Chaldean Noah, in the story of the Flood, says that, after coming forth from the ark, he "built an altar on the peak (*zikkurat*) of the mountain," and offered sacrifice there. It is therefore probable that the custom of having *zikkurāti* arose from this act on the part of the Patriarch. Diodorus states that the great tower of the temple of Belus was used by the Chaldeans as an observatory (ii. 9); and the careful emplacement of the Babylonian temples with the angles facing the four cardinal points, would be a natural consequence, and may be regarded as a strong confirmation of the reality of this application. M. Fresnel has conjectured that they were also used as sleeping-places for the chief priests in the summer-time (*Journ. Asiatique*, June 1853, pp. 529–31). The upper air is cooler, and is free from the insects, especially mosquitoes, which abound below; and the description which Herodotus gives of the chamber at the top of the Belus tower (i. 181) goes far to confirm this ingenious view.

[G. R.] [T. G. P.]

BABYLON [BABEL], בָּבֶל, Βαβυλών, the country of Babylon or Babylonia (Βαβυλωνία), so called from Babel (Bab. *Bâb-îli*), the name of its capital city [see BABEL, BABYLON]. Though the Babylonians themselves often called their country Bâb-îli or Babylon, this was not its ancient name. The general designation of the whole tract was (according to Fried. Delitzsch) Edin. This name, however, was very rarely used, if used at all, by the Babylonians themselves. The country is generally designated, by both Babylonians and Assyrians, Kar-duniaš,[a] but this name probably indicated only the country around the city Babylon itself. A more usual expression was, in Akkadian, *Kinga Uri*, rendered by *mât Šumeri u Akkadi*, "the land of Sumer and Akkad," Sumer being identified with שִׁנְעָר, Shinar, and Akkad derived from the name of the capital city Akkad or Agadé, and meaning the south and north (or south-east and north-west) of Babylonia respectively. Other names for these two districts, or parts of them, were Makan (southern) and Meluḫḫa[b] (northern). There were a great many tribes in ancient Babylonia, who gave their names to the districts where they dwelt. The principal of these were Bît-Amukkan, and Bît-Yâkîn and Tamtim, on the shores of the Persian Gulf, tribes from which sprang several Babylonian kings.

Geography.—Babylonia proper extended from the Persian Gulf (then reaching farther inland than now) to between thirty-four and thirty-five degrees of north latitude. The boundaries probably varied much at different periods, but the tract of country known as Babylonia must have been a narrow strip, following the course of the two great rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates, and extending therefore in a north-westerly direction. It is a low-lying plain, marshy during the overflowing in the south, but during the dry season is a mere desert covered with a crust of salt, the sky-line being only broken by the hills and mounds marking the sites of the ruins of the cities of this once prosperous and fertile land. The country of Babylonia was bounded on the north by Assyria, on the south by the Persian Gulf, on the east by the mountainous country of Persia and Elam, and on the west by the Syrian desert. The chief cities were Babylon and Borsippa, Kês (Hymer) and Ḥarsagkalama, Cuthah (Tell-Ibrahim), Lagaš (Tell-Lo), Ur (Muḳeyyer), Sepharvaim (Abu Habbah), Akkad, Isin or Karrag, Nippuru (Niffer), Eridu, Kullab, Erech (Warka), and many others.

Babylonia was in ancient times an extremely fruitful country, for not only was it watered by the two great rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates, but also by a whole network of canals, which were excavated by the various kings, and which contributed greatly to the fruitfulness of the land. The summers are hot and sultry, the great plains being then scorched and without verdure, but the winters are mild. Petroleum and bitumen springs are found in the Euphrates valley, and bitumen (the "slime" of Gen. xi. 3) was largely used by the Babylonians in building, as it formed an excellent cement. The soil is clayey, and for this reason most of the edifices were of brick, both kiln-burnt and sun-dried, and clay was largely used instead of papyrus or other material for books, records, and documents of all kinds, from a very early date.

Government.—The king was an absolute monarch, and had the power of life and death over his subjects. It is probable that with the Babylonians, as with the Assyrians, people who considered that they had suffered injustice at the

[a] The city of Niffer seems to have had three.

[a] Apparently a Kassite or Cossaean name, meaning "the garden of Duniaš."

[b] From Eme-luḫḫa, "(the land of) the pure tongue," or "of the tongue of the servant." It is supposed that the Sumerians were the dominant race.

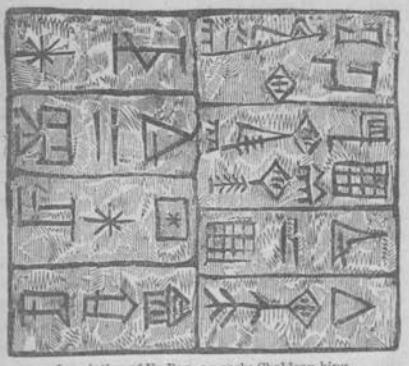
hands of the judges of the land could appeal to him. The Babylonian kings, however, seem not to have been so accessible to their people as the Assyrian kings, and they were therefore not so popular: hence, perhaps, the many revolutions in Babylonia. The king was, as a rule, the patron of learning, and some of the Babylonian kings had a taste for archaeology, the result being that very many of the ancient monuments which would otherwise, perhaps, have perished, were preserved.

The administration of the various provinces was placed in the hands of different officials, who were responsible to those over them or to the king. The courts of justice were presided over by several judges, who were called the king's judges, and who acted as the judge and jury of modern days. Justice was therefore very fairly administered. Bribes were not allowed, and were probably very seldom offered.

Arms.—The Babylonians were brave, but not warlike, being much more traders than soldiers. Their arms were the sword, dagger, bow and arrow, spear, mace, and sling and stone. Their sports were falconry, and probably also hunting and a kind of boxing or fencing.

Learning.—They preferred learning to fighting, and in this respect differed greatly from the Assyrians. Like most of their kings, the more educated had a taste for archaeology. A knowledge of Phoenician, and probably of Aramaic also, was required in business transactions; whilst the true literary class were expected to know, besides these things, the ancient and dead languages of the country, Akkadian and Sumerian.

Writing.—The wedge-writing of the Babylonians and Assyrians, called also cuneiform, is a development of the earlier line-writing, which



Inscription of Ur-Bau, an early Chaldean king.

was, in its turn, derived from the original hieroglyphics. The wedge-writing proper arose out of the desire of the users of the system to impress the lines of the hieroglyphs, rather than draw them, on the soft clay which they used. The early writing is rather complex, and there is an attempt, in some cases, to keep to the line-forms. Later, this attempt was abandoned, and, as the people wrote more, the characters were much less carefully, because more quickly, formed.

The character *an* (syllabic value) = Akkadian *dingir* = Semitic Babylonian *ilu*, "god":—

Archaic , late form .

The character *šu* (syllabic value) = Akkadian *šu* = Semitic Babylonian *ḳâtu*, "hand":—

Archaic , late form .

The character *ud* (syllabic value) = Akkadian *û* = Semitic Babylonian *ûmu*, "day":—

Archaic , late form .

About the year 900 B.C. the writing becomes both simpler and clearer, the characters being very symmetrically formed. From the time of Nabonidus to that of the Arsacidae the writing becomes again less clear. The scribes of Saosduchinos, Nebuchadnezzar, Nabonidus, and even of Antiochus, were very fond, however, of imitating the ancient and more complicated styles of writing in documents of the better class. [ASSYRIA, *Writing.*]

Literature.—Besides the records mentioned below, the Babylonians had an extensive literature, consisting of records of the creation of the world, of the Flood, legends of the gods and heroes, fantastic tales accounting for eclipses and the movement of the heavenly bodies, hymns, penitential psalms, and poems; some alliterative proverbs and fables have also been found. Of more serious subjects we have grammatical lists, Akkadian or Sumerian and Babylonian; vocabularies of these languages; tablets on agriculture, geography, natural history, astronomy, and mathematics. There are also tablets of legal precepts, exhibiting an excellent knowledge of the technicalities of law. Special bilingual-lists were drawn up for the use of those likely to be engaged in trade; and a great many fragments of tablets, containing the Babylonian students' practice in reading and writing, have come down to us.

Time reckoning.—The year with the Babylonians, as also with the Assyrians, began with the month Nisan (March); the new moon next before the equinox marking, according to Mr. Geo. Smith, the beginning of the new year. The year was divided into twelve months, each of thirty days,[c] so that the reckoning of time was not entirely lunar. The following are the most usual names of the months in Babylonian:—

1. *Nisannu*	Nisan	March.
2. *Aaru*	Iyyar	April.
3. *Simannu*	Sivan	May.
4. *Dûzu*	Tammuz	June.
5. *Âbu*	Ab	July.
6. *Ûlulu*	Elul	August.
7. *Tišritu*	Tisri	September.
8. *Araḫ-samnu*[d]	Marcheswan	October.
9. *Kîsilimu*	Kisleu	November.
10. *Ṭebêtu*	Tebet	December.
11. *Šabatu*	Sebat	January.
12. *Âdaru*	Adar	February.

Arḫu makru ša Adari, Arḫu maḫru ša Adari, Arḫu âtaru ša Adari = the intercalary Ve-Adar.

Besides Ve-Adar, there was also an intercalary Elul as well as an intercalary Nisan.

Calendars were drawn up, giving all the lucky and unlucky days, and the learned men were often consulted as to the suitability of any

[c] The ideograph for "month" is the sign for "day" with the numeral 30 within.

[d] "The eighth month."

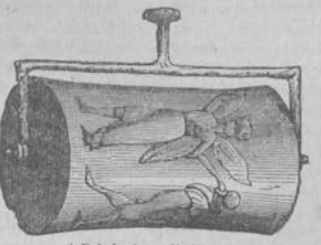
day for some particular work. Besides these calendars, there were also tablets giving the religious festivals for each day of every month, as well as rules as to one's life on these days, and the list of the Sabbaths, which were the 7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th of each month. The Babylonian sabbaths, however, were not by any means so strict as those of the Jews. There was also an intercalary day inserted after the 21st of the month.

Each day had twelve hours, which were equal to two hours of our own time-reckoning. The night was divided into three watches. In travelling, the length of a journey was reckoned by hours, about seven English miles being the distance got over in a Babylonian hour.

Dating.—In the earliest times in Babylonia the dating of trade documents was by means of events, such as the building of a temple, the digging of a canal, or the march of a warlike expedition. Later on, the people seem to have regarded this as rather clumsy and inconvenient, and the system of dating by the regnal years of the kings came into use. The Assyrians held the middle course of dating by eponyms, which may have been also an early Babylonian custom [see ASSYRIA]. In every case the month and day were inserted.

Records.—Defective as was the Babylonian system of dating, they were yet most careful as to keeping records of events, and they have left excellent lists of all their kings from at least as early as the year 2300 B.C.; and Nabonidus, the great Babylonian chronologist-king, mentions the date of 3200 years before his time as the date of Narâm-Sin, son of Sargani or Sargon, and it is not at all unlikely that he had good authority, in the shape of authentic records, for that date. Besides the Babylonian canons, there were also the chronicles, giving a very full account of the events of every reign, and omen-tablets, giving the principal events and the omens to be deduced therefrom, to enable the after-comers to form an estimate of what might be likely to happen under the same astral influences. It is probable therefore that the extreme exactness of the Babylonian records arose from the strict account kept of the movements of the heavenly bodies.

Trade; Slavery.—The Babylonians were ardent traders, and have left documents dating from the earliest times. They begin about the time of Hammurabi, 2120 B.C., and are written, for the most part, in Akkadian, that period seeming to be the transition from the non-Semitic to the Semitic in trade and legal documents, though all the people at this time spoke Semitic Babylonian. These early trade documents were always made in duplicate, each transaction, having been recorded on a clay tablet, having an outer coating or envelope of clay moulded on it, and this in turn inscribed with the same transaction. All these documents are dated by the mention of some important event which took place at or near the time when the transaction was completed. They are generally impressed all over with the seals of the contracting parties, rendering the writing exceedingly difficult, and sometimes impossible, to read. In later times the trade documents are smaller and neater, the style of writing not being so complicated. The more convenient method of dating in the regnal years of the kings came also into use. Seals, however, are not much used, and case-tablets entirely disappear. During the latest period the style of the trade documents does not change much. The writing, however, gets rougher; seals are more used; and small case-tablets again become usual. During the earliest and latest periods, the clay tablets were seldom baked, being only sun-dried. The objects bought and sold were houses, lands, plantations, ships, oxen, sheep, goats, various kinds of grain, vessels of earthenware or copper, ironware, &c. The traffic in human beings was very common; and slaves, both male and female, were sometimes branded or marked on the hand with the name of their master or mistress. The trade done at Babylon and Sepharvaim from the time of Nabonidus until the end of the reign of Darius was enormous.



A Babylonian cylinder-seal.

Part of the edge of a tablet of the time of Nabonidus, showing impressions of cylinder-seals Priests (men and eunuch) in an attitude of worship. (Late Semitic type.)

Though slavery was in full force in Babylonia, yet the slaves do not seem to have been at all badly treated, and there were special laws for their protection. They seem to have been allowed to acquire property and even to trade on their own account, and it is probable also that many were allowed to buy their freedom with the money thus gained (see p. 325, *Manners and Customs*).

Architecture.—The Babylonians were no mean architects, and knew the use of the arch. There being but very little or no good building-stone in the country, most, if not all, of the buildings were of brick, both baked and unbaked. It is very probable that any stone that may have been used (as in the case of the bridge at Babylon mentioned by Herodotus) was brought from other lands—probably from Assyria, where limestone and alabaster are to be found. The early Mesopotamian buildings were seldom, if ever, more than one story high. They were built of both baked and unbaked brick, and

like those of Assyria, the palaces probably consisted of a series of long narrow rooms, with communicating passages, built round several courtyards of various sizes (see the article ASSYRIA, *Architecture*). Though not altogether ignorant of the use of the column, and probably also of the pier, the Babylonians seem, like the Assyrians, to have made little or no use of either—hence the long narrow rooms. Like the palace of Assyria, horizontal lines predominated in its general physiognomy, and perpendicular lines in its exterior wall-decoration. Like the Assyrians also, the royal buildings were raised on artificial platforms with carefully-paved surfaces. The lines of the great buildings rose therefore high above the surrounding country, attaining a greater prominence than any other edifice, and breaking the tiring monotony of the unvarying Mesopotamian plain. Their style of architecture was very simple, and was not greatly varied; but as most of the royal palaces were on a large scale, the very simplicity added somewhat to the grandeur of the whole. A certain number of the bricks were generally stamped with the name and titles of the king who had the palace built or restored. The ornamentation of the inside consisted generally of designs of men, animals, and fabulous monsters, modelled in brick in high relief, and enamelled in the natural colours—a branch of art in which the Babylonians probably excelled. Far grander, however, in appearance than the palaces, were the temple-towers, such as have been described by Herodotus. These consisted of pyramidal towers built in stages, rising in seven tiers either by an inclined passage all round, or in a similar number of stages parallel with each other, to which access was gained by inclined passages on each side, until the top was reached. These *zikkurāti* ("peaks" as they were called) are supposed to have contained only two chambers, one on the fifth stage, the other higher up, all the rest being solid. In these chambers the worship of the gods was performed, and shrines for the images of the gods were erected within them, and in some cases also on the top of the tower. Simpler forms of

A simple form of Babylonian temple-tower.

the temple-tower, similar to that shown in the illustration, also existed.

Art.—Practically, the art of Babylonia was the same as that of Assyria, though there are some essential differences as to style and detail, the Babylonian having, of the two, rather less mannerism. The art of the earliest period is naturally that which might be supposed to exist among a nation in its infancy, the artist being unskilled, and his productions, therefore, amateurish. On the bas-reliefs from Tel-lo (Lagaš), for example, the human figures, in common with everything else, are very roughly formed; but especially rough are some representations of birds of prey carrying off the limbs of the slain. The designs, however, are sometimes well thought out. Much better executed are the sculptures in the round, from the same place. These represent seated and standing figures probably intended for images of the kings Gudea and Ur-Bau, whose inscriptions they bear. All the figures are headless, but two heads, probably belonging to similar statues, are very fine. The art of Lagaš, however, may be regarded as almost, if not quite, pure Akkadian. A small bas-relief in the British Museum, representing king Hammurabi, is a variant of the same style of art. It is impossible, on account of the lack of monuments, to trace the development of Babylonian art. We only know, from the later examples which are extant, that, possibly on account of Semitic influence, it became bolder, more finished, and that more attention was paid to details. (Compare the monument known as the "Sungod-stone," found by Mr. H. Rassam at Abu-habbah, and the bas-relief of Marduk-nadin-âhi, p. 329.) The decorations of the palace-walls, of which only the merest fragments are now in existence, imply a style still closer resembling that of Assyria—bold outlines, and strongly-marked muscles in the human and animal forms. These wall-decorations were carved on the bricks, and then enamelled in bright colours. They consisted of men, fabulous monsters, palm-trees, &c., and call to mind the statement made by Ctesias, as to the walls of the palace of Babylon being sculptured and coloured with representations of hunting-scenes, &c., and the "men pourtrayed upon the wall, the images of the Chaldeans pourtrayed with vermilion, . . . exceeding in dyed attire upon their heads, . . . after the manner of the Babylonians of Chaldea, the land of their nativity" (Ezek. xxiii. 14, 15). These enamelled carvings seem also to have been accompanied by inscriptions, the characters beautifully enamelled in white on a blue ground. The Babylonians also modelled very well in clay, a very favourite subject being a woman with a child at her breast (perhaps emblematic of Ištar). Many excellent castings in bronze, from Lagaš, also exist. They represent principally king Gudea holding a cone with the point downwards, thought to be intended for the fire-stick.

Engraving.—The Babylonians were, from the very earliest times, excellent engravers in hard

Warrior and followers returning with two captives and spoils of war. Seal of the secretary of the king of Erech's brother. An example of exceedingly early Babylonian engraving. About 2500 B.C.

stone. The earliest specimen of this kind of art is a cylinder-seal with the name of Sargani or Sargon, about 3800 B.C. The design, though conventional, is rather elaborate, and the

animal forms are especially good. Later the style grows simpler, but the forms are still good; and it is not until about 2000 B.C. that the art began to degenerate, and probably about 1200 B.C. began to die out, or at least only lingered on until the time of Nabonidus, at which period another style arose, of a much severer kind, in which, however, the human figures are excellently formed, and much attention is given to details. The art of engraving among the Babylonians suffered greatly upon the conquest of Babylonia by the Persians, and the almost national cylinder-seal gave place to the ordinary stone signet. After the time of Darius, engraving on stone, in the true Babylonian style of the art, had ceased to exist.

Religion.—The religion of the Babylonians was polytheistic, developed out of a worship of the powers of nature. The chief god was Bêl (the lord), identified in later times with Marduk or Merodach, "the patriarch of the gods" who went about doing good to mankind. Other deities were Anu and Anatu, the male and female personifications of the heavens; Êa or Aê, "lord of the human race, whose hands made mankind;" Sin,[e] the moon-god, "lord of the month;" Šamaš, the sun-god, "lord of judgment," and his consort Aa; Rammânu (Rimmon) or Addu (Hadad) the god of the atmosphere, who fertilised the land; Beltis, consort of Bêl, and Zêr-panîtum, consort of Marduk[f]; Ištar or Venus, goddess of love, "lady of the world;" Nin-Karrag (lady of Karrag or Isin), "the great healer;" Gibil, the god of fire, with many others. On every occasion these gods were prayed to and invoked, splendid temples were erected to them, sacrifices were made at stated times, and yearly festivals, with magnificent processions in which their "ships" (arks or shrines) were carried round, took place in their honour. See the article BABEL, BABYLON (end of "Nebuchadnezzar's account"), and ASSYRIA, *Religion.*

Manners and Customs.—The manners and customs of the Babylonians probably varied from time to time, as they were influenced by the nations around with whom they came into contact. Strabo (xvi. 1, § 20) says that their customs were like those of the Persians (save a few which were peculiar to themselves), but this naturally refers only to the late period, during and after the Persian occupation.[g]

Very few records of a nature to give information upon these points have come down to us from the earliest period, the principal sources being the very difficult contract-tablets from Southern Babylonia, dating from about the 22nd century B.C. From these it is to be gathered, that they worshipped practically the same deities as in later times, Šamas and Sin (the sun and the moon) being the favourite deities. At this period, although Semitic Babylonian had practically become the language of the people, it is nevertheless probable that Akkadian was much used, portions at least of most of the legal documents being written in that tongue, and Akkadian names of persons being not uncommon. At this early period one of their customs seems to have been to "make brotherhood" (*tappûtu* or *âḫiûtu*). The single record of this custom, the Deed of the Brotherhood of Ṣini-Innanna and Iriba^{m}-Sin, shows that it was accompanied by a religious ceremony in the temple of the Sun and Moon. They were told to give some slaves to the temple; their brotherhood was then declared to be confirmed, and an exhortation to brotherly love was pronounced. The two parties to one of these deeds could, however, possess property that was not in common, if acquired otherwise than with their common means. Thus Ṣini-Innanna and his true brother Apil-ili acquired, with their mother's money, property to which, it is stated, Iriba^{m}-Sin (Ṣini-Innanna's partner) and *his* brothers had no claim. In later times "brotherhood" of this kind seems not to have existed, an ordinary business partnership (*ḫarrana*, lit. "a double road") having taken its place.

Slavery had existed in Babylonia from very remote ages, and many laws and enactments concerning it had grown up. Slaves seem to have been liable to be called on to perform service for the king, &c., and a slave sold unconditionally could be bought back by the seller on refunding the money. As in Rome, slaves were taught trades, and were regularly apprenticed, the tablet of apprenticeship generally recording certain penalties which would be imposed if his temporary master failed to fulfil his agreement. Slaves seem to have been able to work their way, by the favour of their master, up to freedom, through certain intermediate privileged stages, one of which was called *mâr-banûtu*, or "born-" or "made-sonship." He was then regarded more as the son of his master, for whom probably he still worked, and who contracted to give him food, oil, and clothing. A case is recorded of the *mâr-banûtu* of a slave having been annulled, by mutual consent, on account of his master having been unable to fulfil these conditions. His master then transferred the slave to his married daughter.

Herodotus (i. 194) and Strabo (xvi. 1, 20) speak of a custom by which young women were sold by auction, those who were good-looking going to the highest bidder, and the plain ones to the men who would take them with the smallest dowry, the money paid for the good-looking ones going to dower their less-favoured sisters. The native records make no mention of this custom. Dower-contracts exist, but, as far as known, they are all of the nature of a private contract between the parties and their parents. In one or two marriage-contracts, the clause is inserted that adultery is to be punished by death, which was apparently the usual penalty. From one of these documents it seems that a man could contract a marriage on behalf of his son, and also annul that contract by simply saying "(N. N.) *ûl aššatu^{m} ši*," "(So-and-so) is not a wife," but in that case the dowry had to be returned at the time when the woman was sent back to her father's house. It is not improbable, therefore, that a man could himself divorce his wife in the same easy way. Judging from the native records, dowries seem

[e] This divine name forms the first element in the name of the Assyrian king Sennacherib.

[f] This name forms part of the royal names Merodach-baladan, Evil-Merodach, &c.

[g] Babylonians at this period sometimes even bore Persian names, as in the case of a certain Baga'pada, son of Nabû-zêr-iddin, a Babylonian.

to have been the rule, and not the exception. Married women could possess property and engage in trade, and on the death of their husbands were entitled to the amount of their dowry out of what he left behind.

Only a portion of the wedding ceremony, on a fragment of a tablet from Nineveh, has been preserved. According to this document, after the priest had pronounced the couple to be man and wife, they were commanded to make offerings of certain things in sevens—7 canes, 7 cypress-branches, 7 victims, &c. &c., placed 7 feet from the altar. The priest then performed certain rites, and afterwards uttered a prayer to Êa or Aê, to Šamaš, and to Merodach. Ištar or Venus is not mentioned.

No real confirmation has been found in the native records of the sacrifice by maidens of their virtue, to Mylitta (Venus), mentioned by Herodotus and Strabo. According to these writers, the women go to a temple of Venus, accompanied by numerous attendants and a crowd of people. Each woman has a cord round her head. A man, on approaching her, placed on her lap as much money as he thought proper, and then led her away to a distance from the sacred grove, and had intercourse with her, she not daring to refuse. The money given was considered as consecrated to Venus. It is apparently to this that reference is made in Baruch v. 43 (Epistle of Jeremy): "The women also with cords about them, sitting in the ways, burn bran for perfume" [*i.e.* as incense to the goddess]: "but if any of them, drawn by some that passeth by, lie with him, she reproacheth her fellow, that she was not thought as worthy as herself, nor her cord broken;" and from this, it would seem as if the breaking of the cord (apparently that about her head) typified her release from the obligation. An examination of some of the female figures with their hands beneath their breasts, or folded upon their breasts, supposed votaries of Venus, shows only one with what *may* be a cord round the head.[b]

Strabo states also that the Babylonians had three tribunals—one of whilom military men, one of nobles, and a third of old men. Besides these there was another appointed by the king. No certain indications of any of these have yet been found in the native records, but "the Judges of Nabonidus," who are often mentioned on the tablets of his time, probably correspond with the last. According to Strabo, it was the tribunal appointed by the king which disposed of the virgins in marriage, and decided in cases of adultery. The judges mentioned on the tablets seem to have had to determine all civil actions, such as disputes as to property, &c. Of the Babylonian laws which have been preserved, and the juridical decisions recorded, none could be juster.

[b] A tablet, in private hands, records a contract by which a man swears to send his daughters, not to the temple of Venus, but to that of the Sun-god at Sippara, saying, "About the tenth day of Sivan, I will take Šabullatu, Tabluṭu, Tunâ, (and) Amtia, my daughters, to the treasury of the Sun-god, before Guzanu, the priest of Sippara. Whether it be male or female, I will place it before the Sun-god for redemption." If this latter phrase refer to the offspring, this text may record a kind of parallel to the custom mentioned by Herodotus and Strabo.

The same writer (xvi. 1, § 6) mentions the "native philosophers called Chaldeans," who were chiefly devoted to the study of astronomy [CHALDEANS, 3], and a certain section of them, not approved by the rest, who professed to understand the casting of nativities. Some of the Chaldean astronomers, he says, have the names of Orcheni and Borsippeni (Erechites and Borsippans), &c., as if divided into sects, and disseminate different tenets on the same subjects. This statement is borne out by the native records. Herodotus states that the sick were brought out into the market-place, where the passers-by were expected to ask after their malady, and to give them advice; but the reason he gives for this, that they employed no physicians, is not true. The *âsû*, or physician, was a recognised office from very early times. The Babylonians were also accustomed to the use of incantations and charms for the cure of diseases.

Strangely enough, there is but little to be gathered from the native records concerning their funeral customs. Strabo says that they buried their dead in honey, first be smearing the body with wax. This, however, probably refers to the latest period; for the indications which have been gained from the native records, both Assyrian and Babylonian, imply that they burnt their dead, and the sepulchral remains which have been found at El-hibba confirm this.

The Babylonians consumed dates, as food, in large quantities, and used various kinds of corn, greens, and roots, such as the carrot, &c. They drank wine from Helbon and Azali, and seem to have had many kinds of grapes. They were also flesh-eaters, and consumed, probably, a large amount of fish, principally caught by means of nets, as indicated by the bilingual texts. Sesame was much used, the oil pressed from it being employed in dressing dishes, and for anointing the body. Their costume, according to Herodotus and Strabo, consisted of a linen tunic reaching to the feet, then a woollen tunic, and over that a white mantle. They wore sandals or shoes resembling a buskin, long hair, curled, and were accustomed to perfume themselves. Each had a cylinder-seal and a wand, the former engraved, the latter carved with an animal or device.

The Babylonians were exceedingly superstitious, and made constant use of charms and magical formulae either to protect themselves from evil, misfortune, and sickness, or to charm them away if any such happened to them. The god who was most sought on such occasions was Merodach, who was regarded as the most merciful of all the gods, going constantly about, doing good. In many of the incantations he is represented as the one who taught the magical healing formula to the first man needing it. Merodach was in all things advised by his father Êa, god of the waters and lord of deep wisdom, and to him Merodach always went for the health-working words which were to charm away the trouble of his human supplicant. Magical drinks and washings were also largely used. Before taking in hand any work also, the Babylonians seem always to have ascertained whether the day were lucky or unlucky for its performance, whether the

heavenly bodies were propitious, or whether the terrestrial omens were equally favourable.

The Babylonians.—The Babylonians seem to have been of mixed race, caused by the mingling of the Akkadians (supposed Turanians) with the Semitic tribes of the Euphrates valley. Certain

Impression of a cylinder-seal. The hero Gistubar (Gilgameš) struggling with a lion. Babylonian (Semitic) type of about 3000 B.C.

it is that the cylinder-seals, as well as the few sculptures that have come down to us, show us two distinct types—the earlier (evidently the

Impression of a cylinder-seal. Deity, worshipper, and divine attendant. Akkadian (non-Semitic) type of about 2,500 B.C.

Akkadian) being tall, thin, well-formed, with exceedingly handsome, regular features;[1] and the later, in which the figure is short and thick, the features being decidedly Semitic. It seems clear that the more polished race, the Akkadian (or Sumerian), was, at an early period, the ruling race, and Akkadian was the language of a large section of the people. Later, the two races mingled, and the Akkadian type was lost in the stronger Semitic. The result of this mingling of the two races was the production of a nation far superior to most of the peoples around them as to intelligence, and ideas of freedom and justice. The Babylonians of later times seem to have been of very nearly the same type as the Assyrians—a round face, full eyes, with eyebrows meeting over the nose, which was short and turned down at the tip, small mouth, and dark hair and beard. In disposition they were mild and good-humoured, and seem to have differed from the Assyrians in loving the arts of peace, rather than those of war. The illustrations here given show the two types which produced the late Babylonian and also the Assyrian—early Semitic, almost, if not quite, pure, and early Akkadian, the result of the fusion being the type of face shown in the next two illustrations, and in the reproduction of the seal-impressions, p. 323. See also the corresponding section of the article ASSYRIA, and the type shown in the illustration to that article on p. 274.

Head of a Babylonian.

Impression of a cylinder-seal. Eunuch-priest before emblems of the sun and moon. Babylonian type of about 600 B.C.

[1] There are no traces, on any of the sculptures or the engraved seals, of the oblique eyes of which several scholars have spoken.

History.—Babylonian history may be divided into three periods, namely—1, the mythical period, immediately following the Flood, when lived and ruled the heroes, such as Gištubar (Gilgameš), Ṭâbi-ûtul-Bêl, and others; 2, the first historical period, which lasted until about 2300 B.C.; and 3, the second historical period, from about 2300 B.C. until the end of the existence of the kingdom.

The earliest king of whom we have any certain record is Sargina or Sargon of Agadé, a city lying very close to Sepharvaim (Abû-habbah). This king, who according to Babylonian chronology reigned about 3800 B.C., attacked the Hittites, subdued certain states in Babylonia, made expeditions against the Syrians, and penetrated as far as the Mediterranean. After this he put down a revolt which had arisen in his own dominions, and wasted the region called Šumasti (a part of Elam). He restored and rebuilt various temples, &c., and founded a city called Dûr-Sargina, on the site of an old Chaldean town. The story of his mother placing him, when an infant, in a little ark on the Euphrates, to save him from the fury of his uncle, who then ruled the land, is probably mythical. Sargina is evidently identical with the Sargani of a very ancient inscription found by Mr. H. Rassam at Abû-habbah or Sepharvaim.

Narâm-Sin, his son, who succeeded him about 3750 B.C., conquered, amongst other places, the city of Apirag, then ruled by a king named Rêš-Rammâni, and overran the land of Maganna, a district of Babylonia.

Ur-Bau, or Ur-Babi (formerly read Urukh), a king probably of Kassite origin, reigned about 2700 B.C. He was a great builder, and raised, in the city of Ur (Muḳeyyer), a temple to the moon-god Sin, and restored or founded at Larsa (Senkereh), Nipur (Niffer), and Lagaš (Tel-lo), temples to the various gods. Hašhamer was a viceroy under him.

Ur-Bau was succeeded by Dungi, his son, who finished the tower of Ur, rebuilt the temple of Erech, and built a temple at Babylon.

About the time of Dungi, the state of Lagaš comes into prominence, and the names of the following rulers of this state, which must have had much influence, have been preserved:—Entemenna and his son En-ana-gin, Ri-nita-ni, Ur-Papsukal and his son Gudea. These kings are only known to us as having restored the various temples, and Gudea was especially very energetic in such pious works.

Subject from the signet-cylinder of king Ur-Bau.

The seat of empire passed afterwards to Larsa (Senkereh), which, under an Elamite dynasty, of which the first king seems to have been Simti-silḫak, became the most influential city in Babylonia. Kudur-Mabug[k] and Rim-Agu, his son and grandson, conquered several other parts of Babylonia. After the long and prosperous reign of Rim-Agu, his dominions seem to have been conquered by Ḫammurabi[l] or Kîmta-rapaštu, about 2120 B.C.

Ḫammurabi was a vigorous ruler and builder, but details of his campaigns are entirely wanting. He made himself master of the whole of Babylonia, including the region of the Persian Gulf.

Samsu-iluna, his son, succeeded him about 2075 B.C., but nothing except the architectural history of his reign is known. He reigned thirty-five years, and was succeeded by his son Êbišu.[m]

About 1570 B.C. arose a dynasty of Kassite kings, the most distinguished of whom was Agû-kak-rimê, son of Tašši-gurumaš, grandson of Abi-gu[rumaš]. Agû-kak-rimê calls himself king of Kaššî (the land of the Cossaeans), and Akkadi, king of the vast land of Babylon, coloniser of Ašnunak, king of Padan and Alman and Gutî. The dominion of many of these countries he had evidently gained by conquest. Like most of the Babylonian kings, he was more an architect than a warrior.

About the year 1450 B.C. Kara-indaš ruled over Babylonia, and made a treaty with Aššur-bêl-nîšt-šu, king of Assyria, as to the boundary of the two kingdoms.

Burna-buriaš, who reigned about 1425 B.C., continued the peace with Assyria, and seems to have married an Assyrian princess, Muballiṭat-Šerûa, daughter of Aššur-uballiṭ.

Kara-Murdaš was the fruit of this marriage, and seems to have succeeded Burna-buriaš. Some disaffected Kassites, however, arose, and, killing Kara-Murdaš, placed Nazi-bugaš, "the son of a nobody," on the throne.

Aššur-uballiṭ, king of Assyria, to avenge the death of Kara-Murdaš, marched to Babylonia and killed Nazi-bugaš, placing on the throne Kuri-galzu, a child, son of Burna-buriaš. Kuri-galzu had a long and prosperous reign, but Bêl-nirarî, king of Assyria after Aššur-uballiṭ, attacked him, and defeated his army near the city Sugaga.

Later, about the year 1330 B.C. Nazi-murutaš, king of Babylonia, was defeated by Rammânu-nirari near Kar-Istar-akarsal, and a new rectification of the boundary of the two countries took place.

About the year 1250 Tukulti-Ninip, king of Assyria, conquered Babylonia, and a little later the country was invaded by Aššur-danan, who completely defeated the king of Babylonia, Zagaga-šum-iddin.

Nebuchadnezzar I., who ruled about 1150, invaded Assyria three times, but is said to have been defeated on the third expedition by the Assyrian king Aššur-rêš-îši. Marduk-nadin-âḫî, Nebuchadnezzar's successor, invaded South Assyria and carried off the images of the gods Rammânu and Šala from the city of Êkallâti. Tiglath-pileser I., king of Assyria at this time, to avenge this raid, captured Babylon and ravaged the whole of Upper Babylonia.

Marduk-šapik-kullat,[n] king of Babylonia about 1100 B.C., made peace and alliance with Aššur-bêl-kala, then king of Assyria. The Babylonian king, however, seems to have left his country for some reason; and whilst he was away, the Babylonians raised Rammânu-abla-iddina, a man of common origin, to the throne. Aššur-bêl-kala of Assyria afterwards married a daughter of the new Babylonian king.

In the reign of Simmaš-Šiḫu, the Sutû, an Elamite tribe, invaded Babylonia, and spoiled and carried off the property of the temple of the sun-god at Sepharvaim. Simmaš-Šiḫu reigned seventeen years, and was succeeded by Ḫeamukîn-zêri, a usurper, who reigned only three months. Kaššû-nadin-âḫî, who succeeded Ḫeamukîn-zêri, restored the temple of the sun-god at Sippara. Of the history of the reigns of the next few kings nothing is known.

Merodach-baladan, son of Iriba-Marduk, restored the temple of Erech. Sibir, a later king, invaded Assyria, and burned the city Adlil. Nabû-šum-damiḳ (B.C. 913) and his successor Nabû-šum-iškun both fought against Rammânu-

[k] The likeness of this name to Chedorlaomer (Kudur-Lagamaru) will be noticed.

[l] Also read Hammuragaš.

[m] Apparently the same name as Abêsu', found on contracts from Babylonia.

[n] Also read Marduk-šapik-zêr-mâti.

nirari, king of Assyria, but were defeated by him.

About 892 B.C. Tukulti-Ninip of Assyria took possession of the throne of Babylon, and ruled the country for seven years. During the struggle which followed upon his expulsion, the Babylonians seem to have been strong enough to take and hold the Assyrian cities of Calah and Imgur-Bêl, near Nineveh, until they were again wrested from them by Aššur-naṣir-apli.

About 879 B.C. Nabû-abla-iddina ("Nebo-baladan") came to the throne. He made a

Marduk-nadin-âḫi, king of Babylon about 1130 B.C. (Carved on a large black stone brought from Babylon and now in the British Museum.)

great many additions to the shrine of the sun-god at Sippara, and joined the Shuites in resisting Aššur-naṣir-apli, king of Assyria. The allies were defeated by the Assyrians. The leader of the Shuites escaped by taking to the Euphrates, but the brother of the Babylonian king and the general of the army were captured by Aššur-naṣir-apli. After the death of the Assyrian king, a treaty was made between Nabû-abla-iddin and Shalmaneser II., settling the boundaries of the two kingdoms.

About 853 B.C. Nabû-abla-iddin died, and was succeeded by his son, Marduk-šum-iškun. Babylonia was now torn by civil war. Marduk-bêl-ûsâte, brother to the reigning king, laid claim to the throne, but the revolt was only quelled with the help of Shalmaneser and the Assyrian army.

In the years 820–812 B.C. Samsi-Rammânu, king of Assyria, made several expeditions to Babylonia against Marduk-balaṭ-su-iḳbî, in one of which at least the Babylonian army was defeated, and the city Dûr-Papsukal taken. The names of the next few kings of Babylonia are unknown.

In 747 B.C. Nabonassar came to the throne, and reigned over Babylonia for fourteen years. It is said by Berosus, *Sync. Chron.* 207, that this king destroyed all the annals of his predecessors to compel the Babylonians to date from his reign, but this is evidently only a fiction to explain the Era of Nabonassar, for not only have we many important fragments of the Babylonian annals, but the Babylonians themselves seem not to have used his reign as a starting-point either in their chronology or in dating business documents. During his reign a revolt occurred in Babylon and Borsippa, but was quelled. He died in his palace at Babylon, and was succeeded by his son, Nabû-nadin-zêri or Nadinu, the Nadios of the Canon of Ptolemy. This king was killed, after a reign of two years, in a revolt led by Nabû-šum-ukîn or Šum-ukîn, who reigned only one month.

Nabû-šum-ukîn was succeeded by Ukîn-zêr (the Chinzirus of the Canon of Ptolemy), chief of the tribe of Bît-Amukkan, B.C. 731. Tiglath-pileser III. of Assyria, however, invaded Babylonia, destroyed Bît-Amukkan, and took Ukîn-zêr prisoner, after a short reign of three years (B.C. 728).

The Babylonian Canon gives Pulu or Pul, 2 Kings xv. 19 (Poros)—whose attack upon Israel was bought off, and his help secured, by a payment, by Menahem, of a thousand talents of silver—as the next ruler, but the chronicle gives Tiglath-pileser — apparently the name assumed by Pul on his accession to the throne. He died after a reign of two years, and was succeeded, according to the Canon, by Ululâa, the Elulaeus of Ptolemy. The chronicle, however, gives Šulman-ašarid, the Šalmanu-ašarid III. (Shalmaneser) of the Assyrians. The Babylonian chronicle records that this king destroyed the city of Šabara'in.[a] He died, after reigning five years in Babylon. (For a fuller account of these kings, see the corresponding section of the article ASSYRIA.)

Merodach-baladan, a Babylonian from Tamtim south of Babylonia, mounted the throne after the death of Shalmaneser, B.C. 721. During the reign of this king a great battle took place in the province of Dûr-Ili, between Ummanigaš, king of Elam, and Sargon, of Assyria, in which, it is stated by the Babylonian chronicle, the former was victorious. Merodach-baladan came to the aid of the Elamites, but was only in time to join in the pursuit. Sargon (who, in his annals, claims the victory) retreated to Assyria, and did not return to the conquest until the year 712 B.C. Merodach-baladan made great efforts to withstand him, but was defeated, and compelled to retreat to Iḳbî-Bêl,

[a] Or Samara'in, identified by Prof. Fried. Delitzsch with Samaria (cp. 2 Kings xvii.).

whilst the Assyrian king entered Babylon in triumph. Merodach-baladan was captured in Ikbî-Bêl, and taken prisoner to Assyria.

Sargon, the Arkeanos of the Canon of Ptolemy, reigned at Babylon, after the conquest, for five years, and was succeeded, in the year 705 B.C., by his son Sennacherib, who was deposed, however, two years afterwards, and Marduk-zakir-sum placed on the throne. This king, however, reigned only one month, for Merodach-baladan, having escaped from the Assyrians, killed him, and again mounted the throne of Babylon. Sennacherib marched to Babylon, defeated Merodach-baladan at Kês (Hymer), and compelled him to flee. Sennacherib now ravaged the country, and set on the throne of Babylon a Babylonian prince named Bêl-ibnî, the Belibus of the Canon of Ptolemy.

The government of this prince seems not to have been satisfactory to the Assyrian king, for in the third year of the reign of Bêl-ibnî Sennacherib came to Akkad and ravaged the country, and carried away Bêl-ibnî and his chief men to Assyria, setting on the Babylonian throne his own son Aššur-nadin-šum.

Troubles, however, still continued in Babylonia, a chief named Suzub having arisen and placed himself at the head of a large army. This new pretender was defeated by Sennacherib, and obliged to flee and hide himself. Sennacherib now marched against the kindred of Merodach-baladan who were at Nagitu, on the Persian Gulf, completely defeating them. Whilst Sennacherib was on this expedition, Šuzub, the Nergal-ušêzib of the Babylonian chronicle, raised, with the help of the king of Elam, an army and marched to Babylon, where he was proclaimed king, Aššur-nadin-šum being carried captive to Elam.[p] The Assyrian army, then on their way home, turned aside and defeated the rebels, and Šuzub was captured and sent to Nineveh. Sennacherib then attacked Elam, and whilst engaged there, another Šuzub, the Mušêzib-Marduk of the Babylonian chronicle and the Mesesimordachos of the Canon of Ptolemy, mounted the Babylonian throne. During his reign Umman-menanu, king of Elam, with an army of Elamites and Akkadians, fought with the Assyrians near the city Ḫalulî. Later, however, the Elamite seems to have become the friend of the Assyrians, for he invaded Babylonia, captured Mušêzib-Marduk, and sent him to Assyria, and Babylonia fell under the rule of the Assyrians for twenty-one years (688–668 B.C.).

After the death of Sennacherib in 681 B.C., Esarhaddon his son came to the Babylonian throne. Babylon enjoyed comparative peace during his reign, the only formidable invasion being an Elamite raid, which penetrated as far as Sepharvaim. Esarhaddon fell ill and died on his way to Egypt, B.C. 668, and was succeeded in Babylonia by his son, Šamaš-šum-ukîn or Saosduchinos.[q]

During about the first ten years of this king's reign Babylon was at peace, but the quiet was broken at the end of this by Urtaku, king of Elam, who persuaded Bêl-ikîšâ, with some other petty Babylonian chiefs, to join him in a war against Saosduchinos and Aššur-banî-apli his brother. The result of this war was that Elam was conquered by the Assyrians, who deposed Urtaku, and placed on the throne Umman-igaš, one of his sons.

Saosduchinos, however, seems to have become dissatisfied at being a vassal of his brother, and determined to try to make himself quite independent. He therefore broke open the treasuries of the various temples, and sent the gold and silver found therein to Umman-igaš, king of Elam, and made an agreement with him to make war upon Aššur-banî-apli.

The struggle which followed was long and severe, but the Assyrians were in the end victorious, the result being that in the year 648 B.C. Babylon was taken, and Saosduchinos, fearing to fall into the hands of the Assyrians, set fire to his palace and was burnt to death.

Šamaš-šum-ukîn or Saosduchinos was succeeded by Kandalanu or Kineladanos, who reigned twenty-two years (647–625 B.C.), but of his reign nothing is known.[r]

Kineladanos was apparently succeeded by the Assyrian king Aššur-êtil-ilâni, who reigned at least four years. He seems to have been followed by Sin-šarra-iškun, who was king of Assyria as well. This king is evidently the Saracos of Syncellus, of whom it is related that, having heard that a great band of barbarians had come up from the sea to attack him, he sent his general Busalossor (Nabopolassar) to Babylon to resist them. Having arrived there, Busalossor turned against his master, and made alliance with Necho, king of Egypt, and Cyaxares, king of Media. The allied armies are said to have been defeated three times by the Assyrians, but on the arrival of reinforcements the tide of fortune turned, the Assyrian army being routed, and Shalman, brother of the king of Assyria, slain. The siege of Nineveh followed, and lasted over two years, at the end of which time in the spring the Tigris rose so high that a large portion of the city-wall was carried away, and the king of Assyria, seeing that all was over, set fire to his palace and perished in the flames.

After the division of the Assyrian empire amongst the allies, Nabopolassar and his son Nebuchadnezzar made Babylonia the richest and most influential power in the world, and Nebuchadnezzar led the armies of his father against the Egyptians and defeated them. Whilst Nebuchadnezzar was away on this expedition, his father died, and he hastened back to Babylonia to take the crown.

The glory of the name of Nebuchadnezzar II. is well known. He overran the various small kingdoms of Palestine, and in 587 B.C. captured Jerusalem and carried off the people into bondage. He attacked Tyre, but only captured the city (if he took it at all) after a siege of thirteen years (573 B.C.). In the year 572 B.C. Nebuchadnezzar defeated and deposed Hophra, king of Egypt, and set on the throne Ahmes or Amasis, who in the thirty-seventh year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign seems to have revolted against

[p] This king had reigned, supported on the throne by the arms of Assyria, for six years (699–693 B.C.).

[q] For a fuller account of the reign of Esarhaddon, see the corresponding section of the article ASSYRIA.

[r] Twenty years would probably be nearer the mark, as there seems to have been an interregnum.

him, and Nebuchadnezzar marched to Egypt and defeated him. Nebuchadnezzar, the greatest builder of his time, restored and rebuilt almost all the principal temples and palaces of Babylonia. He died in the year 562 B.C., and was succeeded by his son Amĕl-Marduk or Evil-Merodach, a king of a very peaceful disposition. This king, after a short reign of two years, was assassinated by his own brother-in-law, Nergal-šarra-uṣur or Neriglissar, who then took possession of the throne.

Neriglissar was rather advanced in years when he took the reins of government, and reigned only a little over three years. He is not known to have engaged in any warlike expedition. He was succeeded by Labarosoarchodos (Lâbâši-Marduk), who was assassinated after a reign of nine months, and Nabû-na'id, or Nabonidus, son of Nabû-balaṭ-su-ikbî, raised to the throne (B.C. 556).

Nabonidus was a most unwarlike king, and seems to have given up all the military affairs into the hands of his son Belshazzar, whilst he himself gratified his taste for archaeology by excavating the foundation of all the temples to find the records of ancient kings, and his desire for splendour by restoring the buildings again with great magnificence. Whilst the nation was plunged into mourning for the king's mother, who had died, Cyrus crossed the Tigris below Arbela, to attack a petty king in that neighbourhood. In the year 539 B.C. he began the conquest of Babylonia itself, and his army entered Sippara on the 14th of Tammuz, Babylon being captured two days later by Gobryas. Nabonidus, who had fled, was afterwards captured and brought to Babylon, where on the 11th of Marcheswan he died. Belshazzar is not mentioned by name in the Babylonian annals, but is always spoken of as "the son of the king." His father, Nabonidus, once mentions him in an account of the restoration of a temple at Muḳeyyer, and his name occurs several times in contracts. According to the Bible account, he was feasting with his lords when the enemy entered the city, and was killed. It is probable that it was he, rather than his father, who was real king, though his father alone bore the title of king among the Babylonians. [See BELSHAZZAR.]

About 538 B.C. Cyrus found himself completely master of Babylonia, and governed, during the eight or nine years of his reign, with great ability, taking great care to respect the feelings of the people whom he had conquered. His son Cambyses was associated with him during the last two years of his reign.

In the year 527 B.C. Cambyses conquered Egypt; and whilst he was upon this expedition, the Medes revolted, and went over to the standard of Gumatu or Gomatis, one of the Magi, who—personating Bardes (in Babylonian, Barzîa), the younger brother of Cambyses, whom that king is said to have secretly murdered—had risen in rebellion. Cambyses left Egypt to quell this revolt, but killed himself, apparently by accident, whilst on the road to Persia. The Pseudo-Barzîa or Bardes now took possession of the throne, but was deposed and killed by Darius, who became king of Persia and Babylonia.

The Babylonians now revolted under the leadership of a man named Nidintu-Bêl, who personated Nebuchadnezzar III., son of Nabonidus. This ruler reigned only one year, being defeated by Darius in two battles, and compelled to flee. Darius, however, having captured him in Babylon, put him to death. Again, about 515 B.C., another pretender, named Araḫu, also personating Nebuchadnezzar III., arose, but was besieged in Babylon by Darius's general; and, on the city being taken, was captured and crucified.

After this period Babylonia appears only as a province of the various powers by which it was subjugated, and has no independent history. Once during the reign of Xerxes it tried again, but unsuccessfully, to regain its independence. Its commerce, which had, during the period from the end of the reign of Nabopolassar to the end of that of Darius, been enormous, now declined considerably. The defences and public buildings also suffered much from neglect, the new rulers not having that enthusiasm for the ancient monuments of the glories of the country which the native Babylonian rulers possessed. The observations made by the astrologers in the temple-towers, however, were still continued, and considerable additions were made to the library at Ê-zida (the Birs-Nimroud) during the time of Antiochus Soter, who also restored that building to somewhat of its former magnificence.

The Babylonians were in many ways a peculiar nation, being, in a sense, a prototype of the great Anglo-Saxon race—a number of small kingdoms united at last to form a single state, from which, however, Assyria broke off, and, declaring herself independent, became, from time to time, Babylonia's chief enemy. Babylonia seems, strangely enough, not to have attained any considerable military power until the time of Nebuchadnezzar, her foreign conquests before that time being few and of short duration. The kingdom of Babylon had a more honourable claim than Assyria to the respect of the surrounding nations in that she was renowned more for the arts of peace than for those of war, and the Babylonian language and writings became the diplomatic tongue of the ancient East. · Her "goodly garments" (Josh. vii. 21) were probably to be found in many a city of the ancient Eastern world, together with a large number of her other products; and her influence, for good or evil, was doubtless widely felt. Probably there were but few who had not heard of the world-renowned tower within her capital (Gen. xi. 4), and who had not been influenced by her religious system, with its mysticism and superstition, worshipping her gods Siccuth, Chiun (Amos v. 26), Succoth-benoth (2 K. vii. 30), and weeping for Tammuz (Ezek. viii. 15) like the Israelites. Whilst the country was free from invasion, the citizens were most prosperous. Like Tyre, her merchants were princes — small wonder that the land was looked upon with envy by the nations around, as by Judah and Israel (cp. Ezek xxiii. 14, 15). But the prosperity of this great nation soon passed away. "The Lord shall perform His pleasure upon Babylon, and His arm shall be upon the Chaldeans" (Is. xlviii. 14); Chaldea was to be a spoil (Jer. l. 10 ; to Babylon and to all the inhabitants of Chaldea was to be rendered all the evil that they had done to Zion (Jer li. 24, 25). That land, honoured in being in early

times the dwelling-place of Abraham and his forefathers (Gen. xi. 28; Acts vii. 4), fell a prey first to the Persians and Medes (Dan. v. 29), and then to the Parthians, the Greeks, the Romans, and lastly, the Turkish empire, under the rule of which there is little or no hope for a return to that prosperity which, under the rule of the old native kings, polytheists as they were, it enjoyed. The cities are ruins, the fertilizing canals are all choked up, malarious marshes abound to make the land now but little fit for human habitation. Babylonia, from whom the West has learnt so much, is waiting, with the rest of the ancient East, for a slight return, a participation in some of the advantages which the civilized West now enjoys, and can, and probably will, in the near future, give to that now benighted part of the earth.

For the descriptive portions of Babylon the city, and Babylon the country, see Rich's *Two Memoirs on Babylon;* Ker Porter's *Travels*, vol. ii.; Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, chs. xxi., xxii.; Fresnel's *Two Letters to M. Mohl* in the *Journal Asiatique*, June and July 1853; and Loftus's *Chaldaea*, ch. ii. On the architecture and art, Perrot and Chipiez's *History of Art in Chaldea and Assyria*. On the identifications of the ruins of ancient sites, compare Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii., essay iv.; Oppert's *Expédition en Mésopotamie*, and Rennel's *Essay* in Rich's *Babylon and Persepolis*. On the history, compare Smith's *History of Babylonia* and *Assyrian Discoveries*, chs. xii. and xv.–xix.; Pinches' Introduction to the *Guide to the Kouyunjik Gallery;* Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. i., essays vi. and viii., and Hommel's *Geschichte Assyriens und Babyloniens.* [T. G. P.]

BAB'YLON (Βαβυλών; *Babylon*). The occurrence of this name in 1 Pet. v. 13 has given rise to a variety of conjectures, some of which—such as the identification of it with Jerusalem, Seleucia, or a frontier fort between Upper and Lower Egypt—no longer command attention. There remain two opinions to be considered:—

1. That Babylon denotes Rome. In support of this opinion is brought forward a tradition recorded by Eusebius (*H. E.* ii. 15), on the authority of Papias and Clement of Alexandria, to the effect that 1 Peter was composed at Rome. Oecumenius and Jerome both assert that Rome was figuratively denoted by Babylon; and the uniform, unvarying testimony of early Christian writers is to the effect that Babylon here is a recognised appellation of Rome, the head-quarters of anti-Christian influences. And this opinion, held by Grotius, Lardner, Cave, Whitby, Macknight, Hales, and others, is the opinion generally adopted now (cp. *Speaker's Comm.* and Burger in Strack u. Zöckler's *Kgf. Komm.* in loco).

2. The very natural supposition that by Babylon is intended the old Babylon of Assyria owes its origin to Calvin, to whom it was "a stronghold of popery," and was supported by Lightfoot and Bentley. But Babylon, though largely inhabited by Jews previous to the time of Caligula, was towards the end of that emperor's reign (c. A.D. 40) almost entirely depopulated of its Jewish colony (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 9, § 8), and it is difficult to suppose that a Christian Church consisting of Hebrew converts could have been established there in less than a quarter of a century after the catastrophe. [F.]

BAB'YLON, in the Apocalypse, is the symbolical name by which Rome is denoted (Rev. xiv. 8, xvii., xviii.). The power of Rome was regarded by the later Jews as that of Babylon had been by their forefathers (cp. Jer. li. 7 with Rev. xiv. 8. See *Speaker's Comm.* on xvii. 4), and hence, whatever the people of Israel be understood to symbolize, Babylon represents the antagonistic principle. [REVELATION.] [W. A. W.]

BABYLO'NIANS (בָּבְלִיא [Baer], בְּנֵי־בָבֶל; Βαβυλώνιοι; *Babylonii, filii Babylonis*). The inhabitants of Babylon, a race of impure Semitic origin, who were among the colonists planted in the cities of Samaria by the conquering Assyrians (Ezra iv. 9). Later, when the warlike Chaldaeans acquired predominance in the 7th cent. B.C., the names Chaldaean and Babylonian became almost synonymous (Ezra xxiii. 14, 15; cp. Is. xlviii. 14, 20). [W. A. W.]

BABYLO'NISH GARMENT (אַדֶּרֶת שִׁנְעָר, ψιλὴ ποικίλη; *pallium coccineum*), literally "robe of Shinar" (Josh. vii. 21; see *Speaker's Comm.* and Dillmann,[2] *l c.*). An ample robe probably made of the skin or fur of an animal (cp. Gen. xxv. 25), and ornamented with embroidery, or perhaps a variegated garment with figures inwoven in the fashion for which the Babylonians were celebrated. Josephus (*Ant.* v. 1, § 10) describes it as "a royal mantle (χλαμύδα βασίλειον), all woven with gold." Tertullian (*De habitu mulieb ri*, c. i.) tells us that while the Syrians were celebrated for dyeing, and the Phrygians for patchwork, the Babylonians inwove their colours. For this kind of tapestry work they had a great reputation (Pliny, viii. 74: *Colores diversos picturae intexere Babylon maxime celebravit, et nomen imposuit*). Compare also Martial (*Ep.* viii. 28):

> "Non ego praetulerim Babylonica picta superbe
> Texta, Semiramia quae variantur acu;"

and the *Babylonia peristromata* of Plautus (*Stich.* ii. 2, 54: see also Jos. *B. J.* vii. 5, § 5; Plut. *M. Cato*, iv. 5). Perhaps some of the trade in these rich stuffs between Babylon and the Phoenicians (Ezek. xxvii. 24) passed through Jericho, as well as the gold brought by the caravans of Sheba, which they may have left in exchange for the products of its fertile soil (Josh. vii. 21). [JERICHO.] Rashi has a story that the king of Babylon had a palace at Jericho, probably founded on the fact that the robe of the king of Nineveh (Jonah iii. 6) is called אַדַּרְתּ, *addereth*. In the *Bereshith Rabba* (§ 85, fol. 75, 2, quoted by Gill) it is said that the robe was of Babylonian purple. Another story in the same passage is that the king of Babylon had a deputy at Jericho who sent him dates, and the king in return sent him gifts, among which was a garment of Shinar. Kimchi (on Josh. vii. 21) quotes the opinions of R. Chanina bar R. Isaac that the Babylonish garment was of Babylonian purple, of Rab that it was a robe of fine wool, and of Shemuel that it was a cloak washed with alum, which we learn from Pliny (xxxv. 52) was used in dyeing wool. [W. A. W.]

BA'CA, THE VALLEY OF (עֵמֶק הַבָּכָא; κοιλὰς τοῦ κλαυθμῶνος: A. -μονος; *Vallis lacrymarum*; R. V. text "valley of Weeping;" marg. [valley of] *ba'sam trees*),[a] a valley somewhere in Palestine, through which the exiled Psalmist sees in vision the pilgrims passing in their march towards the sanctuary of Jehovah at Zion (*Ps.* lxxxiv. 6). The passage is thought by some to contain a play, in the manner of Hebrew poetry, (1) on the name of the trees (בְּכָאִים; MULBERRY. The balsam when bruised distils a white and bitter "tear"-like sap) from which the valley may possibly have derived its name, and (2) on the "tears" (בְּכִי) shed by the pilgrims in their joy at their approach to Zion (see various opinions in Perowne, the *Speaker's Comm.*, Delitzsch[2], and Schultz in Strack u. Zöckler's *Kyf. Komm.* in loco). These tears were so abundant as to turn the dry valley in which the Bacaim trees delighted (Niebuhr, quoted in Winer, *s. v.*) into a springy or marshy place (מַעְיָן). That the valley was a real locality is most probable, from the use of the definite article before the name (Gesen. *Thes.* p. 205). A valley of the same name (وادي البكا) still exists in the Sinaitic district (Burck. p. 619). Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 4, § 1) calls the "mulberry trees" of 2 Sam. v. 23, the groves of weeping, ἐν τοῖς ἄλσεσι τοῖς καλουμένοις κλαυθμῶσι, thus identifying it with Baca, but the site of this action of David's is uncertain; possibly near Jerusalem.

The rendering of the Targum is Gehenna, *i.e.* the Ge-Hinnom or ravine below Mount Zion. Hengstenberg, Tholuck, Hupfeld, and Robinson (*Phys. Geog.* p. 113, note) consider the valley to be an idealised and not an actual place.

[G.] [W.]

BACCHI'DES (Βακχίδης), a friend of Antiochus Epiphanes (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 10, § 2) and governor of Mesopotamia (ἐν τῷ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, 1 Macc. vii. 8; Joseph. *l. c.*), who was commissioned by Demetrius Soter to investigate the charges which Alcimus preferred against Judas Maccabaeus. He confirmed Alcimus in the high priesthood; and, having inflicted signal vengeance on the extreme party of the Assideans [ASSIDEANS], he returned to Antioch. After the expulsion of Alcimus and the defeat and death of Nicanor, he led a second expedition into Judaea. Judas Maccabaeus fell in the battle which ensued at "Eleasa" (B.C. 161; 1 Macc. ix. 5, see note in *Speaker's Comm.*); and Bacchides re-established the supremacy of the Syrian faction (1 Macc. ix. 25, οἱ ἀσεβεῖς ἄνδρες; Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 1, § 1). He next attempted to surprise Jonathan, who had assumed the leadership of the national party after the death of Judas; but Jonathan escaped across the Jordan. Bacchides then placed garrisons in several important positions, and took hostages for the security of the government. Having completed the pacification of the country[a] (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 1, 5), he returned to Demetrius (B.C. 160). After two years he came back at the request of the Syrian faction, in the hope of overpowering Jonathan and Simon, who still maintained a small force in the desert; but meeting with ill success, he turned against those who had induced him to undertake the expedition, and sought an honourable retreat. When this was known by Jonathan, he sent envoys to Bacchides and concluded a peace (B.C. 158) with him, acknowledging him as governor under the Syrian king, while Bacchides pledged himself not to enter the land again, a condition which he faithfully observed (1 Macc. vii. ix.; Joseph. *Ant.* xii 10, 11; xiii. 1). [B. F. W.]

BACCHU'RUS (Βάκχουρος; *Zaccarus*), one of the "holy singers" (τῶν ἱεροψαλτῶν) who had taken a foreign wife (1 Esd. ix. 24). No name corresponding with this is traceable in the parallel list in Ezra x. 24, unless the Uri of Ezra has got corrupted into Bacchurus (see *Speaker's Comm.* on 1 Esd. *l. c.*). [W. A. W.] [F.]

BAC'CHUS. [DIONYSUS.]

BACE'NOR (Βακήνωρ; *Bacenor*), apparently a captain of horse in the army of Judas Maccabaeus (2 Macc. xii. 35). Or possibly τοῦ Βακήνορος may have been the title of one of the Jewish companies or squadrons. [W. A. W.]

BACHRITES, THE (הַבַּכְרִי; LXX. [*v.* 39] omits; *fam. Becheritarum*), the family of BECHER, son of Ephraim (Num. xxvi. 35). [W. A. W.]

BADGER-SKINS (עֹרֹת תְּחָשִׁים, *'órôth tĕchâshîm*; תָּחָשׁ, *tachash* [Ezek. xvi. 10]; BAF. δέρματα ὑακίνθινα in Ex. xxv. 5, in Ex. xxxv. 7; ὑάκινθος; Aq. and Sym. ἰάνθινα in Ezek. xvi. 10; *pelles ianthinae, ianthinus*). The Hebrew *tachash*, which the A. V. renders *badger* [R. V. text "seal," marg. *porpoise*], occurs in connexion with *'ôr*, *'órôth* ("skin," "skins"), in Ex. xxv. 5, xxvi. 14, xxxv. 7, 23, xxxvi. 19; Num. iv. 6, 8, 11, 12, 14, 25. In Ezek. xvi. 10 *tachash* occurs without *'órôth*, and is mentioned as the substance out of which women's shoes were made; in the former passages the *tachash skins* are named in relation to the Tabernacle, ark, &c., and appear to have formed the exterior covering of these sacred articles. There is much obscurity as to the meaning of the word *tachash* (see many opinions collected by Rödiger in Ges. *Thes.* s. v.), although, as we shall see, there is reasonable ground for believing it to mean some of the marine mammalia, as the dugongs and seals found in the Red Sea, the skins of which are much used by the Arabs. The ancient Versions seem nearly all agreed that it denotes not an animal, but a colour, either black or sky-blue; and amongst critics who adopt this interpretation are Bochart (*Hieroz.* ii. 387), Rosenmüller (*Schol. ad V. T.*, Ex. xxv. 5; Ezek. xvi. 10), Bynaeus (*de Calceis Hebraeorum*, lib. i. ch. 3), Scheuchzer (*Phys. Sacr.* in Ex. xxv. 5), Parkhurst (*Heb. Lex.* s. v.), who observes that "an outermost covering for the Tabernacle of azure or sky-blue was very proper to represent the sky or azure boundary of the system." Some Versions, as the German of Luther and the A. V., led apparently by the Chaldee,[b] and perhaps by a certain similarity of sound between the words *tachash*, *taxus*, *dachs*,

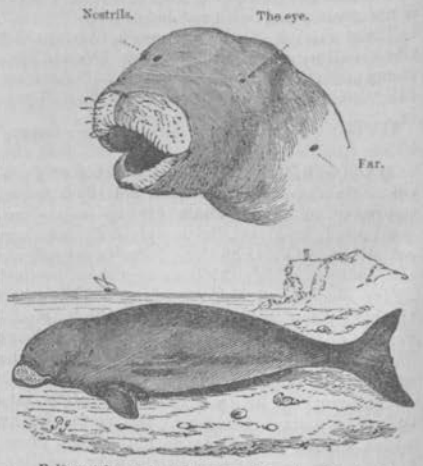
[a] In 1 Macc. ix. 57, his return seems to be referred to the death of Alcimus.

[b] סַמְנוֹנָא. "*taxus*, sic dictus quia gaudet et superbit in coloribus multis" (Buxtorf, *Lex. Rab.* s. v.).

have supposed that the badger (*Meles taxus*) is denoted. The badger (*Meles taxus*) of naturalists is found in the hilly parts of Palestine, concealing itself in burrows; and though a nocturnal and very shy animal, it must be rather common, as not only have I three times procured it myself, but we frequently found traces of it, and often saw the skins exposed for sale in saddlers' shops. The Palestine species is identical with the English, but there is no reason to think that it could be sufficiently common in the Sinaitic Peninsula, if it exist there at all, to have provided an outer covering for the Tabernacle. Others, as Gesner and Harenberg (in *Musaeo Brem.* ii. 312), have thought that the jackal, known by the Greek name θώς and the Arabic *Shaghul*, is intended. Hasaeus (in *Dissert. Philolog. Sylloge*, diss. ix. § 17), Büsching (in his preface to the Epitome of Scheuchzer's *Physica Sacra*), Sebald Rau (*Comment. de iis quae ex Arab. in usum Tabernac. fuerunt repetita*, Traj. ad Rhen. 1753, ch. ii.), and Dr. Geddes (*Crit. Rem.* Ex. xxv. 5), are in favour of *tachash* representing some kind of seal or other marine mammalian. Gesenius understands some "kind of seal or badger, or other similar creature." Fried. Delitzsch (*Prolegg. eines neuen Hebr.-Aram. Wörterbuchs z. A. T.*, p. 77, &c.) identifies the *tachash* with the Assyr. *taḫšu*, the sheep with whose skin the Assyrians lined their boats (Herod. i. 194). Of modern writers, Col. H. Smith (*Encyc. Bib. Lit.*, art. *Badger*), with much plausibility, conjectures that *tachash* refers to some ruminant of the Aigocerine or Damaline groups, as these animals are known to the natives under the names of *pacasse*, *thacasse* (varieties, he says, of the word *tachash*), and have a deep grey, or slaty (*hysginus*) coloured skin. Dr. Robinson on this subject (*Bib. Res.* i. 171) writes, "The Superior of the convent at Sinai procured for me a pair of the sandals usually worn by the Bedouin of the peninsula, made of the thick skin of a fish which is caught in the Red Sea. The Arabs round the convent called it *Turs*, but could give no further account of it than that it is a large fish, and is eaten. It is a species of Halicore, named by Ehrenberg[b] (*Symb. Phys.* ii.) *Halicore hemprichei*. The skin is clumsy and coarse, and might answer very well for the external covering of a Tabernacle which was constructed at Sinai, but would seem hardly a fitting material for the ornamental sandals belonging to the costly attire of high-born dames in Palestine, described by the prophet Ezekiel."

It is difficult to understand why the ancient Versions have interpreted the word *tachash* to mean a colour (an explanation which has, as Gesenius remarks, no ground either in the etymology or in the cognate languages), unless it be that they understood by the word something capable of taking a blue tint, and that thus the *tachash* became synonymous with that tint. Whatever is the substance indicated by *tachash*, it is evident from Ex. xxxv. 23, that it was some material in frequent use among the Israelites during the Exodus, and the construction of the sentences where the name occurs (for the word *'ôrôth*, "skins," is always, with one exception, repeated with *tachash*), seems to imply that the skin of some animal, and not a colour, is denoted by it. The fact of the Arabs of Sinai giving the name *tucash*, تخس, identical with the Hebrew, to the various species of dugongs and seals of the Red Sea, and also using their hides as leather, while they distinguish the dolphin as *delfin*, seems to point pretty clearly to the dugong skin as the one intended in the Pentateuch (see Dillmann[2] on Exod. xxv. 5). But as *tachash* probably included the seal, there is no difficulty in supposing that Jewish ladies made their slippers of sealskin. This would obviate the objection suggested by Robinson.

The dugongs are a singular group of marine herbivorous mammalia, having affinities with the *Cetacea*, or whale tribe, with the seals, and in some respects with the *Pachydermata*, or thick-skinned quadrupeds. They are found off the shores of the Indian Ocean from Australia to the Cape; frequenting the mouths of rivers; and are easily caught, as they never leave the shallow water, where they graze on seaweed. They are ordinarily from twelve to twenty feet in length, but sometimes considerably exceed these measurements. The species from the coral beds of the Red Sea, described by Rüppell (*Mus. Senck.* i. 95–114) as *Halicore tabernaculi*



Halicore tabernaculi, with enlarged drawing of the head.

(Pl. vi.), is probably identical with Ehrenberg's species, *Halicore hemprichii*. Pliny (*H. N.* ii. 55) says that seal-skins were used as coverings for tents. [W. H.] [H. B. T.]

BAG is the rendering of several words in the Old and New Testaments. 1. חֲרִיטִים; θύλακος; *saccus*: the "bags" in which Naaman bound up the two talents of silver for Gehazi (2 K. v. 23), probably so called, according to Gesenius, from their long, cone-like shape. The word only occurs besides in Is. iii. 22 (A. V. "crisping-pins"), and there denotes the reticules [R. V "satchels"] carried by the Hebrew ladies. 2. כִּיס; μάρσιπος, μαρσύπιον; *sacculus*, *saccellus*: a bag for carrying weights (Deut. xxv. 13; Prov. xvi. 11;

[b] According to Ehrenberg, the Arabs on the coast call this animal *Naka* and *Lottum*. Arabian naturalists applied the term *enzan alma*, "man of the sea," to this creature.

Mic. vi. 11) also used as a purse (Prov. i. 14; Is. xlvi. 6). 8. כְּלִי; *κάδιον*; *pera:* translated "bag" in 1 Sam. xvii. 40, 49, is a word of most general meaning, and is generally rendered "vessel" or "instrument." In Gen. xlii. 25 it is the "sack" [R. V. "vessel"] in which Jacob's sons carried the corn which they brought from Egypt, and in 1 Sam. ix. 7, xxi. 5, it denotes a bag or wallet for carrying food (A. V. and R. V. "vessel"; cp. Jud. x. 5, xiii. 10, 15). The shepherd's "bag" which David had seems to have been worn by him as necessary to his calling, and was probably, from a comparison of Zech. xi. 15, 16 (A. V. and R. V. "instruments"), used for the purpose of carrying the lambs which were unable to walk or were lost, and contained materials for healing such as were sick and binding up those that were broken (cp. Ezek. xxxiv. 4, 16). 4. צְרוֹר; *ἔνδεσμος, δεσμός*; *sacculus:* properly a "bundle" (Gen. xlii. 35; 1 Sam. xxv. 29), appears to have been used by travellers for carrying money during a long journey (Prov. vii. 20; Hag. i. 6; cp. Luke xii. 33; Tob. ix. 5). In such "bundles" the priests bound up the money which was contributed for the restoration of the Temple under Jehoiada (2 K. xii. 10, Heb. *v.* 11; וַיִּצְרוּ, A. V. "put up in bags," so R. V in text; in marg. *bound up*, omitting "in bags"). The "bag" (*γλωσσόκομον*; *loculi*) which Judas carried was probably a small box or chest (John xii. 6, xiii. 29). The Greek word is the same as that used in the LXX. for "chest" in 2 Ch. xxiv. 8, 10, 11, and originally signified a box used by musicians for carrying the mouthpieces of their instruments (see Liddell and Scott *Lex.*[5] s. v.). [W. A. W.] [F.]

BA'GO (B. Βαναί, A. Βαγό; Vulg. omits), 1 Esd. viii. 40; head of one of the families who went up with Ezra from Babylon in the reign of king Artaxerxes; called Bagoi in 1 Esd. v. 14, and Bigvai in Ezra viii. 14. [W. A. W.] [F.]

BAGO'AS (Βαγώας; *Bugoas, Vagao*), Judith xii. 11. The name is said to be equivalent to eunuch in Persian (Plin. *H. N.* xiii. 4, 9. Cp. Burmann *ad* Ovid, *Am.* ii. 21), and may be related to Bigvai (see Ball in *Speaker's Comm.* on Judith xii. 11). [B. F. W.] [F.]

BA'GOI (A. Βαγοί, B. Βοσαί; *Zoroar*), 1 Esd. v. 14; called Bago in 1 Esd. viii. 40. His descendants went back to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel after the Captivity. [BIGVAI.] [F.]

BAHARU'MITE, THE. [BAHURIM.]

BAHU'RIM (בַּחוּרִים and בְּחוּרִים; A. Βαουρείμ [usually]; B. in 2 Sam. iii. 16, Βαρακεί; in xvi. 5, Βουρείμ; in xix. 16, Βαουρείμ; in xvii. 18, Βαορείμ; in 1 K. ii. 8, B. Βααθουρείμ, A. Βαθ-; Jos. Βαχουρῆς and Βαουρίν; *Bahurim*), a village, the slight notices remaining of which connect it almost exclusively with the flight of David. It was apparently on, or close to, the road leading from the Jordan valley up to Jerusalem. Shimei the son of Gera resided here (2 Sam. xvii. 18; 1 K. ii. 8); and from the village, when David, having left the "top of the mount" behind him, was making his way down the eastern slopes of Olivet into the Jordan valley below, Shimei issued forth, and running along (Joseph. *διατρέχων*) on the side or "rib" of the hill over against the king's party, flung his stones, dust, and foul abuse (xvi. 5), with a virulence which is to this day exhibited in the East towards fallen greatness however eminent it may previously have been. Here in the court of a house was the well in which Jonathan and Ahimaaz eluded their pursuers (xvii. 18). In his account of the occurrence, Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 9, § 7) distinctly states that Bahurim lay off the main road (*παῖδες ἐκτραπεντες τῆς ὁδοῦ*), which agrees well with the account of Shimei's behaviour. Here Phaltiel, the husband of Michal, bade farewell to his wife when on her return to king David at Hebron (2 Sam. iii. 16). Bahurim must have been very near the south boundary of Benjamin, but it is not mentioned in the lists in Joshua, nor is any explanation given of its being Benjamite, as from Shimei's residing there we may conclude it was. Dr. Barclay conjectures that the place lay where some ruins still exist close to a *Wâdy Rûâbeh*, which runs in a straight course for 3 miles from Olivet directly towards Jordan, offering the nearest though not the best route (Barclay, pp. 563–4). Tobler (*Topog.* ii. 763) identifies it with *Um Râsrâs*, more correctly *Kh. el Murussus*, on the right of the road from Jerusalem to Jericho; Antoninus (*Itin.* xvi.) describes it as being "not far from Jerusalem," and if he followed the Roman road from Jericho it must have been near *El 'Aisâwiyeh*.

AZMAVETH "the Barhumite" (הַבַּרְחֻמִי; B. Βαραιαμείτης, A. Βαρωμείτης; *de Beromi*; 2 Sam. xxiii. 31), or "the Baharumite" (הַבַּחֲרוּמִי; B$^{c.a}$ *ὁ* Βεερμείν, א* Βεερβείν, A. Βαρσαμί; *Bauramites;* 1 Ch. xi. 33), one of the heroes of David's guard, is the only native of Bahurim that we hear of except Shimei. [G.] [W.]

BA'JITH (הַבַּיִת, with the definite article, "the house;" R. V. "Bayith" [marg. *the temple*]), referring not to a place of this name, but to the "temple" of the false gods of Moab, perhaps distinct from the "high places" in the same sentence (Is. xv. 2, and cp. xvi. 12). This temple is not improbably the house of high places mentioned by Mesha (Beth-Bamoth) on the Moabite Stone (*Records of the Past*, N. S. ii. 203) and near Dibon (Sayce, *Fresh Light from the Ancient Monuments*, p. 81). LXX. *ἀνπεῖσθε ἐφ' ἑαυτούς*; *Ascendit domus.* [G.] [W.]

BAKBAK'KAR (בַּקְבַּקַּר); A. Βακβακάρ, B. Βακάρ; *Bacbacar*), a Levite, apparently a descendant of Asaph (1 Ch. ix. 15). [W. A. W.]

BAK'BUK (בַּקְבּוּק = *emptying* or *devastation* [see Ges. *Thes.* s. v.]: in Ezra, B. Βακκούκ, A. Βακβούκ; in Neh., B. Βακβού, A. -ούκ, א. Νεκούβ: *Bacbuc*). "Children of Bakbuk" were among the Nethinim who returned from captivity with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii. 51, Neh. vii. 53). In 1 Esd. v. 31 the corresponding name is ACUB. [W. A. W.] [F.]

BAKBUKI'AH (בַּקְבֻקְיָה, MV.[11] = *devastation from Jah*, B א*A. omit this name; *Becbecia*). 1. A Levite in time of Nehemiah (Neh. xi. 17; א$^{c.a\ mg\ sup}$ Βακβακιάς; xii. 9, א$^{c.a\ mg}$ Βακβαιάς). 2. A Levite porter, apparently a different person from the preceding (Neh. xii. 25; א$^{c.a\ mg\ sup}$ Βακβακιάς). [W. A. W.] [F.]

BAKING. [BREAD.]

BA'LAAM (בִּלְעָם, *i.e.* Bil'am; Βαλαάμ; Joseph. Βάλαμος; *Balaam*), "the soothsayer" (הַקֹּסֵם, Josh. xiii. 22), a man endowed with the gift of prophecy, introduced in Numbers (xxii. 1) as the son of Beor. He belonged to the Midianites, and perhaps as the prophet of his people possessed the same kind of authority that Moses did among the Israelites. At any rate he is mentioned in conjunction with the five kings of Midian, apparently as a person of the same rank (Num. xxxi. 8; cp. xxxi. 16). He seems to have lived at Pethor [the Pi-it-ru of the Monolith Inscription of Salmanaser II., B.C. 860–24; cp. Craig in *Hebraica*, iii. p. 213; Peiser in Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, i. p. 163], which is said in Deut. xxiii. 4 to have been a city of Mesopotamia (אֲרַם נַהֲרַיִם). He himself speaks of being "brought from Aram out of the mountains of the East" (Num. xxiii. 7). The reading, therefore, בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן, instead of בְּנֵי עַמּוֹ (Num. xxii. 5; cp. *Speaker's Comm.* and Dillmann[2] in loco), found in some MSS., and adopted by the Samaritan, Syriac, and Vulgate Versions, need not be preferred, as the Ammonites do not appear to have ever extended so far as the Euphrates, which is probably the river alluded to in this place. The name Balaam is of uncertain derivation; according to Stade (*Lehrb. d. Heb. Gr.* § 293), from בָּלַע and the ending ām. The affinity of the name with that of Bela, the son of Beor, mentioned Gen. xxxvi. 32 as the first king of Edom, has often been noticed (cp. Delitzsch [1887] and Dillmann[5] on Gen. *l. c.*). Balaam is called in 2 Pet. ii. 15 "the son of Bosor" [R. V. "Beor"]: this Lightfoot (*Works*, vii. 80) thought a Chaldaism for Beor; but it is far more probably a dialectic pronunciation of Beor (see *Speaker's Comm.* l. c.).

Balaam is one of those instances which meet us in Scripture of persons dwelling among heathens but possessing a certain knowledge of the one true God. He was endowed with a greater than ordinary knowledge of God: he was possessed of high gifts of intellect and genius: he had the intuition of truth, and could see into the life of things,—in short, he was a poet and a prophet. Moreover, he confessed that all these superior advantages were not his own but derived from God, and were His gift. And thus, doubtless, he had won for himself among his contemporaries far and wide a high reputation for wisdom and sanctity. It was believed that he whom he blessed was blessed, and he whom he cursed was cursed. Elated, however, by his fame and his spiritual elevation, he had begun to conceive that these gifts *were* his own, and that they might be used to the furtherance of his own ends. He could make merchandise of them, and might acquire riches and honour by means of them. A custom existed among many nations of antiquity of devoting enemies to destruction before entering upon a war with them. At this time the Israelites were marching forwards to the occupation of Palestine: they were now encamped in the plains of Moab, on the east of Jordan by Jericho. Balak, the king of Moab, having witnessed the discomfiture of his neighbours, the Amorites, by this people, entered into a league with the Midianites against them, and despatched messengers to Balaam with the rewards of *divination* in their hands. We see from this, therefore, that Balaam was in the habit of using his wisdom as a trade, and of mingling with it devices of his own by which he imposed upon others and perhaps partially deceived himself. When the elders of Moab and Midian told him their message, he seems to have had some misgivings as to the lawfulness of their request, for he invited them to tarry the night with him that he might learn how the Lord would regard it. These misgivings were confirmed by God's express prohibition of his journey. Balaam reported the answer, and the messengers of Balak returned. The king of Moab, however, not deterred by this failure, sent again more and more honourable princes to Balaam, with the promise that he should be promoted to very great honour upon complying with his request. The prophet again refused, but notwithstanding invited the embassy to tarry the night with him that he might know what the Lord would say unto him further. God gave him the permission he desired, subject to certain conditions (xxii. 20); while he was warned at the same time that his actions must be overruled by the Divine Will. Balaam, ignoring the conditions, proceeded on his journey with the messengers of Balak. But God's anger was kindled at this manifestation of determined self-will, and the Angel of the Lord stood in the way for an adversary against him. The words of the Psalmist, "Be ye not like to horse and mule which have no understanding, whose mouths must be held with bit and bridle, lest they fall upon thee," had they been familiar to Balaam, would have come home to him with most tremendous force; for never have they received a more forcible illustration than the comparison of Balaam's conduct to his Maker with his treatment of his ass affords us. The wisdom with which the tractable brute was allowed to "speak with man's voice," and "forbid" the intractable "madness of the prophet," is palpable and conspicuous. He was taught, moreover, that even she had a spiritual perception to which he, though a prophet, was a stranger; and when his eyes were opened to behold the Angel of the Lord, "he bowed down his head and fell flat on his face." It is hardly necessary to suppose, as some do, among whom are Hengstenberg and Leibnitz (see also the comments in the Amer. ed. of this work), that the event here referred to happened only in a trance or vision, though such an opinion might seem to be supported by the fact that the translators of the A. V. render the word נֹפֵל in xxiv. 4, 16, "falling *into a trance*," whereas no other idea than that of simply falling down [R. V.] is conveyed by it. St. Peter refers to it as a real historical event: "the dumb ass, speaking with man's voice, forbad the madness of the prophet" (2 Pet. ii. 16). We are not told *how* these things happened, but that they *did* happen. [For other opinions upon this episode see *Speaker's Comm.* add. note on Num. xxii. 5; Riehm, *HWB.* s. n., Herzog, *RE.*[2] s. n.]

It pleased God thus to interfere on behalf of His elect people, and to bring forth from the genius of a self-willed prophet, who thought

that his talents were his own, four strains of poetry bearing upon the destiny of the Jewish nation and the Church at large, which are not surpassed throughout the Mosaic records. It is evident that Balaam, although acquainted with God, was desirous of throwing an air of mystery round his wisdom, from the instructions he gave Balak to offer a bullock and a ram on the seven altars he everywhere prepared for him; but he seems to have thought also that these sacrifices would be of some avail to change the mind of the Almighty, because he pleads the merit of them (xxiii. 4), and after experiencing their impotency to effect such an object, "he went no more," we are told, "to seek for enchantments" (xxiv. 1). His religion, therefore, was probably such as would be the natural result of a general acquaintance with God not confirmed by any covenant. He knew Him as the fountain of wisdom: how to worship Him he could merely guess from the customs in vogue at the time. Sacrifices had been used by the patriarchs; to what extent they were efficient could only be surmised. There is an allusion to Balaam in the Prophet Micah (vi. 5), where Bishop Butler thinks that a conversation is preserved which occurred between him and the king of Moab upon this occasion. But such an opinion is hardly tenable, if we bear in mind that Balak is nowhere represented as consulting Balaam upon the acceptable mode of worshipping God, and that the directions found in Micah are of quite an opposite character to those which were given by the son of Beor upon the high places of Baal. The Prophet is recounting "the righteousness of the Lord" in delivering His people out of the hand of Moab under Balak, and at the mention of his name the history of Balaam comes back upon his mind, and he is led to make those noble reflections upon it which occur in the following verses. "The doctrine of Balaam" is spoken of in Rev. ii. 14, where an allusion has been supposed to Νικόλαος, the founder of the sect of the Nicolaitans, mentioned in *v.* 15, these two names being probably similar in signification (see *Speaker's Comm.* in loco). Though the utterance of Balaam was overruled so that he could not curse the children of Israel, he nevertheless suggested to the Moabites the expedient of seducing them to commit fornication. The effect of this is recorded in Num. xxv. A battle was afterwards fought against the Midianites, in which Balaam sided with them and was slain by the sword of the people whom he had endeavoured to curse (Num. xxxi. 8).

The literature (foreign) on this history is somewhat extensive (cp. Dillmann[2] on Num. xxii. p. 140; Herzog, *RE.*[2] s. n.). Its historical credibility, denied by (*e.g.*) Meyer and Stade, is amply attested by (*e.g.*) Volck (in Herzog) and Edersheim, *Bible Hist.* ii. pp. 11–32. Cp. also Bishop Butler's *Sermons*, serm. vii.; Ewald, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, ii. 277. The interesting and curious Rabbinic opinions concerning Balaam are collected in Hamburger's *RE.*[2] s. n. [S. L.]

BA'LAC (ὁ Βαλάκ; *Balac*), Rev. ii. 14. [BALAK.]

BAL'ADAN. [MERODACH-BALADAN.]

BA'LAH (בָּלָה; B. Βωλά, A. Βελβωλά; *Bala*), Josh. xix. 3. [BAAL, *Geogr.* No. 2, *b*.]

BA'LAK (בָּלָק; Βαλάκ; *Balac*), son of Zippor, king of the Moabites, at the time when the children of Israel were bringing their journeyings in the wilderness to a close. According to Gesenius (*Thes.*) the name signifies *inanis vacuus* (cp. Is. xxiv. 1); in MV.[11] the meaning *emptier*, desolator, is adopted. Balak, himself probably of Midianitish origin (Targ. See *Speaker's Comm.* on Num. xxii. 2), entered into a league with Midian and hired Balaam to curse the Israelites; but his designs were frustrated in the manner recorded in Num. xxii.–xxiv. He is mentioned again in Josh. xxv. 9; Judg. xi. 26; Mic. vi. 5; and in Rev. ii. 14 as the pupil and instrument of Balaam, the type of those who would lead Christians to a neglect of the decrees of the Apostles at Jerusalem (Acts xv. 22). [BALAAM.] [S. L.]

BAL'AMO. [BAAL, *Geogr.* No. 6.]

BALANCE. Two Hebrew words are thus translated in the A. V. and R. V.

1. מֹאזְנַיִם, *môzĕnaim* (LXX. ζυγόν, Vulg. *statera*), the dual form of which points to the double scales, like Lat. *bilanx*. The balance in this form was known at a very early period. It is found on the Egyptian monuments as early as the time of Joseph, and we find allusions to its use in the story of the purchase of the cave of Machpelah (Gen. xxiii. 16) by Abraham. Before coinage was introduced it was of necessity employed in all transactions in which the valuable metals were the mediums of exchange (Gen. xliii. 21; Ex. xxii. 17; 1 K. xx. 39; Esth. iii. 9; Is. xlvi. 6; Jer. xxxii. 10, &c.). The weights which were used were at first probably stones, and from this the word "stone" continued to denote any weight whatever, though its material was in later times lead (Lev. xix. 36; Deut. xxv. 13, 15; Prov. xi. 1, xx. 10, 23; Zech. v. 8). These weights were carried in a bag (Deut. xxv. 13; Prov. xvi. 11) suspended from the girdle (Chardin, *Voy.* iii. 422), and were very early made the vehicles of fraud. The habit of carrying two sets of weights is denounced in Deut. xxv. 13 and Prov. xx. 10, and the necessity of observing strict honesty in the matter is insisted upon in several precepts of the Law (Lev. xix. 36; Deut. xxv. 13). But the custom lived on, and remained in full force to the days of Micah (vi. 11), and even to those of Zechariah, who appears (ch. v.) to pronounce a judgment against fraud of a similar kind. The earliest weight to which reference is made is the קְשִׂיטָה, *kĕsîṭâh* (Gen. xxxiii. 19; Josh. xxiv. 32; Job xlii. 11), which in the margin of the A. V. is in two passages rendered "lambs," while in the text of both A. V. and R. V. it is "piece of money (or 'silver')." It may have derived its name from being in the shape of a lamb. We know that weights in the form of bulls, lions, and antelopes were in use among the ancient Egyptians and Assyrians. [MONEY.] By means of the balance the Hebrews appear to have been able to weigh with considerable delicacy; and for this purpose they had weights of extreme minuteness, which are called metaphorically "the small dust of the balance" (Is. xl. 15). The "little grain" (ῥοπή) of the balance in Wisd. xi. 22 is the small weight which causes the scale to turn. In

this passage, as in 2 Macc. ix. 8, the Greek word πλάστιγξ, rendered "balance," was originally applied to the scale-pan alone.

2. קָנֶה, *káneh* (ζυγόν: *statera*), rendered "balance" by A. V. and R. V. in Is. xlvi. 6, is the word generally used for a measuring-rod, like the Greek κανών, and, like it too, denotes the tongue or beam of a balance. פֶּלֶס, *peles*, rendered by A. V. "weight," by R. V. "balance" (Prov. xvi. 11, LXX. ῥοπή) and "scales" (Is. xl. 12, A. V. and R. V.; LXX. σταθμός), is said by Kimchi (on Is. xxvi. 7) to be properly the *beam* of the balance. In his Lexicon he says it is the part in which the tongue moves, and which the weigher holds in his hand. Gesenius (*Thes.* s. v.) supposed it was a steelyard, but there is no evidence that this instrument was known to the Hebrews. Of the material of which the balance was made we have no information.

Sir G. Wilkinson describes the Egyptian balance as follows (see the illustration under MONEY):—"The beam passed through a ring suspended from a horizontal rod, immediately above and parallel to it; and when equally balanced, the ring, which was large enough to allow the beam to play freely, showed when the scales were equally poised, and had the additional effect of preventing the beam tilting when the goods were taken out of one, and the weights suffered to remain in the other. To the lower part of this ring a small plummet was fixed, and this being touched by the hand, and found to hang freely, indicated, without the necessity of looking at the beam, that the weight was just" (*Anc. Egypt.* ii. pp. 148, 152 [1878]).

The expression in Dan. v. 27, "thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting," has been supposed to be illustrated by the modern custom of weighing the Great Mogul on his birthday in the presence of his chief grandees. The ceremony is described in a passage from Sir Thomas Roe's *Voyage in India*, quoted in Taylor's Calmet, *Frag.* 186: "The scales in which he was thus weighed were plated with gold, and the beam on which they hung by great chains was made likewise of that most precious metal. The king, sitting in one of them, was weighed first against silver coin, which immediately after was distributed among the poor; then was he weighed against gold; after that against jewels (as they say); but I observed (being there present with my lord ambassador) that he was weighed against three several things, laid in silken bags, on the contrary scale. . . . By his weight (of which his physicians yearly keep an exact account) they presume to guess of the present state of his body: of which they speak flatteringly, however they think it to be." It appears, however, from a consideration of the other metaphorical expressions in the same passage of Daniel, that the weighing in balances is simply a figure, and may or may not have reference to such a custom as that above described. See other examples of the same figure of speech among Orientals in Roberts' *Oriental Illustrations*, p. 502. [W. A. W.]

BALA'SAMUS (T.^r Βαλσαμος, B. om.; *Balsamus*), in 1 Esd. ix. 43 The corresponding name in the list in Neh. viii. 4 is MAASEIAH. [F.]

BALDNESS (קָרְחָה; φαλάκρωσις, φαλάκρωμα; and in Lev. xiii. 43, φαλάντωμα). There are two kinds of baldness, viz. artificial and natural. The latter seems to have been uncommon, since it exposed people to public derision, and is perpetually alluded to as a mark of squalor and misery (2 K. ii. 23; cp. Is. iii. 24, R. V. "instead of well-set hair, baldness; . . . branding instead of beauty." Is. xv. 2; Jer. xlvii. 5; Ezek. vii. 18, &c.). For this reason it seems to have been included under the λειχὴν and ψωρὰ (Lev. xxi. 20, LXX.) which were disqualifications for priesthood. A man bald on the back of the head is called קָרַח, φαλακρός, LXX. Lev. xiii. 40; and if forehead-bald, the word used to describe him is גִּבַּח, ἀναφαλαντίας, LXX. Lev. xiii. 41 (*recalvaster*. See Gesen. *s. vv.*). In Lev. xiii. 29 sq., very careful directions are given to distinguish Bohak, "a plague upon the head and beard" (which probably is the Mentagra of Pliny, and a sort of leprosy), from mere natural baldness which is pronounced to be clean, *v.* 40 (Jahn, *Arch. Bibl.* § 189). But this shows that even natural baldness subjected men to an unpleasant suspicion. It was a defect with which the Israelites were by no means familiar, since Αἰγυπτίους ἂν τις ἐλαχίστους ἴδοιτο φαλακροὺς πάντων ἀνθρώπων, says Herodotus (iii. 12); an immunity which he attributes to their constant shaving. They adopted this practice for purposes of cleanliness, and generally wore wigs, some of which have been found in the ruins of Thebes. Contrary to the general practice of the East, they only let the hair grow as a sign of mourning (Herod. ii. 36), and shaved themselves on all joyous occasions: hence in Gen. xli. 44 we have an undesigned coincidence. The same custom obtains in China, and among the modern Egyptians, who shave off all the hair except the shoosheh, a tuft on the forehead and crown of the head (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* ii. 328 [1878]; Lane, *Mod. Egypt.* i. ch. 1).

Baldness was despised both among Greeks and Romans. In *Il.* ii. 219, it is one of the defects of Thersites; Aristophanes (who was probably bald himself, *Pax* 767, *Eq.* 550) takes pride in not joining in the ridicule against it (οὐδ' ἔσκωψεν τοὺς φαλακρούς, *Nub.* 540). Caesar was said "calvitii deformitatem iniquissime ferre," and he generally endeavoured to conceal it (Suet. *Caes.* 45; cp. *Dom.* 18).

Artificial baldness marked the conclusion of a Nazarite's vow (Acts xviii. 18; Num. vi. 9), and was a sign of mourning ("quasi calvitio luctus levaretur," Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* iii. 26). It is often alluded to in Scripture, as in Mic. i. 16, Amos viii. 10, Jer xlvii. 5, &c.; and in Deut. xiv. 1, the reason for its being forbidden to the Israelites is their being "a holy and peculiar people" (cp. Lev. xix. 27, and Jer. ix. 26, marg.). The practices alluded to in the latter passages were adopted by heathen nations (*e. g.* the Arabs, &c.) in honour of various gods. Hence the expression τροχοκουράδες. The Abantes (ὄπιθες κομοῶντες), and other half-civilised tribes, shaved off the forelocks, to avoid the danger of being seized by them in battle. See also Herod. i. 82, ii. 36. [F. W. F.]

BALM (צְרִי, *tzŏrî*; צֳרִי, *tzĕrî*; ῥητίνη;

* עָרָה, in Arab. "to flow, as blood from a wound."

resina; R. V. margin, "mastick") occurs in Gen. xxxvii. 25, as one of the substances which the Ishmaelites were bringing from Gilead to take into Egypt; in Gen. xliii. 11, as one of the presents which Jacob sent to Joseph; in Jer. viii. 22, xlvi. 11, li. 8, where it appears that the balm of Gilead had a medicinal value; in Ezek. xxvii. 17 (A. V. margin, "rosin"), as an article of commerce imported by Judah into Tyre.

The A. V. and R. V. have rendered by the word "spices" the Hebrew בָּשָׂם, *bâsâm*, from which our English balsam or balm is derived, identical with the Arabic بشام (*basham*), or بلسان (*balasan*), a tropical gum or resin, which can never have been indigenous in Gilead.

Many attempts have been made to identify the *tzori* by different writers, not one of which, however, can be considered conclusive. The Syriac Version in Jer. viii. 22, and the Samaritan in Gen. xxxvii. 25, suppose *cera*, "wax," to be meant; others, as the Arabic Version in the passages cited in Genesis, conjecture *theriaca*, a medicinal compound of great supposed virtue in serpent bites. Of the same opinion is Castellus (*Lex. Hept.* s. v. צרי). Luther and the Swedish Version have "salve," "ointment," in the passages in Jeremiah; but in Ezek. xxvii. 17, they read "mastick," where, as also in Jer. viii. 22, Coverdale's Bible (A.D. 1535) reads "tryacle." The Jewish Rabbis, Junius, Tremellius, Diodati, &c., have "balm" or "balsam," as the A. V.

Commentators, often without any knowledge either of botany or of the geographical distribution of plants, have made many suggestions as to the identification of *tzori*. But three claimants only seem to demand consideration. (1.) *Pistachia lentiscus*, or Mastick, advocated by Celsius (*Hierob.* ii. 180). (2.) *Balanites aegyptiaca*, the Zukkum tree, suggested by Rosenmüller (*Bibl. Bot.* p. 169) and Robinson (*Bibl. Res.* ii. 291). (3.) *Balsamodendron gileadense*, known as the true Balsam of Gilead tree, a near ally of *Balsamodendron myrrha*, the myrrh tree, and of *B. opobalsamum*, referred to by Strabo (xvi. 778, 8vo ed.), Diodorus Siculus (ii. 132), and Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 6, § 7), is suggested also by Rosenmüller (*Schol. in Gen.* xxxvii. 25). All three yield products much valued in the East; gum mastick is obtained from the Lentisk bush: a valuable healing unguent is expressed from the berry of the Zukkum; and a highly-prized resinous exudation from the Balsamodendron. It seems difficult to limit the name of *tzori* to any one of these, to the exclusion of the others, and probably the term was used for any resin, gum, or unguent which had a medicinal value.

The *Pistachia lentiscus*, or Mastick, has been advocated by Celsius, partly because its Arabic name, ضرو, *ḍeri*, resembles the Hebrew word. The Arabic writers attribute great medicinal virtues to its resin (Dioscor. i. 51, 52, 90, 91; Plin. xxiv. 7; Avicenna, Arab. edit. pp. 204 and 207, with many others given by Celsius). It is an extremely common shrub in all the hill-country and plains of Palestine, except the Jordan valley, and is especially abundant in the woods of Gilead. It is found also in all the Mediterranean countries and the Greek islands. It belongs to the Terebinth family, rarely reaches the height of twenty feet, has winged smooth leaves of a pale colour, and inconspicuous flowers. It yields a balsamic sap, which is obtained by making incisions in the stems from which the sap flows, the gum mastic of commerce. It burns green, with a delicious fragrance, and is known by the Algerian soldiers as "*brûle-capote.*"

The *Balanites aegyptiaca*, the Zukkum of the Arabs, the product of which is now sold as Balm of Gilead, is a native of Egypt and Nubia, but also indigenous in the whole of the Jordan valley and round the Dead Sea, though never beyond the depression of that tropical islet. It is a truly desert-loving plant, and found in hot plains as far as India. It belongs to the family *Simarubaceae*, and is a spiny, naked-looking small tree, with leaves growing in pairs, about the size and shape of those of the box-tree, very pale green, and with tufts of minute white blossoms. The ripe fruit is of the size and shape of a large filbert or olive, of a greyish green colour, turning yellow when it has fallen. The Arabs pound and boil the fruit, skimming off the oil, which is sold in large quantities to pilgrims and others, and is used both internally and for external application as a remedy. I have found it excellent for allaying the irritation of scratches and wounds, and for relieving any tendency to inflammation; but it has no perfume. See Maundrell, *Journey*, p. 86.

Balsamodendron gileadense is so named somewhat unfortunately, as it is not found at present anywhere in Palestine, and could never have thriven in Gilead.

Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 6, § 7) mentions a current opinion among the Jews, that the queen of Sheba first introduced the balsam into Judaea, having made Solomon a present of a root. If this be so—but perhaps it was merely a tradition—the *tzori* cannot be restricted to represent the produce of this tree, as the word occurs in Genesis, and the plant was known to the patriarchs as growing in the hilly districts of Gilead.

Hasselquist has given a description of the true balsam tree of Mecca. He says that the exudation from the plant "is of a yellow colour, and pellucid. It has a most fragrant smell, which is resinous, balsamic, and very agreeable. It is very tenacious or glutinous, sticking to the fingers, and may be drawn into long threads. I have seen it at a Turkish surgeon's, who had it immediately from Mecca, described it, and was informed of its virtues; which are, first, that it is the best stomachic they know, if taken to three grains, to strengthen a weak stomach; secondly, that it is a most excellent and capital remedy for curing wounds, for if a few drops are applied to the fresh wound, it cures it in a very short time" (*Travels*, p. 293).

The *Balsamodendron gileadense* must not be confounded with *Balsamodendron myrrha*. Both belong to the order *Amyridaceae*, of which about fifty species are known in tropical Asia, Africa, and America. It certainly was not indigenous in Palestine, and never could have grown in any part of the country, except in

the seething tropical valley of the Dead Sea. The tradition alluded to above as given by Josephus, of its introduction by Solomon, is probably correct; at all events it was cultivated there in the later Jewish period, and was considered peculiar to the plains of Jericho. Hence Cleopatra obtained plants for her gardens at Heliopolis, over which an Imperial guard was placed. So famous and precious a product was it considered, that it was twice carried in a triumphal procession through the streets of Rome—once by Pompey, after the first conquest of Judaea, B.C. 65, and again by Vespasian, when Titus exhibited the Balsam tree of Jericho along with the spoils of the Temple of Jerusalem after its final destruction. From that time we can find no trace of the precious tree, though the conquerors placed a guard over the plantations for a time. Probably they perished through subsequent neglect; for, though the Crusaders carefully cultivated the sugar-cane and the date-palm in these plains, and the Knights Templars derived a large revenue from them, we find no mention of the balsam. We carefully searched all the plain of Shittim, and the recesses of Engedi, Callirrhoë, and other nooks about the Dead Sea, in the hope that some survivors might still linger, but in vain. It is only within the last few years that the indefatigable researches of Sir G. Birdwood have brought to light the tree and its true habitat. It is a native of Yemen, is still cultivated about Mecca, and grows abundantly in the mountains of Yemen. It seems to have escaped the observation of Forskål. It is described as a tall, stiff-branched tree, evergreen, with scanty foliage of small oblong leaves, like those of the myrtle, and small white blossoms resembling the tufts of the acacia, with a reddish-black pulpy nut, containing a fragrant yellow seed. The balsam is obtained from the bark by incision, from the green nut, and also (of inferior quality) by bruising and boiling the young shoots.

The conclusion at which we are disposed to arrive is, that while in Genesis [see Delitzsch (1887) and Dillmann[3] on Gen. xxxvii. 25] the gum mastick or the Zukkum unguent is spoken of, the precious balm of Gilead of later times was undoubtedly the product of *Balsamodendron gileadense*. [SPICES; MASTICK.] Compare Winer, *Biblisch. Realwört.* s. v., for numerous references from ancient and modern writers on the subject of the balm or balsam tree; Hooker's *Kew Garden Misc.* i. 257; Riehm, *HWB.* s. n. "Mastik"; Löw, *Aram. Pflzn.* p. 58. [H. B. T.]

BALNU'US (B. Βαλνοῦς, A. Βαλνοῦος; *Bonnus*), 1 Esd. ix. 31. [BINNUI.] One of those who had taken "strange wives," and put them away. [W. A. W.]

BALTHA'SAR, Bar. i. 11, 12. [BELSHAZZAR.]

BA'MAH (בָּמָה, *a high place*). Though frequently occurring in the Bible to denote the elevated spots or erections on which the idolatrous rites were conducted [HIGH-PLACE], this word appears in its Hebrew form only in one passage (Ezek. xx. 29), where the word is played upon, and a punning etymology appears to be suggested: "What is [R. V. "meaneth"] the high-place (הַבָּמָה) whereunto ye hie (הַבָּאִים)? and the name of it is called Bamah (בָּמָה) unto this day" (LXX. τί ἐστιν ἀβαμὰ . . . καὶ ἐπεκάλεσαν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἀβαμά). Ewald (*Propheten*, p. 286) pronounces this verse to be an extract from an older prophet than Ezekiel: Cornill (*Ezechiel* in loco) agrees with him; but he stipulates, on very questionable grounds, that, if the verse be Ezekelian, הבאים must be taken from a root הבא in order to give point to the paronomasia. To Orelli (Strack u. Zöckler's *Kgf. Komm.* in loco) the ה of הבאים is the article introduced to preserve the alliteration with הבמה. [G.] [F.]

BA'MOTH (בָּמוֹת; Βαμώθ; *Bamoth*).[a] A halting-place of the Israelites in the Amorite country on their march to Canaan (Num. xxi. 19). It was between Nahaliel and Pisgah, north of the Arnon. Eusebius (*OS.*[2] p. 246, 33) calls it "Bamoth, a city of the Amorite beyond Jordan on the Arnon, which the children of Israel took." Jerome (*OS.*[2] p. 136, 22) adds that it was in the territory of the Reubenites. The accuracy of the description "on the Arnon" is, however, questioned (Dillmann[3] in loco). Knobel identified it with "the high places of Baal" (Num. xxii. 41), or Bamoth Baal, and placed it on the modern Jebel Attârûs, the site being marked by stone heaps which were observed both by Seetzen (ii. 342) and Burckhardt (*Syria*, 370). [W.] [F.]

BA'MOTH-BAAL (בָּמוֹת־בַּעַל, *high places of Baal*; B. Βαμὼν Βαάλ; A. Βαμὼθ Βαάλ; *Bamothbaal*), a hill-sanctuary of Baal in the country of Moab (Josh. xiii. 17), which is probably mentioned in the Itinerary in Num. xxi. 19, under the shorter form of Bamoth, and again in the enumeration of the towns of Moab in Is. xv. 2. In this last passage Bamoth is translated in the A. V. and R. V. "the high places," as it is also in Num. xxii. 41, where the same locality is doubtless referred to.[a] It is possibly the Beth Bamoth rebuilt by king Mesha (*Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 507); and is identified by Conder (*Heth and Moab*, p. 141) with the ridge south of the stream of *Wâdy Jedeid*, now called *el-Maslûbiyeh*. Near to Bamoth was another place bearing the name of the same divinity,—BAAL-MEON, or BETH-BAAL-MEON. [G.] [W.]

BAN (B. Βαενάν, A. Βάν; *Thubal*), the name (1 Esd. v. 37, a very corrupt passage; see *Speaker's Comm.* in loco) of the head of a family which could not show their descent from Israel. Its place is taken by the name TOBIAH in the parallel lists in Ezra and Nehemiah. [W. A. W.] [F]

BANAI'AS (Βαναίας; *Baneas*), 1 Esd. ix. 35. [BENAIAH.] One of those who put away his "strange" wife.

BA'NI (בָּנִי), the name of several men. **1.** A Gadite, one of David's mighty men (2 Sam.

[a] It will be observed that the A. V. has, in Num. xxiii. 3, rendered by "high place" a totally different word (שְׁפִי), which is devoid of the special meaning of "Bamoth." The R. V. reads here "a bare height."

xxiii. 36; B. υἱὸς Γαλααδδεί, A. υἱὸς Γαδί; *Bonni de Gadi*). **2.** A Levite of the line of Merari, and forefather to Ethan (1 Ch. vi. 46; B. Βανεί, A. Βααvί; *Boni*). **3.** A man of Judah of the line of Pharez (1 Ch. ix. 4; LXX. om.; *Bouni*). **4.** "Children of Bani" returned from Captivity with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii. 10; B. Βανού, A.-νί; *Bani:* Neh. x. 14; BN. Βανιάς (?), A. Βανί; *Bonni* (*v.* 15): Ezra x. 29 [N. Βανεί, B. Βανουεί, A. -εἰμ; *Bonni*], *v.* 34 [A. Βανεί, B. Ἀνεί; *Bani*]: 1 Esd. v. 12; BA. Βανεί; *Banica*). See Smend, *Die Listen d. BB. Esra u. Nehemia*, p. 14; BINNUI, MANI, and MAANI. **5.** An Israelite "of the sons of Bani" (Ezra x. 38; Βανουί [2 Esd.], *Bani*). [BANNUS.] **6.** A Levite (Neh. iii. 17; B. Βανεί, N. Βααvεί; *Benni*). **7.** A Levite (Neh. viii. 7 [B. Βαναιά, NA. -άς; *Bani*], ix. 4, *Bani*; LXX. transl. οἱ υἱοὶ Καδμιήλ: x. 13; A. Βανουαίαι, B. Βενιαμείν; *Bani*). [ANUS.] **8.** Another Levite (Neh. ix. 4; *Bani*; $\aleph^{c.a}$A. transl. υἱοὶ Χανενί). **9.** Another Levite, of the sons of Asaph (Neh. xi. 22; B. Βανεί, $\aleph^{c.a}$ Βονεί, A. Βανί; *Bani*). [W. A. W.] [F.]

BA'NID (B. Βανίας, A. Βανί; *Bania*), 1 Esd. viii. 36. One of those who went up with Ezra to Jerusalem. This represents a name which has apparently escaped from the present Hebrew text (see *Speaker's Comm.* in loco, and cp. Ezra viii. 10). [W. A. W.] [F.]

BANNAI'A (B. Σαβανναιοῦς, A. Βανναιοῦς; *Bannus*), 1 Esd. ix. 33. One of those who had taken a "strange" wife. The corresponding name in Ezra x. 33 is ZABAD. [W. A. W.]

BANNER. [ENSIGN.]

BAN'NUS (Βαννοῦς; *Baneas*), 1 Esd. ix. 34. [BANI, or BINNUI.] One of those who put away his "strange" wife. [W. A. W.]

BANQUETS. These, among the Hebrews, were not only a means of social enjoyment, but were a part of the observance of religious festivity; cp. Judg. vi. 13, "Wine which cheereth God and man." The oldest record of "a great feast" is that made by Abraham when Isaac was weaned, the words meaning "a great drinking" (Gen. xxi. 8, מִשְׁתֶּה גָּדוֹל); and nearly parallel in time (as some think) stand the festivities of Job's children, perhaps recurring at stated intervals, in which "drinking wine" is also prominent, and hence Job's dread on their account of excess leading to impiety. Yet drunkenness, until the later days of the monarchy, when the Prophets commonly rebuke it, is not in the O. T. a popular vice, and examples of vinous excess, excepting such unique cases as those of Noah and Lot, scarcely occur. Nabal, Elah, and Benhadad (the latter an extern instance) are perhaps the only ones (Job i. 4, 5, 13, 18; 1 Sam. xxv. 36; 1 K. xvi. 9, xx. 12). Such expression as "his heart was merry," said of Boaz at his harvest festival, need imply no such excess (Ruth iii. 7), and so of Ammon (2 Sam. xiii. 28). Under the Mosaic Law, at the three solemn Festivals, when all the males appeared before the Lord, the family also had its domestic feast, as appears from the place and the share in it to which "the widow, the fatherless, and the stranger" were legally entitled (Deut. xvi. 11). Probably, when the distance allowed, and no inconvenience hindered, both males and females went up (*e.g.* to Shiloh, 1 Sam. i. 9) together, to hold the festival. These domestic festivities were doubtless to a great extent retained, after laxity had set in as regards the special observance by the male sex (Neh. viii. 17). Sacrifices, both ordinary and extraordinary, as amongst heathen nations (Ex. xxxiv. 15; Judg. xvi. 23) included a banquet, and Eli's sons made this latter the prominent part. The two, thus united, marked strongly both domestic and civil life. It may even be said that some sacrificial recognition, if only in pouring the blood solemnly forth as before God, always attended the slaughter of an animal for food. The first-lings of cattle were to be sacrificed and eaten at the sanctuary if not too far from the residence (1 Sam. ix. 13; 2 Sam. vi. 19; Ex. xxii. 29, 30; Lev. xix. 5, 6; Deut. xii. 17, 20, 21, xv. 19–22). From the sacrificial banquet probably sprang the ἀγαπή; as the Lord's Supper, with which it for a while coalesced, was derived from the Passover. Besides religious celebrations, such events as the weaning the son and heir, a marriage, the separation or reunion of friends, and sheep-shearing were customarily attended by a banquet or revel (Gen. xxi. 8, xxix. 22, xxxi. 27, 54; 1 Sam. xxv. 2, 36; 2 Sam. xiii. 23). At a funeral, also, refreshment was taken in common by the mourners, and this might tend to become a scene of indulgence, but ordinarily abstemiousness seems on such occasions to have been the rule. The case of Archelaus, on the occasion of the first Herod's death, is not conclusive, but his inclination towards alien usages was doubtless shared by the Herodianizing Jews (Jer. xvi. 5–7; Ezek. xxiv. 17; Hos. ix. 4; Eccles. vii. 2; Joseph. *de B. J.* ii. 1). Birthday-banquets are only mentioned in the case of Pharaoh and Herod (Gen. xl. 20; Matt. xiv. 6). We know, however, from Herod. i. 133, that these were customary among the Persians. The entertainment to which Esther invited the king and Haman is called a "banquet of wine" (Esth. v. 6; vii. 2), and wine is the prominent feature in the banquet of Belshazzar. The presence of the women on this last occasion, although one of a public character, is in accordance with Babylonian manners (Dan. v. 1–4, *Speaker's Comm.* notes in loco; cp. Herod. i. 191; Xen. *Cyrop.* v. 2, 28; Rawlinson, *A. M.* iii. 21). "The banquet-house" was probably some hall of the palace. No details of it are given, save that the wall was faced with "plaister" or stucco, a mode of surface-finish which the existing ruins are said to show (Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* p. 295). The state banquets in Esth. i. 3 sq., as distinct from the private banquet of chs. v. and vii. referred to above, give us a standard of Persian manners; the queen holding separately her women's feast, a fact which enhances the arbitrary and unusual character of the king's requirement of her presence (i. 9, 10, 11). Of the apparently more popular entertainment in the palace garden under awnings, &c., we have a rather elaborate account; the chief features being divers coloured hangings, variegated pavements, marble columns, and gold and silver couches and vessels. These, however, although biblical, are not Judaean customs. The Jewish standard of luxury is

found in Is. v. 11, 12; Amos vi. 4–6. All these refer to drinking parties. In Esth. i. 7, 8 wine and wine vessels alone are prominent, and no mention of viands occurs, the abundance and "royal" quality of the wine being expressly noticed. We find also here a custom of com-

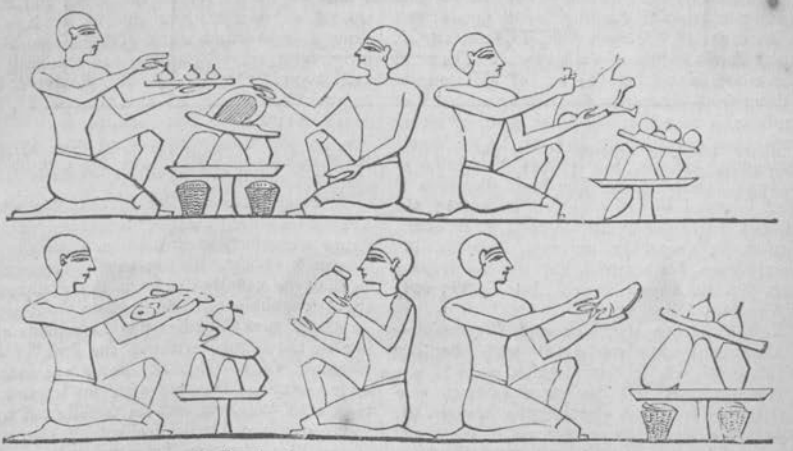
Assyrian drinking scene. (From Khorsabad.)

pulsory drinking superseded for the occasion, and therefore generally the rule. The officers of the royal household have also charge of the guests, each perhaps acting as symposiarch at his table. For the parallel customs in classical antiquity, see *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq.*, s. v.

An Egyptian party of guests, entertained with music and the dance. (From Thebes, now in the British Museum.)

SYMPOSIUM; and for the addiction of the later Persians to wine, Herodot. i. 133, Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 8, § 12. A leading topic of prophetic rebuke is the abuse of festivals to an occasion of drunken revelry, and the growth of fashion in favour of drinking parties. Such was the

invitation typically given by Jeremiah to the Rechabites (Jer. xxxv. 5). The usual time of the banquet was the evening, and to begin early was a mark of excess (Is. v. 11; Eccles. x. 16). The slaughtering of the cattle, which was the preliminary of a banquet, occupied the earlier part of the same day (Prov. ix. 2; Is. xxii. 13; Matt. xxii. 4; cp. Jas. v. 5). The most essential materials of the banqueting-room, next to the viands and wine, which last was often drugged with spices (Prov. ix. 2; Cant. viii. 2), were perfumed ointments, garlands or loose flowers, white or brilliant robes; after these, exhibitions of music, singers and dancers, riddles, jesting and merriment (Is. xxviii. 1; Wisd. ii. 6 sq.; 2 Sam. xix. 35; Is. v. 12; Judg. xiv. 12; Neh. viii. 10; Eccles. ix. 8, x. 19; Matt. xxii. 11; Amos vi. 5, 6; Luke xv. 25). Seven days was a not uncommon duration of a festival, especially for a wedding, but sometimes fourteen (Tob. viii. 19; Gen. xxix. 27; Judg. xiv. 12); but if the bride were a widow, three days formed the limit (Buxtorf, *de Conviv. Hebr.*). The reminder sent to the guests (Luke xiv. 17) was, probably, only usual in princely banquets on a large scale, involving protracted preparation. "Whether the slaves who bade the guests had the office (as the *vocatores* or *invitatores* among the Romans) of pointing out the places at table and naming the strange dishes, must remain undecided" (Winer, s. v. *Gastmahl*). There seems no doubt that the Jews of the O. T. period used a common table for all the guests. In Joseph's Egyptian entertainment a ceremonial separation prevailed, but there is no reason for supposing a separate table for each, as is distinctly asserted in Tosephoth Tr. *Berach.* c. vi. to have been usual (Buxtorf, *l. c.*). The latter custom certainly was in use among the ancient Greeks and Germans (Hom. *Od.* xxii. 74; Tac. *Germ.* 22), and perhaps among the Egyptians (Wilkinson, *A. E.* ii. p. 44, ed. 1878). But a common table is the usage suggested by 1 Sam. xx. 25–29; and the common phrase "to sit at table with," or "eat at any one's table," shows the originality of that usage. The posture at table in early times was sitting (יָשַׁב, סָבַב, to



An Egyptian dinner-party. (Tomb near the Pyramids.)

sit *round*, 1 Sam. xvi. 11; xx. 5, 18), and the guests were ranged in order of dignity (Gen. xliii. 33; 1 Sam. ix. 22; Joseph. *Ant.* xv 2, § 4): thus "Abner sat by Saul's side" in 1 Sam. xx. 25. The words which imply the recumbent posture (ἀνακλίνειν, ἀναπίπτειν, or ἀνακεῖσθαι) belong to the N. T. The separation of the women's banquet was not a Jewish custom (Esth. i. 9). Portions or messes were sent from the entertainer to each guest at table, and a double or even five-fold share when peculiar distinction was intended, or a special part was reserved (Gen. xliii. 34; 1 Sam. ix. 23, 24). Portions were similarly sent to poorer friends direct from the banquet-table (Neh. viii. 10; Esth. ix. 19, 22). The kiss on receiving a guest was a point of friendly courtesy (Luke vii. 45). Perfumes and scented oils were offered for the head, beard, and garments. It was strictly enjoined by the Rabbis to wash both before and after eating, which they called the מים ראשונים and מים אחרונים; but washing the feet seems to have been limited to the case of a guest who was also a traveller. Allowance must, however, be made for the widely differing periods to which these notices of social customs belong.

In religious banquets the wine was mixed, by rabbinical regulation, with three parts of water, and four short forms of benediction were pronounced over it. At the Passover, four such cups were mixed, blessed, and passed round by the master of the Feast (ἀρχιτρίκλινος) It is probable that the character of this official varied with that of the entertainment; if it were of a religious character, his office would be quasi-priestly; if a revel, he would be the mere συμποσιάρχης or *arbiter bibendi*. See further details in Riehm, *HWB.*, and Herzog, *RE.*[2] s. n. *Gastmahl*. [H. H.]

BAN'UAS (Βάννος; *Bannis*), a name occurring in the lists of the Levites who returned from Captivity (1 Esd. v. 26). Banuas and Sudias answer to Hodaviah, or are a corruption of Bene-Hodaviah (*Speaker's Comm.* in loco) in the parallel lists of Ezra (ii. 40) and Nehemiah (x. 9, &c.). [W. A. W.] [F.]

BAPTISM (*βάπτισμα*).

I. *The Term*, p. 344.
II. *O. T. Types and Prophecies*, p. 344.
III. *Proselyte baptism*, p. 345.
IV *St. John's baptism*, p. 345.
V. *Preparation and Commission of the Ministry of Baptism*, p. 346.
VI. *Doctrine of Baptism in N. T.*, p. 347.
VII. *Administration*, p. 351.
VIII. *Literature*, p. 354.

I. *The Term.*—The verb *βαπτίζειν* occurs twice in LXX.: 2 K. v. 14, of Naaman dipping in Jordan, and Is. xxi. 4, metaphorically, *ἡ ἀνομία με βαπτίζει*. In the Apocrypha it is employed of bathing in a fountain (Judith xii. 7), and of washing after touching a corpse (Ecclus. xxxiv. 25). The usual word for "dip" in an ordinary sense is *βάπτειν*, both in LXX. (Ex. xii. 22; Lev. iv. 6, 17; Josh. iii. 15, &c.) and N. T. (Luke xvi. 24; John xiii. 26; Rev. xix. 13; Matt. xxvi. 23; Mark xiv. 20). The latter is never used of Baptism proper, which is always expressed by *βάπτισμα, βαπτίζειν*. These terms have an exact baptismal reference everywhere in N. T., except in Mark vii. 4, Luke xi. 38, concerning ceremonial washing before meals; and in Matt. xx. 22, 23, Mark x. 38, 39, Luke xii. 50, of our Lord's Baptism by His Passion. The word *βαπτισμός*, signifying the act of ablution, as distinct from *βάπτισμα*, the rite or condition of Baptism, is found in Mark vii. 4, 8, of ritual washing of utensils; in Heb. ix. 10, of Mosaic ablutions; and in the phrase "doctrine of baptisms," Heb. vi. 2. The verb *βαπτίζειν* is often followed by some phrase indicating the element or purpose of the Baptism, as *ἐν ὕδατι*, Mark i. 8; *ἐν πν. ἁγ. καὶ πυρί*, Luke iii. 16; *εἰς τὸ ὄνομα*, Matt. xxviii. 19; *ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησ. Χρ. εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτ.*, Acts ii. 38; *ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν*, 1 Cor. xv. 29.

II. *Old Testament Types and Prophecies.*—1. Circumcision is contrasted with Baptism in Col. ii. 11, 12, in terms which make it also a symbolic parallel. The correspondence consists in the fact that circumcision brought the male Israelite into covenant with God, and was a physical sign of the cutting off of sin. St. Augustine and some of the later Latin writers attributed to it a definite pardon of original sin. But there is no indication of this in Holy Scripture. Its lessons to the Jew were rather of a moral kind (Deut. x. 16, xxx. 6; Jer. iv. 4). Hence Calvin, with others, in order to depreciate Baptism, sought to establish an identity of effect between it and circumcision (*Inst.* IV. ch. xvi. 3, 4). The N. T on the contrary asserts that circumcision is completely superseded under the Gospel (Acts xv.; Rom. ii. 25–29, iv. 9–11; Gal. ii., v. 2–6, Col. iii. 11; Tit. i. 10). The unlikeness of the method of administering the "circumcision made without hands" may itself be an indication that its grace wholly surpasses that of its partial type under the Law.

2. The "divers washings" of the Old Covenant (Heb. ix. 10) in some respects afford a closer parallel. Ablution was required before certain approaches to God (Ex. xix. 10, 14, xxix. 4, xxx. 18–21; Num. viii. 7, 21), and after conditions symbolical of sin (Lev xiii.–xvi., Num. xix.). In some cases the water was mingled with blood (Lev. xiv. 4–7), in others the blood was used alone or as the prominent element (Ex. xii. 22, xxix.; Lev. xiv. 14, xvi. 14–19; Heb. ix. 19–23). The general teaching which underlay these rites was suggestive of cleansing by sprinkling with the blood of redemption and with water; and this gives them, as types, a specific reference to Baptism, although it may not always be their only or even chief fulfilment.

3. Prophecy more or less obscurely pointed on to Christian Baptism as the source of a spiritual purification which the ritual of the Law failed to effect. No doubt at the time this meaning was hidden, but when Baptism had been instituted it became obvious that the O. T. promises of cleansing by water were fulfilled in it. Thus the Fathers explain the words of Ezek. xxxvi. 25, 26, "Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean," to be prophetic of Baptism. "See, beloved," says Hippolytus on Is. i. 16, 18, "how the prophet foretold the cleansing of Baptism" (*In Theoph.* 10). Cyril of Alexandria wrote of the "fountain for sin and for uncleanness," in Zech. xiii. 1, that it is "plainly holy Baptism." And Jerome, comparing it with Ezek. xlvii., sees the teaching "that we be all reborn in Christ, and in the waters of Baptism our sins be forgiven us." Among texts which some of the Fathers similarly interpret of Baptism are especially Pss. xxiii. 2, xxxii. 1, xxxvi. 9, xlii. 1, xlvi. 4, li. 7; Is. xxxv. 6, xliii. 19, 20, xliv. 3, xlviii. 21, lv. 1; Jer. ii. 13; Joel iii. 18; Zech. iii. 4.

4. O. T. history affords several types of Baptism, two of which have the express sanction of Holy Scripture.

St. Peter, after mentioning that those in the Ark "were saved by water," continues, "The like figure whereunto *even* Baptism doth also now save us" (1 Pet. iii. 20, 21). Commentators on the type usually dwell on the entrance into the Ark as the parallel to Baptism. "To neglect Baptism," says C. Leslie, "is to venture swimming in the Deluge without the Ark" (*Water Baptism*, viii.). But St. Peter connects the saving power of Baptism with the water rather than with the Ark, and he is followed by the framers of the English collect. "The waters of the Flood," writes Leighton, "drowned the ungodly ... and upon the same waters the Ark floating, preserved Noah. Thus the waters of Baptism are intended as a deluge to drown sin and to save the believer, who by faith is separated both from the world and from his sin; so it sinks, and he is saved." The Fathers sometimes extend the type as a "Baptism of the world," "whereby its former iniquity was purged away" (Tert. *De B.* viii.).

St. Paul says the Israelites "were all baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea" (1 Cor. x 2). Since he is comparing the privileges of the two covenants there can be no question that the allusion is strictly to Baptism. The cloud is sometimes said to symbolise the Spirit, and the sea the water (John Dam. *De Fide Orth.* IV. ix.). But the analogy of the cloud is rather to be found in Confirmation, while the parallel of the sea is in Baptism proper, wherein the spiritual Israel passes out of slavery on to the way towards its Canaan, the sins which are its enemy being drowned in the waters. The Fathers are rich in passages which develop this imagery. Some add the thought that the water of Baptism is red, because consecrated by the Blood of

Christ. St. Jerome, among others, says that Micah "prophesies of the grace of Baptism" (*Ep.* lxix. *ad Oc.*), when he speaks of the Gospel deliverance as a "coming out of Egypt," and declares that God will "cast all their sins into the depths of the sea" (vii. 15, 19).

Other types dwelt upon in patristic literature are the Spirit moving on the waters (Gen. i. 2), the beginning of life from water (i. 20, 22), the river watering Paradise (ii. 10), Hagar's spring (xxi. 19), the wells of the Patriarchs (xxi., xxiv., xxix.), the waters of Marah (Ex. xv. 23–25), the water from the rock (xvii. 6), the passage of Jordan (Josh. iii.), the drenching of Elijah's sacrifice (1 K. xviii. 33–35), the passage of Elijah (2 K. ii. 8, 14), Naaman's cleansing (v. 14), and the swimming axe-head (vi. 6).

III. *The baptism of Proselytes* was a traditional development of the precepts of the Law. No instance is recorded in the Bible, and scholars are divided as to whether it was in use till a later date. But it is at least probable that it preceded the Gospel. If the Law demanded constant ablution, and the Pharisees developed the demand into the ritual cleansing of vessels, they were certainly likely to baptize a polluted Gentile before receiving him into the covenant.

The Rabbis traced the institution of Baptism to the injunction at Sinai, "Sanctify them to day and to morrow, and let them wash their clothes" (Ex. xix. 10). They maintained that the washing of garments always implied ablution of the body (*Gem. Bab.* Tit. Jeb.; Maim. *Mikvaoth*). Thus by glosses on Holy Scripture they reached the position that "Israel was admitted into the covenant by Circumcision, Baptism, and Sacrifice" (*Talmud*, Tract. Rep.; Maim. *Iss. Biah*, xiii.). Similarly no Gentile could become a proselyte without the same ordinances, even females requiring Baptism and Sacrifice (*Gem. Bab.* Tit. Cherith). The children of Israelites, both of Jews by birth and of proselytes, were held not to need a personal baptism, since they were born within the covenant, and this fact greatly reduces the similarity of rabbinical baptism to that of Christianity. The expression of the Rabbis that a proselyte was "like a child new born" (*Gem. Bab.* Tit. Jeb.), even if it existed so early, affords no parallel to the language of our Lord to Nicodemus. It only meant that the Gentile was taken out of his natural relationships into fellowship with a peculiar people. It suggested no idea to the Jew of spiritual regeneration. (PROSELYTES; Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.*, on Matt. iii. and John iii.; Wall, Introd.; Gale's *Reply*, Lett. ix., x.)

IV. *St. John's baptism* stands by itself, intermediate between the rites of the Law and the Baptism of Christ. It was not, as some of the Schoolmen asserted, a form of purification belonging to the Old Covenant, nor, as others have said, a direct parallel to proselyte baptism. It was peculiar to his own mission, and was afterwards known as "John's baptism" (Acts xix. 3). From the Pharisees' question (John i. 25) it may be inferred that the Jews were prepared for a Baptism by the Messiah or His forerunner. To them St. John vouchsafed very little information, but to those who came to be themselves baptized he was more explicit: "I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance; but he that cometh after me ... shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire" (Matt. iii. 11). It is wonderful that any should in the face of these words have sought to establish even an approximate sameness between John's baptism and that of Christ. Yet Petilian connected them dangerously (Aug. *Cont. Pet.* II. xxxii., xxxiv., xxxvii.), and Peter Lombard so far confused them as to think that the baptism of John sufficed to those who looked beyond it, and believed in the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit (*Sent.* IV. ii.). Zwingli (*De vera et falsa Rel.*), Calvin (*Inst.* IV. ch. xv. 7) and most of the disciples of Luther, went further, and set the two Baptisms almost on an equality. The essential difference between them is proved not only by St. John's words, but by the fact that his disciples at Ephesus were baptized again by St. Paul. It is impossible to evade this proof by the untenable expedient of taking Acts xix. 5 as part of the narrative of St. Paul (Voss. *De B.* viii. 24). In refuting the views of the extreme Reformers some have fallen into the opposite tendency of disparaging John's baptism over much (Bellarm. *De B.* I. chs. xix.–xxiii.; Maldonat. *De Sac.* I. ch. ii. 3). It was "from heaven," by Divine commission (Matt. xxi. 25; John i. 33). It was characterised as a "baptism of repentance, for (*εἰς*) the remission of sins" (Mark i. 4). Cyril of Jerusalem, among others, believed that it conferred remission (*Cat.* iii. 7, xx. 6). Augustine mentions this view, but in common with most of the Fathers held that there could be no actual remission before the sacrifice of Christ (*De B.* V. x. 12; Tert. *De B.* xi.; Amb. *De Poen.* II. vi. 44; Jer. *Contra Lucif.* 7; Chrys. *In Matt.* Hom. x. 2, xii. 1; John Dam. *De Fide Orth.*, IV. ix.; Aquin. III. lxviii. 6). When St. John himself pointed to our Lord as "the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world," the natural inference was that transference to Him was necessary for remission. It cannot even be supposed that the Baptist conveyed any gift of repentance. His baptism was one of repentance because it enlisted its recipients into a discipleship of repentance, of which the end was the remission of sins. But no sacramental grace was pledged to accompany it. It was preparatory to that of Christ. It does not follow that it was devoid of spiritual blessing.

It has been surmised from Acts xix. 4 that St. John baptized in the name of the Messiah about to come (Amb. *De Sp. S.* I. iii.; P. Lomb. IV. ii.; Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* Matt. iii.). If so, the Pharisees would scarcely have asked whether he were the Christ. It is a wilder conjecture that he used the Name of the Trinity (Voss. viii. 8). Bellarmin suggests that he employed no words (*De B.* I. ch. xx.). Clearly we know nothing except that he could not have used the Christian formula.

The significance of St. John's baptism was demonstrated when our Lord came to be Himself baptized with it. He declared its importance when He said, "Thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness" (Matt. iii. 15). How it fulfilled all righteousness is a matter for reverent speculation, towards which some suggestions have been made. It attested St. John's mission and baptism. It was fitting that the Son of Man should, in His humility, submit to that which His people were being called to accept. As figuring the future Baptism of the Church, Christ's Baptism by St. John was an

example "that the servants might know with what alacrity they should haste to the Baptism of the Lord, when He Himself disdained not to receive the baptism of a servant" (Aug. *In Joan.* t. v. 3). Yet more, He was baptized that He might "sanctify the element of water to the mystical washing away of sin." It is the recurring thought expressed by the Fathers and in the liturgies that in His own Baptism He transformed the external rite into a Sacrament. He came, says Ambrose, "not seeking to be cleansed, but to cleanse the water" (*Exp. Ev. sec. Luc.* ii. 83). "Not to receive forgiveness," says St. Cyril, "for He was sinless, but being sinless to grant Divine grace and dignity to the baptized" (*Cat.* iii. 11). "He received no cleanness, no virtue," says Bishop Andrewes, "but virtue He gave to Jordan, to the waters, to the Sacrament itself" (*Serm.* viii. *on Holy Ghost*). Thus viewed, the Baptism of Christ becomes the representative of His own Baptism of His people. Hence some of the Fathers ventured on a still deeper thought, that though He could need no Baptism for Himself, yet the nature of man which He had assumed needed to be baptized as a whole in Him, before the Baptism which He so consecrated was applied individually to each. (See Aquin. *Summa*, III. xxxix. 1.) "By the Baptism of Christ," says St. Augustine, "were we baptized, and not we only, but the whole world, and is baptized to the end" (*In Joan.* t. iv. 14). The Baptism of our Lord thus marks the transition from one Covenant to the other. "Acting with a view to both," says St. Chrysostom, "He brought the one to an end, but to the other He gave a beginning: having fulfilled the Jewish baptism, He at the same time opens also the doors of that of the Church" (*In Matt.* Hom. xii. 4).

V. *Preparation and Commission of the Ministry of Baptism.*—This was a gradual process.

1. The discourse to Nicodemus has been called the institution of Baptism as regards precept (De Burgo, *Pupilla Oculi*, II. i.). But it was not a public precept, and therefore not yet binding (Bernard, *Ep.* lxxvii.).

2. Quite at the beginning of the ministry, "came Jesus and His disciples into the land of Judaea, and there He tarried with them and baptized" (John iii. 22). The Evangelist adds that "Jesus Himself baptized not, but His disciples" (iv. 2). There are traditions that our Lord baptized His mother and St. Peter with His own hands (Euthym. *In Joan.* iii. 5), and that Peter baptized Andrew, James, and John, the last three the other Apostles, and Peter and John the seventy (Euodias *ap.* Niceph. II. iii.). But these traditions are not of much authority. When Christ's Baptism attracted more converts than John's, there arose a dispute on the merits of the two Baptisms, followed by a complaint to the Baptist (John iii. 26; iv. 1). Though John's answer indicated that his baptism was on the decline, he seems to have continued to administer it until his imprisonment. Whether his disciples were baptized again on passing over to Christ does not appear.

It is difficult to determine what was the exact character of the Baptism by the disciples. That it was not identical with John's is clear from the difference between the discipleship of John and that of Christ. There is some force in Leslie's remark that, if the Baptisms had been the same, John would have been the institutor and Christ his follower (*Water Baptism*, vi.). Tertullian and Chrysostom assume that Baptism by the disciples was no more than that of John (Tert. *De B.* xi.; Chrys. *In Joan.* Hom. xxix. 1). Yet Tertullian allows that our Lord's words to St. Peter, "He that is washed needeth not save to wash his feet, but is clean every whit: and ye are clean" (John xiii. 10), indicate that the Apostles must at some time or other have received the full benefits afterwards attributed to Baptism (*De B.* xii.; cp. Aug. *De Anima*, III. ch. ix.). The notice of the Baptism by the disciples in close sequence to the pointing out of our Lord as He Who would baptize with the Holy Ghost and with fire, and to the discourse with Nicodemus, naturally leave the impression that it was the true Baptism of Christ. It is objected to this view that "the Holy Ghost was not yet *given*" (John vii. 39). But this can only refer to the fulness of His coming, and need not touch the question of Baptism at all. Tertullian uses a weightier argument when he urges that Christian Baptism could not precede Christ's Passion and Resurrection, "because our death could not be destroyed but by the Passion of the Lord, nor life be restored without His Resurrection" (*De B.* xi.). This may be met by the parallel of the institution of the Eucharist, and by the absolutions given by our Lord before His death. Augustine believed that this preliminary Baptism really "cleansed." "The disciples supplied the ministry of the body, He afforded the aid of His majesty" (*In Joan.* t. xv. 3). Thomas Aquinas says that it received efficacy from the Passion beforehand as did the sacrifices of the Law, but in a greater degree because it had direct virtue from Christ Himself (III. ch. lxvi. 2). Some consider that the reconciliation subsequently attached to Christian Baptism was bestowed on the Apostles by the breath of our Lord after the Resurrection (Cyr. Hieros. *Cat.* xvii. 12; Amb. *In Ps.* cxviii.), or by their first Communion (Puller, *Grace of Confirmation*, p. 18). But it seems more simple to suppose that this early Baptism of Christ was the true Baptism of the Gospel, its full effects being latent until the consummation of the acts of redemption. This is the opinion of several among the Fathers and Schoolmen (Aug. *Ep.* cclxv., *De Div. Quaest.* lxii.; P. Lomb. IV. ch. iii.; Hugo S. Vict. *De Sac.* II. ch. vi. 4). Peter Lombard even conjectured that the disciples baptized in the Name of the Trinity, but this is improbable.

3. Mystical writers have always been ready to see a reference to Baptism wherever water is spoken of in connexion with our Lord. "As often as water alone is mentioned in the sacred Scriptures," says St. Cyprian, "Baptism is alluded to" (*Ep.* lxiii. 5). The most obvious of the symbolic types in the N. T. are the miracles wrought at the pools of Bethesda and Siloam. Others, like the walking of St. Peter on the water to Christ, are only adapted for allegorical meditation. The parallel of drinking so little suits the administration of Baptism that it may be questioned whether the living water of John iv. 10–14 can be strictly applied to it. At any rate such circumstances formed no part of the direct preparation for the ministry of

Baptism. There is, however, one typical event which stands on a different footing. The flow of blood and water from the side of Christ has received a sacramental interpretation in almost every liturgy and from almost every commentator of consideration. A few take it exclusively of Baptism, the blood and the water symbolising either the two Baptisms of martyrdom and of water (Tert. *De Pud.* xxii., *De B.* xvi.; Jer. *Ep.* lxix. 6; Cyr. Hieros. *Cat.* iii. 10), or the union of Baptism with the Passion (Aug. *Cont. Faust.* xii. 16; cp. Amb. *De Myst.* 20). The commoner and probably better application is to the two great Sacraments. Our Lord came, St. John says, "by water and blood" (1 John v. 6). From His body on the cross there flowed out, in something more than mere symbol, the life-giving stream of the Sacraments whereby He ever cometh anew to His people (see Pusey, *Doct. of Bapt.* pp. 293–301; Westcott, *St. John*, add. note on xix. 34).

4. The final commission to baptize was formally given to the Apostles after the Resurrection, in the words: "All power is given unto Me in heaven and in earth. Go ye [therefore], and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them into the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world" (Matt. xxviii. 18–20, R. V.). The authority (ἐξουσία) which our blessed Lord had received as Man He committed to them: yet, by virtue of His abiding Presence with them, He could still throughout be the one Baptizer.

5. The descent of the Holy Ghost on the Day of Pentecost completed the institution. Before executing their commission the Apostles had to wait "for the promise of the Father;" "for," our Lord said, "John truly baptized with water; but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence" (Acts i. 4, 5). These words may be taken to mean that the full effects of whatever Baptism they had already received awaited their consummation through the advent of the Spirit, or that the Pentecostal outpouring by itself conveyed to the Apostles the whole baptismal gift. Either way they demonstrate that the Baptism of Christ was not entirely imparted till the Day of Pentecost. Then St. Peter was able to promulgate it as the condition of Christianity. The old Law had passed away, and grace and truth had come by Jesus Christ.

VI. *Doctrine of Baptism in N. T.*—Like all other great doctrines, its revelation was gradual. Prepared for by type and prophecy, by the introductory baptisms of St. John and the disciples, the full extent of its meaning is only developed by degrees in the Books of the N. T. The passages in the Gospels and Epistles which treat of it explicitly are sufficiently limited to be passed briefly in review.

1. The first thought is that of regeneration. Our Lord says, "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God," and He explained this birth to be "of water and [of] the Spirit," ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ Πνεύματος (John iii. 3, 5). The Fathers from Justin Martyr downwards, and every liturgy of Christendom, unhesitatingly apply the words to Baptism, without allusion to any alternative interpretation. In truth none is possible. Calvin, the first opponent of baptismal regeneration, was perhaps also the firs to dispute the application of the text to Baptism. He maintained that to be born of water and the Spirit meant in fact to be born only of the Spirit, acting upon the soul for its purification as water acts upon the body (*Inst.* iv. ch. xvi. 25). Somewhat similarly the schools of thought represented by such men as Zwingli, Grotius, Limborch, Socinus and Cartwright, have taught that the water stands as a mere figure of the Spirit's operation. This not only contradicts the unanimous opinion of the Church, but does violence to the language of Holy Scripture. No one intending to convey the idea that the "water" was figurative would mention it before "the Spirit," and connect the two as parallel elements of birth. The being "born of water and the Spirit" is plainly one operation, wrought by two distinct, yet inseparable, means.

Apart from opposition to the whole doctrine of Sacraments, the difficulty which some in modern times have felt in applying regeneration to Baptism has come partly from misusing the term. Since spirituality is the proper sequel to regeneration, people living spiritual lives have sometimes, even in early writings, been called regenerate, and the unspiritual unregenerate. But this is not the strict and accurate sense of the word. "Regeneration," says Bishop Bethell, "though it requires certain previous qualifications in those who are capable of possessing them, is entirely the work of Christ and the Holy Spirit: a spiritual change in which the principle of self-action implanted in man bears no part." It "is a single act of God's grace, conveyed over to us at a determinate time, and in a form specially appointed by Christ" (*Doct. of Reg.* pp. 25, 153). In its own sphere it is as real a birth as the natural birth is in the material order. Nowhere is a metaphorical birth, or a mere instrumental agency, spoken of as that *of* (ἐκ) which we are born. St. Peter says we are "born again *of* (ἐκ) incorruptible seed *by* (διὰ) the word of God" (1 Pet. i. 23); St. Paul, "I have begotten you *through* (διὰ) the Gospel" (1 Cor. iv. 15); St. James, "Of His own will begat He us *with* the word (λόγῳ) of truth" (i. 18). But we are born *of* (ἐκ) water and the Spirit as we are born *of* (ἐκ) God, and on our fleshly side *of* (ἐκ) the flesh (John i. 13; iii. 6).

This birth is ἄνωθεν. St. Chrysostom mentions that in his day there were already the two interpretations, "from above," and "anew." The use of the adverb elsewhere (John iii. 31, xix. 11, 23; cp. Jas. iii. 15, 17, and LXX.) is in favour of the first, which is adopted by most Greek commentators beginning with Origen, and by some Versions and later writers. The other is favoured by most recent critics, and has on its side very early tradition. Justin Martyr quotes the words as ἂν μὴ ἀναγεννηθῆτε (*Ap.* i. 61). It is not of importance which is adopted. When the context is regarded, it will be seen that either expression implies the other.

Our Lord forewarns men that this spiritual birth will baffle human calculation, even as the whole problem of the coming and going of the wind does. Yet more must it be beyond the reach of his understanding. St. Chrysostom, in a beautiful passage, points out how incapable we are of explaining material birth, or the growth of plants; and how, if these visible things

are beyond us, we must expect mysteries in those which are spiritual and invisible. We must, then, fall back upon faith in God's word. "That which called the things that were not into existence may well be trusted when it speaks of their nature. What then says it? That what is effected is a generation. If any ask, How? Stop his mouth with the declaration of God, which is the strongest and plainest proof" (*In Joan.* Hom. xxv. 1, 2).

2. The commission to the Church to baptize into the Name of the Trinity (Matt. xxviii. 19) was really another step in the development of regeneration. The "Name" cannot mean, as some would say, the faith, or obedience, or obligations, involved in the doctrine of the Trinity. The "Name" of God in Holy Scripture is an objective title for God Himself. Nor should a less force be given to *εἰς* than is expressed by "into" (cp. Rom. vi. 3; 1 Cor. xii. 13; Gal. iii. 27). It is true that it cannot strictly bear this meaning in the passage where St. Paul speaks of the Israelites as "baptized *εἰς* Moses" (1 Cor. x. 2), and the Syriac Version, Beza, Calvin, and others paraphrase it there as "by the hand of." But Chrysostom's explanation is no doubt correct, that the word is used there inexactly, in order "to bring the type near the truth," by using "the terms of the truth even in the type" (*In* 1 *Cor.* Hom. xxiii. 3). There is no reason for evading a rendering which gives the best, the simplest, and most natural sense. Birth is an introduction into a new sphere of life. That sphere, through regeneration, is the Blessed Trinity. "He committeth to His disciples," says Irenaeus, "the power of regeneration into God" (*Adv. Haeres.* III. xvii.). Even Stier says, "There is a translation into communion of life with the Father, Son, and Spirit in this dipping into the Name: the baptized become translated into the powers and nature of God" (*Words of Jesus*, on Matt. xxviii.). This is what man required. Sin had separated him from communion with God. By Baptism he is born again into the beginnings of that restored life. The commission, then, prescribes not merely the formula which the minister was to use, but the operation which was to be effected by the act of Baptism. Patristic comment fully supports this view of the text.

3. Our Lord affixed salvation to Baptism: "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved" (Mark xvi. 16). The truth that regeneration is birth into God at once explains this declaration. If a man emerges through Baptism into union with God, he thereby obtains salvation; and this none the less because the new life is immature at first, and may decay or be strangled during its probation. The assertion is not altered by the absence of any mention of Baptism in the other section of the verse: "He that believeth not shall be damned." The reasons for the omission may be that the unbeliever would naturally remain unbaptized or would be baptized to no profit; that unbelief involves condemnation to the baptized; and that our Lord would not imply anything as to the condemnation of those who have never had the opportunity of Baptism. The best commentary on the passage is the story of the Philippian jailor. When he asked what he must do to be saved, he was told, "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved." All turned on faith, yet what that required is shown when it is added that he "was baptized, he and all his, straightway" (Acts xvi. 30–33).

In Tit. iii. 5 regeneration and salvation are directly connected: "He saved us by the washing of regeneration (*διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας*), and renewing of the Holy Ghost." The "laver of regeneration" so distinctly points to Baptism that even Calvin would not dispute the allusion, and few have sought for any other interpretation. The passage teaches that Baptism conveys an objective grace which is "not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to His mercy." It is a gift of God whereby we are saved through a new birth.

St. Peter states the same truth when he says, "Baptism doth now save us" (1 Pet. iii. 21). He draws a contrast between its efficacy to those who receive it with "a good conscience," and the insufficiency of the Mosaic purifications, which were only "the putting away of the filth of the flesh." The figure of Noah's salvation helps us to understand the sense in which Baptism can be said itself to save us. Noah's safety was contingent on his faithful abiding in the Ark, and ours on our fidelity to God in His Church.

4. Cleansing from sin is a requisite condition of communion with God, and therefore the full doctrine of regeneration necessitates that Baptism should also be the removal of sin. Remission of sin held a primary position in the ministry of the Apostles (Luke xxiv. 47; John xx. 23), and it was the first characteristic which they claimed for the laver of regeneration. On the Day of Pentecost St. Peter cried, "Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the Name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins." So might they "save" themselves from "this untoward generation" (Acts ii. 38, 40). "Remission of sins" was the climax of his address to Cornelius and his party, and their Baptism followed immediately (x. 43, 48). The 53rd chapter of Isaiah, which led the eunuch to ask to be baptized when St. Philip had expounded its meaning (viii. 32–36), referred above all else to the forgiveness of sin. Ananias' exhortation to Saul was, "Arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins" (xxii. 16). The Epistles dwell equally on the cleansing virtue of Baptism. In the Epistle to the Hebrews the approach to the "holiest" in the New Covenant is contrasted with the approach to its type in the Old. That was through repeated sacrifices and with "divers washings" (*διαφόροις βαπτισμοῖς*, ix. 10); this through the one sacrifice, "having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience, and our bodies washed with pure water" (x. 22). The internal remission is here simultaneous with the external ablution. Scarce any dispute that the words refer to Baptism. To the Corinthians St. Paul writes, evidently of their Baptism, "Ye were washed, ye were sanctified, ye were justified" (1 Cor. vi. 11). To the Ephesians he makes its cleansing grace a reason for our Lord's redemptive work: "Christ also loved the Church and gave Himself for it; that He might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word" (*τῷ λουτρῷ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐν ῥήματι*, v. 25, 26). Unsacramental critics scarcely contest the reference to Baptism. They are mainly content with wresting "the word" as far as possible

from its connexion with the laver, and with making it mean the word preached, so as to attribute the cleansing to teaching rather than to Baptism (Alford, in loco; cp. Calvin, *Inst.* IV. ch. xiv. 4). One must object to such a violent dislocation of the sentence, and to such an interpretation of *ῥῆμα*, which never is used in Holy Scripture, or could suitably be used, of revelation or of a sermon. The Greek Fathers, and most of the Latin, understood it in this place of the baptismal formula. This seems to be the sense of St. Augustine's oft-quoted passage: "The word cleanseth also in the water. Take away the word, and what is water but water? The word is added to the element, and it becomes a Sacrament" (*In Joan.* t. lxxx. 3).

Luther allowed that Baptism remits sin, but only in a modified sense. He did not allow that it took sins away. The yet more unorthodox school of Calvin was obliged by its tenets to minimise the sense of remission almost further (*Inst.* IV. ch. xv. 10, 11; *Antid.* Sess. vi.). Holy Scripture, however, draws no distinction between remission and taking away. Least of all could such a distinction find a place in regard to Baptism. A remission which did not remove the sin would be no veritable cleansing. The enemies of Israel were left behind drowned in the sea. No doubt the "infection of nature" may remain, but the sin itself that is remitted is actually taken away, and it is thus that the sinner becomes cleansed.

5. Immediately after speaking to the Ephesians of the cleansing of the Church by water, St. Paul proceeds to identify the Church with the Body of Christ (v. 28–32). The bride being one with the Bridegroom, Baptism into the Church is incorporation into Christ. "By one Spirit we are all baptized into one body," and that body is Christ (1 Cor. xii. 12, 13). "As many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ . . . Ye are all one in Christ Jesus" (Gal. iii. 27, 28). The expression, to be "in Christ," is common with St. Paul. It were unnatural, as an habitual expression, unless it were to have its simple, natural meaning. "As we are *in* Adam," says Dr. Pusey, "not merely by the imputation of Adam's sin, but by an actual community of a corrupt nature . . . so, on the other hand, are we *in* Christ, not merely by the imputation of His righteousness, but by an actual, real, spiritual origin from Him, not physical, but still as real as our descent from Adam" (*Doct. of Bapt.* pp. 113–117). And this, St. Paul says, is accomplished by Baptism. He does not mention the means every time he alludes to the result; but, since he has distinctly stated that Baptism is the method whereby we are made members of Christ, every text in which he speaks of our being "in Christ" is a separate testimony to the effect of the Sacrament. And in this effect lies the whole kernel of baptismal doctrine. Membership in Christ, however inexplicable it may be in itself, explains how it is that Baptism brings remission of sin, the gift of salvation, and regeneration into God, for from Him flow all the medicines of the Passion, and in Him is to be found the link which binds man into union with God.

Baptism is "a death unto sin and a new birth unto righteousness," because incorporation into Christ makes us partakers in His Death and Resurrection. "Know ye not, that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ were baptized into His Death? Therefore we are buried with (*συνετάφημεν*) Him by Baptism into death: that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life" (Rom. vi. 3, 4). "In Whom also ye are circumcised with the circumcision made without hands, in putting off the body of the sins of the flesh by the circumcision of Christ: buried with Him in Baptism, wherein also ye are risen with *Him* through the faith of the operation of God, Who hath raised Him from the dead" (Col. ii. 11, 12). The contexts show that the language is not simply figurative. "We are baptized," says Tertullian, "into the Passion of the Lord" (*De B.* xix.).. "As though co-interred with Him in that element of the world," writes St. Ambrose, of the baptismal water, "having died to sin, thou wert raised again to life eternal" (*De Myst.* 21). "When we are buried with Him in His baptism," says St. Hilary, "we must needs die as to the old man, because the regeneration of Baptism is the power of the Resurrection" (*De Trin.* ix. 9). Such passages do justice to the moral side of the Death and Resurrection. The grace of Baptism is not irresistible. As the Death of Christ was real, so, St. Chrysostom points out, must ours be to sin: "our part must be contributed" (*In Rom.* Hom. x.). To Simon Magus Baptism was the reverse of a blessing. But, because the life can be quenched, it is not the less truly imparted. In Baptism we are engrafted into Him Who says, "I am the life" (John xiv. 6). "God hath given to us eternal life, and this life is in His Son: he that hath the Son hath life" (1 John v. 11, 12). The first influx of that life is through Baptism. The faithful may say with St. Paul, because they are baptized, "I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me" (Gal. ii. 20). It is this which makes the responsibility of a Christian. Sin in the baptized is an attack upon the life of Christ within.

6. The relation of the baptized to Christ throws light upon the difficult text: "Else what shall they do which are baptized for the dead, if the dead rise not at all? Why are they then baptized for the dead?" (*Ἐπεὶ τί ποιήσουσιν οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν, εἰ ὅλως νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται; τί καὶ βαπτίζονται ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν;* 1 Cor. xv. 29.) The whole subject of the chapter is the resurrection of the dead. "In Christ shall all be made alive" (v. 22). We are "in Christ" by virtue of our Baptism. Therefore Baptism is not only for the spiritual resurrection of the soul, but also, like the other great Sacrament (John vi. 54), for the resurrection of the body. All persons are baptized with reference to the dead, who are baptized in the belief that Baptism will affect their own resurrection. We do not know the precise circumstances which were giving prominence to the doctrine. But the offence of Christianity was the preaching of "Jesus and the resurrection," and evidently it was for this that disciples were at the moment "in jeopardy every hour." St. Paul argues that the peril need not be incurred if the doctrine could be dropped. But that very doctrine, because it placed Christians in danger, was apparently impelling converts to

hasten to Baptism, lest they should be martyred ere they received that union with Christ which would be the pledge of their resurrection. Thus they were baptized "for the dead," that is, as St. Chrysostom says, for their bodies, that the "dead body may no longer remain dead," since by Baptism it acquires the power of resurrection (*In* 1 *Cor.* Hom. xxiii. 3, xl. 2). In the main this represents the general interpretation of antiquity, however variously and sometimes loosely expressed, and it is substantially accepted by many able modern commentators.

Another explanation is that the text refers to Baptism by proxy. The Cerinthians, Marcionites and others, occasionally baptized a living person on behalf of a dead one (Tert. *De Res. Carn.* xlviii.; *Adv. Marcion.* v. ch. x.; Chrys. *In* 1 *Cor.* Hom. xl.). It is said that St. Paul alludes to such a custom as a proof that the resurrection was believed in fact even where it was denied in word. There is no evidence that the practice existed so early: it probably originated in a misunderstanding of this very text. Moreover, to suppose that St. Paul could bring into evidence a custom which he must have denounced as superstitious and reprehensible, to say the least, does scant justice to the loftiness of his reasoning in this chapter. St. Ambrose (*ad loc.*) is quoted in favour of the view, but the work referred to is probably not his, and the comment is capable of another meaning. It is upheld by Anselm and Bede, but its chief supporters are among much later writers.

Numbers of other interpretations have been hazarded, but all do violence either to the language or the context. Such are those in which "the dead" are made to mean dead works, those dead in sin, a dead Saviour, or some notable worthies; those in which Baptism is taken for ablution after touching a corpse, for martyrdom, or for the tears of the living for souls in purgatory; and those in which the elastic word ὑπερ is juggled with so as to get such senses as "over the sepulchres of martyrs," "because of the examples of martyrs," "though so many martyrs have died," "to fill up the places of martyrs," "to complete the πλήρωμα," "as a simile of death and resurrection," "at the point of death," and a host of others. For lists of these views and their authorities, see Jacobi, in Kitto's *Dict. of Bib. Lit.* s. v. Baptism; Suicer's *Thesaurus*, s. v. βάπτισμα; Poole's *Synopsis*; Horsley, in *Newbery House Mag.*, Jan. and March 1890. But the names quoted for each interpretation must be received with caution, since it is almost impossible to classify them accurately.

7. The Holy Ghost has a special office in regard to Baptism. "By one Spirit we are all baptized." Baptism is "of water and the Spirit." "That which is born of the Spirit is spirit." "Clearly, therefore," says St. Ambrose, "the Holy Spirit is the Author of spiritual regeneration" (*De Sp. S.* II. vii.). Tertullian compares the Spirit's brooding over the waters at first to His present abiding "upon the waters as the Baptizer" (*De B.* iv.). "As the water poured into the kettle," says Cyril of Alexandria, "being associated with the vigour of fire, receives in itself the impress of its efficacy, so, through the indwelling of the Spirit, the sensible water is trans-elemented to a divine and ineffable efficacy, and sanctifieth those on whom it comes" (*In Joan.* iii.).

The operation of the Holy Ghost is expressed in some passages as that of sealing (2 Cor. i. 22; Eph. i. 13, iv. 30). St. Paul speaks of circumcision as a seal of the covenant with God under the Law (Rom. iv. 11); but something more than this is to be understood of the seal of Baptism. It is not a mere witness of covenant, but an absolute stamping with the impress of God. And the Holy Spirit is not simply the agent by Whom this stamping is done. He stamps His own impress, because the impress of the Trinity must necessarily be the impress of each Person. Consequently Baptism establishes a real connexion with the Holy Ghost, and a share in His grace. It would not be true to credit those who are only baptized with all the gifts of the Spirit spoken of in the N. T. as belonging to Christians, because these include some that are proper to Confirmation. But neither in the Fathers nor in the liturgies is the "seal" a title applied to the Confirmation-aspect of Baptism alone. They constantly associate it particularly with the water (Hermas, III. ix. 16; Amb. *De Sp. S.* I. vi.; Cyr. Hieros. *Cat.* i. 2, &c. See Pusey, *Scrip. Views*, Note E). The texts therefore indicate a personal relationship of the Holy Spirit to the baptized.

8. The necessity of Baptism is grounded on the effects attributed to it, and more expressly on our Lord's words to Nicodemus, and on the terms of the baptismal commission. The Pelagians denied its necessity for the remission of original sin (Aug. *De Haeres.* lxxxviii.), and some of the 16th-century Reformers followed in their wake, denying that it was necessary for the children of Christian parents (Zwing. *De vera et falsa Relig.*; Calvin, *Inst.* IV. ch. xvi. 15, 24, &c.). They argued from the text where St. Paul speaks of children as "holy" when only one parent is a believer (1 Cor. vii. 14). It is much disputed what "holy" means here. It has been taken as equivalent to legitimate, as describing their Christian education, or as designating their fitness for Baptism (Tert. *De Anima*, xxxix.; Aug. *De Bapt. Parv.* II. xxvi., III. xii.). But if it is understood more naturally as indicating a real difference in spiritual condition between those born within Christianity and those without, it does not abrogate the need for Baptism. Even among the Jews, whose inherited birthright within the covenant was distinctly recognised, circumcision was required.

St. Augustine took a hard line as to the damnation of the unbaptized (*De Bapt. Parv.* I. xvi.–xviii.; *Ep.* clxvi.; *De Anima*, I. ix.), yet even he allowed that there must be exceptions, when Baptism was unprocurable, as in the case of the penitent thief (*De B.* IV. xxiv. 31; *De Anima*, III. ix.). Scriptural colour has been found for the Baptism of desire in the spirit of Ezek. xviii., and for the Baptism of blood in the words to the sons of Zebedee (Matt. xx. 22), and in the flow of blood as well as water from the side of Christ. Concerning "them that are without," the unapproached heathen, we have no right to judge (1 Cor. v. 12, 13). God can of course work without Baptism that which He is ordinarily pleased to give by it. But the Bible gives no hint that it can be dispensed with where it may be had. It was required

even in such exceptional cases as those of St. Paul and Cornelius; and our Lord's words must stand as the guiding rule of the Church: "Except a man be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God."

9. Baptism, being into the "one body" of the "one Lord," by the "one Spirit," regenerating man into the "one God," is also itself "one" (Eph. iv. 4–6). This unity consists, first, in the contrast to the "divers washings" of the Law; secondly, in its unique effects peculiar to itself; thirdly, in the necessity of certain essentials of administration; and, fourthly, in the impossibility of its iteration. This last point lends great awfulness to the Sacrament. "The bath," says St. Cyril, "cannot be received twice or thrice; else might a man say, Though I fail once, I shall go right a second time; whereas if thou failest once, there is no setting right, for there is one Lord, and one Faith, and one Baptism" (*Cat.* Praef. 7). It is in this sense that many understand the text: "It is impossible for those who were once enlightened, ... if they shall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance" (Heb. vi. 4–6). The Syr. Vers. reads "baptized" for "enlightened," and the latter word was at least among the Fathers a familiar synonym for Baptism. Holy Scripture tells of lapses, but it never records a re-baptism. The simile of birth seems to forbid it. A child cannot enter a second time into its mother's womb and be born. The life may grow faint and diseased, and may be renewed by penitence and absolution; but if it is once really lost, it cannot be recovered.

VII. *Administration.*—1. Subjects. 2. Dispositions. 3. Matter. 4. Formula. 5. Minister. 6. Rites and Ceremonies.

1. The terms of the commission are the widest possible. "All nations" were to be baptized, without restriction to race.

The command is so explicit that it would need some very clear evidence to prove that there was to be a limitation as to age. The only argument of weight against Baptism of infants is that they are incapable of qualifying themselves by active dispositions. The absence of these in adults sets a positive bar against the reception of grace; but unconscious babes can offer no impediment to the work of God, and therefore active dispositions are unnecessary for them until they are old enough to acquire them. St. Augustine points out that in Abraham faith preceded the sign, but in Isaac the sign preceded the faith (*De B.* iv. ch. xxiv.). The disposition is not ignored because the order is reversed. Some of the Anabaptists argued against infant Baptism from the age of Christ when He was baptized. Gregory of Nazianzus had forestalled their objection centuries before by showing that the circumstances and nature of His Baptism were too dissimilar from ours to afford any precedent as to details (*Orat.* xl.). If 1 Cor. vii. 14 bears on the subject at all, it can only be adduced as a reason against baptizing the children of heathen, while under their parents' charge, and against their parents' will.

The positive arguments for infant Baptism are many. i. Children inherit original sin; Baptism is its appointed remedy (Rom. v.–vi.). Unless children are incapable of salvation at all, it is fitting that they should early receive the medicine of their healing. ii. The simile of birth, used by our Lord, suggests that Baptism is peculiarly appropriate to infants, who are thus born spiritually into the kingdom of God, as physically into the world, of no active will of their own. iii. The children of Jews were admitted into the covenant as infants, and it would be unreasonable that the children of Christians should be excluded because the New Covenant is greater than the Old. The covenant itself is "an everlasting covenant" (Gen. xvii. 13), but the sign has changed with its development. The analogy was thought so exact that in the 3rd century some urged that Baptism ought to take place on the eighth day (Cyp. *Ep.* lxiv. 2). iv. The Rabbis baptized the children of proselytes with their parents, on the ground "that what is done by their fathers redounds to their good" (*Talmud*, Tract. Chet. i.). v. Our Lord blessed infants (*βρέφη*), and said, "Suffer little children to come unto Me, and forbid them not: for of such is the kingdom of God" (Luke xviii. 16). He could not have spoken thus if they were incapable of being admitted into it (John iii. 5). vi. St. Peter said to the Jews, "The promise is unto you, and to your children;" and, in the light of the prophecy of Joel, it is at least more likely that he meant actual children than merely posterity (Acts ii. 17, 39). vii. Children are addressed in the Epistles as members of the Church (Eph. vi. 1; Col. iii. 20), without any hint that this membership began only at years of discretion. viii. The consistent usage of the Church is, however, the strongest evidence of the will of Christ. "The Church received it," says Origen, "as a tradition from the Apostles to give Baptism to infants" (*In Rom.* vi.). Even Tertullian, who with characteristic peculiarity was an advocate for delay, implies that this was not the usual custom (*De B.* xviii.).

2. The dispositions necessary for Baptism are Faith and Repentance. In Holy Scripture faith holds the more prominent place of the two. Our Lord declared its necessity when He said, "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved" (Mark xvi. 16). It was definitely required of the jailor (Acts xvi. 31, 33); and, according to a very early tradition which crept into some texts of the N. T., of the eunuch also (Iren. III. xii. 8; [Acts viii. 37]). It is mentioned in some form or other in close connexion with the Baptisms on the day of Pentecost (Acts ii. 41), at Samaria (viii. 12), of Cornelius (x. 43), of Lydia (xvi. 14, 15), and of the Corinthians (xviii. 8). The whole tenor of the apostolic sermons, as well as such notices as that the belief was in "the kingdom of God, and the Name of Jesus Christ," or "on the Lord Jesus Christ," show that it was not a vague general quality of faith, but an explicit profession of belief in definite dogmas which presently found expression in the formal creeds of the Church.

Repentance is not mentioned so frequently as faith, but it is everywhere implied by the character of the Gospel. It had given a title to St. John's baptism as the "baptism of repentance;" it was inherent in any conception of the forgiveness of sin; and to the first converts it was set forth in the forefront as the one requisite (Acts ii. 38). Indeed, faith and repentance practically involve each other.

There is no indication in the N. T. that candidates for Baptism were subjected to any prolonged preparation, such as that which afterwards became customary. The circumstances of the first preaching of the Gospel were peculiar. None were likely to accept it unless they were too much in earnest to need the test of a lengthy probation. Yet Holy Scripture affords one instance which amply justifies the precautions against hasty Baptism which the Church afterwards adopted. Simon Magus either received Baptism hypocritically, or else with such insufficient faith and repentance that he immediately fell (Acts viii. 13–24). The circumstance is of value as an illustration of the place which the dispositions hold in relation to Baptism. Simon was truly baptized. "The Church," says St. Augustine, "had herself given birth to Simon Magus through the Sacrament of Baptism, and yet it was declared to him that he had no part in the inheritance of Christ. Did he lack anything in respect of Baptism, of the Gospel, or of the Sacraments? Nay, but he was born in vain, in that he lacked charity" (*De B.* I. ch. x. 14). His regeneration was barren of spiritual life. "He was baptized," says St. Cyril, "but he was not illuminated; he washed his body indeed with the water, but did not illuminate his heart by the Spirit; his body truly descended and ascended, but his soul was not buried with Christ, nor with Him raised" (*Cat.* Praef. 2). But it was more than a still-born birth. The very Baptism, unworthily received, increased his guilt. To a heathen St. Peter would scarcely have said, "Thou art in the gall of bitterness, and in the bond of iniquity." His sin was the worse because he had become a Christian.

3. The matter of Baptism is water. Our Lord mentions it specifically as necessary: "Except a man be born of water and the Spirit" (John iii. 5). No other element is suggested in Holy Scripture, and it is particularly related that this was used at sundry Baptisms (John iii. 23; Matt. iii. 11, 16; Acts viii. 36, x. 47). Cleansing by water is even an expression synonymous with Baptism (Eph. v. 26; Heb. x. 22). The Fathers noticed in this connexion what a place water had in the baptismal types and prophecies of the Bible. "If," says St. Cyril, "anyone is anxious to know why the gift is given through water, and not through some other element, let him take up Holy Scripture and he shall learn. For water is a noble thing, and of the world's four visible elements the most beautiful" (*Cat.* iii. 5). "Water alone," says Tertullian, "a matter ever perfect, bright, simple, pure in its own nature, supplied a vehicle worthy of God" (*De B.* iii.).

Immersion appears to have been used where it could be had. St. John stationed himself on the banks of the Jordan, and then at Aenon, "because there was much water there" (John iii. 23), which would scarcely have been necessary for affusion. Our Lord came up "out of the water" after His Baptism (Matt. iii. 16). The eunuch went down "into the water" with St. Philip (Acts viii. 38). St. Paul's symbol of burial and resurrection only receive their full significance from immersion (Rom. vi. 4; Col. ii. 12). Such types as the Flood, and the passage of the Red Sea, and the dipping of Naaman, also suggest it. But, if this was the ordinary method, there is evidence that affusion or even sprinkling sufficed. It is doubtful whether there was any water at Jerusalem in which the 3000 could have been immersed; still more so whether immersion could have been practised in the house of Cornelius, or the prison at Philippi. When St. Cyprian was once consulted as to the validity of sprinkling, he referred to Ezek. xxxvi. 25, "Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean," and to the sprinkling of Jewish rites (Num. viii., xix.), "whence," he says, "it is apparent that the sprinkling of water has like force with the saving washing" (*Ep.* lxix. 11, 12). Those who insist on immersion chiefly argue from the sense of *βάπτειν*, which is not used of Baptism, whereas the word which is used did not necessarily mean immersion, for the Pharisees marvelled that our Lord had not "baptized" (*ἐβαπτίσθη*) before dinner (Luke xi. 38).

Trine immersion or affusion is of course founded on the mention of the three Persons of the Trinity in the baptismal commission.

4. The formula of Baptism is derived from our Lord's direction to the Apostles to baptize "into the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Zwingli maintained that no form was necessary (*De vera et falsa Relig.*), and Luther that it was enough to give or receive it in any Name of God (*De Capt. Bab.*). But the tradition of the Church is that the words of commission impose a necessity of naming the three Persons of the Blessed Trinity (Tert. *Adv. Prax.* xxvi.; Cyp. *Ep.* lxxiii. 6; Bas. *De Sp. S.* xii.). While this declares the faith and the sphere into which the person is regenerated, the obligation is probably owing to a deeper reason. Holy Scripture indicates that a special power is involved in the solemn naming of God (Num. vi. 27; Ps. xx. 1, Acts iii. 6, &c.). Origen, writing of the formula, speaks of "the Divinity of the power of the invocation of the adorable Trinity" (*In Joan.* t. vi.). So viewed, the recitation of the Name becomes a ministerial act, setting in motion the mysterious operation of God.

In the Acts there is mention of Baptism "in the Name of Jesus Christ" (ii. 38), "of the Lord Jesus" (viii. 16, xix. 5), "of the Lord" (x. 48); and the Vulgate, supported by the Syriac, renders viii. 12, "in nomine Jesu Christi baptizabantur." Although in none of the passages is there any literal report of the words said, such as that in iii. 6, they would naturally convey the impression that the formula of administration contained the phrase "in the Name of Jesus." The anonymous author of the *De Rebaptismate*, in the 3rd century, so understood them, and dwells at length on "the power of the Name of Jesus invoked upon a man by Baptism," defending the form as not contrary to the commission of Christ (*De Rebap.* 6, 7). But he bears testimony himself to the fact that the Church had not been wont so to baptize. Some reliance has been put on a passage in St. Ambrose, where he says it is sufficient to name one Person, if the faith in the Trinity is not denied thereby (*De Sp. S.* I. iii.); but he is probably speaking of the confession of the recipient, not of the formula. A few have maintained the validity of the disputed form of words (Bede, in Act. x.; Nic. I. *Ep.* xcvii. 104;

P. Lomb. iv. 3; Scotus, doubtfully, iv. ch. iii. 2); but the general verdict has been against it. A pure conjecture that it was allowed for a time, perhaps to give special honour to the despised Name, was thrown out by some late writers (De Lyra, in loco; Th. Aquin. *Summa*, IH. lxvi. 6; Lyndwood, i. tit. 7; De Burgo, II. ch. iii., Hostiensis, III. ch. xlii. 6). Still later it has been suggested that the words were incorporated into the formula as an addition, "In the Name of the Lord, I baptize thee," &c., or, "I baptize thee in the Name of the Father, and of His Son Jesus Christ," &c. (Corn. à Lap. on Rom. vi. 3; Trombelli, iv. 406). Neither is probable. If the usual interpretation is correct, that the naming of the Trinity was always essential, the phrases in the Acts must be taken to mean simply that it was "Christian" Baptism, in the formula indicated by the Lord's commission, that is, Baptism "into Christ" (Rom. vi. 3; Gal. iii. 27), or by the power of Christ (see Bingham, XI. ch. iii. 3; Moberly, *Great Forty Days*, App.).

5. When St. John foretold the Baptism of the Gospel, he spoke as though it would be administered personally by Christ Himself—"He shall baptize you" (Matt. iii. 11). The Baptisms of the Incarnate ministry were, however, by the hands of His "disciples" (John iv. 2), and the great commission of Baptism was given to men. St. Augustine frequently insists that the fact which the Baptist was to learn from the descent of the Holy Ghost upon Christ (John i. 33) was "that the power of the Lord's Baptism was not to pass from the Lord to any man, while its ministration plainly would do so" (*In Joan.* t. v. 11; *De B.* III. ch. iv. 6, VI., VII.). If this is questionable, the truth itself was clearly conveyed by the declaration with which our Lord closed the baptismal commission, "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world" (Matt. xxviii. 20). His Presence was pledged to accompany those who went forth from Him to baptize. The minister of Baptism must therefore be the delegate of Christ, while in the highest sense He is Himself the one Baptizer.

The recipients of the baptismal commission were the Apostles. They were specially gathered together, apparently alone, for the purpose of receiving it (cp. Matt. xxvi. 32, xxviii. 7, 10; Mark xvi. 7). Even if others were present, which seems improbable, the terms of the commission would confine its reception to them, since the authority to baptize is made a result of that "power" which our Lord Himself received as Man, and then committed to the Apostles (John xx. 21). It was for them to transmit it to others as they handed on the orders of the ministry. The sacramental character of Baptism would mark it out as an office for the Apostles, even if the commission had not been so explicitly conveyed to them. There would, therefore, be no doubt that the minister of Baptism must be an ordained representative of Christ through the Apostles, were it not for a widespread sanction of lay Baptism in emergency, with high authority, at later periods of Church history. The result of bringing the matter to the test of apostolic practice is unsatisfactory. It is not said who baptized the 3000 on the Day of Pentecost. There is, however, no impossibility in supposing that the Apostles baptized them all in a day; and if others assisted, these at least had their direct commission for the purpose. Hilary the Deacon thought the Baptism of Cornelius and others, apparently by the "brethren from Joppa" (Acts x. 23, 48), a clear case of lay Baptism (*Com. in* 1 Cor. i. 17), but some of these "brethren" may have received ordination. So also may whoever baptized the disciples at Ephesus, if it was not St. Paul (Acts xix. 5). We know nothing of the position of Ananias, who baptized St. Paul himself (ix. 17, 18). The Apostolical Constitutions say that both he and Philip the Deacon baptized by a special Divine call (VIII. 46), but the narrative of Acts viii. seems fully to warrant Baptism by a Deacon. St. Paul baptized some at Corinth (1 Cor. i. 14, 16), probably St. Silas the rest (Acts xviii. 8), and one of them baptized Lydia and the jailor (xvi.). St. Paul's assertion that he was not sent to baptize (1 Cor. i. 17) cannot mean that to baptize did not belong to the apostolic office, but only that for particular reasons he usually forbore to do it. Lay Baptism has, therefore, no direct support *from* the N. T.; on the contrary, the evidence points rather against it. The main controversies on the subject lie outside a scriptural enquiry.

6. Rites and ceremonies find little place in the N. T., owing to the character of the Books and the circumstances of primitive Christianity. There could have been little ritual at the Baptisms on the Day of Pentecost, by the roadside to Gaza, or in the prison at Philippi. Subsequent rites were built upon scriptural expressions, but the expressions themselves can rarely be indicative of actual ceremonial in use by the Apostles. Some have understood St. Timothy's "good profession before many witnesses" (1 Tim. vi. 12) to have been a baptismal profession of faith (Chrys., Theoph., Amb., &c. *ad loc.*), and "the interrogation of a good conscience before God" (1 Pet. iii. 21) to allude to questions and pledges at Baptism (Waterland, Wordsworth, De Wette, &c.). Sponsors were common among the Jews, according to the Rabbis (Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* on Matt. iii.), and perhaps the Christians adopted the usage at once from them. The unction spoken of (2 Cor. i. 21; 1 John ii. 20, 27) was probably a real anointing with oil, but rather that belonging to Confirmation than the baptismal anointing of the early centuries. The "seal" (2 Cor. i. 22; Eph. i. 13, iv. 30; cp. Rev. vii. 3) is suggestive of the sign of the Cross, but does not prove its actual use as a baptismal ceremony. Other ritual was plainly borrowed from Scripture language. The exorcisms were taken from our Lord's casting out of devils (Matt. xvii. 18). The unclothing represented the putting off the old man with the deeds of sin (Eph. iv. 22; Col. iii. 9; see Cyr. Hieros. *Cat.* xx. 2; Chrys. *In Col.* Hom. vi. 4). The chrisom robe symbolised the "new man" (Eph. iv. 24), and the putting on of Christ (Gal. iii. 27). Lights signified the illumination of Baptism (Heb. vi. 4, x. 32). The salt was the symbol of holy life, from our Lord's words, "Ye are the salt of the earth" (Matt. v. 13; Mark ix. 49, 50). The milk and honey pointed to the inheritance in the land of promise (Ex. iii. 8). The special times for Baptism were founded upon Scripture symbolism and precedents: Easter because Baptism is into the Death and Resurrection of Christ; Pentecost

because of the descent of the Holy Ghost, and because the first Baptisms took place at that Feast (Tert. *De B.* xix.). The eves of these days were selected, because the Sabbath spoke of eternal rest in God's inheritance (Honorius, *Gemma Animae*, III. ch. cxvi.).

VIII. *Literature.*—Of Greek Fathers there are Basil, *De Spiritu Sancto* (the *De Bapt.* under his name is not his, and is of secondary value); Cyril of Jerus., *Catechesis;* Gregory Naz., *Oratio de Bapt. Christi;* Chrysostom, *Homilies;* John Damascene, *De Fide Orth.* IV. ix. Latin Fathers: Tertullian's and Pacian's *De Bapt.*; Ambrose, *De Sacramentis;* Augustine, *De Bapt.* and *De Bapt. Parvulorum.* Migne's *Pat. Lat.* has an admirable classified index, No. XCVI., on Baptism. Pusey's *Scriptural Views of Baptism* (originally *Tracts for Times*, Nos. 67 to 69, enlarged as *Doctrine of Baptism*) is invaluable for patristic comments on Scripture. The Commentaries of Corn. à Lapide and Wordsworth are both largely patristic. See also Suicer, *Thesaurus.* Of Schoolmen, Th. Aquinas, *Summa*, III. chs. xxxviii., xxxix., lxvi.–lxxi., is important. For extreme Protestant views see Zwingli, *De vera et falsa Religione;* Calvin, *Inst.* IV. chs. xv., xvi.; Luther, *De Capt. Bab.* In spite of unorthodox opinions, there is much of value in the *Loci Communes* of Chemnitz and Gerhard (Lutheran); Voss (Calvinistic), *De Bapt.*; Limborch (Arminian), *Theol. Christi.* Bellarmin, *De Bapt.*, on the other side, is good. Of English works, those by strongly anti-sacramental writers are only worth consulting for historical purposes. The views taken may be seen in Bp. Hopkins, *Doct. of Sacraments* and *Nature of Regeneration;* Faber, *Prim. Doctrine of Regeneration;* J. Scott, *Inquiry into effect of Baptism*, in answer to Mant. Among orthodox treatises are Barrow, *Of Baptism;* Leslie, *Water Baptism;* Mant, *Bampton Lect.* (reprinted as *Two Tracts*, etc.); Waterland, *Regeneration;* Bethell, *Doct. of Regeneration;* Mozley, *Review of the Baptismal Controversy;* Sadler, *Second Adam and New Birth* and *Sacrament of Responsibility.* Other works, dealing however with much outside Scripture, are Hooker, V. chs. lviii.–lxiv.; Trombelli, *De Sac.* tom. i.–v.; Macaire (Makary), *Théol. Dog.* IV. ch. iii.; Maskell, *Holy Baptism;* Grueber, *Sacrament of Regeneration.* On Infant Baptism, Wall's *History*, with Gale's *Reflections* in reply; Bp. J. Taylor, *Liberty of Prophesying*, xviii., and *Life of Christ*, I. ch. ix. 6; Thorndike, *Laws of Church*, vi.–viii. On the Minister, Laurence, *Lay Baptism Invalid;* Waterland and Kellsall, *Letters;* Elwin, *Minister of Baptism.* [W. E.]

BAR-ABBAS (Βαραββᾶς; *Barabbas;* Aram. בַּר־אַבָּא, Bar-Abba, son of the father, *i.e.* of the teacher or master, cp. Samuel Bar-Abba and Nathan Bar-Abba, quoted by Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* in loco). He is described as a notable prisoner, and as guilty of sedition and murder in Jerusalem itself. He is also called a robber (λῃστής, John xviii. 40); a term which gives another side of the life of the insurrectionary leaders common in Judaea under the Roman government. The term "robbers" is used by Josephus to describe the Zealots (*B. J.* iv. 3, § 4). Nothing is known of Barabbas and his sedition from other sources. It is conjectured that the two robbers crucified with Jesus may have been two of Barabbas' comrades in insurrection (συστασιασταί) mentioned (Mark xv. 7) as in prison at the time. A remarkable reading gives Barabbas the additional name of Jesus, Barabbas thus becoming merely a patronymic. In Matt. xxvii. 16, 17 "Jesus" is inserted before "Barabbas" by a few authorities. But "it is against all analogy that a true reading should be preserved in no better Greek MSS. than the common origin of the cursives 1, 118, 209, and in none of the *ancient* Versions." The most probable source of the reading is to be found in the repetition of ΙΝ from ΥΜΙΝ (Tregelles) in *v.* 17, in which verse alone Origen found it. His doubtful approval (*Comm. Matt.* in loc.) has given it notoriety, and Trench (*Studies on Gospels,*[2] p. 300), Keim, and others have uncritically followed Origen. See Tisch. *Ed. Crit.* viii.; and Westcott and Hort, *Greek Testament*, notes on select readings. [E. R. B.]

BA'RACHEL (בְּרַכְאֵל, Ges. = *God blesses*, Renan ['Les Noms Théophores,' &c. in *REJ.* v. 172] = *he who blesses God*; Βαραχιήλ; *Barachel*), "the Buzite," father of Elihu (Job xxxii. 2, 6). [BUZ.] MV.[11] compares the Phoenic. proper name ברך, the Palmyrene בולברך and בריכתא. [F.]

BARACHI'AH, Zech. i. 1, 7, A. V. ed. 1611, and other early editions. [BERECHIAH, 7.]

BARACHI'AS (Βαραχίας; *Barachias*), Matt. xxiii. 35. [ZACHARIAS.]

BA'RAK (בָּרָק, *lightning*, as in Ex. xix. 16; Βαράκ; *Barac:* cp. the family name of Hannibal, Barca = "fulmen belli." The name is found among the Phoenicians, Palmyrenes, and Sabaeans; see MV.[11]), son of Abinoam of Kedesh (Judg. iv. 6), a refuge-city in Mount Naphtali. He was incited by Deborah, a prophetess of Ephraim, to deliver Israel from the yoke of JABIN. Jabin ("prudent") was probably (Keil) the dynastic name of those kings of northern Canaan whose capital city was Hazor on Lake Merom. Sisera, his general and procurator, oppressed a promiscuous Gentile population (Is. ix. 1) at Harosheth, hence called "Harosheth *of the Gentiles.*" Accompanied, at his own express desire, by Deborah, Barak led his rudely-armed force of 10,000 men from Naphtali and Zebulon to an encampment on the summit of Tabor, where the 900 iron chariots of Jabin would be useless. The force was assembled in small divisions so as to avoid exciting suspicion (such seems to be the meaning of מְשֻׁךְ in Judg. iv. 6: cp. xx. 37; Ex. xii. 21). At a signal given by the prophetess, the little army, seizing the opportunity of a providential storm (Joseph. v. 5, § 4) and a wind that blew in the faces of the enemy, boldly rushed down the hill, and utterly routed the unwieldy host of the Canaanites in the plain of Jezreel (Esdraelon), "the battle-field of Palestine" (Stanley, *S. and P.* p. 331; Thomson, *Land and the Book*, i. 141, &c.). From the prominent mention of Taanach (Judg. v. 19) and of the river Kishon, it is most likely that the victory was partly due to the suddenly swollen waves

of that impetuous torrent (χειμάῤῥους, LXX.), particularly its western branch. The victory was decisive: Harosheth was taken (Judg. iv. 16), Sisera murdered, and Jabin ruined. A peace of forty years ensued, and the next danger came from a different quarter. The victors composed a splendid epinician ode in commemoration of their deliverance (Judg. v. Cp. Milman, *Hist. of Jews*,[4] i. 247, &c.).

The obedience of Barak to the command of Deborah entitled him to a place among the heroes of faith (Heb. xi. 32). His refusal to go unless Deborah accompanied him does not seem to have been due to any censurable motive. Deborah warns him that it will be said, "A woman conquered Sisera," but he knew that her presence would facilitate the victory. The Israelites, like the Messenians, would be likely to "fight the more bravely, because their seers were present" (Pausanias, iv. 16), and Barak was anxious for something better than his own honour.

It is difficult to decide the date of Barak. He appears to have been a contemporary of Shamgar (Judg. v. 6). If so, he could not have been so much as 178 years after Joshua, where he is generally placed. The Bishop of Bath and Wells supposes the narrative to be a variation of Josh. xi. 1-12 (*Genealogies*, p. 228 sq. Cp. Stade, *Gesch. d. Volkes Israel*, i. 178, n. 1). A great deal may be said for this view: the names Jabin and Hazor; the mention of subordinate kings (Judg. v. 19; cp. Josh. xi. 2 sq.); the general locality of the battle; the prominence of chariots in both narratives, and especially the name Misrephoth-maim (Josh. xi. 8, a spot in 'Ain Meserfe; see Dillmann[2] in loco). Many chronological difficulties are also thus removed; but it is fair to add that in Stanley's opinion (*S. and P.* p. 392, note) there are geographical difficulties in the way. Keil and Edersheim (*Bible History*, ii. 120) place a hundred years between the events described in Joshua and Judges; Riehm (*HWB.* s. n.) and Ruetschi (Herzog, *RE.*[2] s. n.) consider these events distinct. Cp. Ewald, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*,[2] ii. p. 489, &c.; Lord A. Hervey *Genealogies*, pp. 225-246 *sq.*) [DEBORAH.] [F. W. F.]

BARBARIAN (βάρβαρος). Πᾶς μὴ Ἕλλην βάρβαρος is the common Greek definition, quoted by Serv. *ad* Verg. *Aen.* ii. 504; and in this strict sense the word is used in Rom. i. 14, "I am debtor both to Greeks and barbarians;" where Luther used the term *Ungrieche*, which happily expresses its force. Ἕλληνες καὶ βάρβαροι is the constant division found in Greek literature, but Thucydides (i. 3) points out that this distinction is subsequent to Homer, in whom the word does not occur, although he terms the Carians βαρβαρόφωνοι (*Il.* ii. 867, where Eustathius connects the other form Κάρβανος with Κάρ). At first, according to Strabo (xiv. 662), the word "barbarian" was a sneering onomatopoeia applied to those who pronounced their words imperfectly (κατ' ὀνοματοποιίαν ἐπὶ τῶν δυσεκφόρως καὶ σκληρῶς καὶ τραχέως λαλούντων), and its generic use was subsequent. It often retains this primitive meaning, as in 1 Cor. xiv. 11 (of one using "the tongue") and Acts xxviii. 24 (of the Maltese, who spoke a Punic dialect. In Acts xxviii. 2 the A. V. "barbarous people" is replaced in the R. V. by "barbarians"). So too Aesch. *Agam.* 2013, χελιδόνος δίκην Ἄγνωτα φωνὴν βάρβαρον κεκτημένη: and it is even applied to one who spoke a patois, ἅτε Λέσβιος ὢν καὶ ἐν φωνῇ βαρβάρῳ τεθραμμένος, Plat. *Protag.* 341 C. It is not so strong a word as παλίγγλωσσος (Donaldson, *Crat.* § 88). Ovid defines the word in the often-quoted line:

> "Barbarus hic ego sum *quia non intelligor ulli*."
> (*Trist.* v. 10, 37.)

The ancient Egyptians (like the modern Chinese) had an analogous word for all τοὺς μὴ σφισιν ὁμογλώσσους (Herod. ii. 158); and βάρβαρος is used in the LXX. to express a similar Jewish distinction. Thus in Ps. lxiii. 1, λάος βάρβαρος is used to translate לְלַעַז, "peregrino sermone utens" (Schleusn. *Thes.* s. v.), which is also an onomatopoeian from לָעַג, "to stammer." In 1 Cor. v. 13, 1 Tim. iii. 7, we have οἱ ἔξω, and Matt. vi. 32, τὰ ἔθνη, used Hebraistically for גּוֹיִם (in very much the same sort of sense as that of βάρβαροι), to distinguish all other nations from the Jews (cp. Col. iii. 11); and in the Talmudists we find Palestine opposed to אַרְצוֹת, just as Greece was to Barbaría or ἡ βάρβαρος (cf. Cic. *Fin.* ii. 15; Lightfoot, *Centuria Chorogr.* ad init.). And yet so completely was the term βάρβαρος accepted, that even Josephus and Philo scruple as little to reckon the Jews among "barbarians" (*Antt.* xi. 7, § 1; Philo, *Leg. Allegg.* iii. 67, 1), as the early Romans did to apply the term to themselves ("Demophilus scripsit, Marcus vertit *barbare*;" Plaut. *Asin.* prol. 10). Very naturally the word after a time began to involve notions of cruelty and contempt (θηρὸς βαρβάρου, 2 Macc. iv. 25, xv. 2, &c.), and then the Romans excepted themselves from the scope of its meaning (Cic. *de Rep.* i. 37, § 68). Afterwards only the savage nations were called barbarians; though the Greek Constantinopolitans called the Romans "barbarians" to the very last (Gibbon, c. 51, vi. 351, ed. Smith; Winer, *s. v.*). [F. W. F.]

BARHU'MITE, THE. [BAHURIM.]

BARI'AH (בָּרִיחַ = *fleet*; A. Βερία, B. Μαρει; *Baria*), one of the sons of Shemaiah, a descendant of the royal family of Judah (1 Ch. iii. 22). [W. A. W.]

BAR-JE'SUS. [ELYMAS.]

BAR-JO'NA. [PETER.]

BAR'KOS (בַּרְקוֹס; *Bercos*). "Children of Barkos" were among the Nethinim who returned from the Captivity with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii. 53, [2 Esd.] B. Βαρκούς, A. Βαρκός; Neh. vii. 55, Βαρκουέ). [W. A. W.] [F.]

BARLEY (שְׂעֹרָה, *se'ôrah*; κριθή; *hordeum*), the well-known useful cereal, mention of which is made in numerous passages of the Bible. Pliny (*H. N.* xviii. 7) states that barley is one of the most ancient articles of diet. It was grown by the Egyptians (Ex. ix. 31; Herod. ii.

77; Diodor. i. 34; Plin. xxii. 25), and by the Jews (Lev. xxvii. 16; Deut. viii. 8; Ruth ii. 17, &c.), who used it for baking into bread, chiefly amongst the poor (Judg. vii. 13; 2 K. iv. 42; John vi. 9, 13); for making into bread, by mixing it with wheat, beans, lentiles, millet, &c. (Ezek. iv. 9); for making into cakes (Ezek. iv. 12); as fodder for horses (1 K. iv. 28). Compare also Juvenal (viii. 154) and Pliny (*H. N.* xviii. 14; xxviii. 21), who states that though barley was extensively used by the ancients, it had in his time fallen into disrepute, and was generally used as fodder for cattle only. Barley is the common food for horses in the East. Oats and rye were not cultivated by the Jews, and perhaps not known to them. [RYE.] (See also Kitto, *Phys. H. of Pal.* 214.) Barley is mentioned in the *Mishna* as the food of horses and asses.

It is the most universally cultivated cereal in the world, having a more northerly as well as southerly range than wheat. It is less impatient of drought, and will thrive in a much lighter soil. It arrives earlier at maturity, requiring less heat to ripen it, and yet is uninjured by a tropical sun. It will also yield much longer on the same land, without rotation of crops. There is consequently no part of Palestine where it is not the most ordinary grain.

The barley harvest is mentioned in Ruth i. 22, ii. 13; 2 Sam. xxi. 9, 10. It takes place in Palestine in March and April, and in the hilly districts as late as May; but the period of course varies according to the localities where the corn grows. The barley harvest always precedes the wheat harvest, generally by not less than three weeks (Robinson, *Bib. Res.* ii. 99, 278). In Egypt, the barley is about a month earlier than the wheat; whence its total destruction by the hail-storm (Ex. ix. 31). Barley was sown at any time between November and March, according to the season. Niebuhr states that he saw a crop near Jerusalem ripe at the end of March, and a field which had been just newly sown. But this must have been exceptional. The seed-time depends upon the time of "the former" or winter rains. As soon as ever the ground is thoroughly softened, the barley and wheat are both sown, and this may be as early as the first week of November, or as late as Christmas. The low grounds are frequently irrigated, where the means exist for so doing. Very little labour is expended on the cultivation. After the wooden plough has scratched the moist soil, the seed is cast in, and covered over by means of a rude brush-harrow. The yield consequently is very light. Except on the rich alluvial plains, it does not appear to exceed twenty bushels per acre.

In the Jordan valley, the barley harvest is over by the end of March, and I have eaten a barley cake in that month at Jericho, made from a crop which I had seen sown in December. In the plain of Seisaban (Shittim), I saw the Arabs in April dibbling maize into ground they had just cleared of barley. Generally speaking, the time of barley harvest coincided with that of the Passover, and it was a date to fix the time of year, as we should speak of Eastertide.

Major Skinner (*Adventures in an Overland Journey to India*, i. 330) observed near Damascus a field, newly sown with barley, which had been submitted to submersion similar to what is done to rice-fields. Dr. Royle (Kitto's *Cycl. Bib. Lit.*, art. "Barley") with good reason supposes that this explains Is. xxxii. 20, "Blessed are ye that sow beside all waters;" and demurs to the explanation which many writers have given, viz. that allusion is made to the mode in which *rice* is cultivated. We cannot, however, at all agree with this writer, that the passage in Eccles. xi. 1 has any reference to the irrigation of newly-sown barley fields. Solomon in the context is enforcing obligations to liberality, of that especial nature which looks not for a recompense: as Bishop Hall says, "Bestow thy beneficence on those from whom there is no probability of a return of kindness." It is clear that, if allusion is made to the mode of culture referred to above, either in the case of rice or barley, the force and moral worth of the lesson is lost; for the motive of such a sowing is expectation of an abundant return. The meaning of the passage is surely this: "Be liberal to those who are as little likely to repay thee again, as bread or corn cast into the pool or the river is likely to return again unto thee" (see *Speaker's Comm.* and Wright's *Ecclesiastes* in loco). Barley, as an article of human food, was less esteemed than wheat, but the poor usually mix wheat and barley meal for their bread. This would appear to have been the custom in ancient times, for, from 2 Ch. ii. 10, we learn that Solomon supplied equal quantities of wheat and barley to the woodmen in Lebanon. But barley bread alone is very poor diet, as we have found when compelled to live on it in remote parts of the country, and is much inferior in nutritive qualities to wheat or rye. [BREAD.] Compare also Calpurnius (*Ecl.* iii. 84), Pliny (*H. N.* xviii. 7), and Livy (xxvii. 13), who tells us that the Roman cohorts who lost their standards were punished by having barley-bread given them instead of wheaten. The Jews, according to Tract. *Sanhedr.* c. 9, § 5, had the following law: "Si quis loris caesus reciderit jussu judicum arcae inditus *hordeo cibatur*, donec venter ejus rumpatur." That barley bread is even to this day little esteemed in Palestine, we have the authority of modern travellers to show. Dr. Thomson (*The Land and the Book*, p. 449) says, "Nothing is more common than for these people to complain that their oppressors have left them nothing but *barley bread* to eat." This fact is important, as serving to elucidate some passages in Scripture. Why, for instance, was *barley* meal, and not the ordinary meal-offering of *wheat* flour, to be the jealousy-offering (Num. v. 15)? Because thereby is denoted the low reputation in which the implicated parties were held. The homer and a half of barley, as part of the purchase-money of the adulteress (Hos. iii. 2), has doubtless a similar typical meaning. With this circumstance in remembrance, how forcible is the expression in Ezekiel (xiii. 19), "Will ye pollute me among my people for handfuls of *barley*?" And how does the knowledge of the fact aid to point out the connexion between Gideon and the barley-cake, in the dream which the "man told to his fellow" (Judg. vii. 13). Gideon's family was poor in Manasseh, and he was the least in his father's house;

and doubtless the Midianites knew it. Again, the Israelites had been oppressed by Midian for the space of seven years. Very appropriate, therefore, is the dream and the interpretation thereof. The despised and humble Israelitish deliverer was as a mere vile barley-cake in the eyes of his enemies. On this passage Dr. Thomson remarks, "If the Midianites were accustomed in their extemporaneous songs to call Gideon and his band '*cakes of barley bread*,' as their successors, the haughty Bedawîn, often do to ridicule their enemies, the application would be all the more natural." That barley was cultivated abundantly in Palestine, is clear from Deut. viii. 8; 2 Ch. ii. 10, 15.

The cultivated barleys are usually divided into "two-rowed" and "six-rowed" kinds. Of the first the *Hordeum distichum*, the common summer barley of England, is an example; while the *H. hexastichum*, bere, or winter barley of farmers, will serve to represent the latter kind. The kind usually grown in Palestine is the *H. distichum*. It is too well known to need further description.* [W. H.] [H. B. T.]

BAR-NABAS (Βαρνάβας; *Barnabas*). His name was Joseph (Joses is another form of the same name), and he had the additional name of Barnabas given him by the Apostles (Acts iv. 36). Barnabas = Aram. בַּר־נְבוּאָה, son of prophecy (but see Ewald, *Hist. Isr.* vii., for another derivation). The name is explained in Acts *l. c.* as "the son of exhortation" (R. V.), probably because this was a principal department of the work of N. T. prophets; see, for example, Acts xv. 32. But A. V., following Vulgate, translates "the son of consolation." He belonged to a Levite family settled in Cyprus, but had kindred living at Jerusalem, namely, his cousin John Mark (Col. iv. 10; see Bp. Lightfoot's note), and Mary the mother of Mark, whose house was a centre of worship for the Christians (Acts xii. 12). His life falls under three divisions—

1. The first period reaches to his mission from Antioch (Acts xiii. 2).

2. The second begins with that mission and closes with his separation from St. Paul (Acts xv. 39).

3. The third, embracing the rest of his life, is almost a blank.

1. He is singled out for mention among those who sold land and brought the price into the common stock (Acts iv. 36, 37). He has a leading position in the Church at Jerusalem, for, when Saul at his first visit after conversion is received with mistrust, Barnabas is able to introduce him to the Apostles (Peter and James only, Gal. i. 19), and his assurances regarding him are accepted (Acts ix. 26–28). At the news of the conversion of the Gentiles (Ἕλληνες) at Antioch, Barnabas is sent to investigate and to carry on the work. Its importance leads him to fetch Saul from Tarsus and use his assistance. A whole year is spent by the two friends in founding the Church of Antioch (Acts xi. 22–26). The connexion of Barnabas with Cyprus, so near Tarsus and Antioch, may account for the previous knowledge of Saul of Tarsus apparently implied in Acts ix. 26; and also in part for his selection for the mission to Antioch,—in part only, for his personal qualifications are expressly mentioned (Acts xi. 24). At some time during the year's stay we must place his mission with Saul to Jerusalem to carry contributions in view of the prophesied famine. On their return to Antioch they were accompanied by Mark (Acts xii. 25).

2. By the command of the Spirit, Barnabas and Saul are set apart for missionary work, and sail from Seleucia to Cyprus (Acts xiii. 1 sq.). The commission and journey are fully described under art. PAUL. It is enough to notice that the choice of Mark as their attendant (ὑπηρέτης), and of Cyprus as their first destination, was probably due to Barnabas. They both returned to Antioch at the end of the journey, and spent some time with the disciples. Barnabas was now thoroughly domiciled at Antioch, and devoted to the interests of Gentile missions. Thus he withstands the Judaising emissaries (Acts xv. 2), and is sent with Paul to represent the Gentile cause at the Council of Jerusalem. On their way and on their arrival at Jerusalem they relate the conversion of the Gentiles; and in company with Judas and Silas they bring back the letter which confirms the freedom of the Syrian and Cilician Churches from the Mosaic law. An incident now occurs which is entirely omitted in the Acts. Certain brethren (τινὲς) came from James to Antioch, whose influence led Peter, then visiting Antioch, to refuse to eat with Gentile Christians (see Ewald, *Hist. Israel*, vii. in loco). This was dissimulation, for St. Peter had been taught not to regard any man as common or unclean (Acts x. 28). By this dissimulation Barnabas, who was equally aware of the truth, was carried away (Gal. ii. 13). The distrust engendered by his conduct may have prepared the way for the dissension between Paul and Barnabas which shortly afterwards led to their separation (Lightfoot, *Gal.* ii. 13, note). But the immediate occasion was the wish of Barnabas to take as their companion his cousin Mark, who had deserted them on the former journey. A sharp contention separated the two friends, and henceforward Silas takes the place of Barnabas as Paul's comrade (Acts xv. 36 sq.).

3. Barnabas sails to Cyprus with Mark, and we hear no more of him. A single verse (1 Cor. ix. 6) implies that at the date of that Epistle he was still active, and, like St. Paul, labouring for his own maintenance.

Three questions remain for consideration. (*a*) The first is the relation between Paul and Barnabas. Paul seems to have owed to Barnabas much of that impulse and guidance which he denies having owed to the other Apostles. Barnabas, following up the work of his countrymen, the Cyprians in Antioch, seems to have been the first to organise serious missionary endeavours among Gentiles, and the first to set Paul to this work (Acts xi. 25, 26). His former position at Jerusalem enabled him to get a favourable hearing at Jerusalem for Gentile missions, which, humanly speaking, Paul could scarcely have obtained. He was, as Hefele was

* The Hebrew word שִׁבֹּלֶת is derived from שׁשׁר, *horrere*; so called from the long rough awns which are attached to the husk. Similarly, *hordeum* is from *horrere*.

points out, trusted by both sides. But early in their journey Paul takes the lead, as is sufficiently indicated by the change of order from "Barnabas and Saul" to "Paul and Barnabas" after their departure from Cyprus. There are only three exceptions, which all admit of explanation (Herzog, *RE.*[2] s. n. Barnabas). (*b*) The next question is the apostleship of Barnabas. The title is clearly given to him (Acts xiv. 4 and 14). The true reading ἀπὸ (Acts iv. 36) cannot bear on the question, as it means the same as ὑπό. He is recognised by James, Cephas, and John as holding, together with Paul, the same position towards the Gentiles, as they themselves held towards "the circumcision" (Gal. ii. 9). Paul classes him with himself among the Apostles (1 Cor. ix. 5, 6). He has the same commission and consecration as Paul (Acts xiii. 2, 3); but the previous qualification of having seen the Lord (1 Cor. ix. 1) is in his case not related, though highly probable. (*c*) The third question is the genuineness of the Epistle attributed to Barnabas. This is scarcely in the province of this article. The external testimony is extremely favourable, while the internal testimony is extremely unfavourable. Though Pauline in some respects, and moreover akin in spirit to the Epistle to the Hebrews (attributed to Barnabas by Tertullian), it is alien to apostolic teaching in its view of the Old Testament. It abrogates all the truth and worth of the earlier dispensation, and reduces it to a riddle.' Such a work can hardly have proceeded from Barnabas the Apostle. See an admirable survey in Westcott, *Canon of N. T.* I. iv., and art. "Barnabas" in *Dict. of Christ. Biog.*, which however concludes that Barnabas may perhaps have been the author. The extra-biblical sources for the life of Barnabas are utterly untrustworthy. They are (1) Journeys and Martyrdom of St. Barnabas the Apostle (Tischendorf, *Acta Apost. Apoc.* p. 64; Lipsius, *Die Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten u. Apostellegenden*, ii. 2, pp. 270–320). Even Braunsberger regards this work as written by a heretic to support a mystical theology (*einer geheimen Lehre*), and the early sections of the narrative substantiate his view. The incidents and language are in some places a mere cento from the Acts of the Apostles. (2) The encomium of the monk Alexander printed in *Acta Sanctorum*, xi. Jun. It is probably a work of the 6th cent., and is independent of (1). According to Alexander, Barnabas was stoned and burnt: his body, unconsumed by the fire, was buried in a cave and discovered afterwards by revelation. (3) The pseudo-Clementine Homilies describe Barnabas as preaching at Alexandria, and claim him as one of the Petrine school; a curious contradiction of the attitude which he is made to assume in the Epistle of Barnabas.

Literature.—Tillemont (*Mémoires*, i. art. Barnabas, and notes in the same vol.) gathers and investigates fully traditional and patristic notices of Barnabas. The principal modern works are Hefele, *Das Sendschreiben des Ap. Barn.* (Einleitung), and Braunsberger, *Der Ap. Barnabas*, a very complete monograph (cp. also the list given *e.g.* in Kurtz, *Lehrb. d. Kirchengeschichte*,[9] § 30, 3). On Barnabas as a possible author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, see Wieseler, *Chronologie*, bk. ii. Appendix, p. 479 sq. [E. R. B.]

BARO'DIS (Βαρωδείς; *Rahotis*), a name inserted in the list of those "servants of Solomon" who returned with Zerubbabel (1 Esd. v. 34). There is no corresponding name in the list of Ezra or Nehemiah. [W. A. W.]

BAR-SABAS. [JOSEPH BARSABAS; JUDAS BARSABAS.]

BAR'TACUS (Βαρτάκος; *Bezuc*), the father of Apame, the concubine of king Darius (1 Esd. iv. 29). "The admirable" (ὁ θαυμαστὸς) was probably an official title belonging to his rank. The Syriac Version has ארשׁק, a name which recalls that of Artachaeas (Ἀρταχαίης), who is named by Herodotus (vii. 22, 117) as being in a high position in the Persian army under Xerxes, and a special favourite of that king (Simonis, *Onom.*; Smith's *Dict. of Biog.* i. 369). See *Speaker's Comm.* on 1 Esd. iv. 29. [W. A. W.]

BAR-THOLOMEW (Βαρθολομαῖος, i.e. בַּר תַּלְמַי, son of Talmai; *Bartholomaeus*. The Heb. *Talmai* is represented by Θολομαί, LXX. 2 Sam. xiii. 37, Cod. Alex. Talmai occurs in five other passages: see TALMAI; cp. also Θολομαῖος, Josephus, *Ant.* xx. 1, § 1. Edersheim, *Messiah*, i. 521, derives the name from Bar-Telamjon). Bartholomew appears in all the four lists of the Apostles (Matt. x. 3; Mark iii. 18; Luke vi. 14; Acts i. 13), and in nearly the same place; namely, second or third in the second quaternion. For the identification of Bartholomew with Nathanael, see NATHANAEL. Euseb. (*H. E.* v. 10) says that Pantaenus went as missionary to the Indians, and found in their possession the Gospel of St. Matthew in Hebrew which had been left there by Bartholomew. Mosheim (*de Rebus Christianis Comm.* p. 206) contends that the Indians to whom Pantaenus went were Jews in Arabia Felix, as a Gospel in Hebrew would have been useless to Indians. Bp. Lightfoot (*Colossians*, p. 392) inclines to understand Ethiopia. Amrus, translated by Assemani (*Bibl. Orient.* III. ii. 20), says, "He (Bartholomew) preached in Greater Armenia; however, he did not stop there, but he took himself to the regions of the Indians, and was there flayed." Cp. Lipsius, *Die Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten u. Apostellegenden*, ii. 2, pp. 54–108. [E. R. B.]

BAR-TIMAEUS (Βαρτιμαῖος; *Bartimaeus*), a blind beggar healed by our Lord near Jericho. The apparent discrepancies in the story cannot be fully discussed here, but they are mainly these. St. Matthew (xx. 29–34; see note in *Speaker's Comm.*) mentions two blind men; St. Mark (x. 46–52) and St. Luke (xviii. 35–43) only one. St. Luke places the miracle at the entrance to Jericho; St. Matthew and St. Mark, at the departure from it. A method of harmonising the narratives is suggested in Trench, *Miracles*, § 30. St. Mark alone gives the name of the man and that of his father, according to his custom of recording minute particulars of persons (see for parallels, Westcott, *Introd. to the Gospels*,[5] ch. vii. p. 364). In the Greek the description "son of Timaeus" precedes the proper name Bartimaeus, and therefore the objection to the words as an unnecessary explanation of the name does not hold good. Hitzig, quoted by Keim, tries to discredit the miracle by deriving Τιμαῖος from a

Syriac word meaning "blind." For possible derivations, see Lightfoot (*Hor. Heb.*) on the verse. [E. R. B.]

BA'RUCH (בָּרוּךְ, *blessed = Benedict*; Βαρούχ; Joseph. Βαροῦχος; *Baruch*). **1.** Son of Neriah, the friend (Jer. xxxii. 12), amanuensis (Jer. xxxvi. 4 ff., 32), and faithful attendant of Jeremiah (Jer. xxxvi. 10 sq.; Joseph. *Ant.* x. 6, § 2; B.C. 603) in the discharge of his prophetic office. He was of a noble family (Joseph. *Ant.* x. 9, § 1, ἐξ ἐπισήμου σφόδρα οἰκίας; cp. Jer. li. 59; Bar. i. 1, *De tribu Simeon*, Vet. Lat.), and of distinguished acquirements (Joseph. *l. c.* τῇ πατρῴῳ γλώττῃ διαφερόντως πεπαιδευμένος); and his brother Seraiah held an honourable office in the court of Zedekiah (Jer. li. 59). His enemies accused him of influencing Jeremiah in favour of the Chaldaeans (Jer. xliii. 3; cp. xxxvii. 13); and he was thrown into prison with that prophet, where he remained till the capture of Jerusalem, B.C. 586 (Joseph. *Ant.* x. 9, § 1). By the permission of Nebuchadnezzar he remained with Jeremiah at Masphatha (Joseph. *l. c.*), but was afterwards forced to go down to Egypt with "the remnant of Judah, that were returned from all nations" (Jer. xliii. 6; Joseph. *Ant.* x. 9, § 6). Nothing is known certainly of the close of his life. According to one tradition he remained in Egypt till the death of Jeremiah, and then retired to Babylon, where he died in the 12th year after the destruction of Jerusalem (Bertholdt, *Einl.* p. 1740 n.). Jerome, on the other hand, states, "on the authority of the Jews" (*Hebraei tradunt*), that Jeremiah and Baruch died in Egypt "before the desolation of the country by Nabuchodonosor" (*Comm. in Is.* xxx. 6, 7, p. 405. See Gifford, Introd. to Baruch, § ii., in *Speaker's Comm.*). [B. F. W.] [R.]

2. The son of Zabbai, who assisted Nehemiah in rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 20).

3. A priest, or family of priests, who signed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 6).

4. The son of Col-hozeh, a descendant of Pharez, the son of Judah (Neh. xi. 5). [W. A. W.]

BA'RUCH, THE BOOK OF, is remarkable as the only book in the Apocrypha which is formed on the model of the Prophets; and though it is wanting in originality, it presents a vivid reflection of the ancient prophetic fire. It may be divided into two main parts—i.-iii. 8, and iii. 9–end. The first part consists of an Introduction (i. 1–14), followed by a confession and prayer (i. 15–iii. 8). The second part opens with an abrupt address to Israel (iii. 9–iv. 30), pointing out the sin of the people in neglecting the divine teaching of Wisdom (iii. 9–iv. 8), and introducing a noble lament of Jerusalem over her children, through which hope still gleams (iv. 9–30). After this the tone of the book again changes suddenly, and the writer addresses Jerusalem in words of great joy, and paints in the colours of Isaiah the return of God's chosen people and their abiding glory (iv. 30–v. 9).

1. The book at present exists in Greek, and in several translations which were made from the Greek. The two classes into which the Greek MSS. may be divided do not present any very remarkable variations (Fritzsche, *Einl.* § 7). [The Uncial MSS. which contain the book are the Codex Vaticanus (B. = II.), Codex Alexandrinus (A. = III.), Codex Marchalianus (XII.), Codex Venetus (23). Twenty-two cursive MSS. are recorded in Holmes and Parsons' edition of the LXX. as preserving the text of Baruch. Of these, Codd. 22 and 233 are considered by Field and Lagarde to present Lucian's Recension of the LXX. A Hexaplaric Recension is given in the Syriac Version published by Ceriani (*Monumenta sacra et profana*, &c., Mediolan. 1861); this translation is said to have been made early in the 7th cent. by Paulus, bishop of Tela.—R.] Of the two Old Latin Versions which remain, the one (*Vet. Lat.* a) which is incorporated in the Vulgate (not translated by Jerome) is generally literal; the other (published by Jos. Caro, Rom. 1688, and reproduced from three MSS. by Sabatier) is more free. The vulgar Syriac and Arabic follow the Greek text closely (Fritzsche, *l. c.*). [For a full description of the Versions, see Kneucker (*Das Buch Baruch*, Leipz. 1879).]

2. The assumed author of the book is undoubtedly the companion of Jeremiah, though Jahn denied this; but the details are inconsistent with the assumption. If the reading in i. 1 be correct (ἔτει; cp. 2 K. xxv. 8), it is impossible to fix "*the fifth year*" in such a way as to suit the contents of the book, which exhibits not only historical inaccuracies, but also evident traces of a later date than the beginning of the Captivity (i. 3 sq.; iii. 9 sq.; iv. 22 sq. Cp. 2 K. xxv. 27).

3. The book was held in little esteem among the Jews (Hieron. *Praef. in Jerem.* p. 834 "...nec habetur apud Hebraeos;" Epiph. *de Mens. et Pond.* § 5, οὐ κεῖνται ἐπιστολαὶ (Βαρούχ) παρ' Ἑβραίοις); though it is stated in the Greek text of the Apostolical Constitutions that it was read, together with the Lamentations, "on the tenth of the month Gorpiaeus" (*i.e.* the day of Atonement; *Const. Ap.* v. 20, 1). But this reference is wanting in the Syriac Version (Bunsen, *Anal. Ante-Nic.* ii. 187), and the assertion is unsupported by any other authority. There is no trace of the use of the book in the New Testament, or in the Apostolic Fathers, or in Justin. It is first found quoted in the writings of Athenagoras, *Suppl.* c. 9, προφήτης, Bar. iii. 35. But from the time of Irenaeus it was frequently quoted both in the East and in the West, and generally as the work of Jeremiah (Iren. *adv. Haer.* v. 35, 1; *significavit Jeremias*, Bar. iv. 36—v.; Tertull. *c. Scorp.* viii. *Hieremiae*, Bar. (Epist.) vi. 3 sq.; Clem. *Paed.* i. 10, § 91, διὰ Ἱερεμίου, Bar. iv. 4; id. *Paed.* ii. 3, § 36, θεία γραφή, Bar. iii. 16–19; Orig. *ap.* Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 25, Ἱερεμίας σὺν θρήνοις καὶ τῇ ἐπιστολῇ (?); *Homil. in Jerem.* vii. 3, γέγραπται, Bar. iii. 9–13; *Sel. in Jerem.* c. xxxi. γέγραπται ἐν τῷ Βαρούχ, Bar. iii. 10; Cypr. *Test. Lib.* ii. 6, *apud Hieremiam*, Bar. iii. 35; *Orat. Dom. per Hieremiam*, Bar. (Epist.) vi. 5, &c.). It was, however, "obelized" throughout in the LXX. as deficient in the Hebrew (*Cod. Chis.* ap. *Daniel*, &c., Romae, 1772, p. xxi.). On the other hand it is contained as a separate book in the Pseudo-Laodicene Catalogue, and in the Catalogues of Cyril of Jerusalem, Athanasius, and Nicephorus; but it is not specially mentioned in the Conciliar catalogues of Carthage and Hippo, probably as being included under the title Jeremiah (cp. [Athan.] *Syn. S. Script.* ap. Credner,

Zur Gesch. des Kan. 138; Hilar. *Prol. in Psalm.* 15). It is omitted by those writers who reproduced in the main the Hebrew Canon (*e.g.* Melito, Gregory Nazianzen, Epiphanius). Augustine quotes the words of Baruch (iii. 16) as attributed "more commonly to Jeremiah" ("quidam . . . scribae ejus attribuerant . . . sed Jeremiae celebratius habetur:" *de Civ.* xviii. 33), and elsewhere uses them as such (*c. Faust.* xii. 43). At the Council of Trent Baruch was admitted into the Romish Canon; but the Protestant Churches have unanimously placed it among the apocryphal books, though Whiston maintained its authenticity (*l. c.* infra). [Miles Coverdale in his first edition, 1535, printed Baruch after Jeremiah, and not as one of the Apocrypha; in his second edition, 1550, he placed it among the Apocrypha. It may be noted that Baruch was not included in the list of the apocryphal books contained in the first (Latin) edition (1562) of the XXXIX. Articles. It was probably still regarded as part of the Book of Jeremiah. In 1571 it was finally placed among the Apocrypha.—R.]

4. Considerable discussion has been raised as to the original language of the book. Those who advocated its authenticity generally supposed that it was first written in Hebrew (Huet, Dereser, &c.; Jahn is undecided; Bertholdt, *Einl.* p. 1755), and this opinion found many supporters (Bendtsen, Grüneberg, Movers, Hitzig, De Wette, *Einl.* § 323). Others again have maintained that the Greek is the original text (Eichhorn, *Einl.* p. 388 sq.; Bertholdt, *Einl.* p. 1757; Hävernick, *ap.* De Wette, *l. c.*). The truth appears to lie between these two extremes. The two divisions of the book are distinguished by marked peculiarities of style and language. The Hebraic character of the first part (i.–iii. 8) is such as to mark it as a translation, and not as the work of a Hebraizing Greek: *e.g.* i. 14, 15, 22; ii. 4, 9, 25; iii. 8; and several obscurities seem to be mistranslations: *e.g.* i. 2, 8; ii. 18, 29. The second part, on the other hand, which is written with greater freedom and vigour, closely approaches the Alexandrine type. And the imitations of Jeremiah and Daniel which occur throughout the first part (cp. i. 15–18 = Dan. ix. 7–10; ii. 1, 2 = Dan. ix. 12, 13; ii. 7–19 = Dan. ix. 13–18) give place to the tone and imagery of the Psalms and Isaiah.

[A point which for a long time had apparently been overlooked by commentators convincingly illustrates the duality of authorship. The titles of the Deity in the two portions of the book are distinct. The Name "Lord" (*κύριος*) occurs twenty-six times in the first portion of the book, for the last time in ch. iii. 6. The Name "the Lord God" (*κύριος ὁ θεὸς*) occurs nineteen times in the first portion of the book, for the last time in ch. iii. 8. The Name "God" (*θεὸς*) occurs during the first portion once in a quotation (ii. 35), and once in iii. 4, where the reading seems very doubtful. In the second portion of the book the Name "God" occurs thirty-one times (*ὁ θεὸς* twenty-seven and *θεὸς* four times); but never the Name "Lord" or "the Lord God." The more unusual titles of "the Eternal One" (*ὁ αἰώνιος*) and "the Holy One" (*ὁ ἅγιος*) occur, the former eight, the latter three times in the second portion, but not at all in the first. That we have to do here with two different documents would seem to be the natural conclusion to be drawn (see Gifford on Baruch, *Speaker's Commentary*, Apocr. ii. 253, 1888).]

5. The most probable explanation of this contrast is gained by supposing that some one thoroughly conversant with the Alexandrine translation of Jeremiah, perhaps the translator himself (Hitzig, Fritzsche, Schürer), found the Hebrew fragment which forms the basis of the book already attached to the writings of that Prophet, and wrought it up into its present form. The peculiarities of language common to the LXX. translation of Jeremiah and the first part of Baruch seem too great to be accounted for in any other way (for instance, the use of *δεσμώτης, ἀποστολή, βόμβησις* [*βομβεῖν*], *ἀποικισμός, μάννα, ἀποστρέφειν* [*neut.*], *ἐργάζεσθαί τινι, ὄνομα ἐπικαλεῖσθαι ἐπί τινι*); and the great discrepancy which exists between the Hebrew and Greek texts as to the arrangement of the later chapters of Jeremiah, increases the probability of such an addition having been made to the canonical prophecies. These verbal coincidences cease to exist in the second part, or become very rare; but this also is distinguished by characteristic words: *e.g. ὁ αἰώνιος, ὁ ἅγιος, ἐπάγειν* (see Gifford, pp. 248–250). At the same time the general unity (even in language, *e.g. χαρμοσύνη*) and coherence of the book in its present form point to the work of one man (Fritzsche, *Einl.* § 5; Hitzig, *Psalm.* ii. 119; Ewald, *Hist. of Isr.* iv. 207 sq.). Bertholdt appears to be in error (*Einl.* pp. 1743, 1762) in assigning iii. 1–8 to a separate writer (De Wette, *Einl.* § 322).

[The concluding words of the panegyric upon Wisdom (iii. 24–37), "Afterwards did he show himself upon earth and conversed with men" (*μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὤφθη καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συνανεστράφη*), were regarded by the Fathers (*e.g.* Orig. *Sel. in Ps.* cxxv., Ath. *Or. c. Ar.* ii. 49, § 409; Cyr. Jerus. *Cat.* xi. 15; Chrysos. *Expos. in Ps.* xlix. 3; Cypr. *Test. Lib.* ii. 6; Hippol. *c. Noet.* c. 5; Hil. Pictav. *in Ps.* lxviii. 19, *de Trin.* iv. 142; Epiph. *adv. Haer.* lvi. 7; Basil. *adv. Eun.* iv. 16) as a prediction of the Incarnation. Recent critics—Hitzig, Hilgenfeld, Schürer, and Kneucker—have maintained the view that it is a Jewish Christian interpolation. The words are at first sight sufficiently striking to give colour for either view. There is no need, however, to restrict the interpretation to these two alternatives, of prediction and interpolation. The abruptness of *v.* 37, which is certainly very noticeable, admits of explanation if, as is very probable, *v.* 36 resumes the reference to "Wisdom" which was interrupted at *v.* 32 by an ascription to the Almighty. It will then be seen that *vv.* 36, 37 correspond to *vv.* 27, 28, and the sense will be as follows:—God did not give the way of knowledge to the race of the giants (*v.* 27); and they perished because they lacked wisdom (*v.* 28); He gave the way of knowledge to "Jacob His servant and Israel His beloved" (*v.* 36): and after this she (*i.e.* Wisdom, *φρόνησις*, "the law which abideth for ever;" see iv. 1) appeared upon earth and "conversed with men" (cp. Prov. viii. 31; Ecclus. xxiv. 8, 10–12).—R.]

6. There are no certain data by which to fix the time of the composition of Baruch. Ewald (*l. c.* pp. 207 sq.) assigns it to the close of

the Persian period; and this may be true so far as the Hebrew portion is concerned; but the present book must be placed considerably later, probably about the time of the war of liberation (c. B.C. 160). This is also the view of Fritzsche (*Handb.* i. 173); Schrader (De Wette's *Einleit.* 603); Bissell (*Apocrypha*, p. 417); Keil (*Einl.* 733); Gifford (*Speaker's Comment.*). [Hitzig (*Zeitschrift für wissenschaftl. Theol.* 1860, p. 262, &c.) assigned its composition to so late a date as the reign of Vespasian; and more recently Schürer and Kneucker have agreed in placing it after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. They see in the references to the destruction of Jerusalem and to the captivity of the nation by the Chaldaeans (i. 2; ii. 23, 26) a picture of the great catastrophe of the Jewish nation in A.D. 70: the sacrifices and prayers for the welfare of Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar (i. 11) imply sacrifices and prayers for Vespasian and Titus (cp. Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 17, 2–4): the horrors recorded in ii. 3 have their parallel, not only in 2 K. vi. 28, Lam. ii. 20, iv. 10, but also in Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* vi. 3, 4 (see Schürer, *Apokryphen d. A.T.* in Herzog, *RE.*[2] 1877; *Gesch. Jüd. Volk.*[2] pp. 723, 724), and, according to Kneucker, the authors of the two parts were Jewish Pharisees dwelling at Rome.

This theory of a late date of composition cannot be lightly dismissed. The allusions to a catastrophe in the *first* part of the book have more points in common with the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus than with the devastation by Antiochus Epiphanes. The injunction in ii. 21–24 to render willing obedience to the heathen ruler would be appropriate to the attitude of theocratic Judaism towards Rome. The analogy of 4 Esdras and the Apocalypse of Baruch reminds us that the Chaldean invasion and capture of Jerusalem were the accepted historical types of the final overthrow by the Romans. The *second* part of the book has clearly been added for the purpose of introducing a tone of joyfulness and hope. The date of its composition must depend upon its relation to Ps. xi. in the so-called *Psalms of Solomon*. The close resemblance, amounting to verbal correspondence, between Bar. v. and Psalt. Salom. xi. cannot be merely accidental. The Psalterium Salomonis was in all probability originally composed in Hebrew, the latter portion of Baruch in Greek. Now, it may safely be assumed that a Hebrew writing would not have been based upon a Greek writing, and that therefore the Hebrew Ps. Sal. xi. was not derived from the Greek Baruch v. The alternative remains, that Baruch v. is based upon the Greek of Ps. Sal. xi.; and this seems to give the true solution. A comparison of the two documents tends to show that Baruch v. gives a free adaptation of Ps. Sal. xi. Now we know from Ps. Sal. i. ii. viii. xvii. that the Psalms of Solomon must have been written between 70 B.C. and 40 B.C. If then Baruch v. be dependent on a translation of Ps. Sal., it is obvious that its date must be considerably later than this period; and although there is no need to place it so late as the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, it is probably a work of the 1st cent. A.D., which the translator of the first portion of Baruch, finding ready to hand, appended to the older work to give it a more joyful termination. It is therefore interesting to find that Ewald, who ascribed the Psalms of Solomon to a date a little later than 170 B.C., held that the language of Bar. v. 7 sq. is in reality an echo of Ps. Sal. xi. 5–7 (*Hist. of Isr.* iv. p. 498). The coincidence of language has sometimes been explained on the supposition that it is derived from a common source in the LXX., especially the prophecies of Isaiah. This theory, however, is quite inadequate to account for the employment in both writings of such phrases as *στῆθι ἐπὶ τοῦ ὑψηλοῦ, ταπεινοῦσθαι ὄρος ὑψηλὸν . . . εἰς ὁμαλισμόν, ἐσκίασαν . . . οἱ δρυμοί, πᾶν ξύλον εἰωδίας ἵδε συνηγμένα τὰ τέκνα σου, κ. τ. λ.* But it is more commonly tacitly assumed that Ps. Sal. xi. is based upon Baruch (Geiger, *Psalt. Sal.* xi. pp. 137–139, 1871), and the similarity then becomes an argument for the priority of Baruch. The matter perhaps must for the present be left undecided, until the character of the Psalms of Solomon is better understood. In favour of the later date is to be reckoned the absence of testimony to the existence of Baruch until the second century. The theory also, as it has recently been stated, though apt to be discredited by the ingenuity which sees allusions to imperial Rome in the simplest words (*e.g.* the Coliseum: Bar. iii. 16, 17), throws an interesting light upon the purpose of the work as a whole. The picture of the judicial visitation by the Romans is not complete in the estimation of the theocratic Jew who compiled it, without a corresponding picture of Messianic restoration (iv. 36–v. 9).—R.]

7. The *Epistle of Jeremiah*, which, according to the authority of some Greek MSS., stands in the English Version as the 6th chapter of Baruch, is the work of a later period. It consists of a rhetorical declamation against idols (comp. Jer. x., xxix.), in the form of a letter addressed by Jeremiah "to them which were to be led captive to Babylon." The letter is divided into clauses by the repetition of a common burden: *they are no gods; fear them not* (*vv.* 16, 23, 29, 66); *how can a man think or say that they are gods?* (*vv.* 40, 44, 56, 64). The condition of the text is closely analogous to that of Baruch; and the letter found the same partial reception in the Church. The author shows an intimate acquaintance with idolatrous worship; and this circumstance, combined with the purity of the Hellenistic dialect, points to Egypt as the country in which the epistle was written. There is no positive evidence to fix its date, for the supposed reference in 2 Macc. ii. 2 is more than uncertain; but it may be assigned with probability to the 1st century B.C.

8. [The "Apocalypse of Baruch" in its entirety is a comparatively recent discovery. A complete Syriac Version of it was found by A. M. Ceriani in a MS. of the Ambrosian Library (marked B. 21 Inf.) assigned by William Cureton to the 6th century. A literal Latin translation was, with a short preface, published by Ceriani (*Monumenta sacra et profana*, i. 2, Milan, 1866), and is given in Fritzsche's *Libri Apocryphi* (pp. 654–699), 1871. Before that time it had only been known to scholars in the form of an Epistle of Baruch in Syriac to the nine and a half tribes (cp. 4 Esd. xiii. 40, *Vers. Arab.*), found in the London and Paris Polyglotts, which was edited in Syriac by Lagarde, Leipz. 1861, with

the aid of the Nitrian MSS. in the British Museum. In this incomplete form it was published in Latin by Fabricius in *Codex Pseudepigraphus*, V. T., ed. iii. t. ii. p. 145; in English by Whiston, *A Collection of Authentick Records*, Lond. 1727, and more recently by Jolowicz (1855); in French in the *Dictionnaire des Apocryphes*, ed. Migne, ii. 161 sq.

The Apocalypse was written, possibly in Hebrew, shortly after the destruction of Jerusalem. In general character it bears a remarkable resemblance to the Fourth Book of Esdras. So close is this similarity as to argue some real connexion between the two writings. The majority of scholars, including Langen and Dillmann, maintain the priority of 4 Esdras, from which they say the Apoc. of Baruch has borrowed. Schürer (*Gesch. Jüd. Volkes*, ii. 638–645) holds the opposite view: in his opinion the prominent thought of vengeance upon the Romans —present in Apoc. Bar., but not in 4 Esdras —implies that the former work was written when the great catastrophe was very recent, and therefore prior to the sister Apocalypse, which deals with the more abstract question of "the few" that were saved; he also maintains the priority of the Apocalypse on the ground of style, the composition of 4 Esdras being the more artificial and polished of the two. While the subject of relative date is not likely to be satisfactorily determined, the theory that both writings come from the same author may possibly account for the remarkable degree of resemblance. The Apocalypse has very little arrangement, and consists of a series of colloquies, visions, and prayers, loosely strung together. The language and imagery are chiefly borrowed from the writings of the O. T. The style, so far as it is possible to judge from the translation, is characterised by the diffuseness and artificiality commonly found in apocalyptic literature.

The writer was certainly a Jew, possibly still resident in Palestine (lxxx., "et relicti sumus nos hic valde pauci"). His mind is possessed with two main ideas, the recent destruction of the Jewish capital and the near approach of the Messianic consummation. (1) He desires to explain why God had permitted such calamities to overtake His people. It was a just punishment for national sins (i., xiii., lxxvii.); the dispersion of the sacred people was a boon to the Gentiles (i.); it hastened the final visitation of the world by the Most High (xx.). He consoles his countrymen by pointing out that an earthly Jerusalem was not the true "sacred city" (iv.); nothing temporal could be the object of hopes (xv., xxi., xliv.). In the world to come "the just" would find their happiness and reward (iv., xv., xxi., xxx., xliv., li.). (2) He dwells strongly upon the near approach of the end of all things (xx., xxii., xxx., xliii., lxxxii.), and the retribution that will be passed upon the world. He speaks of "the Messiah," as one who shall be revealed as the Servant to carry out the Divine judgment and to establish a Divine rule (xxix., xxx., xxxix., xl., lxx., lxxii.). He predicts the destruction of the Roman empire, which is depicted as a cedar-tree (xxxvi.), and as the fourth kingdom (xxxix., xl.).

The eighty-five chapters of which the extant work is composed are divided into unequal portions, of which the characteristic features are represented by Baruch's *Lament* (x.), his *Prayers* (xiv., xxi., xlviii., liv.), and his *Letter* to the nine and a half tribes (lxxviii.–lxxxv.). The scenes of the various colloquies and visions are "the valley of Cedron," "the sacred ruins," "Hebron," and "the oak" (? of Hebron). In the colloquies Baruch is addressed by a "voice from on high," "the Lord Himself," and by "the angel Ramiel," to whom belong the visions of truth (lv.). The book then as we have it (for it is probably incomplete) will fall into the following seven groups of chapters: i.–xii., xiii.–xx., xxi.–xxxiv., xxxv.–xlvi., xlvii.–lii., liii.–lxxvi., lxxvii.–lxxxv. Another division into seven parts is given by Prof. Stanton: i.–ix., x.–xii., xiii.–xx., xxi.–xxx., xxxi.–xliii., xliv.–lxxvi., lxxvii.–end (*The Jewish and the Christian Messiah*, p. 72, note; cp. Drummond's *Jewish Messiah*, p. 121).

The reader should observe (1) the strength of the language in which the doctrine of the resurrection is asserted, implying the Pharisaic origin of the work; (2) the remarkable instance of Chiliasm (ch. xxix.), a parallel to, or more probably the original of, the famous passage of Papias quoted in Irenaeus, v. 23; (3) the numerous instances of coincidence with N. T. phrases and ideas. This last phenomenon may be the accidental coincidence of contemporaneous thought, but it may also indicate the presence of Christian interpolations in the extant text. The following may be taken as examples. (*a*) Ch. x.: "laetabuntur enim magis steriles et gaudebunt illae quae filios non habent, et illae quae filios habent contristabuntur;" cp. Matt. xxiv 19 (Is. liv. 1). (*b*) Ch. xxi. 13: "Si enim haec tantum vita esset, quae hic est omni homini, nihil esset amarius hoc;" cp. 1 Cor. xv. 19. (*c*) Ch. xxi. 20: "illis qui putant longanimitatem tuam esse infirmitatem;" cp. 2 Pet. iii. 4–9. (*d*) Ch. xxiv. 1: "ecce enim dies veniunt et aperientur libri;" cp. Rev. xx. 12. (*e*) Ch. xxx. 1: "Cum implebitur tempus adventus Messiae et *redibit* in gloria, tunc omnes qui dormierunt in spe ejus resurgent." (*f*) Ch. xlviii. 33, 34: "non enim multi sapientes reperientur illo tempore ... et erunt rumores multi;" cp. 1 Cor. i. 26, Matt. xxiv. 24. (*g*) Ch. li. 10: "assimilabuntur angelis;" cp. Luke xx. 36. (*h*) Ch. li. 15: "In quo ergo perdiderunt homines vitam suam, et quocum commutaverunt animam suam;" cp. Matt. xvi. 25. (*i*) Ch. lxxvi. 3: "transibunt in conspectu tuo omnes regiones terrae istius;" cp. Matt. iv. 8. An account of the Apocalypse of Baruch is given in Schürer, *Gesch. Jüd. Volkes*, ii. pp. 638–645. On the Messianic treatment, see the works of Drummond and Stanton, quoted above. For other literature, see Langen, *De Apoc. Bar. Commentatio*, Friburg, 1867; Dillmann (art. *Pseudepigraphen*), in Herzog's *RE.*[2]; Renan, *Journ. des Savants*, 1877; Kaulen (art. *Apocryphen*), in Wetzer u. Welte's *KL.*[2]] [B. F. W.] [R.]

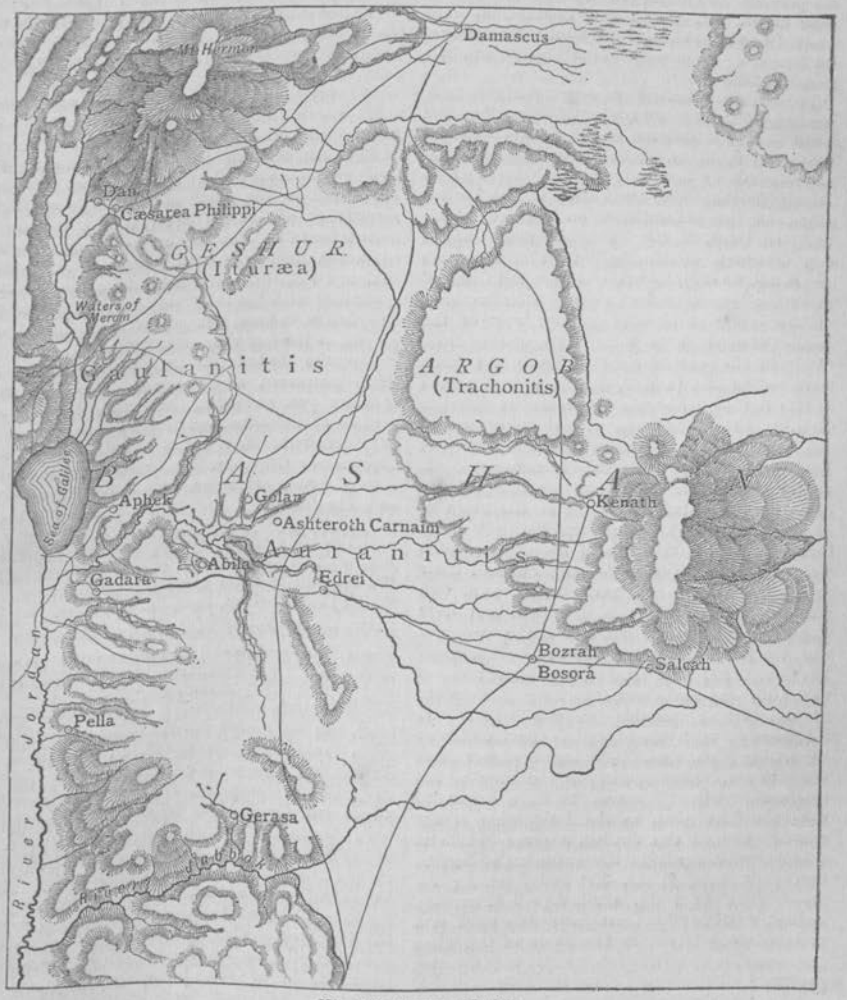
BARZIL'LAI (בַּרְזִלַּי, *iron; Berzillai*). 1. A wealthy Gileadite who showed hospitality to David when he fled from Absalom (2 Sam. xvii. 27, B. Βερζελλεί, A. -λί). On the score of his age, and probably from a feeling of independence, he declined the king's offer of ending his days at court (2 Sam. xix. 32–39). David before his death recommended his sons to the kindness of

Solomon (1 K. ii. 7). The descendants of his daughter AUGIA, who married ADDUS (who took the name Barzillai), were unable after the Captivity to discover "the description of their kindred," and were removed from the priests' office (1 Esd. v. 38. See Ezra ii. 61; Neh. vii. 63).

2. A Meholathite, whose son Adriel married Michal, Saul's daughter (2 Sam. xxi. 8, BA. Βερζελλεί). [R. W. B.] [F.]

BAS'ALOTH (B. Βασαλεμ, A. Βααλώθ; *Phasalon*), 1 Esd. v. 31. [BAZLITH.] One of the servants of the Temple. [W. A. W.]

BAS'CAMA (ἡ Βασκαμά; Jos. Βασκά; *Bascama*), a place in Gilead (εἰς τὴν Γαλααδῖτιν) where Jonathan Maccabaeus was killed by Trypho, and from which his bones were afterwards disinterred and conveyed to Modin by his brother Simon (1 Macc. xiii. 23; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 6, § 6). No trace of the name has yet been discovered. [G.] [W.]



Map of the Country of Bashan.

BA'SHAN (almost invariably with the definite article, הַבָּשָׁן; Βασάν; *Basan*), a district on the east of Jordan. It is not, like Argob and other districts of Palestine, distinguished by one constant designation, but is sometimes spoken of as the "land of Bashan" (אֶרֶץ הַבָּשָׁן, 1 Ch. v. 11; and cp. Num. xxi. 33, xxxii. 33), and sometimes as "all Bashan" (כָּל הַבָּ; Deut. iii. 10, 13; Josh. xii. 5, xiii. 12, 30), but most commonly without any addition. The LXX. have Γαλιλαία (? Gaulonitis) for Bashan in Is. xxxiii. 9. It was taken by the children of Israel after their conquest of the land of Sihon from Arnon to Jabbok. They "turned" from their road over Jordan and "went up by the way of Bashan"—probably by very much the same route as that now followed by the pilgrims of the Haj, and by the Romans before them—to Edrei. Here they encountered Og, king

of Bashan, who "came out" perhaps from the natural fastnesses of Argob, only to meet the entire destruction of himself, his sons, and all his people (Num. xxi. 33–35; Deut. iii. 1–3). Argob, with its sixty strongly-fortified cities, evidently formed a principal portion of Bashan (Deut. iii. 4, 5), though still only a portion (*v.* 13), there being besides a large number of unwalled towns (*v.* 5). Its chief cities were Ashtaroth (*i.e.* Beeshterah; cp. Josh. xxi. 27 [see Dillmann[2] in loco] with 1 Ch. vi. 71), Edrei, Golan, Salcah, and possibly Mahanaim (Josh. xiii. 30). Two of these cities, viz. Golan and Beeshterah, were allotted to the Levites of the family of Gershom, the former as a "city of refuge" (Josh. xxi. 27; 1 Ch. vi. 71).

The limits of Bashan are very strictly defined. It extended from the "border of Gilead" on the south to Mount Hermon on the north (Deut. iii. 3, 10, 14; Josh. xii. 5; 1 Ch. v. 23), and from the 'Arabah or Jordan valley on the west to Salcah (*Sulkhad*) and the border of the Geshurites, and the Maacathites on the east (Josh. xii. 3–5; Deut. iii. 10). This important district was bestowed on the half tribe of Manasseh (Josh. xiii. 29–31), together with "half Gilead." After the Manassites had assisted their brethren in the conquest of the country west of the Jordan, they went to their tents and to their cattle in the possession which Moses had given them in Bashan (xxii. 7, 8). It is just named in the list of Solomon's commissariat districts (1 K. iv. 13). And here, with the exception of one more passing glimpse, closes the history of Bashan as far as the Bible is concerned. It vanishes from our view until we meet with it as being devastated by Hazael in the reign of Jehu (2 K. x. 33). True, the "oaks" of its forests and the wild cattle of its pastures—the "strong bulls of Bashan"—long retained their proverbial fame (Ezek. xxvii. 6; Ps. xxii. 12), and the beauty of its high downs and wide sweeping plains could not but strike now and then the heart of a poet (Amos iv. 1; Ps. lxviii. 15; Jer. l. 19; Mic. vii. 14), but history it has none; its very name seems to have given place as quickly as possible to one which had a connexion with the story of the founder of the nation (Gen. xxxi. 47–8), and therefore more claim to use. Even so early as the time of the conquest, "Gilead" seems to have begun to take the first place as the designation of the country beyond the Jordan, a place which it retained afterwards to the exclusion of Bashan (cp. Josh. xxii. 9, 15, 32; Judg. xx. 1; Ps. lx. 7, cviii. 8; 1 Ch. xxvii. 21; 2 K. xv. 29). Indeed, "Bashan" is most frequently used as a mere accompaniment to the name of Og, when his overthrow is alluded to in the national poetry.

After the Captivity, Bashan is mentioned as divided into four provinces—Gaulonitis, Auranitis, Trachonitis, and Batanaea. Of these four, all but the third have retained almost perfectly their ancient names, the modern *Lejah* alone having superseded the Argob and Trachonitis of the Old and New Testaments. The province of *Jaulân* is the most western of the four; it abuts on the sea of Galilee and the lake of Merom, from the former of which it rises to a plateau nearly 3,000 feet above the surface of the water. This plateau, though now almost wholly uncultivated, is of a rich soil, and its N.W. portion rises into a range of hills almost everywhere clothed with oak forests (Porter, ii. 259). No less than 127 ruined villages are scattered over its surface. [GOLAN.]

The *Haurân* is to the S.E. of the last-named province and S. of the *Lejah*; like *Jaulân*, its surface is perfectly flat, and its soil esteemed amongst the most fertile in Syria. It too contains an immense number of ruined towns, and also many inhabited villages. [HAURAN.]

The contrast which the rocky intricacies of the *Lejah* present to the rich and flat plains of the *Haurân* and the *Jaulân* has already been noticed. [ARGOB.]

The remaining district, though no doubt much smaller in extent than the ancient Bashan, still retains its name, modified by a change frequent in the Oriental languages. *Ard el-Bathanyeh* lies on the east of the *Lejah* and to the north of the range of *Jebe Haurân* or *ed-Druze* (Porter, ii. 57). It is a mountainous district of the most picturesque character, abounding with forests of evergreen oak, and with soil extremely rich; the surface is studded with towns of very remote antiquity, deserted, it is true, but yet standing almost as perfect as the day they were built.

For the boundaries and characteristics of these provinces, and the most complete researches yet published into this interesting portion of Palestine, see Porter's *Damascus*, vol. ii.; Wetzstein, *Reisebericht üb. Hauran u. die Trachonen*; Oliphant, *Land of Gilead*; Merrill, *East of Jordan*; Schumacher's *Across the Jordan* and *The Jaulân*. [G.] [W.]

BA'SHAN-HA'VOTH-JA'IR. The name is so written in the A. V. of Deut. iii. 14; but the original is more correctly given by R. V.: "(Jair) called them, even Bashan, after his own name, Havvoth-Jair" (cp. Num. xxxii. 41). [F.]

BASH'EMATH, or BAS'MATH (better, R. V. "Basemath": בָּשְׂמַת, Ges. = *suave olens*, MV.[11] *pleasant*; *Basemath*). **1.** Daughter of Ishmael, the last married of the three wives of Esau (Gen. xxxvi. 3 [A. Βασεμμάθ, *D.* Μασεμμάθ, E. Μασεθμάν], 4 [*D.* as in *v.* 3, A. Βασεμ', E. Μασεθμάθ], 13 [A. Μασεμμάθ, *DE.* Μασσεμάθ]), from whose son, Reuel, four tribes of the Edomites were descended. When first mentioned, she is called Mahalath (Gen. xxviii. 9, Μαελέθ); whilst, on the other hand, the name Bashemath is in the narrative (Gen. xxvi. 34, A. Μασεμμάθ, *D*[vid]. Βασενεμάθ) given to another of Esau's wives, the daughter of Elon the Hittite. It is remarkable that all Esau's wives receive in the genealogical table of the Edomites (Gen. xxxvi.) different names from those by which they have been previously mentioned in the history. The diversity will be best seen by placing the names side by side:—

Genealogy (Gen. xxxvi. 2, 3).	Narrative (Gen. xxvi. 34; xxviii. 9).
1. Adah, d. of Elon.	2. Bashemath, d. of Elon.
2. Aholibamah, d. of Anah.	1. Judith, d. of Beeri.
3. Bashemath, d. of Ishmael.	3. Mahalath, d. of Ishmael.

If it may be assumed that these names refer to the same persons respectively (see *Speaker's*

Comm. on Gen. xxxvi., add. note A), it is best to explain the diversity as due to different traditions (see Ges. *Thes.* s. n. בשׂמת, and Dillmann[5] on Gen. xxxvi. 2, where other hypotheses are mentioned).

2. A daughter of Solomon and wife of one of his officers, called in A. V. BASMATH (1 K. iv. 15; B. Βασεμμάθ, A. Μασεμάθ; R. V. "Basemath"). [F. W. G.] [F.]

BASIN. 1. מִזְרָק, the *pouring* instrument, from זָרַק (Ges.); φιάλη; *phiala:* often in A. V. *bowl.* 2. אַגָּן; κρατήρ; *crater.* 3. כְּפוֹר; *crater;* in A. V. sometimes *cup,* from כָּפַר, *cover,* a cup with a lid. 4. סַף, wrongly in LXX. (Ex. xii. 22) θύρα, and in Vulg. *limen* (Ges.).

1. Between the various vessels bearing in the A. V. the names of basin, bowl, charger, cup, and dish, it is scarcely possible now to ascertain the precise distinction, as very few, if any remains exist of Jewish earthen or metal ware, and as the same words are variously rendered in different places. We can only conjecture as to their form and material from the analogy of ancient Egyptian or Assyrian specimens of works of the same kind, and from modern Oriental vessels for culinary or domestic purposes. Among the smaller vessels for the Tabernacle or Temple-service, many must have been required to receive from the sacrificial victims the blood to be sprinkled for purification. Moses, on the occasion of the great ceremony of purification in the wilderness, put half the blood in "basins" [R. V. "basons"] (מִזְרָקֹת), or bowls, and afterwards sprinkled it on the people (Ex. xxiv. 6, 8, xxxix. 21; Lev. i. 5, ii. 15, iii. 2, 8, 13, iv. 5, 34, viii. 23, 24, xiv. 14, 25, xvi. 15, 19; Heb. ix. 19). Among the vessels cast in metal, whether gold, silver, or brass, by Hiram for Solomon, besides the laver and great sea, mention is made of basins, bowls, and cups. Of the first (מִזְרָקִים, marg. *bowls*) he is said to have made 100 (2 Ch. iv. 8; 1 K. vii. 45, 46. Cf. Ex. xxv. 29 and 1 Ch. xxviii. 14, 17). Josephus, probably with great exaggeration, reckons of φιάλαι and σπονδεῖα, 20,000 in gold and 40,000 in silver, besides an equal number in each metal of κρατῆρες, for the offerings of flour mixed with oil (*Ant.* viii. 3, §§ 7, 8. Cp. Birch, *Hist. of Pottery,* i. 152).

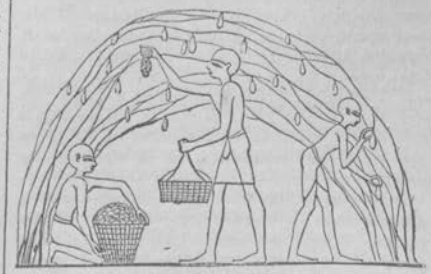
2. The "basin" from which our Lord washed the disciples' feet, νιπτήρ, was probably deeper and larger than the hand-basin for sprinkling, סִיר (Jer. lii. 18), which, in A. V. "caldrons" (R. V. "pots"), Vulg. *lebetes,* is by the Syr. rendered "basins for washing the feet" (John xiii. 5). (Schleusner, Drusius.) [WASHING OF FEET AND HANDS.] [H. W. P.]

BASKET. The Hebrew terms used in the description of this article are as follows:—(1) סַל, so called from the *twigs* of which it was originally made, specially used as the Greek κανοῦν (Hom. *Od.* iii. 442) and the Latin *canistrum* (Verg. *Aen.* i. 701) for holding bread (Gen. xl. 16 sq.; Ex. xxix. 3, 23; Lev. viii. 2, 26, 31; Num. vi. 15, 17, 19). The form of the Egyptian bread-basket is delineated in Wilkinson's *Anc. Egypt.* i. 177 [1878], after the specimens represented in the tomb of Rameses III. These were made of gold (cp. Hom. *Od.* x. 355), and we must assume that the term *sal* passed from its strict etymological meaning to any vessel applied to the purpose. In Judg. vi. 19, meat is served up in a *sal,* which could hardly have been of wickerwork. The expression סַלֵּי חֹרִי (Gen. xl. 16) is sometimes referred to the material of which the baskets were made (καναῖ βαϊνά, Symm.), or the white colour of the peeled sticks, or lastly to their being "full of holes" (A. V. margin), i.e. *open work* baskets; but it is best rendered as by most moderns and in R. V. "baskets of white bread."

(2) סַלְסְלוֹת, a word of kindred origin, applied to the basket used in gathering grapes (Jer. vi. 9).

Egyptian Baskets. (From Wilkinson.)

(3) טֶנֶא, in which the first-fruits of the harvest were presented (Deut. xxvi. 2, 4). From its being coupled with the kneading-bowl (A. V. "store," R.V. "kneading-trough"; Deut. xxviii. 5, 17), we may infer that it was also used for household purposes, perhaps to bring the corn to the mill. The equivalent term in the LXX. for this and the preceding Hebrew words is κάρταλλος, which specifically means a basket that tapers downwards (κόφινος ὀξὺς τὰ κάτω, Suid.), similar to the Roman *corbis.* This shape of basket appears to have been familiar to the Egyptians (Wilkinson, i.43–5 [1878]). (4) כְּלוּב, so called from its similarity to a birdcage or trap (κάρταλλος is used in the latter sense in Ecclus. xi. 30), probably in regard to its having a lid: it was used for carrying fruit (Am. viii. 1, 2); the LXX. gives ἄγγος; Symm. more correctly κάλαθος; the Vulg. *uncinus.* (5) דּוּד,



Egyptian Baskets. (From Wilkinson.)

used like the Greek κάλαθος (LXX.) for carrying fruit (Jer. xxiv. 1, 2), as well as on a larger scale for carrying clay to the brickyard (Ps. lxxxi. 6; κόφινος, LXX.; "pots," A.V.; "basket," R. V.), or for holding bulky articles (2 K. x. 7; κάρταλλος, LXX.): the shape of this basket and

the mode of carrying it usual among the brick-makers in Egypt is delineated in the cut given under BRICKS, and aptly illustrates Ps. lxxxi. 6.

The name Sallai (Neh. xi. 8, cp. xii. 20) is by some taken to indicate that the manufacture of baskets was a recognised trade among the Hebrews, but this explanation is very questionable (see others in Bertheau-Ryssel on Neh. xi. 8).

In the N. T. baskets are described under the three following terms, *κόφινος*, *σπυρίς*, and *σαργάνη*. The last occurs only in 2 Cor. xi. 33, in describing St. Paul's escape from Damascus: the word properly refers to anything twisted like a rope (Aesch. *Suppl.* 791) or any article woven of rope (*πλέγμα τι ἐκ σχοινίου*, Suid.); fish-baskets specially were so made (*ἀπὸ σχοινίου πλεγμάτιον εἰς ὑποδοχὴν ἰχθύων*, *Etym. Mag.*). With regard to the two former words, it may be remarked that *κόφινος* is exclusively used in the description of the miracle of feeding the five thousand (Matt. xiv. 20, xvi. 9; Mark vi. 43; Luke ix. 17; John vi. 13), and *σπυρὶς* in that of the four thousand (Matt. xv. 37; Mark viii. 8); the distinction is most definitely brought out in Mark viii. 19, 20. The *σπυρὶς* is also mentioned as the means of St. Paul's escape (Acts ix. 25). The difference between these two kinds of baskets is not very apparent, Their construction appears to have been the same; for *κόφινος* is explained by Suidas as *ἀγγεῖον πλεκτόν*, while *σπυρὶς* is generally connected with *σπεῖρα*. The *σπυρὶς* (*sporta*, Vulg.) seems to have been most appropriately used of the provision basket, the Roman *sportula*. Hesychius explains it as *τὸ τῶν πυρῶν ἄγγος*: compare also the expression *δεῖπνον ἀπὸ σπυρίδος* (Athen. viii. 17). The *κόφινος* of the N. T. seems to have been more akin to the wallet, if according to *Etym. Mag.* it is *βαθὺ καὶ κοῖλον χώρημα*. As used by the Romans (Colum. xi. 3, p. 460) it contained manure enough to make a portable hotbed [*Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Ant.* COPHINUS] in Rome itself it was carried about by the Jews (*quorum cophinus foenumque supellex*, Juv. iii. 14, vi. 542). [W. L. B.] [F.]

BAS'MATH (בָּשְׂמַת; B. Βασεμμάθ, A. Μασεμάθ; *Basemath*), Solomon's daughter, married to Ahimaaz, one of his commissariat officers (1 K. iv. 15). [BASHEMATH.] [W. A. W.]

BAS'SA (B. Βασσαί; A. Βασσά; Vulg. not recognizable), 1 Esd. v. 16. [BEZAI.] His descendants returned from the Captivity with Zerubbabel. [W. A. W.]

BA'STAI (*Βασθαί*; *Hasten*), 1 Esd. v. 31. [BESAI.] A servant of the Temple, whose descendants returned from the Captivity. [W. A. W.]

BASTARD. Among those who were excluded from entering the congregation, that is, from intermarrying with pure Hebrews (Selden, *Table Talk*, s. v. "Bastard"), even to the tenth generation, was the *mamzêr* (מַמְזֵר, A. V. "bastard." The etymology of the Hebrew word is much disputed. See Ges. *s. v.*), who was classed in this respect with the Ammonite and Moabite (Deut. xxiii. 2). This exclusion had reference, according to tradition, to the law of marriage only; and was not taken to affect his other religious or his political and social rights. A learned *mamzêr* stood higher than an ignorant priest. The Rabbis do not apply the term to any illegitimate offspring, born out of wedlock, but to the issue of any connexion within the degrees prohibited by the Law. A *mamzêr*, according to the Mishna (*Yebamoth*, iv. 13), is one, says R. Akiba, who is born of relations between whom marriage is forbidden. Simeon the Temanite says, the *mamzêr* is every one whose parents are liable to the punishment of "cutting off" by the hands of Heaven; R. Joshua, every one whose parents are liable to death by the house of judgment, as, for instance, the offspring of adultery. The ancient Versions (LXX., Vulg., Syr.) add another class, the children of a harlot, and in this sense the term *manzêr* or *mansêr* survived in Pontifical law (Selden, *De Succ. in Bon. Defunct.* c. iii.): "Manzeribus scortum, sed moecha nothis dedit ortum."

The child of a *goi*, or non-Israelite, and a *mamzêr* was also reckoned by the Talmudists a *mamzêr*, as was the issue of a slave and a *mamzêr*, and of a *mamzêr* and female proselyte. The term also occurs in Zech. ix. 6, "a bastard shall dwell in Ashdod," where it seems to denote a foreign race of mixed and spurious birth. Dr. Geiger infers from this passage that *mamzêr* specially signifies the issue of such marriages between the Jews and the women of Ashdod as are alluded to in Neh. xiii. 23, 24, and applies it exclusively to the Philistine bastard. See *Speaker's Comm.* and Dillmann[2] on Deut. *l. c.* Much interesting information is collected in Hamburger, *RE.* s. v. [W. A. W.] [F.]

BAT (עֲטַלֵּף, *'atalleph*, literally *night-flier*; *νυκτερίς*; *vespertilio*). There is no doubt whatever that the A. V. and R. V. are correct in their rendering of this word: the derivation of the Hebrew name,[a] the authority of the old Versions, which are all agreed upon the point,[b] and the context of the passages where the Hebrew word occurs, are conclusive as to the meaning. It is true that in the A. V. of Lev. xi. 19, and Deut. xiv. 18, the *'atalleph* closes the lists of "*fowls* that shall not be eaten;" but it must be remembered that the ancients considered the bat to partake of the nature of a bird, and the Hebrew *ôph*, "fowls," which literally means "a wing," might be applied to any winged creature: indeed this seems clear from Lev. xi. 20, where, immediately after the *'atalleph* is mentioned, the following words, which were doubtless suggested by this name, occur: "All fowls that creep [R.V. "all winged creeping things"], going upon all four, shall be an abomination unto you." Besides the passages cited above, mention of the bat occurs in *Is. ii.* 20: "In that day a man shall cast his idols of

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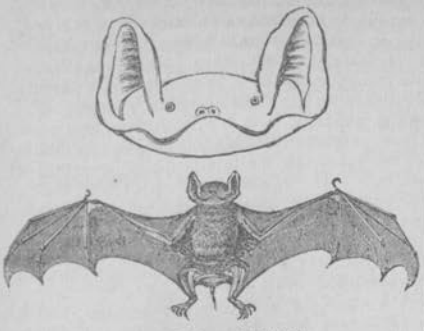
[a] Ges. from עטל = غطل (*ghatala*), "the night was dark," and עף, "flying." *νυκτερίς*, from *νύξ*, "night;" *vespertilio*, from *vesper*, "the evening." *Bat*, perhaps from *blatta*, *blacta* (see Wedgwood, *Dict. Engl. Etymol.*). Löw in MV.[11] compares it with Talm., Targ., and Syr. ܥܛܠ *naked*, and thinks the bat was so named from the character of its wings. Cp. the Fr. *chauve-souris*.

[b] With the exception of the Syriac, which has ܛܘܣܐ (*tawso*), "a peacock."

silver and his idols of gold . . . to the moles and to the bats;" and in Baruch vi. 22, in the

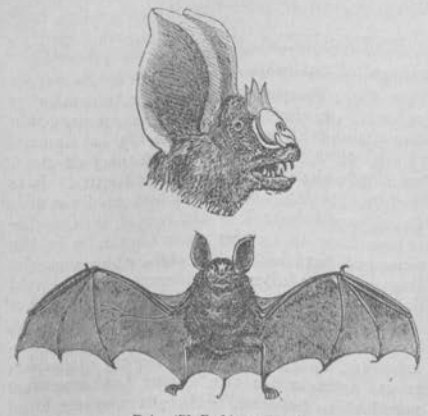


Bat. (*Taphozous perforatus.*)

passage that so graphically sets forth the vanity of the Babylonish idols: "Their faces are blacked through the smoke that cometh out of the temple; upon their bodies and heads sit *bats*, swallows, and birds, and the cats also."

Bats delight during the daylight to take up their abode in caverns and dark places.

Bats are exceptionally abundant in Palestine, owing doubtless to the immense number of caves where they live in perfect security, safe from the attacks of their natural enemies. It is difficult to ascertain how many species of bats exist in Palestine, as travellers have paid no attention to them. We have ourselves collected seventeen species, which are all that are hitherto known from the country. They comprise one *Pteropus*, or fruit-eating bat, four *Rhinolophidae*, nine *Vespertilionidae*, and three *Emballonuridae*. The fruit-eating bat is the large fox-headed *Pteropus*, known as *Cynonycteris aegyptiaca*, measuring twenty inches across the wings; and, contrary to the usual habits of the family, which are arboreal, is found in vast flocks in caves in the wooded parts of the country. A little horse-shoe tropical bat, with a tail as long as its body, swarms by thousands in the caves of the Jordan valley and Dead Sea



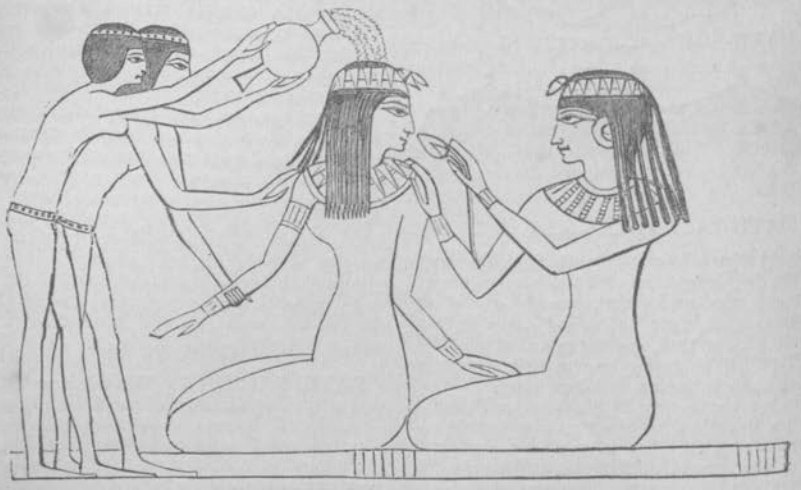
Bat. (*Phyllorhina tridens.*)

basin, especially in the glen of the Callirrhoë in Moab. Another tropical species, *Taphozous nudiventris*, is equally abundant in the ravines round the Lake of Galilee. Both these species are remarkable for large deposits of fat laid on at the base of the tail, just before the period of hybernation. Another well-known species, *Vesperugo kuhli*, swarms in such myriads in the quarries under the Temple of Jerusalem, and in the so-called Cave of Adullam, that we have found it almost impossible to keep a torch alight while creeping through the caverns. The common long-eared bat of England, *Plecotus auritus*, flits about everywhere. In the Dead Sea valley it is only the tropical species that are dormant in winter.

Many travellers have noticed the immense numbers of bats that are found in caverns in the East, and Layard says that on the occasion of a visit to a cavern these noisome beasts almost compelled him to retreat (*Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 307). To this day these animals find a congenial lurking abode "amidst the remains of idols and the sculptured representations of idolatrous practices" (*Script. Nat. H.* p. 8); thus forcibly attesting the meaning of the Prophet Isaiah's words. Bats belong to the order *Cheiroptera*, class *Mammalia*. [H. B. T.]

BATH, BATHING. This was a prescribed part of the Jewish ritual of purification in cases of accidental, leprous, or ordinary uncleanness (Lev. xv. *pass.*, xvi. 28, xxii. 6; Num. xix. 7, 19; 2 Sam. xi. 2, 4; 2 K. v. 10); as also after mourning, which always implied defilement, *e.g.* Ruth iii. 3, 2 Sam. xii. 20. The high-priest at his inauguration (Lev. viii. 6) and on the Day of Atonement, once before each solemn act of propitiation (xvi. 4, 24), was also to bathe. This the Rabbis have multiplied into *ten* times on that day. Maimon. (*Constit. de Vasis Sanct.* v. 3) gives rules for the strict privacy of the high-priest in bathing. There were bath-rooms in the later Temple over the chambers *Abtines* and *Happarvah* for the priests' use (Lightfoot, *Descr. of Temp.* 24). A bathing-chamber was probably included in houses even of no great rank in cities from early times (2 Sam. xi. 2), much more in those of the wealthy in later times; often in gardens (Susan. *v.* 15). With this anointing was customarily joined; the climate making both these essential alike to health and pleasure, to which luxury added the use of perfumes (Susan. *v.* 17; Judith x. 3; Esth. ii. 12). The "pools," such as that of Siloam and Hezekiah's (Neh. iii. 15, 16; 2 K. xx. 20; Is. xxii. 11; John ix. 7), often sheltered by porticoes (John v. 2), are the first indications we have of public bathing accommodation. Ever since the time of Jason (Prideaux, ii. 168) the Greek usages of the bath probably prevailed, and an allusion in Josephus (λουσόμενος στρατιωτικώτερον, *B. J.* i. 17, § 7) seems to imply the use of the bath (hence, no doubt, a public one, as in Rome) by legionary soldiers. We read also of a castle luxuriously provided with a volume of water in its court, and of a Herodian palace with spacious pools adjoining, in which the guests continued swimming, &c., in very hot weather from noon till dark (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 4, § 11; xv. 3, § 3). The hot baths of Tiberias, or more strictly of Emmaus, near it, and of Callirrhoë, near the eastern shore of the Dead Sea, were much resorted to (Reland, i. 46; Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 2, § 3, xvii. 6, § 5; *B. J.* i. 33, § 5; Amm.

Marcell. xiv. 8; Stanley, *S. and P.* pp. 295, 375; Hamburger, *RE.* s. nn. *Bad, Badeanstalten*). The parallel customs of ancient Egypt, Greece, and Rome are too well known to need special allusion (see *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Ant.* art. *Balneae*). The verb "bathe" (save in Is. xxxiv. 5, where it is used by the A. V. to translate רָוָה [R. V. "hath drunk its fill"]) only occurs in the formula of Levitical law, "he shall wash his clothes and bathe himself in water," *i.e.* where "wash" precedes in the same verse. Elsewhere the A. V. always prefers "wash" for the word רָחַץ rendered "bathe" in that formula: *e.g.* Ex. ii 5; 2 Sam. xi. 2. [H. H.]



An Egyptian lady in the bath, with attendants. (Wilkinson.)

The distinction, adopted in the R. V., between "to bathe" and "to wash" helps to explain John xiii. 10 (see note in *Speaker's Comm.*). The guest, after the bath, needed only to have the dust washed from his feet when he reached the house of his host. The term λουτρόν (Eph. v. 26; Tit. iii. 5; see *Speaker's Comm.* in ll.), rendered "laver" in R. V. marg., is considered under BAPTISM (§ iv. 3, 4). The question whether βαπτίσωνται (Mark vii. 4) refers to the washing of the individuals who have been to the market or to the things brought from thence, is decided by the R. V. in favour of the former ("they wash themselves." See also *Speaker's Comm.*). It should not, however, be forgotten that the reading ῥαντίσωνται (BN., Westcott and Hort, Gebhart), "they sprinkle themselves," commends itself to many (cp. Nösgen in Strack u. Zöckler's *Kgf. Komm.* in loco). The means for bathing seem to have been amply supplied by the tanks and reservoirs of Jerusalem (see JERUSALEM, *Waters*), and those means still exist in a more limited extent. Many synagogues (*e.g.* at Safed in Galilee, as well as at Jerusalem) are furnished with bathing rooms suitable for the ceremonial washings connected with their worship. Cp. *B. D.* Amer. edit. [F.]

BATH-RAB'BIM, THE GATE OF (שַׁעַר בַּת־רַבִּים), one of the gates of the ancient city of Heshbon, by (עַל) which were two "pools,"[a] whereto Solomon likens the eyes of his beloved (Cant. vii. 4 [5]). The "Gate of Bath-Rabbim" at Heshbon would, according to the Oriental custom, be the gate pointing to a town of that name. The only place in this neighbourhood at all resembling Bath-Rabbim in sound is Rabbah (*Ammân*), but the one tank of which we gain any intelligence as remaining at *Hesbân*, is on the opposite (S.) side of the town to *Ammân* (Porter, *Handbk.*, p. 298). Conder (*Heth and Moab*, p. 125) supposes the gate to have been the passage cut through the rocks at the top of the mountain path from the stream to the city on the plateau above. The LXX. and Vulg. translate: *ἐν πύλαις θυγατρὸς πολλῶν*; *in portâ filiae multitudinis.* [G.] [W.]

BATH-SHEBA (בַּת־שֶׁבַע, 2 Sam. xi. 3, &c.; also called Bath-shua, בַּת־שׁוּעַ, in 1 Ch. iii 5; Βηρσάβεε; Joseph. Βεεθσαβή; i.e. *daughter of an oath*, or, *daughter of seven*, sc. *years*), the daughter of Eliam (2 Sam. xi. 3), or Ammiel (1 Ch. iii. 5), the son of Ahithophel (2 Sam. xxiii. 34), the wife of Uriah the Hittite. It is probable that the enmity of Ahithophel towards David was increased, if not caused, by the dishonour brought by him upon his family in the person of Bathsheba. The child which was the fruit of her adulterous intercourse with David died: but afterwards she became the mother of four sons, Solomon (Matt. i. 6), Shimea, Shobab, and Nathan. When, in David's old age, Adonijah, an elder son by Haggith, attempted to set aside in his own favour the succession promised to Solomon, Bathsheba was employed by Nathan to inform the king of the conspiracy (1 K. i. 11, 15, 23). After the accession of Solomon, she, as queen-mother, requested permission of her son for Adonijah to take in

[a] The "fishpools" of the A. V. is from the *piscinae* of the Vulg. The Hebrew word Berecah is simply a pool or tank.

marriage Abishag the Shunammite. This permission was refused, and the request became the occasion of the execution of Adonijah (1 K. ii. 23). [DAVID.] Bathsheba was said by Jewish tradition to have composed and recited Prov. xxxi. by way of admonition or reproof to her son Solomon, on his marriage with Pharaoh's daughter (Calmet, *Dict.* s. v.; Corn. a Lapid. *on Prov.* xxxi.). [H. W. P.]

BATH-SHUA (בַּת־שׁוּעַ; BA. ἡ Βηρσάβεε; *Bethsabee*), a variation of the name of Bathsheba, mother of Solomon, occurring only in 1 Ch. iii. 5. Notice that Shua was a Canaanite name (cp. 1 Ch. ii. 3, and Gen. xxxviii. 2, 12—where "Bath-shua" is really the name of Judah's wife), while Bathsheba's first husband was a Hittite. [W. A. W.]

BATH-ZACHARI'AS (quasi בֵּית זְכַרְיָה; א. Βαιθζαχαρία; A. and Josephus Βεθζαχαραί; *Bethzachara*), a place, named only in 1 Macc. vi. 32, 33, to which Judas Maccabaeus marched from Jerusalem, and where he encamped for the relief of Bethsura (Bethzur) when the latter was besieged by Antiochus Eupator. The two places were seventy stadia apart (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 9, § 4), and the approaches to Bathzacharia were intricate and confined—στενῆς οὔσης τῆς παρόδου (Joseph. *B. J.* i. 1, § 5; cp. also the passage in the *Ant.* above, from which it is evident that Josephus knew the spot). This description is met in every respect by the modern *Beit Skâria*, which has been discovered by Robinson at nine miles north of *Beit sûr*, "on an almost isolated promontory or tell, jutting out between two deep valleys, and connected with the high ground south by a low neck between the heads of the valleys, the neck forming the only place of access to what must have been an almost impregnable position" (Rob. iii. 283, 284). The place is mentioned by Willibald (*E. T.* 20), and lies in the entangled country west of the Hebron road between 4 and 5 miles south-west of Bethlehem. [BETHZUR.] There are ancient foundations and rock-cut tombs (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 35, 108; Guérin, *Judée*, iii. 316–318). [G.] [W.]

BATTLE-AXE (Jer. li. 20). [AXE (7; Maul).]

BATTLEMENT. [HOUSE.]

BAV'AI (בַּוַּי, possibly of Persian origin, Ges.; B. Βεδεί, א. Βεζέρ, A. Βενεί; *Bavai*), son of Henadad, ruler (שַׂר) of the "district" (פֶּלֶךְ) of Keilah in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. iii. 18). [W. A. W.] [F.]

BAY-TREE (אֶזְרָח,* *'ezrâch*; κέδρος τοῦ Λιβάνου; *cedrus Libani*). It is difficult to see upon what grounds the translators of the A. V. have understood the Hebrew word of Ps. xxxvii. 35 to signify a "bay-tree" [R. V. "a green tree in its native soil"]; such a rendering is entirely unsupported by any kind of evidence. Most of the Jewish doctors understand by the term *ezrâch*, "a tree which grows in its own soil" (*indigena*, "one born in the land")—one that has never been transplanted (see Ges. s. *n.*); which is the interpretation given in the margin of the A. V. and accepted by most moderns. The LXX., however, followed by the Vulg. and the Arabic, reads "cedar of Lebanon," *i.e.* אֶזְרַח לְבָנוֹן for אֶזְרַח רַעֲנָן, which, on account of the unusual sense of אֶזְרָח (the word elsewhere being always applied to man and signifying a *native* as opposed to a foreigner [as in Lev. xvi. 29]), has been accepted by Hitzig, Grätz, Cheyne, Nowack, &c. Dr. Royle (Kitto's *Cycl. Bib. Lit.*, art. "Ezrach") suggests the Arabic *ashrut*, which, he says, is described in Arabic works on *Materia Medica*, as a tree having leaves like the *ghar* or "bay-tree." This opinion must be rejected as unsupported by any authority. At the same time, if the epithet רַעֲנָן, *ra'anan*, is to be taken in its usual sense of *luxuriant, spreading*, some tree is intended. The sweet bay is an evergreen tree, attaining the height of twenty or thirty feet, the *Laurus nobilis* of botanists, and of the natural order *Lauraceae*. The Orientals extract a scented oil from its foliage. It is not very common in Western Palestine, but is found in all the wooded glens, more or less sparsely. It is abundant on Mount Carmel, and in all the woods of Gilead. [W. H.] [H. B. T.]

BAZ-LITH (בַּצְלִית). "Children of Bazlith" were amongst the Nethinim who returned with Zerubbabel (Neh. vii. 54; NA. Βασαλώθ, B. Βασαώθ; *Besloth*). In Ezra ii. 52, the name is BAZLUTH (בַּצְלוּת; A. Βασαλώθ, B. Βασαδῶε; *Besluth*). [BASALOTH.] [W. A. W.] [F.]

BAZ'LUTH. See BAZLITH.

BDELLIUM (בְּדֹלַח, *bedôlach*; ἄνθραξ [in Gen.], κρύσταλλον [in Num.]; *bdellium*), a precious substance, the name of which occurs in Gen. ii. 12, with "gold" and "onyx stone," as one of the productions of the land of Havilah, and in Num. xi. 7, where *manna* is in colour compared to *bdellium*. There are few subjects that have been more copiously discussed than that which relates to the nature of the word *bedôlach*; and it must be confessed, that it is still impossible to say whether *bedôlach* denotes a mineral, or an animal production, or a vegetable exudation. Some writers have supposed that the word should be written *berôlach* (*beryl*), instead of *bedôlach*, as Wahl (in *Descr. Asiae*, p. 856) and Hartmann (*de Mulier. Hebraic.* iii. 96), but *beryl*, or *aqua marine*, which is only a pale variety of emerald, is out of the question, for the bdellium was white (cp. Ex. xvi. 31 with Num. xi. 7), while the beryl is yellow or red, or faint blue; for the same reason the ἄνθραξ ("carbuncle") of the LXX. (in Gen. *l. c.*) must be rejected; while κρύσταλλον ("crystal") of the same Version, an interpretation adopted by Reland (*de Situ Paradisi*, § 12), is mere conjecture. The Greek-Venetian and the Arabic Versions, with some of the Jewish doctors, understand "pearls" to be intended by the Hebrew word; and this interpretation Bochart (*Hieroz.* iii. 592), Gesenius (*Thes.*), Lagarde, and *Speaker's Comm.* accept; on the other hand the Greek Versions of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus, Josephus

* From זָרַח, *ortus est* (*Sol*).

(*Ant.* iii. 1, § 6), Salmasius (*Hyl. Iatri.* p. 181), Celsius (*Hierob.* i. 324), Sprengel (*Hist. Rei Herb.* i. 18, and *Comment in Dioscor.* i. 80), and most modern writers (cp. MV.[11] *s. v.*, Dillmann,[5] and Delitzsch [1887] on Gen. ii. 12) believe, with the A. V., that *bedôlach* = bdellium, *i.e.* an odoriferous exudation from a tree which is, according to Kaempfer (*Amoen. Exot.* p. 668), the Palmyra Palm, *Borassus flabelliformis*, Linn., an Indian species, which furnishes Palmyra wood, and was found by Forskål, *Flor. Arab.* p. xci., at Beit el Fakih in Yemen, or Arabia Felix; compare Pliny (*H. N.* xii. 9, § 19), where a full description of the tree and the gum is given. The aromatic gum according to Dioscorides (i. 80) was called μάδελκον or βόλχον; and according to Pliny *brochon, malacham, maldacon*, names which seem to be allied to the Hebrew *bedôlach*. Plautus (*Curc.* i. 2, 7) uses the word *bdellium*.

As regards the theory which explains *bedôlach* by "pearls," it must be allowed that the evidence in its favour is very inconclusive: in the first place it assumes that Havilah is some spot on the Persian Gulf where pearls are found, a point however which is fairly open to question; and secondly, it must be remembered that there are other Hebrew words for "pearls," viz. *Dar*,[a] and according to Bochart, *Peninîm*,[b] though there is much doubt as to the meaning of this latter word. Amber has also been suggested with some show of probability.

The fact that *eben*, "a stone," is prefixed to *shôham*, "onyx," and not to *bedôlach*, seems to exclude the latter from being a mineral; nor do we think it a sufficient objection to say "that such a production as bdellium is not valuable enough to be classed with gold and precious stones," for it would be easy to prove that resinous exudations were held in very high esteem by the ancients, both Jews and Gentiles; and it is more probable that the sacred historian should mention, as far as may be in a few words, the *varied* productions, vegetable as well as mineral, of the country of which he was speaking, rather than confine his remarks to its mineral treasures; and since there is a similarity of form between the Greek βδέλλιον, or μάδελκον, and the Hebrew *bedôlach*, and as this opinion is well supported by authority, the balance of probabilities appears to us to be in favour of the translation of the A. V., though the point must be left an open one. [W. H.]

BEALI'AH (בְּעַלְיָה, *Jah is Lord;* see Nestle, *Die Israelit. Eigennamen*, p. 124; Baethgen, *Beiträge z. Semit. Religionsgesch.* p. 144: BN. Βαδαιά, A. Βααδιά; *Baalia*), a Benjamite, who joined David at Ziklag (1 Ch. xii. 5). [F.]

BEA'LOTH (בַּעֲלוֹת, the plur. fem. of Baal; B. Βαλμαινάν, A. Βαλὼθ; *Baloth*), a town in the south of Judah (Josh. xv. 24). [G.] [W.]

BE'AN (dissyll.), CHILDREN OF (υἱοὶ Βαιάν; Joseph. υἱοὶ τοῦ Βαάνου; *filii Bean*), a tribe, apparently of predatory Bedouin habits, retreating into "towers" (πύργους) when not plundering, and who were destroyed by Judas Maccabaeus (1 Macc. v. 4). The name has been conjectured to be identical with BEON; but it is very difficult to tell from the context whether the residence of this people was on the east or west of Jordan. In the *Speaker's Comm.* in loco it is conjectured that Bean may be identical with Maon, ב and מ being constantly confused. [G.] [F.]

BEANS (פּוֹל,[a] *pôl*; κύαμος; *faba*). There appears never to have been any doubt about the correctness of the translation of the Hebrew word. *Beans* are mentioned with various other things in 2 Sam. xvii. 28, as having been brought to David at the time of his flight from Absalom, and again in Ezek. iv. 9 *beans* are mentioned with "barley, lentiles, millet, and fitches," which the prophet was ordered to put into one vessel to be made into bread. Pliny (*H. N.* xviii. 12) also states that beans were used for a similar purpose. Beans are cultivated in Palestine, which country grows many of the leguminous order of plants, such as lentils, kidney-beans, vetches, &c. Beans are in blossom in Palestine in January; they have been noticed in flower at Lydda on the 23rd, and at Sidon and Acre even earlier (Kitto, *Phys. H. Palest.* 215); they continue in flower till March. In Egypt beans are sown in November and reaped in the middle of February, but in Syria the harvest is in May. Dr. Kitto (*ibid.* 319) says that the "stalks are cut down with the scythe, and these are afterwards cut and crushed to fit them for the food of cattle; the beans when sent to market are often deprived of their skins by the action of two small millstones (if the phrase may be allowed) of clay dried in the sun." Dr. Shaw (*Travels*, i. 257, 8vo ed., 1808) says that in Northern Africa beans are usually full-podded at the beginning of March, and continue during the whole spring; that they are "boiled and stewed with oil and garlic, and are the principal food of persons of all distinctions."

Herodotus (ii. 37) states that the Egyptian priests abhor the sight of beans, and consider them impure, and that the people do not sow this pulse at all, nor indeed eat what grows in their country; but a passage in Diodorus implies that the abstinence from this article of food was not general. The remark of Herodotus, therefore, requires limitation. The dislike which Pythagoras is said to have maintained for beans has been by some traced to the influence of the Egyptian priests with that philosopher (see Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Biog.*, art. "Pythagoras").

Hiller (*Hierophyt.* ii. 130), quoting from the *Mishna*, says that the high-priest of the Jews was not allowed to eat eggs, cheese, flesh, bruised beans (*fabas frcsas*), or lentils on the day before the Sabbath.

The bean (*Vicia faba*) is too well known to need description; it is believed to be a native of Persia, but has been so long cultivated that its origin is lost. In the oldest Egyptian mummy cases, beans have been found. The site of the

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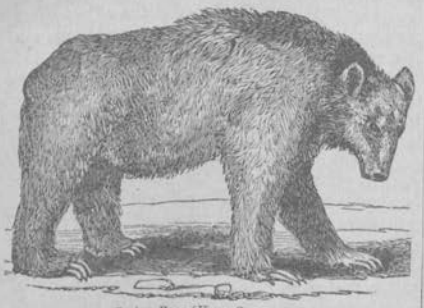
[a] דֹּר, Heb.; دُر, Arab. [b] פְּנִינִים.

[a] פּוֹל, from בָּלַל, "to roll," in allusion to its form. Lat. *bulla*; Dutch, *bol*, "a bean." The Arabic word فول *fûl*, is identical. Ges. *Thes.* s. v.

ancient Gibeah of Saul is now known as *Tuleil el Ful*, "the little Bean Hill." The bean is cultivated over a large portion of the old world from the north of Europe to the south of India; it belongs to the natural order of plants called *Leguminosae*. [W. H.] [H. B. T.]

BEAR (דֹּב,* or דּוֹב, Heb. and Chald. *dōb*; دب, Arab. *dubb*; ἄρκτος, ἄρκος, λύκος, in Prov. xxviii. 15; μέρμνα in Prov. xvii. 12, as if the word were דְּאֵבָה: *ursus, ursa*). The bear was formidable to man. "As if a man did flee from a lion, and a bear met him" (Amos v. 19). Its ferocity when deprived of its cubs is repeatedly mentioned. "They be mighty men, and they be chafed in their minds, as a bear robbed of her whelps in the field" (2 Sam. xvii. 8). "Let a bear robbed of her whelps meet a man, rather than a fool in his folly" (Prov. xvii. 12; so Hos. xiii. 8). Its craftiness in ambush is alluded to,—"He was unto me as a bear lying in wait" (Lam. iii. 10). And the deep monotonous grunt of the bear is compared to the lament of those who mourn over disappointed hopes. "We roar all like bears" (Is. lix. 11): so Horace, *Ep.* xvi. 51, "circumgemit ursus ovile."

The Syrian bear is distinguished by naturalists as *Ursus Syriacus*. It is only to be distinguished from the brown bear of Europe (*Ursus arctos*) by its lighter colour, and rather more slender claws, but it is still more closely allied to the Himalayan brown bear, which is very little paler in colour and with still longer claws. Giebel and many other naturalists unite all these as one species. The Syrian species or race extends through Northern Syria, Armenia, Northern Persia, and the Caucasus. We find bears represented on Assyrian monuments.



Syrian Bear (*Ursus Syriacus*).

None of these bears are naturally carnivorous, feeding generally on fruits and roots, and the Syrian bear is less addicted to animal food than its congener in colder climates, though all the species occasionally feed on flesh, and when individual bears have once acquired a carnivorous taste they soon prefer flesh, and become very dangerous to the flocks in their neighbourhood, and even to man himself. The sheepfolds and the goats of the villages often suffer from their visits, but they are more generally mischievous to the crops of lentils, of which they are very fond. The bear is now exterminated in Southern Palestine, and is comparatively rare in Galilee, though still not uncommon in all parts of Lebanon and Hermon. The writer never but once saw it south of Hermon, and this was in winter in a rugged ravine near the Lake of Gennesaret. It is said still to inhabit the wooded parts of Gilead and Bashan. The almost total denudation of timber and the more powerful weapons devised by man fully account for its disappearance elsewhere, for the bear is rarely found far away from woods or trees. Of its former abundance we have evidence both in the incidents mentioned in the sacred writings and in the frequent allusions to its habits.

Bear. (From a bronze bowl, Nimrud.)

The bear of Ceylon is sometimes the terror the Cingalese villages, from its ravages among the unarmed women and children, but the attack of the bears on the children of Bethel who had mocked Elisha, when "there came forth two she bears out of the wood and tare forty and two of them" (2 K. ii. 24), was clearly a divinely directed visitation, apart from the ordinary habits of the animal, although the Hebrew בָּקַע, *baka'*, does not appear necessarily to imply, as is generally understood, that the bears slew the children, or did more than wound or tear them. The ravine leading up from Jericho to Bethel is now entirely bare of timber, and could afford no cover for the bear; but when clothed with wood, it must have been, from its ruggedness, a secure fastness for any wild animals. The bear always has its lair in forest cover; it is therefore hardly necessary to suppose with some that they migrated from Lebanon and Hermon to the lowlands in winter, traces of them being found in Central Palestine about Samaria and Carmel as late as the Crusading times.

When we visited Hermon, before the snow had melted from the top, we found the snow ridges trodden in all directions by the tracks of bears, which were well known, but not much feared, by the shepherds, and we also saw their traces in the snow on Lebanon. The late Rev. F. W. Holland, the well-known explorer of the Sinaitic Peninsula, wrote to me the following graphic account of the Syrian bear on Hermon. "On June 27, 1865, I slept on the top of Mount Hermon. Just as the sun was setting, I saw two bears rolling each other over in the snow about 400 yards distant. We went to sleep, fully expecting a visit from them during the night, but they did not disturb us, though at daybreak we found them still near us. When

* Probably from דָּבַב, *lente incedere*.

the sun had risen, they left the snow and went down the mountain side. As we descended we came upon another in a narrow gorge busily engaged in rolling over the large boulders, though there did not appear to be food of any kind for him among the stones. I was some distance ahead of my companions, and he did not see me till I got within about fifty yards of him. He then reared himself up, and sat grinning at me as I approached with my little revolver, my only weapon. Unfortunately the Syrian we had with us came in sight and set up a shout, which so frightened the bear that he turned and fled, falling head over heels on a frozen spring, but did not stop till he was fully a quarter of a mile off, when turning round for a moment, he shook his head angrily and then galloped away. Bears must be very common on Mount Hermon. When I pointed them out to our guide, who lived in one of the villages at the foot of the Mount, and was a charcoal-burner by trade, he laughed at my appearing surprised to see them, and evidently did not consider them worth looking at or thinking about, saying there were many of them. When we were there, there was but little snow, and the bears had doubtless come up from the lower parts of Hermon to enjoy a roll in it." [H. B. T.]

BEARD (זָקָן; πώγων; *barba*). Western Asiatics have always cherished the beard as the badge of the dignity of manhood, and attached to it the importance of a feature. The Egyptians on the contrary, sedulously, for the most part, shaved the hair of the face and head, and compelled their slaves to do the like. Herodotus (i. 36) mentions it as a peculiarity of the Egyptians, that they let the beard grow in mourning, being at all other times shaved. Hence Joseph, when released from prison, "shaved his beard" to appear before Pharaoh (Gen. xli. 14). It was, however, the practice among the Egyptians to wear a false beard,

Beards. Egyptian, from Wilkinson (top row). Of other nations, from Rosellini and Layard (bottom row).

made of plaited hair, and of a different form according to the rank of the persons, private individuals being represented with a small beard, scarcely two inches long, kings with one of considerable length, square at the bottom, and gods with one turning up at the end (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* ii. 333 [1878]). The enemies of the Egyptians, including probably many of the nations of Canaan, Syria, Armenia, &c., are represented nearly always bearded. On the tomb of Beni Hassan is represented a train of foreigners with asses and cattle, who all have short beards, as have also groups of various nations on another monument. The Jews are represented with short beards in the Assyrian sculptures representing the capture of Lachish. [See cut under CAPTIVITIES OF THE JEWS.]

Egyptians of low caste or mean condition are represented sometimes, in the spirit of caricature, apparently with beards of slovenly growth (Wilkinson, ii. 127). In the Ninevite monuments is a series of battle-views from the capture of Lachish by Sennacherib, in which the captives have beards very like some of those in the Egyptian monuments.

There is, however, an appearance of conventionalism both in Egyptian and Assyrian treatment of the hair and beard on monuments, which prevents our accepting it as characteristic. Nor is it possible to decide with certainty the meaning of the precept (Lev. xix. 27; xxi. 5; cp. notes in *Speaker's Comm.*, and Knobel-Dillmann) regarding the "corners of the beard." It seems to imply something in which the cut of a Jewish beard had a ceremonial difference from that of other western Asiatics; and on comparing Herod. iii. 8 with Jer. ix. 26, xxv. 23, xlix. 32, it is likely that the Jews retained the hair on the sides of the face between the ear and the eye (*κρόταφοι*), which the Arabs and others shaved away in honour of their deity Orotal. To differentiate the chosen people from idolaters in this respect may have been a ground of the prohibition. In Lev. *ub. supr.* "marring" or "shaving off the corners of the beard" is associated with "cuttings in the flesh," and both these uniting in the costume of the eighty devotees of Jer. xli. 5 seems to mark a partial lapse into heathenish ways at that period.* Size and fulness of beard are said to be regarded, at the present day, as a mark of respectability and trustworthiness. The beard is the object of an oath, and that on which blessings or shame are spoken of as resting (D'Arvieux, *Moeurs et Coutumes des Arabes*). The custom was and is to shave or pluck it and the hair out in mourning (Is. l. 6, xv. 2; Jer. xli. 5, xlviii. 37; Ezra ix. 3; Ep. Jer. 31); to neglect it in seasons of permanent affliction (2 Sam. xix. 24), and to regard any insult to it as the last outrage which enmity can inflict. Thus David resented the treatment of his ambassadors by Hanun (2 Sam. x. 4); and so in feigning madness the defilement of his own beard is prominent (1 Sam. xxi. 13); so the people of God are figuratively spoken of as "beard" or "hair" which He will shave with "the razor, the king of Assyria" (Is. vii. 20). The beard was the object of salutation, and under this show of friendly reverence Joab beguiled Amasa (2 Sam. xx. 9). The dressing, trimming, anointing, &c. of the beard, was performed with much ceremony by persons of

* A Phœnic. inscription from Larnaca, in Cyprus, of the 5th to 4th century B.C., mentions among others connected with the temple of Ashtoreth, barbers (*gallabim*), who may have been employed in shaving the priests or worshippers, or—if the custom of 1 K. xviii. 28 be supposed [with Renan] to have prevailed in Cyprus—in healing the wounds inflicted upon themselves by the devotees in their frenzied rites. Cp. גלבים in Ezra v. 1. See *Corpus Inscript. Semiticarum*, No. 86 A 12 and p. 95. [S. R. D.]

wealth and rank (Ps. cxxxiii. 2). The removal of the beard was a part of the ceremonial treatment proper to a leper (Lev. xiv. 9). There is no evidence that the Jews compelled their slaves to wear beards otherwise than as they wore their own; but the Romans, when they adopted the fashion of shaving, compelled their slaves to retain their hair and beard, and let them shave when manumitted (Liv. xxxiv. 52, xlv. 44). [H. H.]

BEAST. The representative in the A. V. of the following Hebrew words: חַיָּה, בְּעִיר (חֵי(א), Chald.), בְּהֵמָה.

1. *Behêmâh* (בְּהֵמָה*; *τὰ τετράποδα, τὰ κτήνη, τὰ θηρία; jumentum, bestia, animantia, pecus;* "beast," "cattle," A. V.), which is the general name for "domestic cattle" of any kind, is used also to denote "any large quadruped," as opposed to fowls and creeping things (Gen. vi. 7, 20, vii. 2; Ex. ix. 25; Lev. xi. 2; 1 K. iv. 33; Prov. xxx. 30, &c.); or for "beasts of burden," horses, mules, &c., as in 1 K. xviii. 5, Neh. ii. 12, 14, &c.; or the word may denote "wild beasts," as in Deut. xxxii. 24, Hab. ii. 17, 1 Sam. xvii. 44. [BEHEMOTH, *note;* Ox.]

2. *Bĕ'ir* (בְּעִיר; *τὰ φορεῖα, τὰ κτήνη; jumentum;* "beast," "cattle") is used either collectively of "all kinds of cattle," like the Latin *pecus* (Ex. xxii. 5; Num. xx. 4, 8, 11; Ps. lxxviii. 48), or specially of "beasts of burden" (Gen. xlv. 17). This word, which is much rarer than the preceding, though common in Aramaic, is derived from a root בָּעַר, "to pasture."

3. *Chayyâh* (חַיָּה; *θηρίον, ζῶον, θήρ, τετράπους, κτῆνος, ἑρπετόν, θηριάλωτος, βρωτός; fera, animantia, animal;* "beast," "wild beast"). This word, which is the feminine of the adjective חַי, "living," is used to denote any animal. It is, however, very frequently used specially of "wild beast," when the meaning is often more fully expressed by the addition of the word הַשָּׂדֶה (*hassâdeh*), (wild beast) "of the field" (Ex. xxiii. 11; Lev. xxvi. 22; Deut. vii. 22; Hos. ii. 14, xiii. 8; Jer. xii. 9, &c.). Similar is the use of the Chaldee חֵיוָא (*cheyvâh*). [W. H.]

BEAST, WILD. The rendering of four Hebrew words in the A. V., and of three in the R. V. 1. חַיָּה (*chayyah; ζῶον, θηρίον, θήρ; fera, animal, animantium;* Arab. حيّة, *hayah*) signifies simply "a living thing," but is generally applied to wild animals [BEAST, 3]. In Ps. lxviii. 30, where the A. V. reads "company of the spearmen," the Hebrew text is חַיַּת קָנֶה, *chayyath kaneh*, "wild beast of the reeds" (and so R. V.), *i.e.* the crocodile. In most passages, however, whether with or without the words "of the field," it is used for wild animals generically, frequently as contrasted with birds (Gen. i. 28; Lev. xi. 2, &c.).

2. זִיז (*ziz; ὡραιότης, μονὰς ἄγριος; fera, ferus*) occurs twice—viz. Ps. l. 11, lxxx. 13—and is rendered by the A. V. and R. V. "wild beast." The word is from the unused root זוּז, *zuz*, "to move oneself," and is a common noun signifying "that which moves," having no reference to any special animal; the word *sâdeh*, "of the field," being in each instance coupled with it.

3. צִיִּים (*tziyyim; θηρία, δαιμόνια; hostiae, daemonia, dracones*), i.e. "inhabitants of the desert," from צִיָּה, *tziyyah*, "a desert" or "drought," used frequently of man (as in Ps. lxxii. 14), but in three passages—Is. xiii. 21, xxxiv. 14; Jer. l. 39—applied to some wild animal, and translated in the A. V. and R. V. "wild beasts of the desert." As in each of the three passages it is coupled with אִיִּים, *iyyim*, which, as we shall see, almost certainly denotes a particular animal, it is very probable that *tziyyim* also distinguishes some specific creature. But as to the meaning ancient Versions and critics are alike in uncertainty, scarcely any two agreeing. Bochart (*Hieroz.* ii. 206) argues strenuously in favour of the wild cat, referring to the Arabic not very dissimilar name ضيو, *tzaiwa;* and also suggesting that there is a reference to the cry of the wild cat, along with the howling of the jackal. But the reasoning is not cogent, though I should observe that I have noticed the ruins of deserted cities in Eastern Syria to be the special haunts of the wild cat. Others have suggested the hyaena, but this seems to be indicated by another word, *tzebûa'* (Jer. xii. 9). The Chaldee has apes (*cercopithecos*), the Targum *simiae*, and others *bubo*, "the great owl," but most have left it general; and Gesenius (*sub voce*) adopts this view, and here we may be content to leave it.

4. אִיִּים (*iyyim; ὀνοκένταυροι; ululae, onocentauri, fauni ficarii;* A. V. "wild beasts of the islands") occurs three times: Is. xiii. 22, xxxiv. 14; Jer. l. 39. The R. V. renders it "wolves" in the text, and "howling creatures" in the margin. The Arabic renders it ابن اوي, *Ibn awi*, "the son of howling." There can scarcely be a doubt but that the jackal (*Canis aureus*) is the animal intended. The jackal, to which the name *Ibn awi* and شغال (*shaghal*) is indiscriminately applied by the Arabs, is not otherwise mentioned in Scripture, as distinct from שׁוּעָל (*shu'al*, used indifferently for the jackal and the fox, and identical with the Arabic *shaghal*). The name both in Arabic and Hebrew is probably onomatopoetic, from the wailing cry of the jackal, and has nothing to do with אִי, "island," from which our translators, without any warrant from ancient Versions or authors, derived it. Bochart (*Hieroz.* iii. 12) identifies *iyyim* with the Greek *θώs*, and quotes a vast number of authorities to justify his conclusion, but seems to have some doubt as to what *θὼs* really signified. With our knowledge of the natural history of the East, we can apply the name to nothing else but the jackal (so MV.[11] and Fürst). Aristotle classes it with the wolf and the hyaena (*Hist. Anim.* ii. 17). It was smaller than the wolf (*id.* vi. 35), of a tawny colour, *δαφοινοὶ θῶες* (Hom. *Il.* λ. 474), gregarious, and howled like a wolf or fox (Pollux, *Onomast.*). It would indeed be strange if an

* From the unused root בָּהַם, "to be dumb."

animal so common and familiar in the East had escaped notice in the Bible. Nor is it a sufficient objection that it is elsewhere alluded to under the name *shu'al* (fox), for the Arabs do not distinguish the two any more than the Hebrews seem to have done, while it is not impossible that other Hebrew words also apply to it [see DRAGON]. The jackal (*Canis aureus*), so named from its yellow colour, is still the commonest of wild animals in Palestine, resorting especially to ruins and deserted cities, in the caves and recesses of which it conceals itself during the daytime. Where ruins, caverns, or quarries are not to be found, it secretes itself in thickets. The traveller in the Holy Land, wherever he pitches his camp, nightly hears the wailing cry of the packs of jackals as they scour the country in search of food. Nowhere are they more numerous than in the vast labyrinth of the ruins of Baalbek, where their howl suddenly breaks the stillness of the night, and is caught up from pack to pack, echoing back from the cavernous tunnels and temples, as if it were the wail of a thousand infants. "The jackals shall cry in their desolate houses." But though especially abundant in such places, they are to be heard in every part of the country, among the caves of the wilderness of Judah, in the desolate ravines by the Dead Sea, or round the villages of Sharon. They visit every stray camp, suddenly ceasing their howl as they prowl in silence to filch any stray morsel of food. In the same way they attempt to elude the vigilance of the keepers of the vineyards when they plunder the grapes in autumn. They hang about the towns; and even under the walls of Jerusalem often provoke a defiant chorus from the swarming pariah dogs, who are as intolerant of them as the hound is of the fox. From the latter they differ in their gregarious habits and their omnivorous tastes, preferring flesh and carrion, but in its absence feeding greedily on fruits. In its anatomy and structure, as well as habits, the jackal approaches the domestic dog very closely, and is by many naturalists believed to be its wild original; though probably, if the lineage of man's companion could be traced, the wolf as well as the jackal is among his progenitors. The jackal has a very wide geographical range, being found throughout North Africa, South-Eastern Europe (Greece, Turkey, and South Russia), Western and Central Asia, the Caucasus, and India. It is not recorded from China, having probably been exterminated by the density of the population. Several closely-allied species are found in Africa. [H. B. T.]

BE'BAI (בֵּבַי; *Bebai*). **1.** "Sons of Bebai," 623 (Neh. 628) in number, returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii. 11, B. Βαβεί, A -αί; Neh. vii. 16, B. Βηβί, ℵA. -εί; 1 Esd. v. 13, Βηβαί); and at a later period twenty-eight more, under Zechariah the son of Bebai, returned with Ezra (Ezra viii. 11, Βαβεί). Four of this family had taken foreign wives (Ezra x. 28; 1 Esd. ix. 29). The name occurs also among those who sealed the covenant (Neh. x. 15. A. Βηβαί. The Greek text is confused. See Swete in loco, and the tables at end of Smend, *Die Listen d. BB. Esra u. Nehemia*). [BABI.]

2. Father of Zechariah, who was the leader of the twenty-eight men of his tribe mentioned above (Ezra viii. 11).

3. A. Βηβαί, B. and Vulg. omit, a place named only in Judith xv. 4 (see *Speaker's Comm.*). It is possibly a mere repetition of the name Chobai occurring next to it. [W. A. W.] [F.]

BE'CHER (בֶּכֶר; Ges. = *young*, as *c.g.* a *young* camel; Simonis also hints at this derivation, *Onom.* p. 399; *Bechor*).

1. The second son of Benjamin, according to the list both in Gen. xlvi. 21 (BA. Χοβώρ, D. -λ) and 1 Ch. vii. 6 (B. Ἀβειρά, A. Βοχόρ); but omitted in the list of the sons of Benjamin in 1 Ch. viii. 1, as the text now stands. No one, however, can look at the Hebrew text of 1 Ch. viii. 1, בִּנְיָמִן הוֹלִיד אֶת־בֶּלַע בְּכוֹרוֹ אַשְׁבֶּל, without at least suspecting that בְּכוֹרוֹ, *his first-born*, is a corruption of בֶּכֶר, *Becher*, and that the suffix וֹ is a corruption of ן, and belongs to the following אַשְׁבֶּל, so that the genuine sense in that case would be, *Benjamin begat Bela, Becher, and Ashbel*, in exact agreement with Gen. xlvi. 21. The enumeration, the second, the third, &c., must then have been added since the corruption of the text.

Becher went down to Egypt with Benjamin and Jacob, being one of the fourteen descendants of Rachel who settled in Egypt, viz. Joseph and his two sons Manasseh and Ephraim, Benjamin and his three sons above named, Gera, Naaman, Ehi (אֲחִי, alias אֲחִירָם, Ahiram, Num. xxvi. 38, and אֲחִרַח, Aharah, 1 Ch. viii. 1, and perhaps אֲחוֹחַ and אֲחִיָּה, *vv.* 4 and 7), and Ard (אָרֶךְ, but in 1 Ch. viii. 3, אֶדֶר, Addar), the sons of Bela, Muppim (otherwise Shuppim, and Shephuphan, 1 Ch. vii. 12, 15, viii. 5; but Shupham, Num. xxvi. 39), and Huppim (Huram 1 Ch. viii. 5, but Hupham Num. xxvi. 39), apparently the sons of Ahiram or Ehi (Aher, 1 Ch. vii. 12), and Rosh, of whom we can give no account, as there is no name the least like it in the parallel passages, unless perchance it be for Joash (יוֹאָשׁ), a son of Becher, 1 Ch. vii. 8.[a] And so, it is worthy of observation, the LXX. render the passage, only that they make Ard the son of Gera, great-grandson therefore to Benjamin, and make all the others sons of Bela. As regards the posterity of Becher, there is no family named after him at the numbering of the Israelites in the plains of Moab, as related in Num. xxvi. 38. But the no less singular circumstance of there being a *Becher*, and a family of *Bachrites*, among the sons of Ephraim (p. 35), seems to supply the true explanation. The slaughter of the sons of Ephraim by the men of Gath, who came to steal their cattle out of the land of Goshen, in that border affray related in 1 Ch. vii. 21, had sadly thinned the house of Ephraim of its males. The daughters of Ephraim must therefore have sought husbands in other tribes, and in many cases must have been heiresses. It is therefore highly probable

[a] We are more inclined to think that it is a corruption of רֹם, or רֹאשׁ, and belongs to the preceding אֲחִי, Ehi, as *Ahiram* is certainly the right name as appears by Num. xxvi. 38.

that Becher,[b] or his heir and head of his house, married an Ephraimitish heiress, a daughter of Shuthelah (1 Ch. vii. 20, 21), so that his house was reckoned in the tribe of Ephraim, just as Jair, the son of Segub, was reckoned in the tribe of Manasseh (1 Ch. ii. 22; Num. xxxii. 40, 41). The time when Becher first appears among the Ephraimites, viz. just before the entering into the Promised Land, when the people were numbered by genealogies for the express purpose of dividing the inheritance equitably among the tribes, is evidently highly favourable to this view (see Num. xxvi. 52–56; xxvii.). The junior branches of Becher's family would of course continue in the tribe of Benjamin. Their names, as given in 1 Ch. vii. 8, were Zemira, Joash, Eliezer, Elioenai, Omri, Jerimoth, and Abiah; other branches possessed the fields round Anathoth and Alameth (called Alemeth vi. 60) and Almon (Josh. xxi. 18). Which of the above were Becher's own sons, and which were grandsons, or more remote descendants, it is perhaps impossible to determine. But the most important of them, as being ancestor to king Saul, and his great captain Abner (2 Sam. iii. 38), the last named Abiah, was, it seems, literally Becher's son. The generations appear to have been as follows: Becher—Abiah (Aphiah, 1 Sam. ix. 1)—Bechorath[c]—Zeror—Abiel (Jehiel, 1 Ch. ix. 35)—Ner—Kish—Saul. Abner was another son of Ner, brother therefore to Kish, and uncle to Saul. Abiel or Jehiel seems to have been the first of his house who settled at Gibeon or Gibeah (1 Ch. viii. 29; ix. 35), which perhaps he acquired by his marriage with Maachah,[d] and which became thenceforth the seat of his family, and was called afterwards Gibeah of Saul (1 Sam. xi. 4; Is. x. 29). From 1 Ch. viii. 6, it would seem that before this, Gibeon, or Geba, had been possessed by the sons of Ehud (called Abihud *v.* 3) and other sons of Bela. But the text appears to be very corrupt.

Another remarkable descendant of Becher was Sheba the son of Bichri, a Benjamite, who headed the formidable rebellion against David described in 2 Sam. xx.; and another, probably, Shimei the son of Gera of Bahurim, who cursed David as he fled from Absalom (2 Sam. xvi. 5), since he is said to be "a man of the family of the house of Saul." But if so, Gera must be a different person from the Gera of Gen. xlvi. 21 and 1 Ch. viii. 3. Perhaps therefore the passage may only mean that Shimei was a Benjamite. In this case he would be a descendant of Bela.

From what has been said above it will be seen how important it is, with a view of reconciling apparent discrepancies, to bear in mind the different times when different passages were written, as well as the principle of the genealogical divisions of the families. Thus in the case before us we have the tribe of Benjamin described (1) as it was about the time when Jacob went down into Egypt; (2) as it was just before the entrance into Canaan; (3) as it was in the days of David; and (4) as it was eleven generations after Jonathan and David, *i.e.* in Hezekiah's reign. It is obvious how in these later times many new heads of houses, called *sons of Benjamin*, would have sprung up, while older ones, by failure of lines, or translation into other tribes, would have disappeared. Even the non-appearance of Becher in 1 Ch. viii. 1 may be accounted for on this principle, without any alteration of the text.

2. Son of Ephraim, Num. xxvi. 35, called Bered 1 Ch. vii. 20 (A. Βαράδ, B. omits). Same as the preceding. [A. C. H.]

BECHO'RATH (בְּכֹרַת, *first birth*; *Bechorath*), son of Aphiah, or Abiah, and grandson of Becher, according to 1 Sam. ix. 1 (B. Βαχεί, A. Βεχωράθ); 1 Ch. vii. 8 (B. 'Αβαχεί, A. Βοχόρ). [BECHER.] [A. C. H.]

BECTI'LETH, THE PLAIN OF (B. τὸ πεδίον Βακτειλαίθ, A. Βεκτελέθ, א^{ca} -τι-, א* Βαιτουλιά; Syr. ܒܝܬ ܛܒܝܠ = *house of slaughter*), mentioned in Judith ii. 21, as lying between Nineveh and Cilicia. The name has been compared with Βακταιαλλά, a town of Syria named by Ptolemy; the Bactiali of the Peutinger Tables, which place it 21 miles from Antioch. The most important plain in this direction is the Bekaa, or valley lying between the two chains of Lebanon. And it is possible that Bectileth is a corruption of that well-known name: if indeed it be a historical word at all (*see Speaker's Comm.* in loco). [G.] [W.]

BED and BEDCHAMBER (מִטָּה, עֶרֶשׂ, מִשְׁכָּב, מַצָּע, יָצוּעַ, the first being mostly κλίνη in LXX., while κοίτη, στρώματα, and στρωμνὴ appear promiscuously for the others). We may distinguish in the Jewish bed five principal parts:—1, the substratum; 2, the covering; 3, the pillow; 4, the bedstead or analogous support for 1; 5, the ornamental portions.

Beds. (From Fellows, *Asia Minor.*)

1. This substantive portion of the bed, or part lain upon, was limited to a mere mat, or one or more quilts. The word which precisely expresses this seems to be מַצָּע, contrasted with its "covering:" see Is. xxviii. 20, where the two are named.

2. A coverlid or quilt finer than those used in 1. This is called the "covering" (Is. *l. c.* מַסֵּכָה), and the two together appear to form the מִשְׁכָּב, "place of lying," which last term seems

[b] This view suggests the possibility of Becher being really the first-born of Benjamin, but having forfeited his birthright for the sake of the Ephraimitish inheritance.

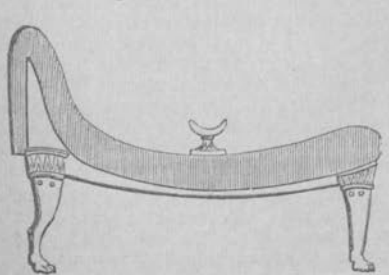
[c] It is possible that Bechorath may be the same person as Becher, and that the order has been accidentally inverted.

[d] Cp. 1 Ch. vii. 14; viii. 5, 6, 29; ix. 35.

used collectively in the singular for "bedding" among the stores brought for David's use (2 Sam. xvii. 28). In Prov. xxii. 27 this is that which is supposed to be "taken away from under" a man. Special forms of covering, probably luxurious or ornamental, are the מַרְבַדִּים of Prov. vii. 16, "coverings (R. V. "carpets") of tapestry" in A. V. The word עָצוּעַ, properly a participle just like *stratum* (used also, however, for a floor, or story, in 1 K. vi. 5, 6, 10), while its verb stands for "to make a bed" (Ps. cxxxix. 8), means comprehensively anything laid flat to lie on. It appears in combination with עֶרֶשׂ = "the couch of my bed" (Ps. cxxxii. 3, R. V. marg.). In summer a thin blanket or the outer garment worn by day (1 Sam. xix. 13) sufficed. This latter, in the case of a poor person, often formed both 1 and 2, and that without a bedstead. Hence the law provided that it should not be kept in pledge after sunset, that the poor man might not lack his needful covering (Deut. xxiv. 13).

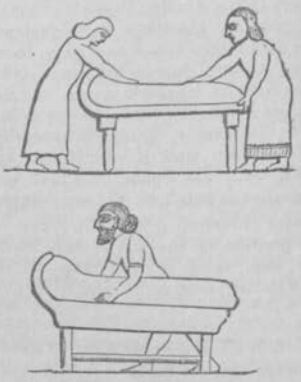
3. The only material mentioned for this is that which occurs in 1 Sam. xix. 13, and the word (כְּבִיר) used is of doubtful meaning, but seems to signify some fabric woven or plaited of goat's-hair (R. V. marg. *quilt* or *network*. See the Comm. in loco). It is clear, however, that it was something hastily adapted to serve as a pillow, and is not decisive of the ordinary use. In Ezek. xiii. 18 occurs the word כְּסָת (*προσκεφάλαιον*, LXX.), which seems to be the proper term. Such pillows are common to this day in the East, formed of sheep's fleece or goat's skin, with a stuffing of cotton, &c. We read of a "pillow," also, in the boat in which our Lord lay asleep (Mark iv. 38) as He crossed the lake. A block of stone such as Jacob used at Bethel, covered perhaps with a garment, was not unusual among the poorer folk, shepherds, &c.

4. The bedstead was not always necessary; the divan, or platform along the side or end of an Oriental room, sufficing as a support for the bedding (see preceding cut). Yet some slight and portable frame seems implied among the senses of the word מִטָּה, which is used for a "bier" (2 Sam. iii. 31), and for the ordinary bed (2 K. iv. 10), for the litter on which a sick person might be carried (1 Sam. xix. 15), for Jacob's bed of sickness (Gen. xlvii. 31, where "the bed's head" is perhaps illustrated by the raised



Bed and Head-rest. (Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians.*)

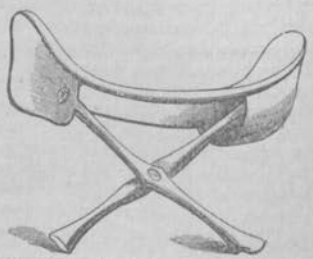
extremity of the bed in the subjoined figure), and for the couch on which guests reclined at a banquet (Esth. i. 6). Thus מִטָּה seems the comprehensive and generic term, and might etymologically be rendered "a stretcher." The proper word for a bedstead appears to be עֶרֶשׂ. As used Deut. iii. 11, it probably describes the sarcophagus of basalt in which lay the dead giant Og (cp. Dillmann[2] in loco). The basalt of the Argob is black, and is said to contain 20 per cent. of "iron" (cp. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 2). Most of the above words, however, seem to be used vaguely, especially in poetry.



Assyrian Beds. Making the bed. (Kouyunjik.)

5. The ornamental portions, and those which luxury added, were pillars and a canopy (Jud. xiii. 9 [CANOPY]), ivory carvings (Amos vi. 4), gold and silver (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 2, § 15), and probably mosaic work. Purple and fine linen are also mentioned as constituting parts of beds (Esth. i. 6). In Cant. iii. 9, 10, the word אַפִּרְיוֹן, LXX. *φορεῖον*, seems to mean "a litter" (R. V. "palanquin;" cp. Delitzsch in loco). Perfumes were used; cp. those (Prov. vii. 17) with which the "strange woman" sprinkles her bed. She (*ib.* 16) speaks of "carved work" (חֲטֻבוֹת), which R. V. renders "striped clothes" of the yarn of Egypt (cp. the LXX. *ἀμφιτάποις τοῖς ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου*).

There is but little distinction of the *bed* from sitting furniture among the Orientals; the same article being used for rest by night and during the day. This applies both to the divan and bedstead in all its forms, except perhaps the



Pillow or Head-rest. (Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians.*)

litter. The "corner of a bed" (מִטָּה) suggests the place where two sides of the frame meet and where more support and ease are found. The "couch" (עֶרֶשׂ) which is made its parallel in Amos iii. 12, involves some specialty in connexion with the context; but this being uncertain

it is impossible to determine it (see R. V. text and marg. Cp. Gandell in *Speaker's Comm.*, and Keil[3] in loco, for the different views). There was also a garden-watcher's bed, מְלוּנָה, rendered variously in the A. V. "cottage" (R. V. "booth") and "lodge" (R. V. "hut"), which some have thought was slung like a hammock, perhaps from the trees (Is. i. 8; xxiv. 20).

Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 4, § 11) mentions the bedchambers in the Arabian palace of Hyrcanus.

The ordinary furniture of a bedchamber in private life is given in 2 K. iv. 10. The "bedchamber" in the Temple where Joash was hidden, was, as Calmet suggests (*Dict. of Bib.* art. *Beds*; see Keil), probably a store-chamber for keeping beds, not a mere bedroom, and thus better adapted to conceal the fugitives (2 K. xi. 2; 2 Ch. xxii. 11, חֲדַר הַמִּטּוֹת, R. V. marg. *chamber for the beds*, not the usual חֲדַר מִשְׁכָּב, "chamber of reclining," Ex. viii. 3 and *passim*).

The position of the bedchamber in the most remote and secret parts of the palace seems marked in the passages Ex. viii. 3; 2 K. vi. 12. [H. H.]

BEDA'D (בְּדַד; Βαράδ; *Badad*), the father of one of the kings of Edom, "Hadad ben-Bedad" (Gen. xxxvi. 35; 1 Ch. i. 46). [W. A. W.]

BEDA'IAH, Ezra x. 35. [BEDEIAH.]

BEDA'N. **1.** (בְּדָן; *Badan*), mentioned 1 Sam. xii. 11, as a Judge of Israel between Jerubbaal (Gideon) and Jephthah. As no such name occurs in the Book of Judges, various conjectures have been formed as to the person meant, most of which (now obsolete) are discussed in Pole (*Synopsis*, in loc.). The LXX., Syr., and Arab. all have Barak; and this correction, probable except for the order of the names, is accepted by most modern critics (see *e.g.* Wellhausen, *Speaker's Comm.*, and Driver, *Notes on the Heb. Text of the Books of Samuel*, in loco). [G. E. L. C.] [F.]

2. B. Βαδάμ, A. Βαδάν. Son of Ulam the son of Gilead (1 Ch. vii. 17). [W. A. W.]

BEDEI'AH (בְּדֵיָה; A. Βαδαιά, B. Βαραιά, ℵ. Μαδαιά; *Badaias*), one of the sons of Bani, in the time of Ezra, who had taken a foreign wife (Ezra x. 35). [W. A. W.] [F.]

BEE (דְּבוֹרָה,[a] *debôrah*; μέλισσα, μελισσών; *apis*). Mention of this insect occurs in Deut. i. 44, "The Amorites which dwelt in that mountain came out against you, and chased you as *bees* do;" in Judg. xiv. 8, "There was a swarm of *bees* and honey in the body of the lion;" in Ps. cxviii. 12, "They compassed me about like *bees*;" and in Is. vii. 18, "It shall come to pass in that day that the Lord shall hiss for the fly that is in the uttermost parts of the rivers of Egypt, and for the *bee* that is in the land of Assyria." Palestine abounded in bees, and was indeed a land "flowing with milk and honey."

The common bee of Palestine is the *Apis fasciata* of Latreille. It much resembles our English hive bee, *Apis mellifica*, and still more closely the bee of Italy and Southern Europe, but it is decidedly smaller and of a much lighter colour. It differs slightly in other ways. The swarms or colonies, especially of the wild ones, are generally more numerous, and the cells of the combs are naturally a little smaller, while the combs themselves are frequently of greater size and weight. Few countries in the world are more suited to bees than Palestine, with its dry climate, its stunted but varied flora, consisting in large proportion of aromatic thymes, salvias, mints and other labiate plants, as well as of crocuses, irises, and colchicums in spring, while the innumerable caves and fissures of the dry limestone rocks afford shelter and protection for the combs through all the countless wadys of the land. Bees are, if possible, even more abundant in the comparatively desert regions of the south, than in the cultivated central and northern districts. Many of the Bedouin, particularly in the wilderness of Judaea, obtain their subsistence by bee-hunting, bringing into Jerusalem skins and jars of that wild honey on which St. John the Baptist fed in the wilderness (Matt. iii. 4), and which Jonathan had long before unwittingly tasted when the comb had dropped on the ground from the tree in which it was suspended (1 Sam. xiv. 25, &c.). When we see the busy multitudes of bees about the cliffs (see Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, p. 299), we are reminded of the words, "With honey out of the stony rock should I satisfy thee" (Ps. lxxxi. 16, R. V.). Such stores of wild honey the men possessed who petitioned Ishmael for their lives on that account. "Slay us not, for we have treasures in the field, of wheat . . . and of honey" (Jer. xli. 8).

Most of the allusions in Scripture to bees refer to these unreclaimed stocks which inhabit the cliffs, and frequently also hollow trees, as in the instance referred to in the story of Jonathan. Having abundant space in which to expand their colonies, they do not swarm so frequently as those which are confined in artificial hives, and, when robbed, will sometimes attack the plunderers with great fury. In some parts of India so enormous are the swarms of wild bees, that there are ravines which it is impossible to traverse, owing to their attacks, which have been known to be fatal. Compare the expressions in Deut. i. 44, Ps. cxviii. 12, quoted above.

There can be no doubt that the attacks of bees in Eastern countries are more to be dreaded than they are in more temperate climates. Not only are swarms in the East far larger than they are with us, but on account of the heat of the climate it can be readily understood how their stings give rise to very dangerous symptoms. It would be easy to quote from Aristotle, Aelian, and Pliny, in proof of what has been stated; but let the reader consult Mungo Park's *Travels* (ii. 37, 38) as to the incident which occurred at a spot he named "Bees' Creek" from the circumstance (cp. also Oedman, *Vermisch. Samml.* pt. vi. c. 20). We can well, therefore, understand the full force of the Psalmist's complaint, "They came about me like bees."[b]

[a] From דָּבַר, *ordine duxit; coëgit* (*examen*). Ges. *Thes.* s. v.

[b] It is very curious to observe that in the passage of Deut. i. 44, the Syriac Version, the Targum of Onkelos, and an Arabic MS. read, "chased you as bees that are

The passage about the swarm of bees and honey in the lion's carcase (Judg. xiv. 8, R. V. "body") admits of easy explanation. The lion which Samson slew had been dead some little time before the bees had taken up their abode in the carcase, for it is expressly stated that "after a time" Samson returned and saw the bees and honey in the lion's carcase; so that "if," as Oedman has well observed, "any one here represents to himself a corrupt and putrid carcase, the occurrence ceases to have any true similitude, for it is well known that in these countries, at certain seasons of the year, the heat will in the course of twenty-four hours so completely dry up the moisture of dead camels, and that without their undergoing decomposition, that their bodies long remain, like mummies, unaltered and entirely free from offensive odour." To the foregoing quotation we may add that very probably the ants would help to consume the soft parts of the carcase, and leave perhaps in a short time little else than the skin and skeleton. Even in this country wrens and sparrows have been known not unfrequently to make their nests in the dried body of an exposed crow or hawk. Herodotus (v. 114) speaks of a certain Onesilus who had been taken prisoner by the Amathusians and beheaded, and whose head, having been suspended over the gates, had become occupied by a swarm of bees (cp. also Aldrovandus, *de Insect.* i. 110). The passage in Is. vii. 18, "The Lord shall hiss for the bee that is in the land of Assyria," has been understood by some to refer to the practice of arresting bees by loud jingling sounds when they are swarming in order to induce them to settle. However it may be explained, the fact is familiar to every bee-keeper, that the bees do settle more readily and quickly when the cymbal-like music is employed. But the passage more probably simply refers to the call to attention universally employed in Eastern countries (cp. Ges. *s. v.* שָׁרַק), which is always "hiss" or "hist" instead of our "halloa" or "hey." That the custom existed amongst the ancients of calling swarms to their hives, must be familiar to every reader of Virgil (*Georg.* iv. 64),

"Tinnitusque cie, et matris quate cymbala circum,"

and it is interesting to observe that this practice has continued down to the present day.

Besides the unreclaimed bees, vast numbers of the same species are also domesticated in Palestine, especially in Galilee. Probably the method of keeping them has not varied from the earliest times. The hives are very simple, consisting of large tubes of sun-dried mud, about eight inches in diameter, and four feet long, closed at either end with a cake of mud, pierced with a small hole, through which only three or four bees can pass at a time. There is a door at either end of the tube, and both seem to be used indifferently by the bees. The tubes or hives are laid horizontally close together in rows, piled in a pyramid. I once counted in one of these apiaries no less than seventy-eight tubes, each a distinct hive. Coolness being the great object, the whole is thickly plastered over with mud, and covered with boughs, while a large branch is stuck in the ground at each end, to assist the bees in alighting. At first we took these singular structures for ovens or hen houses. The barbarous practice of destroying the swarms for their honey is unknown. When the hives are full, the clay is removed from the ends of the tubes and the combs are extracted with a hook. Those pieces which contain young bees are carefully replaced, and the hives are then closed as before.

Honey, wild or from the hives, can be purchased everywhere, and is used for many culinary purposes, especially for kneading with flour to make sweet cakes. It was from the earliest times an article of commerce from Palestine. It was among the delicacies sent down by Jacob with his sons to the Governor of Egypt, a country in which, from its character, bees are and always must have been very scarce (Gen. xliii. 11). It is mentioned by Ezekiel among the commodities exported to Tyre: "Judah and the land of Israel were thy merchants; they traded for thy merchandise wheat, . . . honey" (xxvii. 17, R. V.).

The Orientals have a sweet tooth, and are in the habit of eating honey to a degree that would nauseate a Western stomach. It is probable that in several passages דְּבַשׁ, *debash*, stands for the دبس, *dibbs*, the sweet syrup made by boiling down the juice of the grape to the consistency of treacle, but in most instances bees' honey is undoubtedly signified. Bees'-wax was also employed for various purposes, but not, so far as we know, for candles. It was an ingredient in various ointments and perfumes.

The word of God is frequently compared in Scripture to honey for its sweetness (Ps. xix. 10, &c.). Deborah (bee) was a favourite and appropriate female name (Gen. xxxv. 8; Judg. iv. 5).

Besides the hive bee there are very many species of humble bee (*Bombus*) common in Palestine, several species of carpenter bee (*Xylocopa*), while the more solitary mason bees are especially numerous both in species and individuals, but their stores of honey are too inconsiderable to have ever been an object of search.

The LXX. has the following eulogium on the bee in Prov. vi. 8: "Go to the bee, and learn how diligent she is, and what a noble work she produces, whose labours kings and private men use for their health; she is desired and honoured by all, and though weak in strength, yet since she values wisdom, she prevails." This passage is not found in any Hebrew copy of the Scriptures; it exists however in the Arabic, and it is quoted by Origen, Clemens Alexandrinus, Jerome, and other ancient writers. Cp. *Speaker's Comm.* "Introd. to Proverbs," iii. § 12 (*a*) (3); Delitzsch on Prov. vi. 8 and *Einleit. in das Spruchbuch*, § 5; Strack in Strack u. Zöckler's *Kgf. Komm.* "Sprüche Salomos," *Einleit.* § 4.

The bee belongs to the family *Apidae*, of the *Hymenopterous* order of insects. The principal modern writers on bees are Swammerdam, Kirby and Spence, Réaumur, Huber, Schirach, Bonnet,

smoked," showing how ancient the custom is of taking bees' nests by means of smoke. Constant allusion is made to this practice in classical authors. Wasps' nests were taken in the same way. See Bochart (*Hieroz.* iii. 260).

Brandt, and Ratzeburg (*Med. Zoologie*, ii. 8, 177–205). [H. B. T.]

BEEL-IA'DA (בְּעַלְיָדָע = *known by Baal*; Βν. Βαλεγδᾶε, A. Βαλλιαδά; *Baaliada*), one of David's sons, born in Jerusalem (1 Ch. xiv. 7). In the lists in Samuel (2 Sam. v. 16) the name is ELIADA, El taking the place of Baal. [W. A. W.]

BEEL-SARUS (Βεελσάρος; *Beelsuro*), 1 Esd. v. 8. [BILSHAN] One of those who returned to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel. [W. A. W.]

BEEL-TETHMUS, an officer of Artaxerxes residing in Palestine (1 Esd. ii. 16, 25. See note in *Speaker's Comm.*). The name is a corruption of בְּעֵל טְעֵם = lord of judgment, the title of Rehum, the name immediately before it (Ezra iv. 8; where A. V. and R. V. render בְּעֵל טְעֵם "chancellor"). The title is now explained by the Assyrian Inscriptions, and signifies "lord of official intelligence" or "postmaster" (Sayce, *Introd.* to the Books of Ezra, Neh. and Esther, p. 25. Cp. Bertheau-Ryssel on Ezra iv. 8). [F.]

BEEL-ZEBUB (Βεελζεβούλ [Tischendorf-Gebhardt and Westcott and Hort read Βεεζεβούλ always]; *Beelzebub*), the title of a heathen deity, to whom the Jews ascribed the sovereignty of the evil spirits (Matt. x. 25, xii. 24; Mark iii. 22; Luke xi. 15 sq.). The correct reading is without doubt *Beelzebul*, and not *Beelzebub* as given in the Syriac, the Vulg., and some other Versions; the authority of the MSS. is decisive in favour of the former, the alteration being easily accounted for by a comparison with 2 K. i. 2, to which reference is made in the passages quoted. [BAAL, p. 308, No. 2.] Two questions present themselves in connexion with this subject:—(1) How are we to account for the change of the final letter of the name? (2) On what grounds did Jews assign to the Beelzebub of Ekron the peculiar position of ὁ ἄρχων τῶν δαιμονίων? The sources of information at our command for the answer to these questions are scanty: the names are not found elsewhere: the LXX. translates Beelzebub Βάαλ μυῖα θεός, as also does Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 2, § 1); and the Talmudical writers are silent on the subject.

1. The explanations offered in reference to the change of the name may be ranged under two classes, according as they are based on the *sound* or the *meaning* of the word. (*a*) The former proceeds on the assumption that the name Beelzebub was offensive to the Greek ear, and that the final letter was altered to avoid the double *b*, just as Habakkuk became in the LXX. Ἀμβακούμ (Hitzig, *Vorbemerk.* in Habakkuk); the choice of *l*, as a substitute for *b*, being decided by the previous occurrence of the letter in the former part of the word (Bengel, *Gnomon* in Matt. x. 25, comparing Μελχόλ in the LXX. as = Michal). It is, however, by no means clear why other names, such as Magog, or Eldad, should not have undergone a similar change: and we should prefer the assumption, in connexion with this view, that the change was purely of an accidental nature, for which no satisfactory reason can be assigned. (*b*) The second class of explanations carries the greatest weight of authority with it: these proceed on the ground that the Jews intentionally changed the pronunciation of the word, so as either to give a significance to it adapted to their own ideas, or to cast ridicule upon the idolatry of the neighbouring nations, in which case we might compare the adoption of Sychar for Sychem, Bethaven for Bethel. The Jews were certainly keenly alive to the significance of names, and not unfrequently indulged in an exercise of wit, consisting of a play upon the meaning of the words, as in the case of Nabal (1 Sam. xxv 25), Abraham (Gen. xvii. 5), and Sarah (Gen. xvii. 15). Lightfoot (*Exercitations*, Matt. xii 24) adduces instances from the Talmudical writers of opprobrious puns applied to idols.

The explanations which are thus based on etymological grounds, branch off into two classes.

(*a*) Some connect the term with זְבוּל, *habitation*, thus making Beelzebul, בַּעַל-זְ = οἰκοδεσπότης (Matt. x. 25), *the lord of the dwelling*, whether as the "prince *of* the power of the air" (Eph. ii. 2), or as the prince of the lower world (Paulus, quoted by Olshausen, *Comment.* in Matt. x. 25), or as inhabiting human bodies (Schleusner, *Lex.* s. v.), or as occupying a mansion in the seventh heaven, like Saturn in Oriental mythology (Movers, *Phoenic.* i. 260, quoted by Winer, *Realwort.* art. *Beelzebub*; cp. Michaelis, *Suppl. ad Lex.* p. 205, and Fürst for a similar view). (*b*) Others derive it from זֹבֶל, *dung* (a word, it must be observed, not in use in the Bible itself, but occurring in Talmudical writers in form זְבוּל), thus making Beelzebul, lit. *the lord of dung*, or *the dunghill*; and in a secondary sense, as *zebel* was used by the Talmudical writers as = *idol* or *idolatry* (comp. Lightfoot, *Exercit.* Matt. xii. 24; Luke xi. 15), *the lord of idols, prince of false gods*, in which case it = ἄρχων τῶν δαιμονίων.

It is generally held that the former of these two senses is more particularly referred to in the N. T. (Carpzov, *Appar.* p. 498, comparing the term גִּלּוּלִים as though connected with גֵּלֶל, *dung*; Olshausen, *Comment.* in Matt. xii. 25): the latter, however, is adopted by Lightfoot and Schleusner We have lastly to notice the ingenious conjecture of Hug (as quoted by Winer) that the fly under which Baalzebub was represented [on the cultus of the Ζεὺς ἀπόμυιος and of a god Myiodes or Myiocores, see Baudissin in Herzog, *RE.*² s. n. *Beelzebub*], was the *Scarabaeus pillularius* or *dunghill beetle*, in which case Baalzebub and Beelzebul might be used indifferently.

2. The second question hinges to a certain extent on the first. The reference in Matt. x. 25 may have originated in a fancied resemblance between the application of Ahaziah to Baalzebub, and that of the Jews of our Lord to Satan for the ejection of the unclean spirits. As no human remedy availed for the cure of this disease, the Jews naturally referred it to some higher power, and selected Beelzebub as the heathen deity to whom application was made in case of severe disease. The title ἄρχων

τῶν δαιμονίων may have special reference to the nature of the disease in question, or it may have been educed from the name itself by a fancied or real etymology. It is worthy of special observation that the notices of Beelzebul are exclusively connected with the subject of demoniacal possession,—a circumstance which may account for the subsequent disappearance of the name. Baudissin (*l. c.*) answers this question by referring to the fly as an unclean insect, and to the god of flies as an unclean god. He finds a parallel in the metamorphosis of the wicked god Loki into a fly. [W. L. B.] [F.]

BE-ER (בְּאֵר = *well*; τὸ φρέαρ; *puteus*).

1. One of the latest halting-places of the Israelites, lying beyond the Arnon, and so called because of the well which was there dug by the "princes" and "nobles" of the people, and which is perpetuated in a fragment of poetry (Numb. xxi. 16–18).[a] This is by some considered the BEER-ELIM, or "well of heroes," referred to in Is. xv. 8. The "wilderness" (מִדְבָּר) which is named as their next starting-point in the last clause of *v.* 18, may be that before spoken of in *v.* 13, or it may be a copyist's mistake for מִבְּאֵר. It was so understood by the LXX., who read the clause, καὶ ἀπὸ φρέατος—"and from the well," *i.e.* "from Beer" (see Dillmann[2] in loco).

According to the tradition of the Targumists —a tradition in part adopted by St. Paul (1 Cor. x. 4. See *Speaker's Comm.*, note)—this was one of the appearances, the last before the entrance on the Holy Land, of the water which had "followed" the people, from its first arrival at Rephidim, through their wanderings. The water — so the tradition appears to have run — was granted for the sake of Miriam, her merit being that, at the peril of her life, she had watched the ark in which lay the infant Moses. It followed the march over mountains and into valleys, encircling the entire camp, and furnishing water to every man at his own tent door. This it did till her death (Num. xx. 1), at which time it disappeared for a season, apparently rendering a special act necessary on each future occasion for its evocation. The striking of the rock at Kadesh (Num. xx. 10) was the first of these; the digging of the well at Beer by the staves of the princes, the second. Miriam's well at last found a home in a gulf or recess in the Sea of Galilee, where at certain seasons its water flowed, and was resorted to for healing purposes (Targums Onkelos and Pseudo-Jonathan on Num. xx. 1, xxi. 18. See also the quotations from the Talmud in Lightfoot on John v. 4, and in *Expositor* [1889], pp. 15–18).

2. B. Βαιήρ; A. Ῥαρά; Vulg. *Bera*. A place to which Jotham, the son of Gideon, fled for fear of his brother Abimelech (Judg. ix. 21). There is nothing in the text or elsewhere to indicate its position, though Keil (in loco) identifies it with *el Bireh* near the mouth of Wady es Surar (Robinson, ii. 347). [G.] [W.]

BE-E'RA (בְּאֵרָא, Ges. = *a well*; A. Βηρά, B. Βαιαιλά; *Bera*), son of Zophah, of the tribe of Asher (1 Ch. vii. 37). [W. A. W.] [F.]

BE-E'RAH (בְּאֵרָה, Ges. = *a well*; A. Βηρά, B. Βεήλ; *Beera*), son of Baal, prince (נָשִׂיא) of the Reubenites, carried away by Tiglath-pileser (1 Ch. v. 6). [W. A. W.] [F.]

BEER-E'LIM (בְּאֵר אֵלִים, *well of heroes*; φρέαρ τοῦ Αἰλείμ, A. Αἰλίμ; *puteus Elim*), a spot named in Is. xv. 8 as on the "border of Moab," apparently the south, Eglaim being at the north end of the Dead Sea. Gesenius, Delitzsch, and Mühlau think that the name points to the well dug by the chiefs of Israel on their approach to the Promised Land, close by the "border of Moab" (Num. xxi. 16; cp. *v.* 13), but this is rejected by Dillmann[2]. [BEER, 1.] Beer-elim was probably chosen by the Prophet out of other places on the boundary on account of the similarity between the sound of the name and that of יְלֵלָה—the "howling" which was to reach even to that remote point (Ewald, *Proph.* 233). [G.] [W.]

BE-E'RI (בְּאֵרִי, Ges. = *man of the well*; A*D.* Βεήρ, E. Βαιήλ; *Beeri*). **1.** The father of Judith, one of the wives of Esau (Gen. xxvi. 34), who is called in the genealogical table (Gen. xxxvi. 2) AHOLIBAMAH, daughter of Anah. Consequently some regard Beeri and Anah as names of the same person; others, with more probability, trace in the whole passage two independent traditions (see Dillmann[5] on Gen. xxxvi. 2). [F.]

2. Βεηρεί. Father of the prophet Hosea (Hos. i. 1). [F. W. G.]

BEER-LAHA'I-ROI (בְּאֵר לַחַי רֹאִי), R. V. marg. *the well of the living One Who seeth me* [cp. Delitzsch (1887) and Dillmann[5]]; ADE. τὸ φρέαρ τῆς ὁράσεως; *puteus viventis et videntis me*), a well (Gen. xvi. 14), or rather a living spring[a] (A. V. and R. V. "fountain," cp. *v.* 7), between Kadesh and Bered, in the wilderness, "in the way to Shur," and therefore in the "south country" (Gen. xxiv. 62; LXX. *aliter*), whose name, according to the explanation of the text, recalled to Hagar the Name of the LORD (Gen. xvi. 13, R. V. "Thou art a God that seeth") Who spake unto her there. By this well Isaac dwelt both before and after the death of his father (Gen. xxiv. 62; xxv. 11: in both passages the name is given in the A. V. as "the well [R. V. Beer-] Lahai-roi").

The well of Hagar was shown in the time of Jerome between Kadesh and Barad (*O.S.*[2] p. 135, 3). Mr. Rowland finds the well Lahai-roi at *'Ain Muweileh*, a station on the road to Beer-sheba, ten hours south of *Ruheibeh*; near which is a hole or cavern bearing the name of *Beit Hajar* (Ritter, *Sinai*, pp. 1086–7); but this

[a] There is no connexion between the "gather" in *v.* 16 and that in xx. 8. From the A. V. it might be inferred that the former passage referred to the event described in the latter; but the two words rendered "gather" are radically different,—קָהַל in xx. 8, where R. V. has "assemble," אָסַף in xxi. 16.

[a] One of the very few cases in which the two words עַיִן, *Ain*, a living spring, and בְּאֵר, *Beer*, an artificial well, are applied to the same thing.

requires confirmation. Prof. Palmer (*PEFQy. Stat.* 1871, pp. 21–2) mentions a rock-hewn chapel and other caves at *'Ain Muweileh*, which it would appear that the early Christians regarded "as sacred from some tradition attached to the spot." Mr. Holland (*MS. Notes*) says that the principal watering-place consists of a stream, and three or four shallow wells with troughs, and notes the presence of much water.

This well is not to be confounded with that by which the life of Ishmael was preserved on a subsequent occasion (Gen. xxi. 19), and which, according to the Moslem belief, is the well *Zemzem* at Mecca. [G.] [W.]

BEE'ROTH (בְּאֵרוֹת, *wells*; *Beroth*), one of the four cities of the Hivites who deluded Joshua into a treaty of peace with them, the other three being Gibeon, Chephirah, and Kirjath-jearim (Josh. ix. 17; LXX. *v.* 23, B. Βειρών, $1^{ab\,mg}$ Βηθώρ, AF. Βηρώθ). Beeroth was with the rest of these towns allotted to Benjamin (xviii. 25; B. Βεηρωθά, A. Βηρώθ), in whose possession it continued at the time of David, the murderers of Ish-bosheth being named as belonging to it (2 Sam. iv. 2; B. Βηρώθ, A. om.). From the notice in this place (*vv.* 2, 3) it would appear that the original inhabitants had been forced from the town, and had taken refuge at Gittaim (Neh. xi. 34), possibly a Philistine city. Probably this occurred on the occasion of Saul's massacre of the Gibeonites (2 Sam. xxi. 1), which would account for the animosity of Baanah and Rechab to Saul's son.

Beeroth is once more named with Chephirah and K.-jearim in the list of those who returned from Babylon (Ezra ii. 25; Neh. vii. 29, B. Βερώς; 1 Esd. v. 19, B. Βηρόγ, *aliter* Βηρώθ). [BEROTH.]

Beeroth was known in the times of Eusebius, and his description of its position (*OS.*[2] p. 247, 61, with the corrections of Reland, pp. 618–9; Rob. i. 452, note) agrees perfectly with that of the modern *el-Bireh*, which stands about ten miles north of Jerusalem by the great road to *Nâblus*, just below a ridge which bounds the prospect northwards from the Holy City (Rob. i. 451–2; ii. 262. See also *PEF. Mem.* iii. 8, 88; and Guérin, *Judée*, iii. 7–13. [Another site may be seen suggested in Dillmann[2] on Josh. ix. 17]). No mention of Beeroth beyond those quoted above is found in the Bible, but one link connecting it with the N. T. has been suggested, and indeed embodied in the traditions of Palestine, which we may well wish to regard as true, viz. that it was the place at which the parents of "the child Jesus" discovered that He was not among their "company" (Luke ii. 43–45). At any rate the spring of *el-Bireh* is even to this day the customary resting-place for caravans going northward, at the end of the first day's journey from Jerusalem (Stanley, p. 215; Lord Nugent, ii. 112; Schubert in Winer, *s. v.*).

A church was built by Helena on the spot where the Virgin Mary sank down on discovering her loss. The remains were to be seen in Maundrell's day (*E. T.* 436). The church was standing in the time of Quaresimus (ii. 787); he identifies *el-Bireh* with Michmash. *Bireh* belonged to the Knights Templar (Brocardus, vii. 178).

Besides Baanah and Rechab, the murderers of Ish-bosheth, with their father Rimmon, we find Nahari "the Beerothite" (הַבְּאֵרֹתִי, B. ὁ Βηθωραΐος, B^{ab} A. Βηρωθαΐος; 2 Sam. xxiii. 37), or "the Berothite" (הַבֵּרֹתִי, A. ὁ Βηρώθ, B. ὁ Βερθεί, 1 Ch. xi. 39), one of the "mighty men" of David's guard. [G.] [W.]

BEE'ROTH OF THE CHILDREN OF JAAKAN (בְּאֵרֹת בְּנֵי־יַעֲקָן; BAF. Βηρὼθ υἱῶν Ἰακείμ; *Beroth filiorum Jacan*), the wells of the tribe of the Bene-Jaakan, which formed one of the halting-places of the Israelites in the desert (Deut. x. 6). In the lists in Num. xxxiii. 31, the name is given as BENE JAAKAN only. [G.] [W.]

BEE'ROTHITE. [BEEROTH.]

BEER-SHEBA (בְּאֵר שֶׁבַע, בְּ שָׁבַע [in pause], *well of swearing*, or *of seven*; Φρέαρ ὁρκισμοῦ, and Φρέαρ τοῦ ὁρκοῦ, in Genesis; B. Βηρσαβέε, A. -βέθ [sometimes] in Joshua and later Books; Joseph. Βηρσουβαί· ὅρκιον δὲ φρέαρ λέγοιτο ἄν; *Bersabee*), the name of one of the oldest places in Palestine, and which formed, according to the well-known expression, "from Dan to Beersheba" (see below), the southern limit of the country. The sanctuary of Beersheba consisted of seven wells; and it is notable that among the Semites special sanctity was attached to a group of this number (W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, i. 165).

There are two accounts of the origin of the name. 1. According to the first, the well was dug by Abraham, and the name—Beersheba—given, because there he and Abimelech the king of the Philistines "sware" (נִשְׁבְּעוּ) both of them (Gen. xxi. 31), stress being laid by the Hebrew on the bond ratified by swearing. But the compact was also ratified by the setting apart of "*seven* (שֶׁבַע, *sheba*) ewe lambs"; and the name recalled to the Canaanite the seven things by which ratification was perfected (cp. Dillmann[5]).

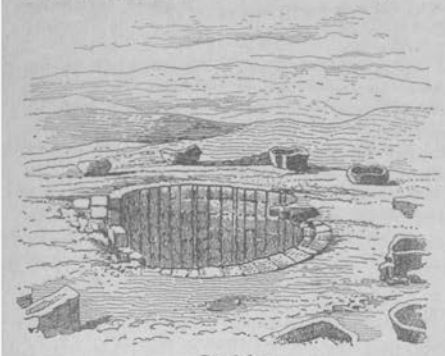
2. The other narrative ascribes the origin of the name to an occurrence almost precisely similar, in which both Abimelech the king of the Philistines, and Phichol his chief captain, are again concerned, with the difference that the person on the Hebrew side of the transaction is Isaac instead of Abraham (Gen. xxvi. 31–33). Here there is no reference to the "seven" lambs, and we are left to infer the derivation of Shibeah (שִׁבְעָה, A. V. "Shebah," R. V. "Shibah") from the mention of the "swearing" (יִשָּׁבְעוּ) in *v.* 31.

If we accept the statement of xxvi. 18 as referring to the same well as in the former account, we need not enquire whether these two accounts relate to two separate occurrences (Delitzsch [1887]), or refer to one and the same event, at one time ascribed to one, at another time to another of the early heroes and founders of the nation. It should be remembered that there are at present on the spot two principal wells, and five smaller ones (see below). They are among the first objects encountered on the entrance into Palestine from the south; and

being highly characteristic of the life of the Bible, at the same time that the identity of the site is beyond all question, the wells of Beersheba never fail to call forth the enthusiasm of the traveller.

The two principal wells—apparently the only ones seen by Robinson—are on or close to the northern bank of the *Wâdy es-Seb'a*. They lie just a hundred yards apart, and are so placed as to be visible from a considerable distance (Bonar, *Land of Prom.* 1). The larger of the two, which lies to the east, is, according to the careful measurements of Dr. Robinson, 12½ feet in diam., and at the time of his visit (April 12) was 44½ feet to the surface of the water: the masonry which encloses the well reaches downwards for 28½ feet. The other well is 5 feet in diam. and was 42 feet to the water.

The kerb-stones round the mouth of both wells are worn into deep grooves by the action of the ropes of so many centuries, and "look as if frilled or fluted all round." Round the larger well there are nine, and round the smaller five large stone troughs—some much worn and broken, others nearly entire, lying at a distance of 10 or 12 feet from the edge of the well. There were formerly ten of these troughs at the larger well. The circle around is carpeted with a sward of fine short grass with crocuses and lilies (Bonar, pp. 5–7). The water is excellent, the best, as Dr. Robinson emphatically records, which he had tasted since leaving Sinai.



Beersheba.

The five lesser wells—apparently the only ones seen by Van de Velde—are, according to his account and the casual notice of Bonar, in a group in the bed of the wady, not on its north bank, and at so great a distance from the other two, that the latter were missed by him.

On some low hills north of the large wells are scattered the foundations and ruins of a town of moderate size, *Kh. Bîr es-Seb'a*. There are no trees or shrubs near the spot. See *PEF. Mem.* iii. 394; Prof. Palmer in *PEF. Qy. Stat.* 1871, 36; and Guérin, *Judée*, ii. 277–284.

After the digging of the well Abraham planted a "tamarisk-tree" (R. V.) as a place for the worship of Jehovah, and here he lived until the sacrifice of Isaac, and for a long time afterwards (xxi. 33; xxii. 1, 19). Here also Isaac was dwelling at the time of the transference of the birthright from Esau to Jacob (xxvi. 33, xxviii. 10); and from the patriarchal encampment round the wells of his grandfather, Jacob set forth on the journey to Mesopotamia which changed the course of his whole life. Jacob does not appear to have revisited the place until he made it one of the stages of his journey down to Egypt. He then halted there to offer sacrifice to "the God of his father," doubtless under the sacred grove of Abraham.

From this time till the conquest of the country we lose sight of Beersheba, only to catch a momentary glimpse of it in the lists of the "cities" in the extreme south of Judah (Josh. xv. 28) given to the tribe of Simeon (Josh. xix. 2; 1 Ch. iv. 28). Samuel's sons were judges in Beersheba (1 Sam. viii. 2), its distance no doubt precluding its being among the number of the "holy cities" (LXX. τοῖς ἡγιασμένοις πόλεσι) to which he himself went in circuit every year (vii. 16).[a] By the times of the monarchy it had become recognised as the most southerly place of the country. Its position as the place of arrival and departure for the caravans trading between Palestine and the countries lying in that direction would naturally lead to the formation of a town round the wells of the patriarchs, and the great Egyptian trade begun by Solomon must have increased its importance. Hither Joab's census extended (2 Sam. xxiv. 7; 1 Ch. xxi. 2), and here Elijah bade farewell to his confidential servant (מְשָׁרֵת) before taking his journey across the desert to Sinaï (1 K. xix. 3). From Dan to Beersheba (Judg. xx. 1, &c.), or from Beersheba to Dan (1 Ch. xxi. 2; cp. 2 Sam. xxiv. 2), now became the established formula for the whole of the Promised Land; just as "from Geba to Beersheba" (2 K. xxiii. 8), or "from Beersheba to Mount Ephraim" (2 Ch. xix. 4), was that for the southern kingdom after the disruption. After the return from the Captivity the formula is narrowed still more, and becomes "from Beersheba to the valley of Hinnom" (Neh. xi. 30).

One of the wives of Ahaziah, king of Judah, Zibiah mother of Joash, was a native of Beersheba (2 K. xii. 1; 2 Ch. xxiv. 1). From the incidental references of Amos, we find that, like Bethel and Gilgal, the place was in his time the seat of an idolatrous worship, apparently connected in some intimate manner with the northern kingdom (Amos v. 5, viii. 14). In the latter of these passages we have perhaps preserved a form of words or an adjuration used by the worshippers, "Live the 'way' of Beersheba!"[b] After this, with the mere mention that Beersheba and the villages round it ("daughters") were re-inhabited after the Captivity (Neh. xi. 30), the name dies entirely out of the Bible records; like many other places, its associations are entirely confined to the earlier history, and its name is not even once mentioned in the New Testament.

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[a] The LXX. probably read מִקְדָּשׁ instead of מָקוֹם; though it is possible that מָקוֹם, like the Arabic *maṣâm*, might have a special application to a holy place (see Wellhausen, *Der Text d. BB. Samuelis*, in loco).

[b] There is a correspondence worth noting between the word "way" or "manner" (R. V.) in this formula (דֶּרֶךְ, literally "the road"), and the word ἡ ὁδός, "the Way" (R. V.), by which the new religion is designated in Acts ix. 2, &c.

But though unheard of, its position ensured a continued existence to Beersheba. In the time of Jerome it was still a considerable place (oppidum, *Quaest. ad Gen.* xvii. 30; or vicus grandis, *OS.*[2] p. 138, 33), the station of a Roman praesidium; and later it is mentioned in some of the ecclesiastical lists as an episcopal city under the Bishop of Jerusalem (Reland, p. 620). Its present condition has been already described. It only remains to notice that the place retains its ancient name as nearly similar in sound as an Arabic signification will permit—*Bîr es-Seb'a*—the "well of the lion," or "of seven." [G.] [W.]

BE-ESH-TERAH (בְּעֶשְׁתְּרָה; B. Βοσορά, A. Βεεθαρά; *Bosra*), one of the two cities allotted to the sons of Gershom, out of the tribe of Manasseh beyond Jordan (Josh. xxi. 27). By comparison with the parallel list in 1 Ch. vi. 71 (B. Ἀσηρώθ, A. Ραμώθ), Beeshterah appears to be identical with ASHTAROTH; and in fact the name is considered by Gesenius and Olshausen (*Lehrb.* p. 613) and others a contracted form of Beth-Ashtoreth, the house of Ashtoreth. [BOSOR.] [G.] [W.]

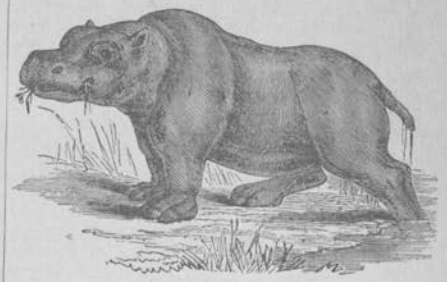
BEETLE (חַרְגֹּל, *chargôl*; ὀφιομάχης; *ophiomachus*; A. V. "beetle," R. V. "cricket"). The word only occurs once in the Bible, in Lev. xi. 22, where it is given along with the "locust," "bald-locust," and "grasshopper" as one of the flying creeping things which may be eaten, "which have legs above their feet, to leap withal upon the earth." It is clear from the context that some species of locust or orthopterous saltatorial insect is intended, and that our translation is erroneous, for no beetle has legs above its feet to leap withal, nor have any species of beetle been ever used as food, though locusts are frequently eaten. Gesenius and MV.[11] interpret the words as meaning "leaper," identical with the Arabic خرجل, *khardjala*, "to leap," used of locusts and of horses, comparing it with the German *Heuschrecke*, from *schrecken*, "to leap." Both Bochart and Rosenmüller (*Hieroz.* iii. p. 257) agree that some species of locust, and not wingless locusts in general, is indicated; but all attempts to identify it are mere conjectures. The LXX. rendering, ὀφιομάχης, "serpent fighter," occurs nowhere else, and is interpreted by Hesychius and Suidas as meaning a wingless species of locust. But the notion of any locust fighting serpents is of course utterly without foundation in tradition or fact. Yet some authors have suggested that the various species of *Truxalis* are intended, an orthopterous genus closely allied to the locusts, and very numerous in Syria. In order to give colour to the conjecture, it has been asserted that the *Truxalidae* are insectivorous. This, as we ourselves and other naturalists have ascertained by observation, is incorrect, the genus being as strictly herbivorous as the locust (see Fischer, *Orthopt. Europ.* p. 292). Jewish commentators render *chargôl* by "grasshopper," the numerous species of which are closely allied to those of the locust tribe.

True beetles, or *Coleoptera*, are very numerous in Palestine, probably over 1000 species being recognised, in marked contrast to the small number of butterflies, *Lepidoptera*, for which the country is not so suitable. [H. B. T.]

BEHEADING. [PUNISHMENTS.]

BEHE'MOTH (בְּהֵמוֹת;[a] θηρία; *behemoth*). This word has long been considered one of the *dubia vexata* of critics and commentators, but modern commentators generally believe the hippopotamus to be denoted by the original word; and so R. V. marg^n.

Behemah and *behemoth* are general terms for all large mammalia, in which sense it is so constantly used in the Hebrew; and also the specific designation of the hippopotamus. To this animal, and to this alone, it can apply in the Book of Job; and in this case only the translators of A. V., being without accurate knowledge, wisely abstained from any attempt to render the original.



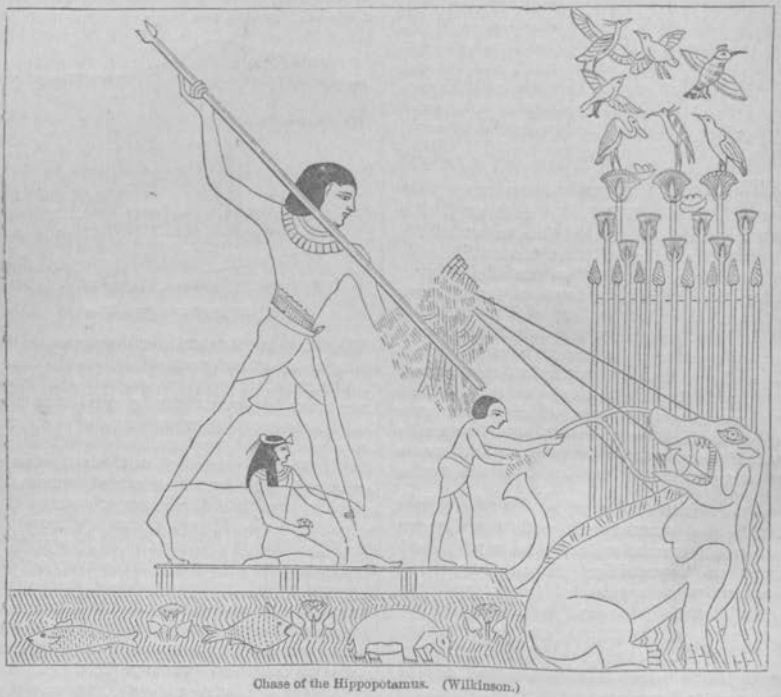
Hippopotamus amphibius.

Gesenius and Rosenmüller have remarked that since in the first part of Jehovah's discourse (Job xxxviii., xxxix.) *land animals and birds* are mentioned, it suits the general purpose of that discourse better to suppose that *aquatic or amphibious* creatures are spoken of in the last half of it; and that since the leviathan, by almost universal consent, denotes the crocodile, the behemoth seems clearly to point to the hippopotamus, his associate in the Nile. Harmer (*Observ.* ii. 319) says, "There is a great deal of beauty in the ranging of the descriptions of the behemoth and the leviathan, for in the Mosaic pavement the people of an Egyptian barque are represented as darting spears or some such weapons at one of the river-horses, as another of them is pictured with two sticking near his shoulders....It was then a customary thing with the old Egyptians thus to attack these animals (see woodcut below); if so, how beautiful is the arrangement: there is a most happy gradation; after a grand but just representation of the terribleness of the river-horse, the Almighty is represented as going on with His expostulations something after this manner:—'But dreadful as this animal is, barbed irons and spears have sometimes prevailed against him; but what wilt thou do with the crocodile? Canst thou fill his skin with barbed irons?'" &c. In the *Lithostrotum Praenestinum*, to which Mr. Harmer refers, there are two crocodiles, associates of three river-horses,

[a] Bochart, Gesenius, MV.[11], and others consider this word a hebraized form of the Egyptian *p-ehe-mau*, i.e. *Bos marinus* (see add. note to Job xl. 15 in *Speaker's Comm.*).

which are represented without spears sticking in them, though they seem to be within shot.

It has been said that some parts of the description in Job cannot apply to the hippopotamus: the 20th verse for instance, where it is said, "the mountains bring him forth food." This passage, many writers say, suits the elephant well, but cannot be applied to the hippopotamus, which is never seen on mountains. Again, the 24th verse (A. V.)—"his nose pierceth through snares"—seems to be spoken of the trunk of the elephant, "with its extraordinary delicacy of scent and touch, rather than to the obtuse perceptions of the river-horse." In answer to the first objection it has been stated, with great reason, that the word *hârim* (הָרִים) is not necessarily to be restricted to what we understand commonly by the expression "mountains." In the Praenestine pavement alluded to above, there are to be seen here and there, as Mr. Harmer has observed, "hillocks rising above the water." In Ezek. xliii. 15 (margin), the altar of God, only ten cubits high and fourteen square, is called [according to one etymology; see MV.[11]] "the mountain of God." "The eminences of Egypt, which appear as the inundation of the Nile decreases, may undoubtedly be called *mountains* in the poetical language of Job." But we think there is no occasion for so restricted an explanation. The hippopotamus, as is well known, frequently leaves the water and the river's bank as night approaches, and makes inland excursions for the sake of the pasturage, when he commits sad work among the growing crops (Hasselquist, *Trav.* p. 188). No doubt he might be often observed on the



Chase of the Hippopotamus. (Wilkinson.)

hill-sides near the spots frequented by him. Again, it must be remembered that the "mountains" are mentioned by way of contrast to the natural habits of aquatic animals generally, which never go far from the water and the banks of the river. but the behemoth, though passing much of his time in the water and in "the covert of the reed and fens," eateth grass like cattle, and feedeth on the hill-sides in company with the beasts of the field.[b] Livingstone observes that "they prefer to remain by day in a drowsy yawning state; and though their eyes are open, they take little notice of things at a distance." There is much beauty in the passages which contrast the habits of the hippopotamus, an amphibious animal, with those of herbivorous land-quadrupeds: but if the elephant is to be understood, the whole description is, comparatively speaking, tame.

With respect to the second objection, there is little doubt that the A. V. marginal reading is nearer the Hebrew than that of the A. V. "Will any take him in his sight, or bore his nose with a gin?" (see note [m] below). Perhaps this refers to leading him about alive with a ring in his nose, as, says Rosenmüller, "the Arabs are accustomed to lead camels," and we may add the English to lead bulls, "with a

[b] A recent traveller in Egypt, the Rev. J. L. Errington, writes to us. "The valley of the Nile in Upper Egypt and Nubia is in parts so very narrow, that the mountains approach within a few hundred yards, and even less, to the river's bank; the hippopotamus therefore might well be said to get its food from the mountains, on the sides of which it would grow."

ring passed through the nostrils." The expression in v. 17, "he moveth his tail like a cedar," has given occasion to much discussion; some of the advocates for the elephant maintaining that the word *zânâḥ* (זָנַב) may denote either extremity, and that here the elephant's trunk is intended. The parallelism, however, clearly requires the posterior appendage to be signified by the term. The expression seems to allude to the stiff unbending nature of the animal's tail, which in this respect is compared to the trunk of a strong cedar which the wind scarcely moves. The description of the animal's lying under "the shady trees," amongst the "reeds" and willows, is peculiarly applicable to the hippopotamus.[c] It has been argued that such a description is equally applicable to the elephant; but this is hardly the case, for though the elephant is fond of frequent ablutions, and is *frequently* seen near water, yet the *constant* habit of the hippopotamus, as implied in verses 21, 22, seems to be especially made the subject to which the attention is directed. The whole passage (Job xl. 15–24) may be thus literally translated:—

"Behold now Behemoth, whom I made with thee[d]; he eateth grass[e] like cattle.

"Behold now, his strength is in his loins, and his power in the muscles [so R. V.] of his belly.

"He moveth his tail like a cedar: the sinews of his thighs interweave one with another [R. V. "are knit together"].

"His bones[f] are as tubes of brass; his (solid) bones[g] each one as a bar of forged iron.

"He is (one of) the chief of the ways of God: his Maker hath furnished him with his scythe (tooth),[h]

"For the hills bring him forth abundant food, and all the beasts of the field have their pastime there.

"Beneath the shady trees[i] he lieth down, in the covert of the reed, and fens.[k]

"The shady trees[i] cover him with their shadow; the willows of the brook surround him.

"Lo! the river swelleth proudly against him, yet he is not alarmed: he is securely confident though a Jordan[l] burst forth against his mouth.

"Will any one capture him when in his sight?[m] will any one bore his nostril in the snare?"

This description agrees in every particular

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[c] "At every turn there occurred deep, still pools, and occasional sandy islands densely clad with lofty reeds. Above and beyond these reeds stood trees of immense age, beneath which grew a rank kind of grass on which the sea-cow delights to pasture" (G. Cumming, p. 297).

[d] עִמָּךְ. Bochart says, "near thee," *i. e.* not far from thy own country. Gesenius and Rosenmüller translate the word "pariter atque te." Cary understands it, "at the same time as I made thee."

[e] חָצִיר "grass," not "hay," as the Vulg. has it, and some commentators: it is from the Arabic خضر, "to be green." The Hebrew word occurs in Num. xi. 5, in a limited sense to denote "leeks."

[f] עֶצֶם seems to refer here to the bones of the legs more particularly; the marrow-bones.

[g] גִּרְמֵי perhaps here denotes the rib-bones [so R. V. in marg.; in text "limbs"], as is probable from the singular number כְּמִטְיל בְּרְזֶל, which appears to be distributive and thereby emphatic. See Rosenmüll. *Schol.* in loco.

[h] "With these apparently combined teeth the hippopotamus can cut the grass as neatly as if it were mown with the scythe, and is able to sever, as if with shears, a tolerably stout and thick stem" (Wood's *Nat. Hist.* i. 762). חֶרֶב, perhaps the Greek ἄρπη. See Bochart (iii. 722), who cites Nicander (*Theriac.* 566) as comparing the tooth of this animal to a scythe. The next verse explains the purpose and use of the "scythe" with which God has provided His creature; viz. in order that he may eat the grass of the hills. A. V. and R. V. render the latter part of this verse as follows: "He *only* that made him can make his sword to approach *unto him*."

[i] תַּחַת־צְאָלִים; *ὑπὸ παντοδαπὰ δένδρα; sub umbra.* A. Schultens, following the Arabic writers Saadias and Abulwalid, was the first European commentator to propose "the lotus-tree" [so R. V.] as the signification of the Hebrew צְאָל, which occurs (as a plural) only in this and the following verse of Job. He identifies the Hebrew word with the Arabic ضَال, which according to some authorities is another name for the سِدر (*sidr*), the lotus of the ancient "lotophagi," *Zizyphus lotus*. It would appear, however, from Abu'lfadli, cited by Celsius (*Hierob.* ii. 191), that the *Dhâl* is a species distinct from the *Sidr*, which latter plant was also known by the name *Salam*. Sprengel identifies the *Dhâl* with the Jujube-tree (*Zizyphus vulgaris*). The other species, in Arabic نبك, *nubk*, is identical with the Hebrew נַעֲצוּץ, *na'atzootz*, and is the *Zizyphus spina-christi* of naturalists (Is. vii. 19). But even if it were proved that the צְאָל and the ضَال were identical, the explanation of the ضَال by Freytag, "Arbor quae remota a fluminibus nonnisi pluviâ rigatur, *aliis*, lotus Kam. Dj." does not warrant us in associating the tree with the reeds and willows of the Nile. Gesenius, strange to say, supposes the reeds (out of which numerous birds are flying in the woodcut [supra, p. 384] from Sir G. Wilkinson's work, and which are apparently intended to represent the *papyrus* reeds) to be the lote lilies. His words are: "At any rate, on a certain Egyptian monument which represents the chase of the hippopotamus, I observe this animal concealing himself in a wood of water-lotuses—*in loti aquaticae sylvâ*" (Wilkinson, *Customs and Manners*, iii. 71). We prefer the rendering of the A. V. "shady trees;" and so read Vulg., Kimchi, and Ibn Ezra, the Syriac and the Arabic, with Bochart. Rosenmüller takes צְאָלִים, "more Aramaeo pro צְלָלִים, ut וַיִּמְאַס pro וַיִּמְסַס, supra vii. 5, et Ps. lviii. 8" (*Schol. ad Job.* xl. 21).

[k] See woodcut (p. 384). Compare also Bellonius, quoted by Bochart: "Vivit arundinibus et cannis sacchari et foliis papyri herbae."

[l] The name of Jordan is used poetically for any river, as the Greek poets use Ida for any mountain and Achelous for any water (Rosenmüll. *Schol.*), or perhaps in its original meaning, as simply a "rapid river" (see Stanley, *S. & P.* § 37). This verse seems to refer to the inundation of the Nile, and is rendered by R. V. "Behold, if a river overflow, he trembleth not. He is confident, though Jordan swell even to his mouth."

[m] This seems to be the meaning implied. Compare in the case of Leviathan, xli. 2, 5; but see also Cary's rendering, "He receiveth it (the river) up to his eyes." R. V. 'Shall any take him when he is on the watch, or pierce through his nose with a snare?"

with the hippopotamus, which we fully believe to be the representative of the Behemoth of Scripture.

According to the Talmud, Behemoth is some huge land-animal which daily consumes the grass off a thousand hills; he is to have at some future period a battle with Leviathan. On account of his grazing on the mountains, he is called "the bull of the high mountains" (see Lewysohn, *Zool. des Talmuds*, p. 355). "The 'fathers,' for the most part," says Cary (Job, p. 402), "surrounded the subject with an awe equally dreadful, and in the Behemoth here, and in the Leviathan of the next chapter, saw nothing but mystical representations of the devil; others again have here pictured to themselves some hieroglyphic monster that has no real existence; but these wild imaginations are surpassed by that of Bolducius, who in the Behemoth actually beholds Christ!".

The hippopotamus, as being the largest quadruped known to the Israelites, was well distinguished as *Behemoth, the* beast *par excellence*. The genus is peculiar to the African continent, through the whole of which the species *Hippopotamus amphibius* is found from Abyssinia southward. We have, as has been seen, abundant historic evidence of its former existence throughout the whole course of the Nile. There is one other living species, a smaller animal, *Hippopotamus liberiensis*, on the West Coast of Africa, distinguished by having only two incisors in the lower jaw. It is quite possible that in former times the hippopotamus may have extended into Palestine, just as the crocodile still exists in the marshes under Mount Carmel. Five extinct species are found in the late tertiary deposits of the Sevalik range in India (Cautley and Falconer, *Faun. Antiq. Sival.* vii.; *Asiatic Researches*, 1836, xix. 39, and 1838, vii. 1014). Two other species are found in great abundance in the later gravels of Britain and Western Europe, along with shells of many species now existing in the locality, proving that the temperature has not very much changed, and that the extinct species inhabited cold and temperate climates.

The Book of Job alludes to the chase of the hippopotamus, as depicted on the Egyptian monuments. A similar method is still practised by the negroes, who float down a river on a raft or canoe, so as not to alarm the herd, and then strike one with a barbed weapon, to which a long line and buoy are attached. The animal, unable to disengage himself, is then rapidly pursued, and struck every time he comes to the surface, till he is worn out by loss of blood. But the more ordinary method of capture is by pitfalls, carefully concealed, across the paths they frequent in going by night to their pasture-grounds. The pitfalls are spiked at the bottom with sharp stakes, and require much care in their construction, for the caution and suspicion of the animal are great. "His nose pierceth through snares;" but when once he has inadvertently trodden on the treacherous platform, his despatch is easy.

The skin of the hippopotamus is cut into whips by the Dutch colonists of S. Africa, and also by the Nubians, and the monuments of Egypt testify that a similar use was made of the skin by the ancient Egyptians (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* i. 240 [1878]). The inhabitants of S. Africa hold the flesh of the hippopotamus in high esteem; it is said to be not unlike pork.

The hippopotamus belongs to the order *Pachydermata*, class *Mammalia*. [W. H.] [H. B. T.]

BE'KAH. [WEIGHTS.]

BEL. [BAAL.]

BEL AND DRAGON. [DANIEL, APOCRYPHAL ADDITIONS TO.]

BE'LA (בֶּלַע; *A.D.* Βάλακ in Gen. xiv. 2, 8, E. Βαλὰ in Gen. xiv. 2; *Bela; a swallowing up*, or *destruction*. In the *Liber Nom. Hebr.* in St. Jerome's works, tom. ii., it is corrupted to Σαλαὶ in the Cod. Reg.; but in the Cod. Colbert. it is written Βαλλά,[a] and interpreted *καταποντισμός* (see Ps. lv. [liv.] 9, LXX.). Jerome appears to confound it with בַּעַל, where he renders it "*habens*, sive devorans:" and with בָּלָה, where he says, "Balla, absorpta sive *inveterata*").

1. One of the five cities of the plain which was spared at the intercession of Lot, and received the name of Zoar (צוֹעַר), *smallness*, i.e. *a little one* (Gen. xiv. 2; xix. 22, LXX. Σήγωρ). It lay on the south-western extremity of the Dead Sea, on the frontier of Moab and Palestine (Jerome on Is. xv. 5; cp. Jer. xlviii. 34; Gen. xiii. 10). We first read of Bela in Gen. xiv. 2, 8, where it is named with Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, and Zeboiim, as forming a confederacy under their respective kings, in the vale of Siddim, to resist the supremacy of the king of Shinar and his associates. It is singular that the king of Bela is the only one of the five whose name is not given; and this, as Delitzsch [*Genesis*, 1887, in loco] points out, may be a mark of genuineness in the narrative. The writer did not know the king's name and did not create one. But it also suggests the probability of *Bela* having been his own name, as well as the name of his city, which may have been so called from him. The tradition of the Jews was that it was called *Bela* from having been repeatedly engulphed by earthquakes; and in the passage Jer. xlviii. 34, "From Zoar even unto Horonaim (have they uttered their voice) as an heifer[b] of three years old," and in Is. xv. 5, they absurdly fancied an allusion to its destruction by three earthquakes (Jerome, *Quaest. Heb. in Gen.* xiv.). There is nothing improbable in itself in the supposed allusion to the *swallowing up* of the city by an earthquake, which בָּלַע exactly expresses (Num. xvi. 30); but the repeated occurrence of בָּלַע, and words compounded with it, as names of men, rather

[a] Βαλλὰ is also the reading of *A.D.* for *Bera* [E. Βαρὰ] in Gen. xiv. 2.

[b] In both passages the cry of the distressed Moabites is by A. V. compared to the lowing of a heifer whose calf has been taken from her. The R. V., on the other hand, takes the words עֶגְלַת שְׁלִשִׁיָּה to represent a proper name, Eglathshelishiyah. The authorities and arguments on both views are given in Delitzsch, *Isaiah*[4] xv. 5.—[F.]

favours the notion of the city having been called *Bela* from the name of its founder. This is rendered yet more probable by *Bela* being the name of an Edomitish king in Gen. xxxvi. 32 [A. Βαλάκ, E. -έκ]. For further information see De Saulcy's *Narrative*, i. 457–481, and Stanley's *S. and P.* p. 285. [ZOAR.]

2. Son of Beor (Gen. xxxvi. 32), who reigned over Edom in the city of DINHABAH, eight generations before Saul, king of Israel, or about the time of the Exodus. Bernard Hyde, following some Jewish commentators (Targ.-Jonathan here, and Targ. on 1 Ch. i. 44; cp. Simon. *Onomast.* 142, note), identifies this Bela with Balaam the son of Beor; but the evidence from the name does not seem to prove more than identity of family and race.* There is nothing whatever to guide us as to the age of Beor, the founder of the house from which Bela and Balaam sprung. Beor (בְּעֹר) is of a decidedly Chaldee or Aramean form, like Peor (פְּעֹר), Pethor (פְּתוֹר), Rehob (רְחֹב), and others: and we are expressly told that Balaam the son of Beor dwelt in Pethor, which is by the river of the land of the children of his people, *i.e.* the river Euphrates; and he himself describes his home as being in Aram (Num. xxii. 5; xxiii. 7). Saul again, who reigned over Edom after Samlah, came from Rehoboth by the river Euphrates (Gen. xxxvi. 37). We read in Job's time of the Chaldeans making incursions into the land of Uz, and carrying off the camels and slaying Job's servants (Job i. 17). In the time of Abraham we have the king of Shinar apparently extending his empire so as to make the kings on the borders of the Dead Sea his tributaries, and with his confederates extending his conquests into the very country which was afterwards the land of Edom (Gen. xiv. 6). Putting all this together, we may conclude with some confidence that Bela the son of Beor, who reigned over Edom, was a Chaldean by birth, and reigned in Edom by conquest. He may have been contemporary with Moses and Balaam. Hadad, of which name there were two kings (Gen. xxxvi. 35, 39), is probably another instance of an Aramean king of Edom, as we find the name Benhadad as that of the kings of Syria, or Aram, in later history (1 K. xx.). Compare also the name of Hadad-ezer, king of Zobah, in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates (2 Sam. viii. 3, &c.). The passage Gen. xxxvi. 31–39 is given in duplicate 1 Ch. i. 43–51.

3. Eldest son of Benjamin, according to Gen. xlvi. 21;* Num. xxvi. 38; 1 Ch. vii. 6, viii. 1, and head of the family of the Belaites. The houses of his family, according to 1 Ch. viii. 3–5, were Addar, Gera, Abihud (only named here), Abishua (only named here), Naaman, Ahoah, Shupham, and Haram. It is, perhaps, worth noticing that as we have Husham by the side of Bela among the kings of Edom (Gen. xxxvi. 34), so also by the side of Bela, son of Benjamin, we have the Benjamite family of Hushim (1 Ch. vii. 12), sprung apparently from a foreign woman of that name, whom a Benjamite took to wife in the land of Moab (1 Ch. viii. 8–11). [BECHER.]

4. Son of Ahaz, a Reubenite (1 Ch. v. 8; B. Βαλέκ, A. Βάλα). It is remarkable that his country too was "in Aroer, even unto Nebo and Baal-meon; and eastward he dwelt even unto the entering in of the wilderness from the river Euphrates" (*vv.* 8, 9, R. V.). [A. C. H.]

* In A. V. "Belah," R. V. "Bela."

BE'LAH. [BELA, 3.]

BE'LAITES, THE (הַבַּלְעִי), Num. xxvi. 38 [LXX. *v.* 42, B. ὁ Βαλεέλ, AF. Βαλεί; *Belaitæ*], descendants of BELA [No. 3]. [W. A. W.] [F.]

BE'LEMUS (Βήλεμος; *Balsamus*), 1 Esd. ii. 16 [LXX. *v.* 15]. [BISHLAM.] [W. A. W.]

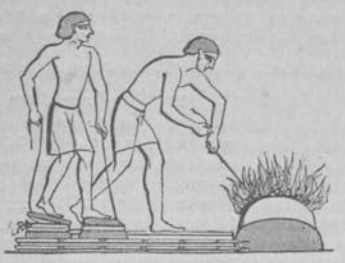
BE'LIAL. The translators of the A. V., following the Vulgate, have frequently treated the word בְּלִיַּעַל as a proper name, and given it in the form *Belial*, in accordance with 2 Cor. vi. 15. This is particularly the case where it is connected with the expressions אִישׁ, *man of*, or בֶּן־, *son of*: in other instances it is translated *wicked* or by some equivalent term (Deut. xv. 9; Ps. xli. 8, ci. 3; Prov. vi. 12, xvi. 27, xix. 28; Nah. i. 11, 15). The R. V. imitates the A. V. in this variety of treatment, if it is often careful to note in the margin the proper meaning of the expression (*e.g.* Deut. xiii. 13; Judg. xix. 22, xx. 13). But there can be no question that the word is not to be regarded in the O. T. as a proper name, or as a designation of Satan; its meaning there is *worthlessness*, and hence *recklessness*, *lawlessness*. Its etymology is uncertain: the first part בְּלִי = *without*; the second part is derived by most moderns from יָעַל, *profit*; so that the entire word signifies *worthlessness*. The expression *son* or *man of Belial* thus means simply a worthless, lawless fellow (παράνομος, LXX.): it occurs frequently in this sense in the Historical Books (Judg. xix. 22, xx. 13; 1 Sam. i. 16, ii. 12, x. 27, xxv. 17, 25, xxx. 22; 2 Sam. xvi. 7, xx. 1; 1 K. xxi. 10; 2 Ch. xiii. 7), and only once in the earlier Books (Deut. xiii. 13). The adjunct אִישׁ is occasionally omitted, as in 2 Sam. xxiii. 6 and Job xxxiv. 18, where בְּלִיַּעַל stands by itself, as a term of reproach.

In the N. T. the term appears in the form Βελίαρ (originally, no doubt, due to a corruption of *l* into *r*, but explained by later Syriac writers as = בלאיר, "Lord of the air;" cp. Eph. ii. 2) and not Βελίαλ, as given in the A. V. The change of λ into ρ is found occasionally (cp. Ges. *Thes.* s. l. ל; *e.g.* מְזָרוֹת, Job xxxviii. 32, for מְזָלוֹת, 2 K. xxiii. 5). The same change occurred in the Doric dialect (φαῦρος for φαῦλος), with which the Alexandrine writers were most familiar. The term as used in 2 Cor. vi. 15 is generally understood as an appellative of Satan [the word used by the Peshiṭto Version], as the personification of all that was bad (see note in *Speaker's Comm.*). This use of Belial (usually in the form Beliar) is also found in the *Sibyll. Books*, the *Ascension of Isaiah*, and the *Test. of XII. Patriarchs*. Bengel (*Gnomon* in loc.) explains it of Antichrist, as more strictly the opposite of Christ (*omnem colluviem anti-*

christianam notare videtur). Cp., on the subject generally, Schrader in Schenkel's *Bib.-Lex.* and Baudissin in Herzog, *RE.*[2] s. n.

[W. L. B.] [F.]

BELLOWS (מַפֻּחַ; *φυσητήρ*, LXX.). The word occurs only in Jer. vi. 29, "The bellows are burned" [R. V. in text, "blow fiercely"]; where their use is to heat a smelting furnace. They were known even in the time of Moses, and perhaps still earlier, since the operations of a foundry would be almost impossible without them. A picture of two different kinds of bellows, both of highly ingenious construction, may be found in Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* ii. 316 [1878]. "They consisted," he says, "of a leather, secured and fitted into a frame, from which a long pipe extended for carrying the wind to the fire. They were worked by the feet, the operator standing upon them, with one under each foot, and pressing them alternately while he pulled up each exhausted skin with a string he held in his hand. In one instance we observe from the painting, that when the man left the bellows, they were raised as if inflated with air; and this would imply a knowledge of the valve. The pipes even in the time of Thothmes III., [supposed to have been] the contemporary of Moses, appear to have been simply of reed, tipped with a metal point to resist the action of the fire."



Egyptian Bellows. (Wilkinson.)

Bellows of an analogous kind were early known to the Greeks and Romans. Homer (*Il.* xviii. 470) speaks of twenty *φῦσαι* in the forge of Hephaestos, and they are mentioned frequently by ancient authors (*Dict. of Ant.*, art. *Follis*). Ordinary hand-bellows, made of wood and kid's-skin, are used by the modern Egyptians, but are not found in the old paintings. They may however have been known, as they were to the early Greeks. [F. W. F.]

BELLS. There are two words thus translated in the A. V. and R. V., viz. פַּעֲמֹן, Ex. xxviii. 33 (from פַּעַם, *to strike*; *κώδωνες*, LXX.), and מְצִלּוֹת, Zech. xiv. 20 (*τὸ ἐπὶ τὸν χαλινὸν τοῦ ἵππου*, LXX.; Vulg. *fraena*; A. V. marg. "bridles;" from צָלַל, *to sound, tingle*).

In Ex. xxviii. 33 the bells alluded to were the golden ones, according to the Rabbis 72 in number (Winer, s. v. *Schellen*),[a] which alternated with the three-coloured pomegranates round the hem of the high-priest's מְעִיל or ephod (Jos. *Ant.* iii. 7, § 4). The object of them was that his sound might be heard when he went in unto the holy place, and when he came out, that he die not (Ex. xxviii. 35); or "that as he went there might be a sound, and a noise made that might be heard in the Temple, for a memorial to the children of his people" (Ecclus. xlv. 9; cp. Luke i. 9, 21). No doubt they answered the same purpose as the bells used by the Brahmins in the Hindoo ceremonies, and by the Roman Catholics during the celebration of mass. They were not simply ornamental. To this day bells are frequently attached, for the sake of their pleasant sound, to the anklets of women. [ANKLET.] The little girls of Cairo wear strings of them round their feet (Lane, *Mod. Eg.* ii. 370), and at Koojar Mungo Park saw a dance "in which many performers assisted, all of whom were provided with little bells fastened to their legs and arms." But the bells on the high-priest's robes were to warn the people, and the priest himself, of the solemnity of his duties on the great Day of Atonement. Since even Philo gives no *special* symbolic significance to the bells in speaking of the "golden robes" (*de Profug.* 20; *de migr. Abrah.* 18, &c.), we can hardly accept Bähr's suggestion (*Symbolik*, ii. 126) that they were meant to indicate the duty of the high-priest as an *announcer* of truth. Josephus, in his *Antiquities* (iii. 7, § 4), only speaks of their beauty; in his *Jewish War* he makes the somewhat inane suggestion that the bells signified thunder and the pomegranates lightning (*B. J.* v. 5, § 7).

In Zech. xiv. 20, "bells of the horses" (where our marg. Vers., "bridles," follows the LXX.), the Heb. word is almost the same as מְצִלְתַּיִם, "a pair of cymbals;" and as they are supposed to be inscribed with the words "Holiness unto the Lord," it is probable that they were not bells as usually understood, but "concave or flat pieces of brass, which were sometimes attached to horses for the sake of ornament" (Jahn, *Arch. Bibl.* § 96). Indeed, they were probably the same as the שַׁהֲרֹנִים, *μηνίσκοι* (Is. iii. 18; Judg. viii. 21), lunulae of gold, silver, or brass used as ornaments, and hung by the Arabians round the necks of their camels, as we still see them in England on the harness of horses (see *Speaker's Comm.* note on Zech. xiv. 20; cp. Babelon, *Manuel d'Archéologie Orientale*, pp. 151–2). They were not only ornamental, but useful, as their tinkling tended to enliven the animals; and in the caravans they thus served the purpose of our modern sheep-bells. The comparison to the *κώδωνες* used by the Greeks to test horses seems out of place; and hence Archbishop Secker's explanation of the verse, as meaning that war-horses would become useless, and their trappings would be converted to sacred purposes, is untenable. The general meaning of the passage, as appears from the context, is that true religion will then be universally professed. [F. W. F.]

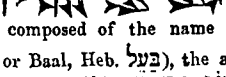
[a] Justin Martyr (*Dial.* 42) says that they were 12 in number, and makes them a symbol of the Apostles. Otto thinks that he confused the bells with the 12 gems of the Urim.

BEL'MAIM (BA. Βελβαίμ, א. Ἀβελβαίμ; *Belma*), a place which, from the terms of the passage, would appear to have been near Dothaim (Judith vii. 3). The name is perhaps retained in

'Ain and *Wâdy Belâmeh* south of *Jenîn*. Possibly it is the same as BELMEN. The Syriac has Abel-meholah. [G.] [W.]

BEL'MEN (B. Βαιλμαίν, ℵ. 'Αβελμαίν, A. Βελμαίν; Vulg. omits), one of the places to which the Jews sent messengers on the approach of Holofernes (Judith iv. 4). The Hebrew name would seem to have been Abelmaim, but the only place of that name in the O. T. was far to the north of the locality here alluded to. [ABEL-BETH-MA'ACHA.] The Syriac Version has Abel-meholah, which is more consistent with the context. [ABEL-MEHOLAH; BELMAIM.] See *Speaker's Comm.* on Judith iv 4. [G.] [W.]

BELSHAZ'ZAR (בֶּלְשַׁאצַּר, Dan. v. 1, &c.; בַּלְאשַׁצַּר, vii. 1; Βαλτάσαρ; *Baltasar*), according to the well-known scriptural narrative, the last native king of Babylon, spoken of in Dan. v., vii., viii. It is in the first of the above-named places — namely, the fifth chapter—that the account of Belshazzar's feast, the appearance of the handwriting on the wall, Daniel's interpretation of it, in which he foretells Belshazzar's overthrow, which was accomplished that very night, is given. Except in Josephus (*Ant.* x. ch. xi § 2) and the Book of Daniel, his name does not occur. Most scholars, however, taking into consideration that Josephus, when speaking of him, says, "Baltasar, who by the Babylonians was called Naboandelos," have identified him with this king, whose name appears also under the forms Nabonidos, Nabonnedos, Nabonadios, Nabannidochus, and Labynetos.

Belshazzar's name, however, occurs rather frequently in the cuneiform inscriptions of Babylonia; and he is, besides, often referred to when not mentioned by name. The most common form of the name is  , read *Bêl-šarra-ûsur*, composed of the name of the god Bel (Belos or Baal, Heb. בַּעַל), the accusative of the word *šarru*, "king" (Heb. שַׂר), and the imperative masc. sing. of *naṣâru*, "to protect" (Heb. נָצַר), the whole meaning, "Bel, protect the king!" The best-known passage in Babylonian literature in which his name occurs is that in which Nabonidus, his father, speaks of him in the following words: "and as for Bêl-šarra-ûsur, the firstborn son proceeding from my body, cause thou the reverence of thy great divinity to exist in his heart; and may he not give way to sin, may he be satisfied with fulness of life."[a] Belshazzar is also often mentioned on contract-tablets. One of these, dated the 26th day of Ve-Adar in the 1st year of Nabonidus, records a transaction concerning a plot of ground adjoining "the house of the son of the king," made seemingly through Bêl-rêṣûa, "servant of Belshazzar the son of the king." In the 3rd and 7th years of Nabonidus also transactions took place in which Belshazzar's servants (Nabû-šarra-ûṣur his scribe, Nabû-ṣabit-kâtâ his major-domo, and Nabû-ukîn-âḫê, messenger of his chief slave) were contracting parties. In the 11th year of Nabonidus, Belshazzar lent, through his major-domo, the sum of 20 mana of silver to Iddin-Marduk, whose property was to be Belshazzar's security for the repayment of the loan. Besides these and other commercial transactions and relations entered into by and for him, there are many records of the son of the king (that is, Belshazzar) having made gifts to the temples of Babylonia, chiefly to the shrine of the Sun-god in Ê-bara (or Ê-babara), within Sipar, the city identified with Sippara and the Biblical Sepharvaim. One of the most interesting of these notices records that, on the 5th day of Ab in the 17th year of Nabonidus—seemingly only a month or two before his death—Belshazzar paid ⅔rds (of a mana) and 7 shekels of silver on behalf of his sister Ina-Ê-sagila-rêmat, this sum representing the amount of tithe owing by her to the offertory-house at Sipar or Sepharvaim.[b]

As has been above remarked, Belshazzar frequently gave offerings to the temple of the Sun-god at Sipar, the reason of this probably being that he was commander of the army, which seems to have been permanently stationed in Akkad, the tract of country from which Akkad, which was apparently the twin city with Sipar or Sepharvaim, took its name. The Babylonian Chronicle informs us, in the entries for the years 7–11 of Nabonidus, that "the son of the king" was with the army in Akkad in each of those years, and a complete record is only missing, apparently, by the mutilation of the text. The gap extends, practically, from the 11th to the 17th year of Nabonidus, where the chronicle again resumes its interesting story. In the account of events in the 17th year of Nabonidus,

[a] The last eight lines of the inscription on the cylinders (four in number), found at the corners of the temple of the Moon-god at Muḳeyyor, the supposed Ur of the Chaldees (*Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vol. i., pl. 68). Sir H. C. Rawlinson deciphered this text in 1854.

[b] Whether, before Nabonidus became king of Babylonia, the family to which he belonged were in the public service or not, is doubtful. Belshazzar's trade-transactions seem to imply that they were merchants. All we know about Nabonidus's ancestry is the single fact stated in some of his records, that he was son (or descendant) of Nabû-balaṭ-su-iḳbî, the *rubû êmgu*, or "deeply-wise prince." Nabonidus seems to have followed in his father's footsteps, for he was certainly learned, being, as we now know, an ardent antiquarian. If learning were the speciality of the family, we have thus an explanation why Nabonidus was raised to the throne. This view would be borne out if it could be proved that the Belshazzar, "son of Balaṭu" (a possible abbreviation for Nabû-balaṭ-su-iḳbî, just as *Nadinu* is short for *Nabû-nadin-šumi*), who borrows some grain from Dâan-šum-iddin in the 1st year of Nabonidus, and who appears, in the usual place at the end of the list of witnesses, as the *scribe who wrote the tablet*, was really the son of king Nabonidus. This Belshazzar, who was probably the only one among the group of traders then assembled who could write a good hand, appears again five months later; and after this we have the name of his brother, Nabû-ukîn-âbli, son of *Nabonidus*, son of Balaṭu. If the Belshazzar mentioned in these documents be the Belshazzar of the Book of Daniel, and Nabonidus his father the well-known king, it would point to the probability, that Nabonidus was well advanced in years before he came to the Babylonian throne; Rêmut, son of Nabû-ukîn-âbli, descendant of Balaṭu (grandson of Nabonidus, and nephew of Belshazzar, descendants of Balaṭu), being witness to a contract in the first year of Nabonidus.

it is stated that Cyrus, after fighting a battle at Opis, had some conflicts with "the men of Akkad, and took Sipar on the 14th day of Tammuz without fighting. Nabonidus fled." From this last statement it would seem as if Nabonidus and Belshazzar had changed places, the former being with the army in Akkad, and the latter at Babylon. On the 16th day of Tammuz —two days latter—Ugbaru (Gobryas) and the army of Cyrus descended to Babylon without fighting. It was not until the 3rd of Marcheswan (nearly four months later) that Cyrus arrived at Babylon, and he at once "established peace to the city." Throughout the narrative of the taking of Babylon, Belshazzar is not once mentioned, but there is one passage to which, perhaps, an amendment may be proposed. As is well known, Belshazzar was, according to Daniel v., killed in the night, and Xenophon (*Cyrop.* vii. 5, 3) tells us that Babylon was taken by Cyrus during the night, whilst the inhabitants were engaged in feasting and revelry, and that the king was killed. So in the Babylonian Chronicle, lines 22–24, we have the statement that "On the night of the 11th of Marcheswan, Ugbaru (Gobryas) [descended ?] against [Babylon ?], and the king died. From the 27th of Adar until the 3rd of Nisan there was weeping in Akkad. All the people bowed their head." The most doubtful character in the above extract is that which stands for the word "and," the character in question having been regarded as the *large group* which stands for that word. A close examination of the original, however, shows that it is possible that there are two characters instead of one—namely, the *small* character for "and" and the character *tur*, which, in this connexion, would stand for *u mâr*, "and the son of," in which case the line would read, "and *the son of* the king died." Weeping in Akkad for Belshazzar is just what would be expected, when we take into consideration that he was for many years with the army there, and that he must have made himself a favourite by his liberality to the Akkadian temples. Even supposing, however, that the old reading is the right one, it is nevertheless possible that the passage refers to Belshazzar; for Berosus relates that Nabonidus, on surrendering to Cyrus, had his life spared, and that a principality or estate was given to him in Carmania, where he died. It is therefore at least probable that Belshazzar was regarded, even by the Babylonians, as king, especially after his father's surrender. With this improved reading of the Babylonian text, it is impossible to do otherwise than identify Gobryas with DARIUS the Mede (if we suppose that the last verse of the 5th chapter of Daniel really belongs to that chapter, and does not form part, as in the Hebrew text, of chapter vi.), he being mentioned, in the Babylonian Chronicle, in direct connexion with the death of the king's son (or the king, as the case may be). This identification, though not without its difficulties, receives a certain amount of support from Daniel vi. 1, where it is stated that "it pleased Darius to set over the kingdom an hundred and twenty princes," &c.—an act which finds parallel in the Babylonian Chronicle, which states that, after Cyrus promised peace to Babylon, "Gobryas, his governor, appointed governors in Babylon."

As has been shown above, Belshazzar was most likely not of royal race, Nabonidus, in his records, only stating, that he was son or descendant of Nabû-balaṭ-su-iḳbî. There is, in fact, no confirmation, in the Babylonian records, of the statement in Daniel v. 2, 11, 13, and 18, that Nebuchadnezzar was his father or grandfather. It is not improbable, however, that he really was descended from him on his mother's side, as has been suggested by Rawlinson (*Herod.* Essay viii. § 25), who connects Belshazzar, through his mother, with Nebuchadnezzar, regarding it as very likely that Nabonidus, who was certainly not descended from Nebuchadnezzar, would try to strengthen his position by marrying the daughter of that king, who would thus be Belshazzar's maternal grandfather. Belshazzar's death took place in 538 B.C., when he was probably about 57 years old. [T. G. P.]

BELTESHAZZAR. [DANIEL.]

BEN (בֵּן = *son*; LXX. omits; *Bεν*), a Levite "of the second degree," one of the porters appointed by David to the service of the ark (1 Ch. xv. 18). [W. A. W.]

BENA'IAH (בְּנָיָהוּ and בְּנָיָה = *built by Jah*; B. Βαναΐας or -ά, A. -αΐας, ℵ. Βανέας or Βεν- ; *Banaïas*), the name of several Israelites:—

1. BENAIAHU, the son of Jehoiada the chief priest (1 Ch. xxvii. 5), and therefore of the tribe of Levi, though a native of Kabzeel (2 Sam. xxiii. 20; 1 Ch. xi. 22), in the south of Judah; set by David (1 Ch. xi. 25) over his body-guard of Cherethites and Pelethites (2 Sam. viii. 18; 1 K. i. 38; 1 Ch. xviii. 17; 2 Sam. xx. 23), and occupying a middle rank between the first three of the Gibborim or "mighty men" and the thirty "valiant men of the armies" (2 Sam. xxiii. 22, 23; 1 Ch. xi. 25, xxvii. 6; and see Kennicott, *Diss.* p. 177). The exploits which gave him this rank are narrated in 2 Sam. xxiii. 20, 21; 1 Ch. xi. 22. He was captain of the host for the third month (1 Ch. xxvii. 5).

Benaiah remained faithful to Solomon during Adonijah's attempt on the crown (1 K. i. 8, 10), a matter in which he took part in his official capacity as commander of the king's body-guard (1 K. i. 32, 38, 44); and after Adonijah and Joab had both been put to death by his hand, he was raised by Solomon into the place of the latter as commander-in-chief of the whole army (ii. 35, iv. 4).

Benaiah appears to have had a son, called after his grandfather, Jehoiada, who succeeded Ahithophel about the person of the king (1 Ch. xxvii. 34). But this is possibly a copyist's mistake for "Benaiah the son of Jehoiada."

2. BENAIAH the PIRATHONITE (BA. om. in 2 Sam.; Vulg. in 2 Sam. and 1 Ch. xi. *Banaia*), an Ephraimite, one of David's thirty mighty men (2 Sam. xxiii. 30; 1 Ch. xi. 31), and the captain of the eleventh monthly course (1 Ch. xxvii. 14).

3. BENAIAHU (1 Ch. xv. 18, Βαναΐα); a Levite in the time of David, who "played with a psaltery on Alamoth" (1 Ch. xv. 18, 20, xvi. 5).

4. BENAIAHU; a priest in the time of David, appointed to blow the trumpet before the ark (1 Ch. xv. 24 [BℵA. Βαναΐ], xvi. 6 [BℵA. -αΐας]).

5. BENAIAH (A. Βαναΐας, B. om.); a Levite of the sons of Asaph (2 Ch. xx. 14).

6. BENAIAHU; a Levite in the time of Hezekiah, one of the "overseers (פְּקִידִים) of offerings" (2 Ch. xxxi. 13).

7. BENAIAH (A. Βαναιά; *Banaia*), one of the "princes" (נְשִׂיאִים) of the families of Simeon (1 Ch. iv. 36).

8. BENAIAH; a name common to four laymen in the time of Ezra who had taken strange wives (Βαναιά; Vulg. 1. *Banea*; 2. *Baneas*; 4. *Banaia*). 1 (Ezra x. 25, א. Μαν-) [BAANIAS]; 2 (Ezra x. 30) [NAIDUS]; 3 (x. 35); and 4 (x. 43) [BANAIAS].

9. BENAIAHU; father of Pelatiah, "a prince of the people" in the time of Ezekiel (xi. 1, 13).

[W. A. W.] [F.]

BEN-AM'MI (בֶּן־עַמִּי, *son of my kindred*), the son of the younger daughter of Lot, and the progenitor of the Ammonites (Gen. xix. 38). The LXX. (ed. Swete) and Vulgate enlarge upon the Hebrew text, by inserting the name of Ammon, as well as the explanation of it: καὶ ἐκάλεσεν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἀμμάν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ γένους μου; *Ammon, id est filius populi mei.* J. Derenbourg (*REJ.* ii. 123) and Halévy (*JAs.* vii. 19, p. 480) take Ammi to have become a local name of the god Ammon, as preserved by the cuneiform inscriptions in the name Ammi-nadab, a parallel to Chemosh-nadab (see Dillmann[5] on Gen. *l. c.*). [W. A. W.] [F.]

BENE'-BERA'K (בְּנֵי־בְרַק; B. Βαναι-βακάτ; A. Βαγηβαράκ; *et Bane et Baruch*; Syr. ܒܢܝ ܒܪܩ), one of the cities of the tribe of Dan, mentioned only in Josh. xix. 45. The paucity of information which we possess regarding this tribe (omitted entirely from the lists in 1 Ch. ii.-viii., and of which only one family is mentioned in Num. xxvi.) makes it impossible to say whether the "sons of Berak" who gave their name to this place belonged to Dan; or were, as we may perhaps infer from the name, earlier settlers dispossessed by the tribe. The reading of the Syriac, Baal-debak, is not confirmed by any other Version. Bene-barak is mentioned, with Joppa and Beth Dagon, under the form *Bana-aibarka* (*Banâ 'abarka*, Del.) in an inscription of Sennacherib (Schrader, *KAT.*[2] p. 172), and has been identified by Van de Velde with *Ibn Ibrák*, a village east of Jaffa. By Eusebius the name is divided (cp. Vulg.), and Βαρακαὶ (*OS.*[2] p. 249, 49) taken to have been a village near Azotus, Βαρεκά, now *Burkah*, which lies beyond the limits of Dan.

[G.] [W.]

BENE'-JA'AKAN (בְּנֵי־יַעֲקָן, *Children of Jaakan*; B. Βαναιά, A. Βανικάν, F. Βανιακάν [*v.* 31], Βανα- [*v.* 32]; *Benejaacan*), a tribe who gave their name to certain wells in the desert which formed one of the halting-places of the Israelites on their journey to Canaan [Deut. x. 6. BEEROTH OF THE CHILDREN OF JAAKAN]. In Num. xxxiii. 31, 32, the name is given in the shortened form of Bene-jaakan. The tribe doubtless derived its name from Jaakan, the son of Ezer son of Seir the Horite (1 Ch. i. 42), whose name is also given in Genesis as Akan. [AKAN; JAKAN.]

The situation of these wells has not been yet identified. In the time of Jerome and Eusebius (*OS.*[2] pp. 137, 21; 247, 61; *Beroth filiorum Jacim*, Ἰακείμ) the spot was identified with the place where Aaron died, and 10 miles from Petra on the top of a mountain. Robinson suggests the small fountain *et-Taiyibeh*, at the bottom of the Pass *er-Rubá'i* under Petra, a short distance from the Arabah. The word Beeroth, however, suggests not a spring but a group of artificial wells.

In the Targ. Ps.-Jon. the name is given in Numbers as Aktha, בֵּירֵי עַקְתָּא. [G.] [W.]

BENE'-KE'DEM (בְּנֵי־קֶדֶם, *the children of the East*), an appellation given to a people, or to peoples, dwelling to the east of Palestine. It occurs in the following passages of the O. T.:—(1) Gen. xxix. 1, "Jacob came into the land of the people [R. V. "children"] of the east," in which was therefore reckoned Haran. (2) Job i. 3, Job was "the greatest of all the men [R. V. "children"] of the east" [JOB]. (3) Judg. vi. 3, 33; vii. 12; viii. 10. In the first three of these passages the Bene-Kedem are mentioned together with the Midianites and the Amalekites; and in the fourth the latter peoples seem to be included in this common name: "Now Zebah and Zalmunna were in Karkor, and their hosts with them, about fifteen thousand men, all that were left of all the host of the children of the east" [R. V.]. In the events to which these passages of Judges relate, we find a curious reference to the language spoken by these eastern tribes, which was understood by Gideon and his servant (or one of them) as they listened to the talk in the camp; and from this it is to be inferred that they spoke a dialect intelligible to an Israelite: an inference bearing on an affinity of race, and thence on the growth of the Semitic languages. (4) 1 K. iv. 30, "Solomon's wisdom excelled the wisdom of all the children of the east" [R. V.]. (5) Is. xi. 14; Jer. xlix. 28; Ezek. xxv. 4, 10. From the first passage it is difficult to deduce an argument, but the other instances, with their contexts, are highly important. In Ezekiel, Ammon is delivered to the "children of the east," and its city Rabbah is prophesied to become "a stable for *camels*, and the children of Ammon a couching-place for *flocks*" [R. V.]; referring, apparently, to the habits of the wandering Arabs; while "palaces," also mentioned and thus rendered in the A. V., may be better read with R. V. "*encampments*." The words of Jeremiah strengthen the supposition just mentioned: "Of Kedar, and of the kingdoms of Hazor, which Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon smote. Thus saith the Lord, Arise ye, go up to Kedar, and spoil the children of the east. Their *tents* and their *flocks* shall they take: they shall carry away for themselves their *curtains* [i.e. *tents*], and all their vessels, and their *camels*" [R. V.].

Opinions are divided as to the extension of the appellation of Bene-Kedem; some (as Rosenmüller, Winer, Knobel, and Dillmann) holding it to be a collective name for the Arabs of the East; just as the name *Saracen* (Σαρακηνός), which is apparently derived from شرقي, "eastern," has been extended to the whole race of which in the time of Pliny and Ptolemy

is designated a particular tribe (see Dillmann[5] on Gen. xxv. 15). From a consideration of the passages above cited, and that which makes mention of the land of Kedem, Gen. xxv. 6 [ISHMAEL], we think (with Gesenius and Fürst) that it primarily signified the peoples of the Arabian deserts (east and north-east of Palestine and Lower Egypt), and chiefly the tribes of Ishmael and of Keturah, extending even to Mesopotamia (so we may take Kedem in Num. xxiii. 7, and possibly in Is. ii. 6); and that it was sometimes applied to the Arabs and their country generally. The only positive instance of this latter signification of Kedem occurs in Gen. x. 30, where "Sephar, a mount of the *East*," is by the common agreement of scholars situate in Southern Arabia [ARABIA; SEPHAR].

In the O. T., עֵרֶב, with its conjugate forms, seems to be a name of the peoples otherwise called Bene-Kedem, and with the same limitations. The same may be observed of ἡ ἀνατολή, or ἀνατολαί, in the N. T. (Matt. ii. 1 sq.). אֶרֶץ קֶדֶם, אֶרֶץ בְּנֵי קֶדֶם, בְּנֵי קֶדֶם and קֶדֶם (in the passages above referred to) are translated by the LXX. and in the Vulg. (except LXX. in 1 K iv. 30 [LXX. *v.* 26], and LXX. and Vulg. in Is. ii. 6, where they make Kedem to refer to ancient time): in three places only (those in Jeremiah and Ezekiel) the LXX. transcribes the word Κεδέμ. [E. S. P.]

BEN-HADA'D (בֶּן־הֲדַד, *son of Hadad; vibs* Ἀδερ; *Benadad*), the name of three kings of Damascus. In the monolith inscription of Shalmaneser II. Hadad is written Dadda-'idri (cp. LXX. Ἀδέρ; Peiser in Schrader's *Keilinschrifti. Bibliothek*, i. p. 172 [cp. p. 134]); *Records of the Past*, N. S. iv. 70, or Hadad-'idri (Craig, *Hebraica*, 1887, p. 218). The full form of the word is considered by Pinches to be Ben-hadad-'idri (=the son of Adad [who is identified with Rimmon, the thunder-god] my glory); and this was abbreviated by the Hebrews into Ben-hadad and by the Assyrians into Addu (=Hadad)-'idri [cp. the views on this point of Fried. Delitzsch in *ZKF.* ii. 161, &c., and of Schrader in *ZKF.* ii. 365, *KAT.*[2] p. 200]. *Hadad* or *Adad* was the chief god of the Syrians, probably the Sun (Macrob. *Saturnalia*, i. 23; cp. Baethgen, *Beitr. z. Sem. Religionsgesch.* p. 67), still worshipped at Damascus in the time of Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 4, 6), and from it several Syrian names are derived, *e.g.* Hadad-ezer, i.e. *Hadad is help*. The god is represented on cylinders in the Brit. Mus. as crowned, wearing long hair and full beard, and holding a thunderbolt in his hand (Baethgen). The *son of Hadad*, therefore, means worshipper of Hadad. Damascus, after having been taken by David (2 Sam. viii. 5, 6), was delivered from subjection to his successor by Rezon (1 K. xi. 24), who "was an adversary to Israel all the days of Solomon."

BENHADAD I. (1 K. xv. 18) was either son or grandson to Rezon, and in his time Damascus was supreme in Syria, the various smaller kingdoms which surrounded it being gradually absorbed into its territory. Benhadad must have been an energetic and powerful sovereign, and his alliance was courted both by Baasha of Israel and Asa of Judah. He finally closed with the latter on receiving a large amount of treasure, and conquered a great part of the N. of Israel, thereby enabling Asa to pursue his victorious operations in the S. From 1 K. xx. 34, it would appear that he continued to make war upon Israel in Omri's time, and forced him to make "streets" in Samaria for Syrian residents. [AHAB.] This date is B.C. 950

BENHADAD II., son of the preceding, and also king of Damascus (1 K xx. 1, &c) Some authors call him *grandson*, on the ground that it was unusual in antiquity for the son to inherit the father's name. But Benhadad seems to have been a religious title of the Syrian kings, as we see by its reappearance as the name of Hazael's son, Benhadad III. The inscriptions of Shalmaneser II. (see Peiser and Craig *ll. c.*) narrate successful expeditions against him in the 6th, 11th, and 14th years of the reign of this Assyrian king. In the first of these Benhadad and Ahab are mentioned as allies, a fact corroborated by the Scripture account (1 K. xx. 34; cp. Edersheim, *Bible Hist.* iii. [pt. 2] p. 146, Schrader, *KAT.*[2] p. 199), though the alliance was of no long duration (1 K. xxii. 1, 31). Long wars with Israel in fact characterised the reign of Benhadad II., of which the earlier campaigns are described under AHAB. His power and the extent of his dominion are proved by the thirty-two vassal kings who accompanied him to his first siege of Samaria. Some time after the death of Ahab, probably owing to the difficulties in which Jehoram of Israel was involved by the rebellion of Moab, Benhadad renewed the war with Israel, and after some minor attempts, which were frustrated by Elisha (2 K vi. 8, &c.), attacked Samaria a second time (2 K. vi. 24, &c.), and pressed the siege so closely that there was a terrible famine in the city, and atrocities were committed in order to get food not less revolting than those which Josephus relates of the siege of Jerusalem by Titus. But when the Syrians were on the very point of success, they suddenly broke up in the night in consequence of a sudden panic, under which they fancied that assistance was coming to Israel from Egypt or some Canaanitish cities, as Tyre or Ramoth. Jehoram seems to have followed up this unhoped-for deliverance by successful offensive operations, since we find from 2 K. ix. 1 that Ramoth in Gilead was once more an Israelitish town. [AHAB.] Soon after this Benhadad fell sick (2 K. viii 7, &c.), and sent Hazael, one of his chief officers, with vast presents, to consult Elisha, who happened to be in Damascus, as to the issue of his malady. Elisha replied that the sickness was not a mortal one, but that still Benhadad would certainly die, and he announced to Hazael that he would be his successor, with tears at the thought of the misery which he (Hazael) would bring on Israel. On the day after Hazael's return Benhadad died, but not, as is commonly thought from a cursory reading of 2 K. viii. 15, by the hand of Hazael. Such a supposition is hardly consistent with Hazael's character, would involve Elisha in the guilt of having suggested the deed, and the introduction of Hazael's name in the latter clause of *v.* 15 can scarcely be accounted for, if he be also the subject of the first clause. Ewald, from the Hebrew text and a general consideration of the chapter (*Gesch. des V. I.* iii. 523, note), thinks that one or more of Benhadad's own

servants were the murderers; Calmet (*Fragm.* vii.) believes that the wet cloth which caused his death was intended to effect his cure. This view he supports by a reference to Bruce's *Travels*, iii. p. 33, and Klostermann adopts it (Strack u. Zöckler's *Kyf Komm.* in loco. The usual view is defended in *Speaker's Comm.*). Hazael succeeded him perhaps because he had no natural heirs, and with him expired the dynasty founded by Rezon. Benhadad's death was about B.C. 890, and he must have reigned some thirty years.

BENHADAD III., son of the above-mentioned Hazael, and his successor on the throne of Syria (2 K. xiii. 3, &c.). If at first permitted by the Lord to oppress Israel on account of their sins, his reign was nevertheless disastrous for Damascus; and the vast power wielded by his father sank into insignificance. In the striking language of Scripture, "Jehoahaz [the son of Jehu] besought the Lord, and the Lord hearkened unto him, for he saw the oppression of Israel, because the king of Syria oppressed them; and the Lord gave Israel a saviour" (2 K. xiii. 4, 5). This saviour was Jeroboam II. (cp. 2 K. xiv. 27), but the prosperity of Israel began to revive in the reign of his father Jehoash, the son of Jehoahaz. When Benhadad succeeded to the throne of Hazael, Jehoash, in accordance with a prophecy of the dying Elisha, recovered the cities which Jehoahaz had lost to the Syrians, and beat him in Aphek (2 K. xiii. 17, 23), in the plain of Esdraelon, where Ahab had already defeated Benhadad II. [AHAB.] Jehoash gained two more victories, but did not restore the dominion of Israel on the east of Jordan. This glory was reserved for his successor. The date of Benhadad III. is c. B.C. 810. His misfortunes in war are noticed by Amos i. 4. [G. E. L. C.] [F.]

BEN-HA'IL (בֶּן־חַיִל, *son of the host*, i.e. *warrior; Benhail*), one of the "princes" (שָׂרִים) whom king Jehoshaphat sent to teach in the cities of Judah (2 Ch. xvii. 7). The LXX. translates *τοὺς ἡγουμένους αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν δυνατῶν.* [W. A. W.]

BEN-HA'NAN (בֶּן־חָנָן, Ges. = *son of one who is gracious;* B. *υἱὸς Φανά*, A. *Ἀναν*, *filius Hanan*), son of Shimon, in the line of Judah (1 Ch. iv. 20). [W. A. W.]

BENI'NU (בִּנֵינוּ, Ges. = *our son;* BN. *Βενιαμείν*, A. *Βανουαια*; *Baninu*), a Levite; one of those who sealed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 13 [14]). [W. A. W.]

BENJAMIN (בִּנְיָמִין, *i.e.* Binyamin; in Gen. xxxv. 18, BD *Βενιαείν*, E. *Βενιαμίν*; *Benjamin*). **1.** The youngest of the children of Jacob, and the only one of the thirteen (if indeed there were not more; cp. "all his daughters," Gen. xxxvii. 35, xlvi. 7) who was born in Palestine. His birth took place on the road between Bethel and Bethlehem, a short distance—"a length of earth"—from the latter, and his mother Rachel died in the act of giving birth to him, naming him with her last breath Ben-oni, *the son of my sorrow* (R. V. marg. Cp. 1 Sam. iv. 19–22). This was by Jacob changed into Benjamin (*Binyamin*, Gen. xxxv. 16–18).

The name is worthy of some attention. From the terms of the story it would appear to be implied that it was bestowed on the child in opposition to the desponding, and probably ominous, name Ben-oni (*the son of my sorrow*) given him by his dying mother, and on this assumption it has been interpreted to mean *the son of the right hand* (as if בֶּן־יָמִין), *i.e.* fortunate, happy, *Felix*, the right hand of a thing representing, in the opinion of antiquity, the happy side. In this case the child brought to his father happiness as another (the twelfth) son, and as born in the land of that father's home. This interpretation is inserted in the text of the Vulgate, in the margin of the A. V. and R. V., and has the support of Gesenius (*Thes.* and MV.[11]), Dillmann,[5] and Delitzsch [1887]. The meaning given by Josephus—*διὰ τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ γενομένην ὀδύνην τῇ μητρί* (*Ant.* i. 21, § 3)—is completely different from this, and no doubt arose from confusion with Ben-oni. In the adjectival forms of the word the first syllable is generally suppressed, as בְּנֵי־יְמִינִי or בְּנֵי הַיְמִינִי, *i.e.* "sons of Yemini," for sons of Benjamin; אִישׁ יְמִינִי, "man of Yemini," for man of Benjamin (1 Sam. ix. 1; Esth. ii. 5); אֶרֶץ יְמִינִי, land of Yemini for land of Benjamin (1 Sam. ix. 4; B. *Ἰακείμ*, A. *Ἰεμεναίου*), as if the patriarch's name had been originally יָמִין, Yamin (cp. Gen. xlvi. 10), and that of the tribe Yeminites. In Judg. iii. 15, and 1 Sam. ix. 1, the A. V. reads in the margin "the son of Jemini," and "the son of a man of Jemini;" the R. V. omits such marginal renderings, and reads in Judg. "the Benjamite," and in 1 Sam. "a Benjamite."

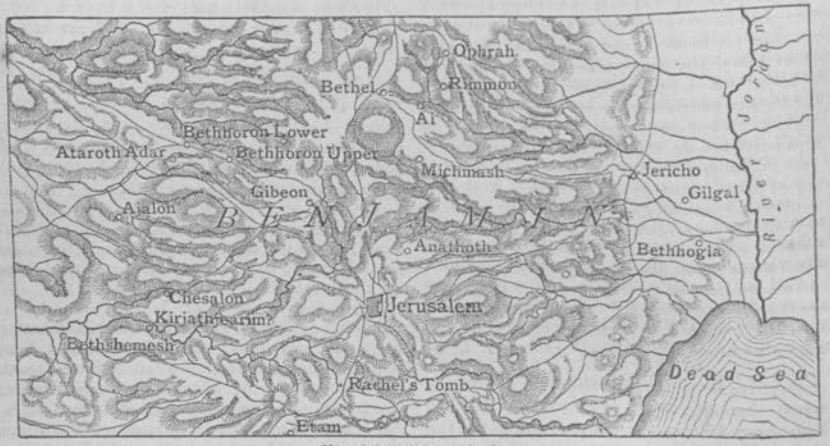
Until the journeys of Jacob's sons and of Jacob himself into Egypt we hear nothing of Benjamin, and so far as he is concerned those well-known narratives disclose nothing beyond the very strong affection entertained towards him by his father and his whole-brother Joseph, and the relation of fond endearment in which he stood, as if a mere darling child (cp. Gen. xliv. 20), to the whole of his family. Even the harsh natures of the elder patriarchs relaxed towards him. But Benjamin can hardly have been the "lad" which we commonly imagine him to be; for at the time that the patriarchs went down to reside in Egypt, when "every man with his house went with Jacob," ten sons are ascribed to Benjamin—a larger number than to any of his brothers—and two of these, if any weight may be attached to the plural formation of the names, may have represented families (Gen. xlvi. 21).[a]

And here, little as it is, closes all we know of the life of the patriarch himself; henceforward the history of Benjamin is the history of the tribe. And up to the time of the entrance on the Promised Land that history is as meagre as it is afterwards full and interesting. We know indeed that shortly after the departure from Egypt it was the smallest tribe but one (Num. i. 36: cp. *v.* 1); that during the march its position was on the west of the Tabernacle with its brother tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh

[a] See, however, Delitzsch [1887] in loco. According to other lists, some of these "children" would seem to have been grandchildren (cp. Num. xxvi. 38–41; 1 Ch. vii. 6–12, viii. 1).

(Num. ii. 18–24). We have the names of the "captain" of the tribe, when it set forth on its long march (Num. ii. 22); of the "ruler" who went up with his fellows to spy out the land (xiii. 9); of the families of which the tribe consisted when it was marshalled at the great halt in the plains of Moab by Jordan-Jericho (Num. xxvi. 38–41, 63), and of the "prince" who was chosen to assist in the dividing of the land (xxxiv. 21). These are indeed preserved to us. But there is nothing to indicate what were the characteristics and behaviour of the tribe which sprang from the orphan darling of his father and brothers: no touches of personal biography like those with which we are favoured concerning Ephraim (1 Ch. vii. 20–23): no record of zeal for Jehovah like that of Levi (Ex. xxxii. 26): no evidence of special bent as in the case of Reuben and Gad (Num. xxxii.). The only foreshadowing of the tendencies of the tribe which was to produce Ehud, Saul, and the perpetrators of the deed of Gibeah, is to be found in the prophetic gleam which lighted up the dying Jacob, "Benjamin is a wolf that ravineth; in the morning he shall devour the prey, and at even he shall divide the spoil" (Gen. xlix. 27, R. V.).

The proximity of Benjamin to Ephraim during the march to the Promised Land was maintained in the territories allotted to each. Benjamin lay immediately to the south of Ephraim and between him and Judah. The situation of this territory was highly favourable. It formed almost a parallelogram, of about 26 miles in length by 12 in breadth. Its limits are minutely described in Josh. xviii. 12–19, and they can still be traced with fair accuracy. The northern boundary probably left the Jordan at the mouth of *W. Nûeiâmeh*, and, passing N. of Jericho, crossed a wild mountain district, the wilderness of Bethaven, to Bethel, *Beitin*, whence it descended to Ataroth Adar, *Kh. Dârieh*, on the



Map of the tribe of Benjamin.

south side of the Lower Bethhoron, *Beit 'Ûr el-Tahta*. The western frontier was from Ataroth Adar to Kirjath-jearim, and thence the southern boundary ran by the waters of Nephtoah, and the hill at the north end of the Valley of the Giants, to the valley of Hinnom, under the "Shoulder of the Jebusite." This section of the boundary cannot be accurately traced until the position of Kirjath-jearim has been definitely fixed; the view usually accepted is that it was at *Kuryet el-'Enab*, and that the boundary crossed *W. Beit Hanîna*, the Valley of the Giants, to *Lifta*, Nephtoah, whence it passed to the valley of Hinnom. More probable sites for Kirjath-jearim have, however, been suggested by Williams at *Deir el-Hawa* (*H. C.* 11), and by Conder at *Kh. 'Erma* (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 43). From either of these places, which are near each other, and not far from *'Ain Shems*, Bethshemesh, the boundary would run by the Pools of Solomon and Rachel's tomb, to the south side of Jerusalem. This view is supported by the statement (1 Sam. x. 2) that Rachel's tomb was on the border of Benjamin; the identification of Nephtoah with Etam in Tal. Bab. *Yoma* 31 *a*; and the position, between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, assigned to the Valley of the Giants by Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 12, § 4; cp. 4, § 1). From the valley of Hinnom the boundary passed by Enrogel and Enshemesh to the valley of Achor, *Wâdy Kelt*, and thence to the mouth of the Jordan, leaving Jericho and Beth-hogla, *Kusr Hajla*, to the north. The smallness of this district, hardly larger than the county of Middlesex, was, according to the testimony of Josephus, compensated for by the excellence of the land (διὰ τὴν τῆς γῆς ἀρετήν, *Ant.* v. 1).[b] In the degenerate state of modern Palestine few traces remain of this excellence. But other and more enduring natural peculiarities remain, and claim our recognition, rendering this possession one of the most remarkable among those of the tribes.

(1.) The general level of this part of Palestine is very high, not less than 2,000 feet above the maritime plain of the Mediterranean on the one side, or than 3,000 feet above the deep valley of

[b] A trace of the pasture-lands may be found in the mention of the "herd" (1 Sam. xi. 5; R.V. "oxen"); and possibly others in the names of some of the towns of Benjamin: as hap-Parah, "the cow;" Zelah-ha-eleph, "the ox-rib" (Josh. xviii. 23, 28. R. V. omits the art. in both cases).

the Jordan on the other; besides which this general level or plateau is surmounted, in the district now under consideration, by a large number of eminences—*defined*, rounded hills—almost every one of which has borne some part in the history of the tribe. Many of these hills carry the fact of their existence in their names. Gibeon, Gibeah, Geba or Gaba, all mean "hill;" Ramah and Ramathaim, "eminence;" Mizpeh, "watch-tower;" while the "ascent of Beth-horon," the "cliff Rimmon," the "pass of Michmash" with its two "teeth of rock," all testify to a country eminently broken and hilly.

The special associations which belong to each of these eminences, whether as sanctuary or fortress, many of them arising from the most stirring incidents in the history of the nation, will be best examined under the various separate heads.

(2.) Not less important than these eminences are the roads—sometimes following the torrent beds and ravines, sometimes the rough mountain spurs—which gave access to the upper country from the plains of Philistia and of Sharon on the west, and the deep valley of the Jordan on the east;[c] the latter steep and precipitous in the extreme, the former more gradual in their declivity. Up these western passes swarmed the Philistines on their incursions during the times of Samuel and of Saul, driving the first king of Israel right over the higher district of his own tribe, to Gilgal in the hot recesses of the Arabah, and establishing themselves over the face of the country from Michmash to Aijalon. Down these same defiles they were driven by Saul after Jonathan's victorious exploit, just as in earlier times Joshua had chased the Canaanites down the long hill of Beth-horon, and as centuries afterwards the forces of Syria were chased by Judas Maccabaeus (1 Macc. iii. 16–24). The principal roads on the western side are: (1) the present carriage-road from Jerusalem by *Kulônieh*, *Kuryet el-'Enab*, and *W. 'Aly* to *Jaffa*; (2) from Jerusalem by *Beit 'Iksa*, *Biddu*, *Beit Likia*, and *Jimzu*, to Lydda; (3) from Jerusalem by *Sh'afât*, *El-Jib*, *Beit 'Ûr el-Fôka*, and *Beit 'Ûr el-Tahta* to join (2) below *Jimzu* with branches from *Beit 'Ûr el-Tahta* to *'Amwâs* and *Y'alô*; (4) from *El-Jib* by *W. Selmân* to *Jimzu*, and (5) from *El-Jib* by *Biddu* and *Kuryet el-'Enab* to *Y'alô*.

The passes on the eastern side are of a much more difficult and intricate character than those on the western. The principal one—which, now unfrequented, was doubtless in ancient times the main ascent to the interior—leaves the Arabah a short distance N. of the mouth of *W. Kelt*, and, breaking through the barren hills with many a wild bend and steep slope, passes up *W. Riyâh* and along the ridge of *Râs et-Tawîl* to *Mukhmâs*, *Deir Diwân*, *et-Tell* and *Beitin*, with a branch from *Mukhmâs* to *Bireh*, the ancient Beeroth. After the fall of Jericho this pass must have stood open to the victorious Israelites, as their natural inlet to the country. At its upper end must have taken place the repulse and subsequent victory of Ai, and through it Joshua perhaps hastened to the relief of the Gibeonites, and to his memorable pursuit of the Canaanites down the pass of Beth-horon, on the other side of the territory of Benjamin.

Another of these passes is that which since the time of our Saviour has been the regular road between Jericho and Jerusalem, the scene of the parable of the Good Samaritan.

Another pass, over which ran a Roman road, left the Jordan valley at *'Ain Dûk*, and, ascending a bold spur, passed by *Kh. Kaswal* to *et-Taiyibeh*; whence it passed, south of *Tell 'Azûr*, to join the north road S.E. of *Yebrûd*; a branch leading from *Kh. Kaswal* to *et-Tell* and *Beitin*, Bethel.

These intricate ravines may well have harboured the wild beasts which, if the derivation of the names of several places in this locality are to be trusted, originally haunted the district—*zeboim*, hyaenas (1 Sam. xiii. 18); *shual* and *shualbim*, foxes or jackals (Judg. i. 35; 1 Sam. xiii. 17); *ajalon*, gazelles.[d]

It must be remembered, too, that Benjamin occupied an important position on each side of the great highway from Jerusalem by *Bîreh* and *Beitin* to *Nâblus*, and thus commanded the only approach from the north to the Holy City and the Temple.

Such were the limits and such the character of the possession of Benjamin as fixed by those who originally divided the land. But it could not have been long before they extended their limits, since in the early lists of 1 Ch. viii. we find mention made of Benjamites who built Lod and Ono, and of others who were founders of Aijalon (*vv.* 12, 13), all which towns were beyond the spot named above as the westernmost point in their boundary. These places, too, were in their possession after the return from the Captivity (Neh. xi. 35).

The contrast between the warlike character of the tribe and the peaceful image of its progenitor has been already noticed. That fierceness and power are not less out of proportion to the smallness of its numbers and of its territory. This comes out in many scattered notices. (*a*) Benjamin was the only tribe which seems to have pursued archery to any purpose, and their skill in the bow (1 Sam. xx. 20, 36; 2 Sam. i. 22; 1 Ch. viii. 40, xii. 2; 2 Ch. xvii. 17) and the sling (Judg. xx. 16) was celebrated. (*b*) When, after the first conquest of the country, the nation began to groan under the miseries of a foreign yoke, it was to a man of Benjamin, Ehud the son of Gera, that they turned for deliverance. The story seems to imply that he accomplished his purpose on Eglon with less risk, owing to

[c] It is perhaps hardly fanciful to ask if we may not account in this way for the curious prevalence among the names of the towns of Benjamin of the titles of *tribes*. Ha-Avvim, the Avites; Zemaraim, the Zemarites; ha-Ophni, the Ophnite; Chephar ha-Ammonai, the village of the Ammonites; ha-Jebusi, the Jebusite,—are all among the names of places in Benjamin; and we can hardly doubt that in these names is preserved the memory of many an ascent of the wild tribes of the desert from the sultry and open plains of the low level to the fresh air and secure fastnesses of the upper district.

[d] The subject of the connexion between the topography of Benjamin and the events which took place there, is treated in the most admirable manner in the 4th chapter of Dean Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*. Very much of the above article is drawn from that source.

his proficiency in the peculiar practice of using his left hand, a practice apparently confined to Benjamites, though by them greatly employed (Judg. iii. 15, and see xx. 16; 1 Ch. xii. 2). (*c*) Baanah and Rechab, "the sons of Rimmon the Beerothite of the children of Benjamin" (2 Sam. iv 2, 5, &c.), are the only Israelites west of the Jordan named in the whole history as captains of marauding predatory "bands" (גְּדוּדִים); and the act of which they were guilty — the murder of Ish-bosheth, the son of Saul and head of their house—hardly needed the summary vengeance inflicted on them by David to testify the abhorrence in which it must have been held by all Orientals, however warlike. (*d*) The dreadful deed recorded in Judg. xix. [JUDGES, BOOK OF], though repelled by the whole country, was unhesitatingly adopted and defended by the tribe of Benjamin with an obstinacy and spirit truly extraordinary. Of their obstinacy there is a remarkable trait in 1 Sam. xxii. 7–18. Though Saul was not only the king of the nation, but the head of the tribe, and David a member of a family which had as yet no claims on the friendship of the tribe of Benjamin, yet the Benjamites resisted the strongest appeal of Saul to betray the movements of David, and after those movements had been revealed by Doeg the Edomite (worthy member — as he must have seemed to them—of an accursed race!) they still firmly refused to lift a hand against those who had assisted him.

And yet, to return to the deed of Gibeah, in one or two of the expressions of that antique and simple narrative — the phrase "Benjamin my brother" (Judg xx. 23); the anxious inquiry, "What shall we do for wives for them that remain?" (Judg. xxi. 7, 16), and the entreaty, "Be favourable to them for our sakes" (R. V., "Grant them graciously unto us")— we seem to hear as it were an echo of those terms of fond affection which have given the son of Rachel's grief so distinct a place in our minds.

The frightful transaction of Judg. xix. was indeed a crisis in the history of the tribe: the narrative undoubtedly is intended to convey that the six hundred[e] (Judg. xx. 47) who took refuge in the cliff Rimmon, and who were afterwards provided with wives partly from Jabesh-gilead (Judg. xxi. 10), partly from Shiloh (xxi. 21), were the only survivors. A long interval must have elapsed between so abject a condition and the culminating point at which we next meet with the tribe.[f]

Several circumstances may have conduced to its restoration to that place which it was now to assume. The Tabernacle was at Shiloh in Ephraim during the time of the last Judge; but the ark was on the border of Benjamin at Kirjath-jearim. Ramah, the official residence of Samuel, and containing a sanctuary greatly frequented (1 Sam. ix. 12, &c.),—Mizpeh, where the great assemblies of "all Israel" took place (1 Sam. vii. 5), — Bethel, perhaps the most ancient of all the sanctuaries of Palestine, and Gibeon, specially noted as "the great high place" (2 Ch. i. 3), were all in the land of Benjamin. These must gradually have accustomed the people who resorted to these various places to associate the tribe with power and sanctity, and they tend to elucidate the anomaly which struck Saul so forcibly, "that all the desire of Israel" (1 Sam. ix. 20; R. V. "all that is desirable in Israel," with LXX. and Vulg.) should have been centred in the house of the smallest of its tribes (1 Sam. ix. 21).

The struggles and contests which followed the death of Saul arose from the natural unwillingness of the tribe to relinquish its position at the head of the nation, especially in favour of Judah. Had it been Ephraim, the case might have been different, but Judah had as yet no connexion with the house of Joseph, and was moreover the tribe of David, whom Saul had pursued with such unrelenting enmity. The tact and sound sense of Abner, however, succeeded in overcoming these difficulties, though he himself fell a victim in the very act of accomplishing his purpose; and the proposal that David should be "king over Israel" was one which "seemed good to the whole house of Benjamin," and of which the tribe testified its approval, and evinced its good faith, by sending to the distant capital of Hebron a detachment of 3,000 men of the "brethren of Saul" (1 Ch. xii. 29). Still the insults of Shimei and the insurrection of Sheba are indications that the soreness continued to exist, and we do not hear of any cordial co-operation or firm union between the two tribes until a cause of common quarrel arose, at the disruption, when Rehoboam assembled "all the house of Judah with the tribe of Benjamin, to fight against the house of Israel, to bring the kingdom again to the son of Solomon" (1 K. xii. 21; 2 Ch. xi. 1). Possibly the seal may have been set to this by the fact of Jeroboam having just taken possession of Bethel, a city of Benjamin, for the calf-worship of the northern kingdom[g] (1 K. xii. 29). On the other hand, Rehoboam fortified and garrisoned several cities of Benjamin, and wisely dispersed the members of his own family through them (2 Ch. xi. 10–12). The alliance was further strengthened by a covenant solemnly undertaken (2 Ch. xv. 9), and by the employment of Benjamites in high positions in the army of Judah (2 Ch. xvii. 17). But what above all must have contributed to strengthen the alliance was the fact that the Temple was the common property of both tribes. True, it was founded, erected, and endowed by princes of "the house of Judah;" but the city of "the Jebusite" (Josh. xviii. 28), and the whole of the ground north of the valley of Hinnom, were in the lot of Benjamin. In this latter fact is literally fulfilled the prophecy of Moses (Deut. xxxiii. 12): Benjamin "dwelt between" the "shoulders" of the ravines which encompass the Holy City on the west, south, and east (see a good treatment of this point in Blunt's *Undes. Coincidences*, Pt. II. § xvii.).

[e] "Et tribus Benjamin trecentos viros propter Apostolum reservatos" (Jer. *Ep. ad Paul.* 38).

[f] A fair argument in favour of the received chronology of the Book of Judges may be drawn from this circumstance—since no shorter period would have been sufficient for the tribe to have recovered such almost total extermination, and to have reached the numbers and force indicated in the lists of 1 Ch. xii. 1–8, vii. 6–12, viii. 1–40.

[g] Bethel, however, was on the very boundary line, and centuries before this date was inhabited by both Ephraimites and Benjamites (Judg. xix. 16).

Henceforward the history of Benjamin becomes merged in that of the southern kingdom. That the tribe still retained its individuality is plain from the constant mention of it in the various censuses taken of the two tribes, and on other occasions, and also from the lists of the men of Benjamin who returned with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii.; Neh. vii.) and took possession of their old towns (Neh. xi. 31–35). At Jerusalem the name must have been always kept alive, if by nothing else, by the name of "the high gate of Benjamin" (Jer. xx. 2). [JERUSALEM.]

But though the tribe had thus given up to a certain degree its independent existence, it is clear that the ancient memories of their house were not allowed to fade from the recollections of the Benjamites. The genealogy of Saul, to a late date, is carefully preserved in the lists of 1 Ch. (viii. 33–40, ix. 39–44); the name of Kish recurs as the ancestor of Mordecai (Esth. ii. 5. Cp. Bertheau-Ryssel in loco), the honoured deliverer of the nation from miseries worse than those threatened by Nahash the Ammonite. But it was reserved for a greater than these to close the line of this tribe in the sacred history. The royal name once more appears, and "Saul who also is called Paul" has left on record under his own hand that he was "of the stock of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin" (Phil. iii. 5). It is perhaps more than a mere fancy to note how remarkably the chief characteristics of the tribe are gathered up in his one person. There was the fierceness, in his persecution of the Christians; and there were the obstinacy and persistence, which made him proof against the tears and prayers of his converts, and "ready not to be bound only, but also to die for the name of the Lord Jesus" (Acts xxi. 12, 13). There were the force and vigour to which natural difficulties and confined circumstances formed no impediment; and lastly, there was the keen sense of the greatness of his house, in his proud reference to his forefather "Saul the son of Cis, a man of the tribe of Benjamin."

Be this as it may, no nobler hero could be found to close the rolls of the worthies of his tribe—no prouder distinction could be desired for Benjamin than that of having produced the first judge of its nation, the first king, and finally, when Judaism gave place to Christianity, the great Apostle of the Gentiles.

2. BN. Βενιαμείν. A man of the tribe of Benjamin, son of Bilhan, and the head of a family of warriors (1 Ch. vii. 10).

3. BNA. Βενιαμείν. One of the "sons of Harim;" who, in the time of Ezra, had married a foreign wife (Ezra x. 32). [G.] [W.]

BEN'JAMIN, HIGH GATE, or GATE, OF (שַׁעַר בִּ֫נְיָמִין), Jer. xx. 2, xxxvii. 13, xxxviii. 7; Zech. xiv. 10. [JERUSALEM.]

BENJAMITE. An adjectival form of BENJAMIN.

BENO' (בְּנוֹ, *his son;* LXX. translates *υἱοῦ*; *Benno*), a Levite of the sons of Merari (1 Ch. xxiv. 26, 27). [W. A. W.]

BEN-O'NI (בֶּן־אוֹנִי, *son of my sorrow* or *hurt*, or *of my strength*, i.e. of *my last effort* [Hiller, *Onom.* 300]; *υἱὸς ὀδύνης μου*; *Benoni, id est filius doloris mei*), the name which the dying Rachel gave to her newly-born son, but which his father changed into BENJAMIN (Gen. xxxv. 18). [W. A. W.]

BEN-ZO'HETH (בֶּן־זוֹחֶת; B. *υἱοὶ* Ζωάβ, A. *υἱοὶ* Ζωχάθ; *Zoheth*), a name occurring among the descendants of Judah (1 Ch. iv. 20). The passage appears to be a fragment, and as if the name of a son of the Zoheth just mentioned had originally followed. [W. A. W.]

BEO'N (בְּעֹן; BF^{vid}. Βαιάν, A. Βαμά; *Beon*), a place on the east of Jordan (Num. xxxii. 3), a contraction of BAAL-MEON (cp. *v.* 38). [W.]

BEO'R (בְּעוֹר, Ges. = *a torch;* B. [usually] Βεώρ, A. [usually] Βαιώρ; *Beor*). **1.** The father of BELA, one of the early Edomite kings (Gen. xxxvi. 32; 1 Ch. i. 43). **2.** Father of Balaam (Num. xxii. 5, xxiv. 3, 15, xxxi. 8; Josh. xiii. 22, xxiv. 9 [BA. Σεπφώρ]; Mic. vi. 5), called BOSOR in 2 Pet. ii. 15. [BELA.] [W. A. W.] [F.]

BE'RA (בֶּרַע; AD. Βάλλα, E. Βαρά; Joseph. Βαλλάς; *Bara*), king of Sodom at the time of the invasion of the five kings under Chedorlaomer (Gen. xiv. 2). [W. A. W.]

BERA'CHAH (בְּרָכָה, *blessing;* BN. Βερχειά, A. Βαραχιά; *Baracha*), a Benjamite, one of "Saul's brethren," who attached himself to David at Ziklag (1 Ch. xii. 3). [W. A. W.]

BERA'CHAH, VALLEY OF (עֵמֶק בְּרָכָה, *valley of blessing;* Κοιλὰς Εὐλογίας; *vallis benedictionis;* R. V. Beracah); a valley (Jos. *τινὰ κοῖλον καὶ φαραγγώδη τόπον*) in which Jehoshaphat and his people assembled to "bless" Jehovah after the overthrow of the hosts of Moabites, Ammonites, and (?) Mehunim, who had come against them, and which from that fact acquired its name of "the valley of blessing" (2 Ch. xx. 26). The place is remarkable as furnishing one of the latest instances in the O. T. of a name bestowed in consequence of an occurrence at the spot.

The name of *Breikût* (بريكوت) still survives, attached to ruins in the *Wâdy el-'Arrûb*, between *Tekû'a*, Tekoa, and the main road from Bethlehem to Hebron; a position corresponding accurately enough with the locality of the battle as described in 2 Ch. xx. (Rob. iii. 275. The discovery is due to Wolcott; see Ritter, *Jordan*, p. 635). It must not be confounded with Caphar-barucha, now probably *Beni N'aim*, an eminence on very high ground, 3 or 4 miles east of Hebron, commanding an extensive view of the Dead Sea, and traditionally the scene of Abraham's intercession for Sodom. The tomb of Lot has been shown there since the days of Mandeville (Reland, p. 685; Rob. i. 489–91). [G.] [W.]

BERACHI'AH (בְּרַכְיָהוּ, *Jah blesses;* Βαραχία; *Barachia*), a Gershonite Levite, father of Asaph the singer (1 Ch. vi. 39). [BERECHIAH 6.]

BERAI'AH (בְּרָאיָה, *Jah is creator;* Βαραΐα; *Baraia*), son of Shimhi, a chief man of Benjamin (1 Ch. viii. 21). [W. A. W.]

BERE'A (Βεροῖα; *Beroea*). **1.** A city of Macedonia, to which St. Paul retired with Silas and Timotheus, in the course of his first visit to Europe, on being persecuted in Thessalonica (Acts xvii. 10); and from which, on being again persecuted by emissaries from Thessalonica, he withdrew to the sea for the purpose of proceeding to Athens (*vv.* 14, 15). The community of Jews must have been considerable in Berea, and their character is described in very favourable terms (*v.* 11). Sopater, one of St. Paul's missionary companions, was from this place (Βεροιαῖος, Acts xx. 4). He accompanied the Apostle on his return from the second visit to Europe (*ib.*); and he appears to have previously been with him, in the course of that second visit, at Corinth, when he wrote the Epistle to the Romans (Rom. xvi. 21).

Berea, now called *Verria* or *Kara Verria*, is fully described by Leake (*Northern Greece*, vol. iii. 290 sq.), and by Cousinéry (*Voyage dans la Macédoine*, vol. i. pp. 69 sq.). Situated on the eastern slope of the Olympian mountain-range, with an abundant supply of water, and commanding an extensive view of the plain of the Axius and Haliacmon, it is regarded as one of the most agreeable towns in Rumili, and has now 6,000 or 8,000 inhabitants. A few ancient remains—Greek, Roman, and Byzantine—still exist here. Two roads are laid down in the Itineraries between Thessalonica and Berea, one passing by Pella. St. Paul and his companions may have travelled by either of them. Two roads also connect Berea with Dium, one passing by Pydna. It was probably from Dium that St. Paul sailed to Athens, leaving Silas and Timotheus behind; and possibly 1 Thess. iii. 2 refers to a journey of Timotheus from Berea, not from Athens. [TIMOTHY.] The coin in *Akerman's Numismatic Illustrations of the N. T.*, p. 46, is erroneously assigned to the Macedonian Berea, and belongs to the following (see *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geog.*, art. BEROEA).

2. The modern *Aleppo*, mentioned in 2 Macc. xiii. 4 (Vulg. om.), in connexion with the invasion of Judaea by Antiochus Eupator, as the scene of the miserable death of Menelaus. This seems to be the city in which Jerome says that certain persons lived, who possessed and used St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel (*De Vir. Illust.* c. 3. See *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geog.* s. n.)

3. Βερέα; *Berea.* A place in Judaea, where Bacchides, the general of Demetrius, encamped shortly before the engagement in which Judas Maccabaeus was slain (1 Macc. ix. 4). Bacchides whilst at Jerusalem heard that Judas had encamped at Eleasa (1 Macc. ix. 5), now *El'asa*, near Beth-horon, or according to Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 11, § 1) at *Beth-zepho*, now probably *Bir-ez-Zeit.* He thereupon marched to Berea, apparently *Bireh.* [BEEROTH.] [J. S. H.] [W.]

BERECHI'AH (בֶּרֶכְיָה and בֶּרֶכְיָהוּ, *Jehovah blesses;* A. Βαραχία, B. -ιαί; *Barachias*). **1.** One of the sons of Zerubbabel, and a descendant of the royal family of Judah (1 Ch. iii. 20).

2. A man mentioned as the father of Meshullam, who assisted in rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 4 [ℵA. Βαραχίας, B. om.], 30 [Bℵ. Βαρχειά, A. Βαριά]; vi. 18 [BℵA. Βαραχειά].)

3. B. Βαραχεί, A. Βαραχιάς; *Barachia.* A Levite of the line of Elkanah (1 Ch. ix. 16).

4. Βαραχιά; *Barachias.* A doorkeeper for the ark (1 Ch. xv. 23).

5. A. Βαραχίας, B. Ζαχαρίας. One of the chief men of the tribe of Ephraim in the time of king Ahaz (2 Ch. xxviii. 12).

6. B. Βαραχιά, ℵ. -εία. Father of Asaph the singer (1 Ch. xv. 17). [BERACHIAH.]

7. Βαραχίας. Father of Zechariah the Prophet (Zech. i. 1). Here A. V., ed. 1611, reads "Barachiah." [G.] [W.]

BE'RED (בֶּרֶד, *hail;* Βαράδ; *Barad*). **1.** A place in the south of Palestine, between which and Kadesh lay the well Lahai-roi (Gen. xvi. 14). The name is variously given in the ancient Versions: Peshitto, *Gadar*, ܓܕܪ? = Gerar; Arab. *Iared*, يرد, probably a mere corruption of the Hebrew name; Onkelos, *Chagra*, חַגְרָא (elsewhere [*v.* 7] employed in the Targums for "Shur"); Ps.-Jonathan, *Chalutza*, חַלוּצָא, *i.e.* the Elusa, Ἔλουσα, of Ptolemy and the ecclesiastical writers, now *el-Khalasah*, in *W. Aslûj*, about 12 miles south of Beersheba (Rob. i. 201–2; Stewart, p. 205; Reland, p. 755; *PEFQy. Stat.* 1871, p. 35). We have the testimony of Jerome (*Vita S. Hilarionis*) that Elusa was called by its inhabitants *Barec*, which might represent a corruption of Bered, ך being read for ד (cp. *OS.*² p. 135, 3). Chalutza is the name elsewhere given in the Arabic Version for "Shur" and for "Gerar." The position of *el-Khalasah*, on the way from Beersheba to Shur and Egypt, meets all the requirements of Bered.

2. A. Βαράδ, B. om. A son or descendant of Ephraim (1 Ch. vii. 20), possibly identical with Becher in Num. xxvi. 35. [G.] [W.]

BERENI'CE. [BERNICE.]

BE'RI (בֶּרִי, if = בְּאֵרִי, Ges. *fontanus;* A. Βαρί, B. Ζαβρεί; *Beri*), son of Zophah, of the tribe of Asher (1 Ch. vii. 36). [W. A. W.]

BERI'AH (בְּרִיעָה [meaning uncertain. In Arabic برع means *to ascend, excel;* V. conj. *to give liberally*, Lev. xxii. 18; Deut. xii. 6 Saad.—S. R. D.]; *Baria, Beria, Brie*). **1.** A son of Asher (Gen. xlvi. 17, A. Βαριά, *D.* -εια; Num. xxvi. 44, 45 [LXX. *vv.* 28, 29. In *v.* 28, Βαριά; in *v.* 29 the name is omitted]), from whom descended "the family of the Beriites" (בְּרִיעִי, B.ᵃ *vid* Βαριαεί, B.ᵛᵗᵈ -ια, A. -αι, F. -ιαι; *familia Bricitarum*), Num. xxvi. 44.

2. A son or descendant of Ephraim, so called on account of his birth on an occasion of great calamity. The points to be considered are the meaning of the name in this instance, and the place of Beriah in the genealogy of Ephraim. The passage (1 Ch. vii. 20–23) runs thus: "And the sons of Ephraim; Shuthelah, and Bered his son, and Tahath his son, and Eleadah his son, and Tahath his son, and Zabad his son, and Shuthelah his son, and Ezer, and Elead, whom the men of Gath that were born in the land slew [lit. "and the men ... slew them"], because [or "when"] they came down to take away their cattle. And Ephraim their father mourned many days, and

his brethren came to comfort him. And he went in to his wife, and she conceived, and bare a son, and he called his name Beriah, because it went evil with his house" (R. V.) [lit. "because it was in evil to his house:" כִּי בְרָעָה הָיְתָה בְּבֵיתוֹ, ὅτι ἐν κακοῖς ἐγένετο ἐν οἴκῳ μου, LXX.: "eo quod in malis domus ejus ortus esset," Vulg. The real etymology of the name is uncertain, because—though it is borne by several persons—the root is not in use in Hebrew. In the passage quoted, it is stated to have been given on account of its assonance with *bera'ah*, "in evil" (cp. Cain, Moses, &c.). —S. R. D.]

The place of Beriah in the genealogy of Ephraim is hard to determine. The matter is of much importance. If the conflict with the men of Gath should be referred to the sojourn in Egypt, it would supply the one fact of history recorded in the Bible outside family events, between the coming into Egypt and the great oppression; otherwise this is but an incident of the little wars of the conquerors of Palestine which followed the campaigns of Joshua. There is much in favour of the later date. The event may be referred rather to Palestine than to Egypt, for "the settlements of the Ephraimites in the mountainous district, where Beth-horon, Gezer, Timnath-serah, &c., lay, were exactly suited for a *descent* upon the plains of the Philistine country where the men of Gath fed their cattle." After the catastrophe it would seem that "they called in" "the Benjamites to help them in driving away the men of Gath" (1 Ch. viii. 13). [SHUTHELAH, 1st ed.]

We find no families of Ephraim specified in Numbers but those descended from Shuthelah, Becher, Tahan, and Shuthelah's son Eran (xxvi. 35, 36). Beriah is here not indicated, though the first four persons in the passage under consideration probably have their descendants. Again, Beriah's daughter is said to have built the two Beth-horons and Uzzen-sherah (1 Ch. vii. 24). Similarly the expulsion of the Gittites is connected with the time of building cities, the days following Joshua's wars (1 Ch. viii. 12, 13). The genealogy is apparently repeated (vii. 25, 26), which may be explained by the theory that it is broken earlier (*v.* 21) to introduce a historical event. There seems therefore to be some confusion of the text. Of course on this explanation the name of Ephraim before "their father" would be a gloss. On this question the reader is referred to the full statement of Lord Arthur Hervey in art. SHUTHELAH, 1st ed. Cp. also *Speaker's Comm.* and Oettli (Strack u. Zöckler's *Kyf. Komm.*), notes on 1 Ch. vii. 20–23.

It seems therefore that we cannot venture to take the story of Beriah as relating to the period between the death of Joseph and the beginning of the Oppression, and as the one historical fact told in the Bible of this long time of obscurity. The Egyptian monuments have, however, preserved another incident which is definite as to place, and throws unexpected light on this obscure age of the sojourn. The discovery of this most important evidence is due to M. Groff, who has developed it in the *Revue Égyptologique*. Thothmes III., at a time which may be placed about B.C. 1550, or midway between the coming into Egypt and the Exodus, has left a record at Karnak of the peoples or tribes composing a great army of the confederated Syrians, Mesopotamians, and Assyrians, whom he defeated at the battle of Megiddo and afterwards led captive on the surrender of that stronghold. It is quite clear that the list is one of the nationality of the captives. It does not follow that Thothmes did not conquer some of them in their own territories, but the list is the tale of the captive army. The names, as Groff well remarks, are ethnographic and not geographic, —a most important distinction which his predecessors have failed to draw. His position is not only reasonable in itself, but it also receives confirmation from the circumstance that few of these names have been satisfactorily identified with localities. To his reasoning it may be added that, if we had a similar list of the component parts of an army raised in Syria in our own days, it would contain names of Arab tribes under race appellations, whose settlements, if any, were far away in Arabia. Among the names not identified with any known locality are two not far apart, Jakob-nal (or nar) and Joshep-al. The first of these M. de Rougé conjectured on its first discovery to possibly preserve the memory of some establishment of Jacob in Palestine. M. Groff has carried the investigation farther, and shown that these names are those of the tribes of Jacob and Joseph, the subject lost in the apocopated form being here preserved, as in Nathaniel for Nathan. The only inference that we can draw from this important discovery is, that during the interval between the death of Joseph and the birth of Moses, or in other words between the events of the Books of Genesis and Exodus, the Israelites, divided into the two tribes of Jacob and Joseph, when free to move to and fro after the manner of Arabs, supplied a contingent to the great confederation which Thothmes overthrew at the battle of Megiddo. This accords with the fear of the military power of the Hebrews exhibited by the Pharaoh of the Oppression, and with the statement that the people marched out of Egypt in martial order (Ex. xiii. 18). See M. Groff's papers in the *Revue Égyptologique*, 1885, p. 95 sq., p. 146 sq. For the chronological bearing of this discovery, see CHRONOLOGY.

For the older theories the curious may be referred to Barrett's *Synopsis* and Pole's *Synopsis* in loco.

3. B. Βεριγά, A. Βαρ-. A Benjamite, unless he be the same person as No. 2, adopted into the tribe of Benjamin, who was connected with the driving away of the "inhabitants of Gath" (1 Ch. viii. 13, apparently shortly after the conquest of Canaan; cp. *v.* 12. See supra No. 2).

4. One of the sons of Shimei, a Gershonite of the time of David (1 Ch. xxiii. 10, 11). [R. S. P.]

BERITES. [BERIAH, 1.]

BE'RITES, THE (הַבְּרִים; BA. ἐν Χαρρεί), a tribe or people who are named with Abel and Beth-maachah, places in the north of Palestine. They are mentioned as having been visited by Joab in his pursuit after Sheba the son of Bichri (2 Sam. xx. 14). The Vulgate has a different reading—"omnesque viri electi congregati fuerant" — apparently הַבְּחָרִים, *the*

young men, for הַבְּרִים; and this is Ewald's opinion is the correct reading (*Gesch.* iii. 249, note; so Wellhausen, *l.c.*). Klostermann, on the basis of the LXX, οἱ ἐν Χαρραί (Strack u. Zöckler, *Kgf. Komm.* for לְבֵית־הַבִּכְרִים prefers כָּל־הַבִּכְרִים "all the Bichrites" (*cp. v.* 13), and it is possible that this may be right (cp. Driver, *Notes on the Heb. Text of the Books of Sam.*, in loco). Thomson (*Land and the Book*, p. 275) supposes that the Berites lived at *Biria*, N. of *Safed*, which place he identifies with the *Beroth* (Βερώθη) of Jos. *Ant.* v. 1, § 18. [G.] [W.]

BERNI'CE (Βερνίκη, shortened for Βερενίκη [Joseph.], the Macedonian form of Φερενίκη: see Sturz, *Dial. Maced.* p. 31; *Bernice*). The name is frequent in the princely families of Egypt and Palestine (see *Dict. Biogr. and Mythol.*). The Bernice or Berenice of Acts xxv., xxvi. was the eldest of the three daughters of Herod Agrippa I. by Cypros, the other two being Drusilla and Mariamme. She was named after her grandmother, the wife of Aristobulus. She was first married to Marcus, son of Alexander the Alabarch (for a different view see Schürer, *N. T. Zeit-Geschichte*, p. 314, n. 3). After his death she was given to her uncle Herod, king of Chalcis in Lebanon, as his second wife. By him she had two sons, Berenicianus and Hyrcanus. After Herod's death, B.C. 48, she lived with her brother Agrippa under circumstances of the gravest suspicion. The scandal is mentioned by Juvenal (vi. 156). To disprove the accusation she persuaded Polemon king of Cilicia to marry her, her wealth being the inducement. A separation soon took place, Bernice's misconduct being assigned as the reason (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 7, 3). Besides grosser crimes, Bernice's jealousy of her sister Drusilla's beauty and her consequent persecution of her were alleged by Drusilla as a cause of her desertion of her husband Azizus for Felix (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 7, 2). Bernice returned to her brother Agrippa, and with him came down to welcome Festus at Caesarea on his arrival as procurator of Judaea (Acts xxv. 13). She was present when St. Paul had his audience (Acts xxv. 23 and xxvi. 30), and this threefold mention of her name may be taken as an indication of her political importance. The Apostle had already reasoned of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come before Drusilla; and now Bernice, another of the three adulterous sisters, sat before him. (Mariamme, wife of Archelaus, had also forsaken her husband Archelaus for Demetrius: Jos. *Ant.* xx. 7, 3.) The one redeeming feature of her career which is known to us, was her earnest endeavour to stop the cruelties of Florus, the last and worst of the Roman governors. She was in Jerusalem at the time fulfilling a vow; and she is said to have urged her petition barefoot at the tribunal, and at the risk of her life (*Jos. B. J.* ii. 15, 1). With the rest of the Syrian vassals she gave her support to Vespasian in his successful attempt on the empire (Tac. *Hist.* ii. 81). In the last struggle she took part with the Romans, and at the close of the war came to Rome and openly renewed a connexion with Titus formed some time before (Tac. *Hist.* ii. 2). It was believed that he would have married her, but for the evident discontent caused by her presence in the city. He reluctantly dismissed her. She revisited Rome after Vespasian's death, but obtained no notice (Dio Cass. lxvi. 15 and 18; Suet. *Tit.* 7). She is remarkable as the last of the Herodian dynasty who claims a place in history. The destruction of Jerusalem cut short her ambitious design of refounding the Herodian kingdom of Judaea. The dynasty had begun, says Hausrath, in blood and terror, and it ended in moral rottenness and putrefaction. See, besides the authorities quoted, a full and spirited article on her by Hausrath in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexikon*. [E. A. B.]

BER'ODACH-BAL'ADAN (2 K. xx. 12). [MERODACH-BALADAN.]

BE'ROTH (B. Βηρόγ, A. Βηρώθ), 1 Esd. v. 19. [BEEROTH.]

BE-RO'THAH, BE-RO'THAI (בֵּרוֹתָה, בֵּרֹתַי, probably the same as בְּאֵרוֹת, *wells* [Ges.]; *Berotha, Beroth*). Berothah, the first of two names (probably identical), each of which occurs once only, is given by Ezekiel (xlvii. 16) in connexion with Hamath and Damascus as forming part of the northern boundary of the Promised Land. MV.[11], with Furrer (*ZPDV.* viii. 34), identifies it not with Berytus (*Beirût*) but with *Bereitân* in the *Bḳâ'*; Orelli (Strack u. Zöckler, *Kgf. Komm.* in loco) with some place north of *Hōms* (= Hameth = Emesa). Berothai (2 Sam. viii. 8) is the name of a city of Zobah taken by David, also in connexion with Hamath and Damascus. [F. W. G.] [F.]

BERO'THITE, THE (1 Ch. xi. 39). [BEEROTH.]

BERYL (תַּרְשִׁישׁ, *tarshish*; χρυσόλιθος, θαρσεῖς, ἄνθραξ, λίθος ἄνθρακος; *chrysolithus, hyacinthus, mare*) occurs in Ex. xxviii. 20, xxxix. 13; Cant. v. 14; Ezek. i. 16, x. 9, xxviii. 13; Dan. x. 6. The *tarshish* was the first precious stone in the fourth row of the high-priest's breastplate; in Ezekiel's vision "the appearance of the wheels and their work was like unto the colour of a *tarshish*;" it was one of the precious stones of the king of Tyre; the body of the man whom Daniel saw in his vision was like the *tarshish*.

It is impossible to say with any degree of certainty what precious stone is denoted by the Hebrew word: Luther reads the "turquoise;" the LXX. supposes either the "chrysolite" or the "carbuncle" (ἄνθραξ); Onkelos and the Jerusalem Targum have *kerum jama*, by which the Jews appear to have understood "a white stone like the froth of the sea," which Braun (*de Vest. Sacer.* ii. c. 17) conjectures may be the "opal." The R. V., while always employing "beryl" in the text, has given in different places three marginal readings — "chalcedony," Ex. xxviii. 20; "topaz," Cant. v. 14; "stone of Tarshish," Ezek. i. 16. For other opinions, mere conjectures, see Braun.

It is generally supposed that the *tarshish* derives its name from the place so called, respecting the position of which see TARSHISH. Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 7, § 5) and Braun (*l. c.*) understand the *chrysolite* to be meant, not, however, the *chrysolite* of modern mineralogists,

but the *topaz*; for it certainly does appear that by a curious interchange of terms the ancient chrysolite is the modern topaz, and the ancient topaz the modern chrysolite (see Plin. *H. N.* xxxvii. 8; Hill on Theophrastus, *de Lapid.*; King's *Antique Gems*, p. 57), though Bellermann (*Die Urim und Thummim*, p. 62, Berlin, 1824) has advanced many objections to this opinion, and has maintained that the topaz and the chrysolite of the ancients are identical with the gems now so called. Braun, at all events, uses the term *chrysolithus* to denote the topaz, and he speaks of its brilliant golden colour. There is little or nothing in the passages where the *tarshish* is mentioned to lead us to anything like a satisfactory conclusion as to its identity, excepting in Cant. v. 14, where we do seem to catch a glimmer of the stone denoted: "His hands are orbs of gold adorned with the tarshîsh-stone." This seems to be the correct rendering of the Hebrew [R. V. "His hands are as rings (marg. *cylinders*) of gold set with beryl" (marg. *topaz*)]. The orbs or rings of gold, as Cocceius has observed (see *Speaker's Comm.* in loco), refer not to rings on the fingers, but to the fingers themselves, as they gently press upon the thumb, and thus form the figure of an orb or ring. The latter part of the verse is the casual expletive of the former. It is not only said in this passage that the hands are called orbs of gold, but the reason why they are thus called is immediately added—specially on account of the beautiful chrysolites with which the hands were adorned (Braun, *de V. S.* ii. 13). Pliny says of the *chrysolithos*, "It is a transparent stone with a refulgence like that of gold." Since then the *golden stone*, as the name imports, is admirably suited to the above passage in Canticles, and would also apply, though in a less degree, to the other Scriptural places cited —as it is supported by Josephus, and conjectured by the LXX. and Vulg.—the ancient *chrysolite* or the modern yellow *topaz* appears to have a better claim than any other gem to represent the *tarshish* of the Hebrew Bible, certainly a better claim than the *beryl* of the A. V., a rendering which appears to be unsupported by any kind of evidence. [W. H.] [H. B. T.]

BERZE'LUS (B. Φαηζελδαίος, A. Ζορζελλέος; *Phargeleu*), 1 Esd. v. 38. [BARZILLAI.]

BE'SAI (בֵּסַי, of uncertain meaning, see Ges.; B. Βασεί, A. -σι in Ezra, BNA. Βησεί in Neh.; *Besee*). "Children of Besai" were Nethinim who returned to Judaea with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii. 49; Neh. vii. 52). [BASTAI.] [W. A. W.] [F.]

BESODEI'AH (בְּסוֹדְיָה, Ges. [one] *in the secret of Jah*, i.e. the trusted one of Jah; B. Βαδιά, N. Ἀββδειά, Avid. Βασω Δια; *Besodia*), father of Meshullam, and one of the repairers of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 6). [W. A. W.]

BESO'R, THE BROOK (נַחַל הַבְּשׂוֹר; BA. χειμάρρος τοῦ Βοσόρ in 1 Sam. xxx. 9, 10: in *v.* 21, B. Βεανάς, A. Βεχώρ; *torrens Besor*), a torrent-bed or wady in the extreme south of Judah, of which mention occurs only in 1 Sam. xxx. *ll. c.* The expression in *v.* 10 perhaps implies that it was a wide and deep ravine, difficult to cross. It is plain from the conditions of the narrative that it must have been south of Ziklag, but hitherto the situation of neither town nor *wâdy* has been identified with any probability. Dr. Robinson has suggested (*Phys. Geog.* 112) *W. 'Arârah*, the south-western branch of *W. es-Seb'a*. The name may signify, from the Arabic, "cool" (Ges.). [G.] [W.]

BE'TAH (בֶּטַח, *confidence*; A. Μασβάχ, B. Μασβάκ; *Bete*), a city belonging to Hadadezer, king of Zobah, mentioned with Berothai as having yielded much spoil of brass to David (2 Sam. viii. 8). In the parallel account 1 Ch. xviii. 8 (BN. Μεταβηχάς, A. Ματεβέθ), the name is called, by an inversion of letters, Tibchath. Ewald (*Gesch.* ii. 195) pronounces the latter to be the correct reading, and compares it with Tebach (Gen. xxii. 24), which is generally adopted here by modern scholars (see *QPB.*[3]). [G.] [W.]

BE'TANE (B. Βαιτανή, N. Βα-, A. Βλιτανή; Vulg. omits), a place apparently south of Jerusalem (Judith i. 9), and possibly identical with the Βηθενλμ of Eusebius (*OS.*[2] p. 263, 68), two miles from the Terebinth of Abraham and four from Hebron. This has been variously identified with Betharath, Bethainum, and Betaneh or Ecbatana in Syria, placed by Pliny (v. 17) on Carmel (Winer, s. v. *Betane*). Ball conjectures בֵּית־עֲנוֹת (Josh. xv. 59), *Beit 'Anûn*, five miles north of Hebron (see *Speaker's Comm.* on Judith i. 9). Bethany is inadmissible from the fact of its unimportance at the time, if indeed it existed at all. [G.] [W.]

BE'TEN (בֶּטֶן, Ges. perhaps a valley i. q. בִּטְנִ, κοιλάς; Jerome, *OS.*[2] p. 54, 27 = venter; B. Βαίθοκ, A. Βατνέ; *Beten*), one of the cities on the border of the tribe of Asher (Josh. xix. 25, only). By Eusebius (*OS.*[2] p. 249, 40) it is said to have been then called Βεθβετέν, and to have been situated eight miles east of Ptolemais; a position which agrees with that of the village *el-B'aneh* (*PEF. Mem.* i. 150, 153). [G.] [W.]

BETH (בַּיִת, according to Gesenius [*Thes.* and *Lex.*], from a root בּוּת, preserved in Aramaic, *to pass the night*), the most general word for a house or habitation. Strictly speaking, it has the force of a settled, stable, dwelling, as in Gen. xxxiii. 17, where the building of a "house" marks the termination of a stage of Jacob's wanderings (cp. also 2 Sam. vii. 2, 6); but it is also employed for a dwelling of any kind, even for a tent, as in Gen. xxiv. 32, where it must refer to the tent of Laban (cp. Judg. xviii. 31; 1 Sam. i. 7, where it refers to the tent of the Tabernacle; and 2 K. xxiii. 7, where it expresses the textile materials [A. V. "hangings"; R. V. marg. *tents*, Heb. *houses*] for the tents of Astarte). From this general force the transition was natural to a house in the sense of a family, as Ps. cvii. 41, "families" (Prayer-Bk. V. "households"), or a pedigree, as Ezra ii. 59. In 2 Sam. xiii. 7, 1 K. xiii. 7, and other places, it has the sense of "home," *i.e.* "to the house." Beth has also some collateral and almost technical meanings, similar to those which we apply

to the word "house," as in Ex. xxv. 27 for the "places" or sockets into which the bars for carrying the table were "housed;" and others.

Like *aedes* in Latin and *Dom* in German, Beth has the special meaning of a temple or house of worship, in which sense it is applied not only to the Tabernacle (see above) or Temple of Jehovah (1 K. iii. 2; vi. 1, &c.), but to those of false gods—Dagon (Judg. xvi. 27; 1 Sam. v. 2), Rimmon (2 K. v. 18), Baal (2 K. x. 21), Nisroch (2 K. xix. 37), and other gods (Judg. ix. 27). "Bajith" in Is. xv. 2 is really ha-Bajith = "the temple"—not improbably the "house of high places" mentioned in the Mesha-inscription — some well-known idol fane in Moab. [BAJITH.]

Beth is more frequently employed in combination with other words to form the names of places than Kirjath, Hatzer, Beer, Ain, or any other word. A list of the places compounded with Beth is given below in alphabetical order: but in addition to these it may be allowable here to notice two, which, though not appearing in that form in the A. V., yet do so in the LXX., probably with greater correctness.

BETH-E'KED (בֵּית עֵקֶד; B. Βαιθάκαθ; A. Βαιθακάδ; *camera pastorum*), A. V. and R. V. the "shearing house" [R. V. marg. *house of gathering*], at the pit or well (בְּאֵר) of which the forty-two brethren of Ahaziah were slain by Jehu (2 K. x. 12). It lay between Jezreel and Samaria, according to Jerome (*OS.*[2] p. 141, 17), 15 miles from the town of Legio, and in the plain of Esdraelon. It is now *Beit Kâd* (*PEF. Mem.* ii. 83).

BETH-HAGGAN (בֵּית הַגָּן, B. Βαιθάν; A.[?vid] Βαιαγγάν; *Domus horti*), A. V. and R. V. "the garden-house" (2 K. ix. 27), one of the spots which marked the flight of Ahaziah from Jehu. It is doubtless the same place as EN-GANNIM, "spring of gardens," the modern *Jenîn*, on the direct road from Samaria northward, and overlooking the great plain (Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 349, note). [G.] [W.]

BETH-ABA'RA (Βηθαβαρά, quasi בֵּית עֲבָרָה, *house of ford* or *ferry*; *Bethania*; R. V. *Bethany*, marg. *Bethabarah* and *Betharabah*), a place beyond Jordan, πέραν τοῦ Ἰορ.; in which, according to the Received Text of the N. T., John was baptizing (John i. 28), apparently at the time that he baptized Christ (cp. *vv.* 29, 35, 39). If the reading of the Received Text be the correct one, Bethabara may be identical with Bethbarah, the ancient ford of Jordan, of which the men of Ephraim took possession after Gideon's defeat of the Midianites [BETH-BARAH]; or, which seems more likely, with Beth-nimrah, on the east of the river, nearly opposite Jericho [BETH-NIMRAH]. But the oldest MSS. (B, A) and the Vulgate* have not Bethabara but Bethany, a reading which Origen (*ad loc.*) states to have obtained in almost all the copies of his time, σχέδον πάντα τὰ ἀντίγραφα, though altered by him in his edition of the Gospel on topographical grounds. In favour of Bethabara are: (*a*) the extreme improbability of so familiar a name as Bethany being changed by copyists into one so unfamiliar as Bethabara, while the reverse — the change from an unfamiliar to a familiar name—is of frequent occurrence. (*b*) The fact that Origen, while admitting that the majority of MSS. were in favour of Bethany, decided notwithstanding for Bethabara. (*c*) That Bethabara was still known in the days of Eusebius (*OS.*[2] s. v.), and greatly resorted to by persons desirous of Baptism (*ritali gurgite baptizantur*).

Still the fact remains that the most ancient MSS. have "Bethany," and that name has been accordingly restored to the text by Lachmann, Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort, Gebhardt, and the R. V. At this distance of time, and in the absence of exhaustive research on the east of Jordan, it is impossible to decide on evidence so slight and conflicting. It must not be overlooked that if Bethany be accepted, the definition "beyond Jordan" still remains, and therefore another place must be intended than the well-known residence of Lazarus. Major Conder has proposed (*PEF. Mem.* ii. 89; and *PEFQy. Stat.* 1877, 184–7; 1878, 120) to identify Bethabara with *'Abârah*, a ford of the Jordan, near Bethshean; and to read Batanaea (Basan) for the Bethany of the oldest MSS. The theory is ingenious, but it does not meet all the requirements of the case, some of which necessitate a site nearer Judaea and Jerusalem. Westcott (*Speaker's Comm.* in loco) conjectures "an obscure village in Peraea." It may be added that the tradition which places the scene of Christ's Baptism at the Jordan nearly opposite Jericho appears to be at least as old as the first half of the 4th century. The question is discussed in *Antoninus*, App. i., P. P. Text Society Series. [G.] [W.]

BETH-ANA'TH (בֵּית עֲנָת, MV.[11], Nestle, Halévy, Baethgen, &c. = "house [or temple] of the goddess 'Anât;" B. Βαιθαμέ, A. Βαιναθάθ; *Bethanath*), one of the "fenced cities" of Naphtali, named with Bethshemesh (Josh. xix. 38); from neither of which were the Canaanites expelled (Judg. i. 33; B. Βαιθανάχ, A. Βαιθενέθ). It is now probably *'Ainitha*, 5½ miles W.N.W. of *Kades*, Kadesh (Thomson, *Land and the Book*, p. 212). By Eusebius (*OS.*[2] pp. 242, 70; 249, 45, s. vv. Ἀνείρ, Βηθαναθά) it is spoken of as a village called Batanaea, 15 miles eastward of Caesarea, and reputed to contain medicinal springs, λουτρὰ ἰάσιμα: this place, however, appears to be the modern *'Anîn* (see *PEF. Mem.* ii. 44). [G.] [W.]

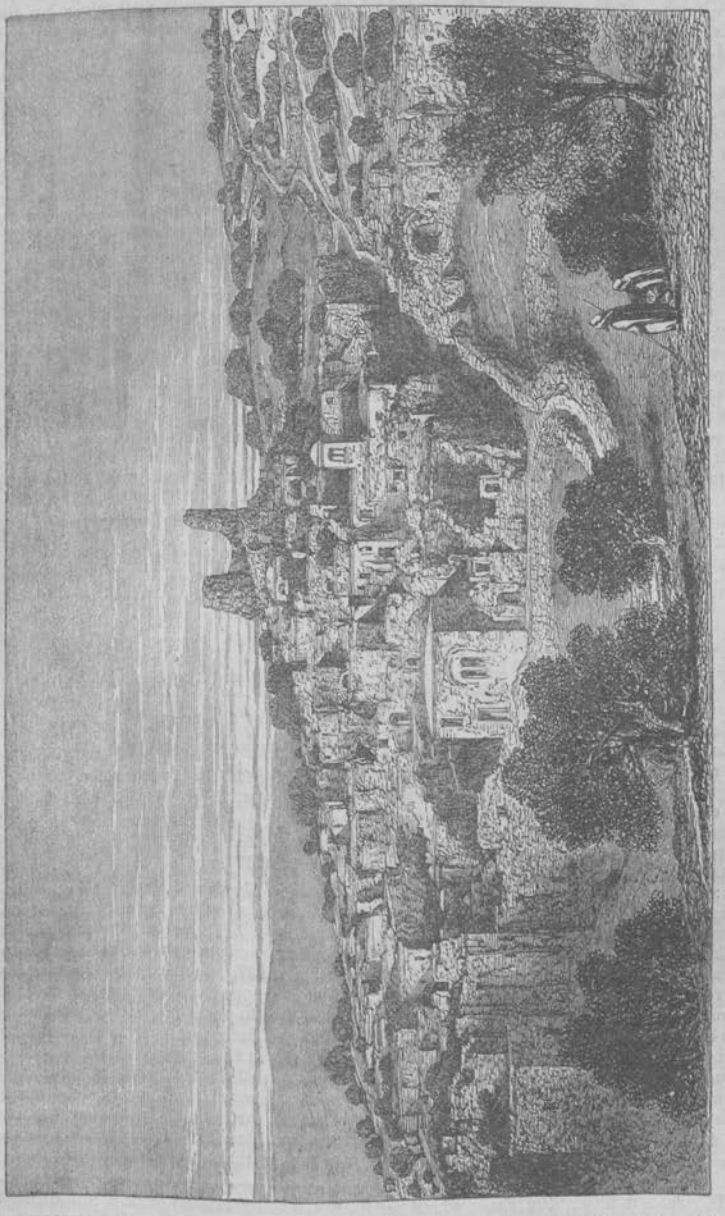
BETH-ANO'TH (בֵּית עֲנוֹת, possibly [Dillmann, Baethgen] called after the goddess 'Anath; B. Βαιθανάμ, A. Βαιθανών; *Bethanoth*), a town in the mountainous district of Judah, named with Halhul, Bethzur, and others, in Josh. xv. 59 only. It is very probably the modern *Kh. Beit 'Ainûn*, N.E. of Hebron, the remains of which, near to those of *Halhûl* and *Beit Sûr*, were discovered by Wolcott and visited by Robinson (iii. 281). See also *PEF. Mem.* iii. 311, 351. [G.] [W.]

BETHANY (in Talm. quasi בֵּית הִינֵי, said to mean *house of unripe dates*; Βηθανία; *Bethania*), a village which, scanty as are the notices of it contained in Scripture, is more intimately associated in our minds with the most familiar acts and scenes of the last days of the life of

* Jerome (*OS.*[2] p. 146, 6) has Beth-abara.

Christ than perhaps any other place. It was at Bethany that He raised Lazarus from the dead, and from Bethany that He commenced His "triumphal entry" into Jerusalem. It was His nightly resting-place during the time immediately preceding His Passion; and here at the houses of Martha and Mary, and of Simon the leper, we are admitted to view Him, more nearly than elsewhere, in the circle of His domestic life.

Though it was only at a late period of the life of our Lord that His connexion with



Bethany, from the road to Jericho. (From a photograph.)

Bethany commenced, yet this is fully compensated for by its having been the scene of His very last acts on earth. It was somewhere here (Luke xxiv. 50; Acts i. 9, 12), on these wooded slopes beyond the ridge of Olivet, that the Apostles stood when they last beheld His figure, as, with "uplifted hands"—still, to the very moment of disappearance, "blessing" them—He was "taken up" into the "cloud" which "received" and hid Him from their "stedfast" gaze, the words still ringing in their ears, which prove that space and time are no

hindrance to the connexion of Christians with their Lord—"Lo! I am with you alway, even to the end of the world" (Matt. xxviii. 20).

The little information we possess about Bethany is entirely gathered from the N. T., neither the O. T. nor the Apocrypha having apparently any allusion to it. It was situated "at" (πρὸς) the Mount of Olives (Mark xi. 1; Luke xix. 29), about 15 stadia from Jerusalem (John xi. 18), on or near the usual road from Jericho to the city (Luke xix. 29, cp. v. 1; Mark xi. 1, cp. x. 46), and close by and west (?) of another village called BETHPHAGE, the two being several times mentioned together.

There never appears to have been any doubt as to the site of Bethany, which is now known by a name derived from Lazarus—*el-'Azeriyeh*[a] (العازريه). It lies on the eastern slope of the Mount of Olives, fully a mile beyond the summit, and not very far from the point at which the road to Jericho begins its more sudden descent towards the Jordan valley (Lindsay, p. 91, and De Saulcy, p. 120). The spot is a woody hollow more or less planted with fruit-trees,—olives, almonds, pomegranates, as well as oaks, and carobs; the whole lying below a secondary ridge or hump, of sufficient height to shut out the village from the summit of the mount (Rob. i. 431, 432; Stanley, p. 189; Bonar, pp. 138-9).

From a distance the village is, to use the emphatic words of one published description, "remarkably beautiful"—"the perfection of retirement and repose"—"of seclusion and lovely peace" (Bonar, pp. 139, 230, 310, 337; and see Lindsay, p. 69). It is difficult to reconcile these glowing descriptions with Dean Stanley's words (p. 189), or with the impression which the present writer derived from the actual view of the place. Possibly something of the difference is due to the different time of year at which the visits were made.

El-'Azeriyeh itself is a ruinous and wretched village, a "wild mountain hamlet" of "some twenty families," the inhabitants of which display even less than the ordinary Eastern thrift and industry (Rob. i. 432; Stanley, p. 189; Bonar, p. 310). In the village are shown the traditional sites of the house and tomb of Lazarus: the former the remains of a square tower, apparently of old date, though certainly not of the age of the kings of Judah, to which De Saulcy assigns it (p. 128); the latter a deep vault excavated in the limestone rock, the bottom reached by twenty-six steps. The house of Simon the leper is also exhibited. As to the real age and character of these remains there is at present no information to guide us.

Schwarz maintains *el-'Azeriyeh* to be AZAL; and would fix Bethany at a spot which, he says, the Arabs call Beth-hanan, on the Mount of Offence above Siloam (pp. 135, 263).

These traditional spots are first heard of in the 4th century—in the *Itinerary* of the Bordeaux Pilgrim, and in the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius (where the name itself has dropped out of the text; *OS.*[2] p. 251, 10) and Jerome (*OS.*[2] p. 142, 3); and they continued to exist, with certain varieties of buildings and of ecclesiastical establishments in connexion therewith, down to the 16th century, since which the place has fallen gradually into its present decay. This part of the history is well given by Robinson (i. 432-3). By Mandeville and other mediaeval travellers the town is spoken of as the "Castle of Bethany," an expression which had its origin in *castellum* being employed by the Vulgate as the translation of κώμη in John xi. 1. See *PEF. Mem.* iii. 27.

The derivation of the name of Bethany is much disputed. That given above—that of Lightfoot and Reland (cp. Hamburger, *RE.* Abth. II. *s. n.* Beth-Hini)—is preferred by many to that of Simonis (*Onom.* s. v.), viz. בֵּית עֲנִיָּה, *locus depressionis*, which has no special applicability to this spot more than to any other, while it lacks the correspondence with Beth-phage, "House of *Figs*," and with the "Mount of *Olives*," which gives so much colour to this derivation, although it is true that the dates have disappeared, and the figs and olives alone are now to be found in the neighbourhood of Bethany. This has been well brought out by Stanley (*S. & P.* pp. 186, 187).[b] [G.] [W.]

BETHANY beyond Jordan (John i. 28). See BETH-ABARA.

BETH-ARA'BAH (בֵּית הָעֲרָבָה, *house of the desert;* BA. Βαιθαραβά, in Josh. xv. 6; *Betharaba*), one of the six cities of Judah which were situated down in the Arabah, *i.e.* the sunk valley of the Jordan and Dead Sea ("wilderness," Josh. xv. 61, B. Θαραβαάμ, A. Βηθαραβά), on the north border of the tribe, and apparently between Beth-hoglah and the high land on the west of the Jordan valley (xv. 6). It is also included in the list of the towns of Benjamin (xviii. 22, B. Βαιθαβαρά, A. Βαιθαραβά). [G.] [W.]

BETH-A'RAM (accurately, as in R. V., BETH-HARAM, בֵּית הָרָם; B. om., A. Βηθαράμ; *Betharam*), one of the towns of Gad on the east of Jordan (Josh. xiii. 27), described as in "the valley" (הָעֵמֶק, not to be confounded with the Arabah or Jordan valley), and no doubt the same place as that named BETH-HARAN in Num. xxxii. 36. No further mention is found of it in the Scriptures; but Eusebius and Jerome (*OS.*[2] pp. 137, 16; 248, 87. The name appears to have dropped out of the text of Eusebius) report that in their day the appellation (*a Syris dicitur*) of Betharam was Bethramtha, Βηθραμφθά (see also the quotations from the Talmud in Schwarz, p. 231; the Syriac and other Versions, however, have all Bethharan, with no material variation), and that, in honour of Augustus, Herod had named it Libias (Λιβιάς). Josephus's account is that Herod (Antipas), on taking

[a] The Arabic name is given from Robinson. Lord Lindsay, however, denies that this is correct, and asserts, after frequently hearing it pronounced, that the name is *Lazarieh*. The *PEF.* Name Lists agree with Robinson.

[b] Mühlau (in Riehm's *HWB.* s. n. Bethania) prefers, at least for the Greek form of the name, the sense of the "house of the unhappy or poor," Jerome that of "domus adflictionis ejus vel domus obedientiae" (*OS.*[2] p. 93, 26). Some of the lesser Greek *Onomastica* adopt one or other of these last-named derivations, or add a fresh one—οἶκος δόξης—or combine them (cp. *OS.*[2] index, s. n. Βηθανία). [F.]

possession of his tetrarchy, fortified Sepphoris and the city (πόλις) of Betharamphtha, building a wall round the latter, and calling it Julias in honour of the wife of the emperor. As this could hardly be later than B.C. 1—Herod the Great, the predecessor of Antipas, having died in B.C. 4—and as the Empress Livia did not receive her name of Julia until after the death of Augustus, A.D. 14, it is probable that Josephus is in error as to the new name given to the place, and speaks of it as having originally received that which it bore in his own day. It is curious that he names Libias long before (*Ant.* xiv. 1, § 4), in such connexion as to leave no doubt that he alludes to the same place. Under the name of Amathus he again mentions it (*Ant.* xvii. 10, § 6; cp. *B. J.* ii. 4, § 2), and the destruction of the royal palaces there by insurgents from Peraea.

Ptolemy gives the locality of Libias as 31° 26′ lat. and 67° 10′ long. (Ritter, *Jordan*, p. 573); and Eusebius and Jerome (*OS.*[2] ut supra) state that it was five miles south of Bethnabran, or Bethamnaran (*i.e.* Beth-nimrah?). This agrees with the position of *Tell Râmeh*, a conspicuous mound, east of Jordan, near the mouth of *W. Hesbân:* the mound is 70 feet high, and 50 feet across at the top; there are a few old foundations (*U. S. P. E. S. Stat.* iii. 76; iv. 84). Tristram appears (*Land of Moab*, p. 348) to have been given the name *Beit-harran* for this mound. [G.] [W.]

BETH-ARBE'L (בֵּית אַרְבֵאל; T.[7] ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ Ἱεροβοάμ, A. Ἱεροβαάλ), named only in Hos. x. 14, as the scene of a sack and massacre by Shalman (Shalmaneser). No clue is given to its position; it may be the ancient stronghold of Arbela in Galilee, but (Hitzig, MV.[11], Schrader, Orelli) is more probably another place of the same name, now *Irbid*, N.E. of Pella, of which mention is made by Eusebius (*OS.*[2] p. 236, 72). The Prophet perhaps alludes to a recent event, and Schrader suggests (*KAT.*[2] pp. 440–2) that Beth-Arbel was taken either by Shalmaneser III. during his campaign of 773 B.C. against Damascus, or by Salamanu, king of Moab, who was contemporary with Hosea, and whose name appears in the list of subject monarchs who gave tribute to Tiglath-pileser II. after the fall of Damascus in 732 B.C. His own preference is with Nowack for the latter of these two suggestions. In either case Beth-Arbel would have been east of Jordan. In the Vulgate Jerome has translated the name to mean "e domo ejus qui judicavit Baal," *i.e.* Jerubbaal (יְרֻבָּעַל) or Gideon, understanding Salman as Zalmunna, and the whole passage as referring to Judg. viii. [G.] [W.]

BETH-A'VEN (בֵּית אָוֶן, *house of naught*, i.e. *badness;* Josh. xviii. 12, B. Βαιθών, A. Βαιθαύν; *Bethaven*), a place on the mountains of Benjamin, east of Bethel (Josh. vii. 2, B. Βαιθήλ, A. Βηθαύν), and lying between that place and Michmash (1 Sam. xiii. 5 [LXX. see below]; also xiv. 23, B. Βαμώθ, A.[vid] Θαύν). In Josh. xviii. 12, the "wilderness" (*Midbar* = pasture-land) of Bethaven is mentioned. In 1 Sam. xiii. 5 the reading of the LXX. is Βαιθωρών, Beth-horon; but if this be correct, another Beth-horon must be intended than that commonly known, which was much further to the west (cp. Wellhausen, *l. c.*). In Hos. iv. 15, v. 8, x. 5 (οἶκος Ἀών, but A. οἶκος τῆς ἀδικίας, and so B. marg.), the name is transferred, with a play on the word very characteristic of this Prophet, to the neighbouring Bethel—once the "house of God," but then the house of idols, of "naught." [G.] [W.]

BETH-AZMA'VETH (בֵּית עַזְמָוֶת, for etymology see AZMAVETH; B. Βηθασμώθ; A. Βηθ'; *Bethazmoth*). Under this name is mentioned, in Neh. vii. 28 only, the town of Benjamin which is elsewhere called AZMAVETH and BETH-SAMOS.

Mr. Finn proposes to identify Azmaveth with *Hizmeh*, a village on the hills of Benjamin to the S.E. of *Jeb'a*. [G.] [W.]

BETH-BAAL-MEO'N[a] (בֵּית בַּעַל מְעוֹן; B. οἶκος Μελαβώθ; A. οἶκος Βελαμών; *Oppidum Baalmaon*), a place in the possessions of Reuben, on the "Mishor" or downs (A. V. "plain") east of Jordan (Josh. xiii. 17). At the Israelites' first approach its name was BAAL-MEON (Num. xxxii. 38 [cp. Dillmann], or, in its contracted form, BEON, xxxii. 3), to which the Beth was possibly a Hebrew addition. Later it would seem to have come into possession of Moab, and to be known either as Beth-meon (Jer. xlviii. 23) or Baal-meon (Ezek. xxv. 9). It was built or rebuilt by king Mesha, according to the inscription on the "Moabite Stone" (*Recovy. of Jerusm.* p. 507; *Records of the Past*, N. S. ii. 201), and a distinction seems to be made between Beth-Baal-emon and Baal-meon (cp. ll. 9, 26). The name is still attached to a ruined place of considerable size (*beträchtlich*, Seetzen), to the S.W. of *Hesbân*, and bearing the name of *M'ain*, which appears to give its appellation to the *Wâdy Zerka M'ain* (Tristram, *Land of Moab*, pp. 303–4; Seetzen, *Reisen*, p. 408). [G.] [W.]

BETH-BA'RAH (בֵּית בָּרָה; quasi בֵּית עֲבָרָה [one of the few instances of the *'Ain* being rejected in contraction, Ges. *Thes.* 976 *b*], *house of passage*, or *of the ford;* BA. Βαιθηρά; *Bethbera*), named only in Judg. vii. 24, as a point apparently south of the scene of Gideon's victory, which took place at or about Bethshean, and to which point "the waters" (הַמַּיִם) were "taken" by the Ephraimites against Midian. What these "waters" were is not clear, probably the *wâdys* and streams which descend from the highlands of Ephraim; it is only plain that they were distinct from the Jordan, to which river no word but its own distinct name is ever applied. Beth-barah derives its chief interest from the possibility that its more modern representative may have been Beth-abara where John baptized [BETH-ABARA]; but there is not much in favour of this beyond their similarity in sound. The pursuit of the Midianites can hardly have reached so far south as Beth-abara, which was accessible to Judaea and Jerusalem and all the "region round about" (ἡ περίχωρος; *i.e.* the oasis of the South Jordan at Jericho).

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[a] It is possible that the name contains a trace of the tribe or nation of Maon,—the Maonites or Mehunim. [MAON; MEHUNIM.]

If the derivation of the name given above be correct, Beth-barah was probably the chief ford of the district, and may therefore have been that by which Jacob crossed on his return from Mesopotamia, and at which Jephthah slew the Ephraimites. [G.] [W.]

BETH-BA'SI (B. Βαιθβαισσεί [*v.* 62], Βαιθβασσεί [*v.* 64], A. Βεθβασί; *Bethbessen*), a town which from the mention of its decays (τὰ καθῃρημένα) must have been originally fortified, lying in the desert (τῇ ἐρημῷ), and in which Jonathan and Simon Maccabaeus took refuge from Bacchides (1 Macc. ix. 62, 64). Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 1, § 5) has Βηθαλαγά (Beth-hogla), but a reading of the passage quoted by Reland (p. 632) presents the more probable form of Beth-keziz. Either alternative fixes the situation as in the Jordan valley not far from Jericho. [KEZIZ, VALLEY OF.] [G.] [W.]

BETH-BIR'EI (בֵּית בִּרְאִי, MV.[11] = *place of fatness*; B. [by inclusion of the next name] οἶκος Βραουμσεωρείμ, A. οἶκ. Βαρουμ-; *Beth-berai*; R. V. *Beth-biri*), a town of Simeon (1 Ch. iv. 31), which, by comparison with the parallel list in Josh. xix., appears to have also the name of BETH-LEBAOTH, of which it may possibly have been a corruption. It lay to the extreme south, with Beersheba, Hormah, &c. (cp. Josh. xv. 32, Lebaoth). [G.] [W.]

BETH'-CAR (בֵּית כַּר, Ges. = *house of lambs*; B. Βαιθχόρ, A. Βελχόρ; *Bethchar*), an unknown place named as the point to which the Israelites pursued the Philistines from Mizpeh on a memorable occasion (1 Sam. vii. 11). From the unusual expression "under Beth-car" (מִמַּתַּחַת לְבֵית), it would seem that the place itself was on a height, with the road at its foot. Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 2, § 2) has μέχρι Καρβαίων, and goes on to say that the stone Ebenezer was set up at this place to mark it as the spot to which the victory had extended. [EBEN-EZER.] This must not be confounded with the Κορέαι of *Ant.* xiv. 3, § 4; of *B. J.* i. 6, § 5, and iv. 8, § 1. The Targum has Bethsharon. [G.] [W.]

BETH-DA'GON (בֵּית דָּגוֹן, *house of Dagon*; *Bethdagon*).

1. B. Βαγαδιήλ, A. Βηθδαγών. A city in the low country (*Shefelah*) of Judah (Josh. xv. 41), and therefore not far from the Philistine territory, with which its name implies a connexion. From the absence of any conjunction before this name, it has been suggested that it should be taken with the preceding, "Gederoth-Beth-dagon;" in that case probably distinguishing Gederoth from the two places of similar name in the neighbourhood, but the suggestion is not adopted by the R. V. Caphar-dagon existed as a very large village between Diospolis (Lydda) and Jamnia in the time of Jerome (*OS.*[2] p. 138, 14, *s. v.* Beth-dagon). The site, hitherto unknown (Dillmann[2] in loco), has been recovered by M. Ganneau at *Dajûn*, between Lydda and *Yebnah*, Jamnia (*PEFQy. Stat.* 1874, p. 279). It is mentioned, with Joppa and Beneberak, in an inscription of Sennacherib (Schrader, *KAT.*[2] p. 289).

2. A town apparently near the coast, named as one of the landmarks of the boundary of Asher (Josh. xix. 27; בֵּית דָּגוֹן, B. Βαιθεγενέθ, A. Βηθδαγών). The name and the proximity to the coast point to its being a Philistine colony. Conder (*Hdbk. to Bible*, p. 268) proposes to identify it with *Kh. D'aûk*, a mound near the mouth of the Belus. Cp. Dillmann[2] in loco.

3. In addition to the two modern villages noticed above as bearing this ancient name, a third has been found by Robinson (iii. 298) a few miles east of *Nâblus*. Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 8, § 1, and *B. J.* i. 2, § 3) gives the name of Dagon to the fortress in the Jordan valley in which Simon Maccabaeus was killed. [DOCUS.] There can be no doubt that in the occurrence of these names we have indications of the worship of the Philistine god having spread far beyond the Philistine territory. Possibly these are the sites of towns founded at the time when this warlike people had overrun the face of the country to "Michmash, eastward of Bethaven," on the south, and Gilboa on the north—*i.c.* to the edge of the heights which overlook the Jordan valley—driving "the Hebrews over Jordan into the land of Gad and Gilead" (1 Sam. xiii. 5–7, cp. 17, 18; xxix. 1; xxxi. 1). [G.] [W.]

BETH-DIBLATHA'IM (בֵּית דִּבְלָתָיִם, *house of the double cake* [of figs]; B. οἶκος Δαιβλαθαίμ, A. οἶκ. Δεβ-; *domus Deblathaim*), a town of Moab (Jer. xlviii. [LXX. xxxi.] 22), apparently the place elsewhere called ALMON-DIBLATHAIM. In the inscription on the "Moabite stone," found at Dibon, king Mesha states that he built Beth-Diblathaim (called Diblathan, *Recov. of Jer.* p. 507; Stade, *Ges. d. V. Isr.* i. 534). [G.] [W.]

BETH-EDEN. Amos i. 5, marg. [EDEN, 2.]

BETH-EL (בֵּית אֵל, *house of God*; ADE. [Gen. xxxv. 15] Βαιθήλ; Joseph. Βηθήλ, Βεθήλη πόλις; *Bethel*). **1.** A well-known city and holy place of Central Palestine.

Of the origin of the name of Bethel there are two accounts extant. 1. It was bestowed on the spot by Jacob under the awe inspired by the nocturnal vision of God, when on his journey from his father's house at Beersheba to seek his wife in Haran (Gen. xxviii. 19; LXX. οἶκος θεοῦ; *Bethel*). He took the stone which had served for his pillow and put (וַיָּשֶׂם) it for a pillar, and anointed it with oil; and he "called the name of that place (הַמָּקוֹם הַהוּא) Bethel; but the name of 'the' city (הָעִיר) was called Luz at the first." The expression in the last paragraph of this account is curious, and indicates a distinction between the "city" and the "place"—the early Canaanite "city" Luz, and the "place," as yet a mere undistinguished spot, marked only by the "stone," or the heap (Joseph. τοῖς λίθοις συμφορουμένοις), erected by Jacob to commemorate his vision.

2. But according to another account, Bethel received its name on the occasion of a blessing bestowed by God upon Jacob after his return from Padan-aram; at which time also (according to this narrative) the name of Israel was given him. Here again Jacob erected (יַצֵּב) a "pillar of stone," which, as before, he anointed with oil (Gen. xxxv. 14, 15). The key of this story would seem to be the fact of God's "speak-

ing" with Jacob. "God went up from him in the place where He 'spake' with him"—"Jacob set up a pillar in the place where He 'spake' with him," and "called the name of the place where God spake[a] with him Bethel."

Whether these two narratives represent distinct events (see *Speaker's Comm.* and Delitzsch [1887] on Gen. xxviii. 19), or, as would appear to be the case in other instances in the lives of the patriarchs, are different representations of the one original occasion on which the hill of Bethel received its consecration, we do not know. It is perhaps worth notice that the Prophet Hosea —in the only reference which the later Hebrew Scriptures contain to this occurrence—had evidently the second of the two narratives before him, since in a summary of the life of Jacob he introduces it in the order in which it occurs in Genesis (xxxv.), laying full and characteristic stress on the keyword of the story: "He had power over the Angel and prevailed; he wept and made supplication unto Him; He found him at Bethel, and there He *spake* with us, even the LORD, the God of hosts" (Hos. xii. 4, 5, R. V.).

Early as is the date involved in these narratives, yet, if we are to accept the precise definition of Gen. xii. 8, the name of Bethel would appear to have existed at this spot even before the arrival of Abram in Canaan: he removed from the oaks of Moreh to "'the' mountain on the east of Bethel," with "Bethel on the west and Hai on the east." Here he built an altar; and hither he returned from Egypt with Lot before their separation (xiii. 3, 4). See Stanley, *S. and P.* p. 218. It is, however, considered by some more probable that the names, afterwards so well known, are here given by anticipation (cp. Delitzsch in loco).

In one thing, however, the above narratives all agree,—in omitting any mention of towns or buildings at Bethel at that early period, and in drawing a marked distinction between the "city" of Luz and the consecrated "place" in its neighbourhood (cp., besides the passages already quoted, Gen. xxxv. 7). Even in the ancient chronicles of the conquest the two are still distinguished (Josh. xvi. 1, 2); and the appropriation of the name of Bethel to the city appears not to have been made till still later, when it was taken by the tribe of Ephraim; after which the name of Luz occurs no more (Judg. i. 22–26). If this view be correct, there is a strict parallel between Bethel and Moriah, which, probably a heathen sacred spot, received its consecration when Abraham offered up Isaac, but did not become the site of an actual sanctuary till the erection of the Temple there by Solomon. [MORIAH.]

The intense significance of the title bestowed by Jacob on the place of his vision—"House of God"—and the wide extent to which that appellation has been adopted in all languages and in spite of the utmost diversities of belief, has been well noticed by Stanley (*S. and P.* pp. 220–1). It should not be overlooked how far this has been the case with the actual name; the very syllables of Jacob's exclamation forming, as they do, the title of the chief sanctuary of the Mahometan world—the Beit-allah of Mecca; while they are not less the favourite designation of the meanest conventicles of the humblest sects of Protestant Christendom.

On the other hand, how singular is the fact—if the conclusions of etymologists are to be trusted (Spencer, *De Leg. Hebr.* i. 444; Bochart, *Canaan*, ii. 2)—that the awful name of Bethel should have lent its form to the word by which was called one of the most perplexing of all the perplexing forms assumed by the idolatry of the heathen—the Baitulia of the ancient Phoenicians, the λίθοι ἔμψυχοι, or small portable stones to which magical life was ascribed. Another opportunity will occur for going more at length into this interesting subject [STONES. Cp. Delitzsch (1887) on Gen. xxxv. 14, 15, and Mühlau in Keim's *HWB.* s. n. "Beth-el"]; it will be sufficient here to say that the Baitulia seem to have preserved the erect position of their supposed prototype, and that the worship included the anointing them with oil (Arnobius, *adv. Gentes*, i. 39).

The actual stone of Bethel itself was the subject of a Jewish tradition, according to which it was removed to the second Temple, and served as the pedestal for the ark. It survived the destruction of the Temple by the Romans, and was resorted to by the Jews in their lamentations (Reland, *Pal.* p. 638). [TEMPLE, THE SECOND.]

After the conquest Bethel is frequently heard of. In the troubled times when there was no king in Israel, it was to Bethel that the people went up in their distress to ask counsel of God (Judg. xx. 18, 26, 31, xxi. 2, LXX. and R. V.; in the A. V. and Vulg. [exc. in xx. 31] the name is translated "house of God"). Here was the ark of the covenant under the charge of Phinehas the grandson of Aaron, with an altar and proper appliances for the offering of burnt-offerings and peace-offerings (xx. 26–28, xxi. 4); and the unwonted mention of a regular road or causeway as existing between it and the great town of Shechem is doubtless an indication that it was already in much repute. Later than this we find it named as one of the holy cities to which Samuel went in circuit, taking equal rank with Gilgal and Mizpeh (1 Sam. vii. 16).

Probably it was this ancient reputation—combined with its situation on the extreme south frontier of his new kingdom, and with the hold which it must have had on the sympathies both of Benjamin and Ephraim, the former's by lot and the latter's by conquest—which made Jeroboam choose Bethel as the depository of the new false worship which was to seal and consummate the division between the ten tribes and the two. Here he established one of the two calves of gold, the priests of "the high places which he had made," and an altar[b] of incense, by which he himself stood to burn; as we see him in the familiar picture of 1 K. xii., xiii. Towards the end of Jeroboam's life Bethel fell into the hands of Judah (2 Ch. xiii. 19), whence it was probably recovered by Baasha (xvi. 1). It then remains unmentioned for a long period.

[a] The word is the same (דבר), and is rendered "spake" by R. V. in all three cases; in the A. V. it is rendered "talked" in the first two.

[b] W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, i. 470, suggest that this altar was a pillar crowned by a sort of capital bearing a bowl. This would illustrate Amos iii. 14, ix. 1.

The worship of Baal, introduced by the Phoenician queen of Ahab (1 K. xvi. 31), had probably alienated public favour from the simple erections of Jeroboam to more gorgeous shrines (2 K. x. 21, 22). Samaria had been built (1 K. xvi. 24) and Jezreel, and these things must have all tended to draw public notice to the more northern part of the kingdom. It was during this period that Elijah visited Bethel, and that we hear of "sons of the prophets" as resident there (2 K. ii. 2, 3), two facts apparently incompatible with the active existence of the calf-worship. The mention of the bears so close to the town (ii. 23, 25) looks too as if the neighbourhood were not much frequented at that time. But after his destruction of the Baal-worship throughout the country, Jehu appears to have returned to the simpler and more national religion of the calves, and Bethel comes once more into view (2 K. x. 29). Under the descendants of this king the place and the worship must have greatly flourished, for by the time of Jeroboam II., the great-grandson of Jehu, the rude village was again a royal residence with a "king's house" (Amos vii. 13); there were palaces both for "winter" and "summer," "great houses" and "houses of ivory" (iii. 15), and a very high degree of luxury in dress, furniture, and living (vi. 4–6). The one original altar was now accompanied by several others (ii. 8, iii. 14); and the simple "incense" of its founder had developed into the "burnt-offerings" and "meal-offerings" of "solemn assemblies," with the fragrant "peace-offerings" of "fat beasts" (v. 21, 22).

How this prosperity came to its doom we are not told. After the desolation of the northern kingdom by the king of Assyria, Bethel still remained an abode of priests, who taught the wretched colonists "how to fear Jehovah," "the God of the land" (2 K. xvii. 27, 28). According to the Jewish tradition (*Seder Olam Rabba*, ch. xxii.) the golden calf of Bethel was carried off by Shalmaneser, but the buildings remained till the time of Josiah, by whom they were destroyed; and in the account preserved of his reforming iconoclasm we catch one more glimpse of the altar of Jeroboam, with its last loathsome fire of "dead men's bones" burning upon it, the altar and high-place surviving in their archaic antiquity amidst the successive additions of later votaries, like the wooden altar of Becket at Canterbury, which continued in its original simplicity through all the subsequent magnificence of the church in which he was murdered (Stanley, *Canterbury*, p. 184). Not the least remarkable of these later works was the monument (מַצֵּבָה; στήλη; 2 K. xxiii. 17), evidently a conspicuous erection, of the "man of God" who proclaimed the ultimate downfall of this idolatrous worship at its very outset (1 K. xiii. 1) and who would seem to have been at a later date canonized as it were by the votaries of the very idolatry which he denounced. "Woe unto you! for ye build the sepulchres of the prophets, and your fathers killed them" (Luke xi. 47).

But, in any case, the fact of the continued existence of the tomb of this protester through so many centuries of idolatry illustrates very remarkably the way in which the worship of Jehovah and the false-worship went on side by side at Bethel. It is plain from several allusions of Amos that this was the case (v. 14, 22): and the fact before noticed of prophets of Jehovah being resident there, and of the friendly visits even of the stern Elijah; of the relation between the "man of God from Judah" and the lying prophet (1 K. xiii. 18) who caused his death; of the manner in which Zedekiah the son of Chenaanah, a priest of Baal, resorts to the name of Jehovah for his solemn adjuration (1 K. xxii. 11), and lastly of the way in which the denunciations of Amos were tolerated and he himself allowed to escape, — all these point to a state of things well worthy of investigation. In this connexion, too, it is curious that men of Bethel and Ai returned with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii. 28; Neh. vii. 32); and that they returned to their native place whilst continuing their relations with Nehemiah and the restored worship (Neh. xi. 31). In the 1st Book of Esdras the name appears as BETOLIUS (v. 21: cp. Ezra ii. 28). In later times Bethel is only named once, amongst the strong cities in Judaea which were repaired by Bacchides during the struggles of the times of the Maccabees (1 Macc. ix. 50).

Bethel is mentioned by Jerome (*OS.*[2] p. 135, 8) as twelve miles from Jerusalem on the right hand of the road to Neapolis; and here its ruins still lie under the scarcely altered name of *Beitin*. They cover a space of "three or four acres," and consist of "very many foundations and half-standing walls of houses and other buildings." "The ruins lie upon the front of a low hill between the heads of two hollow wadys which unite and run off into the main valley *es-Suweinit*" (Rob. i. 448–9). Dr. Clarke, and other travellers since his visit, have remarked on the "stony" nature of the soil at Bethel, as perfectly in keeping with the narrative of Jacob's slumber there. For a description of *Beitin* see *PEF. Mem.* ii. 295, 305. When on the spot little doubt can be felt as to the localities of this interesting place. The mount S.E. of Bethel, on which there are the ruins of a Byzantine church, *Kh. el-Mukâtir*, must be the "mountain" on which Abram built the altar, and on which he and Lot stood when they made their division of the land (Gen. xii. 8, xiii. 10). It is still thickly strewn to its top with stones formed by nature for the building of "altar" or sanctuary (*PEF. Mem.* ii. 373). As the eye turns involuntarily eastward, it takes in a large part of the plain of the Jordan opposite Jericho; distant, it is true, but not too distant to discern in that clear atmosphere the lines of verdure that mark the brooks which descend from the mountains beyond the river, and fertilise the plain even in its present neglected state; but which, if properly used, would again render the district what it once was, "a garden of the Lord, even as the land of Egypt." Eastward again of this mount, at about the same distance on the left that Bethel is on the right, is a third hill crowned by a remarkably desolate-looking mass of grey débris, the most perfect heap of ruin to be seen even in that country of ruins. This is *et-Tell*, "the mound," or "the heap," agreeing in every particular of name, aspect, and situation, with AI.

An admirable passage on the history of Bethel will be found in Stanley (*S. & P.* pp. 217–223).

2. A town in the south part of Judah, named in 1 Sam. xxx. 27. The collocation of the name in this list is decisive against its being the well-known Bethel (see Wellhausen and Klostermann *l. c.*); but opinions are still divided about the Bethel named in Josh. xii. 16 (BA. om. See Dillmann[2]). In 1 Sam. xxx. 27 the LXX. B. reads Βαιθσούρ, *i.e.* Bethzur (A. Βαιθήλ). By comparison of the lists of the towns of Judah and Simeon (Josh. xv. 30, xix. 4; 1 Ch. iv. 29, 30), the place appears under the names of CHESIL, BETHUL, and BETHUEL. [G.] [W.]

BETHEL, MOUNT. A point on the southern boundary of the children of Joseph (Josh. xvi. 1), where, however, R. V. reads more correctly "through the hill country to Bethel." It was in Mount Bethel (R. V. "in the mount of Bethel") that Saul assembled 2,000 of his chosen men before Jonathan made his attack on the Philistine garrison of Geba (1 Sam. xiii. 2). "The hill country" is apparently the ridge E. of Bethel which parts the waters of the Mediterranean from those of the Dead Sea. [BETH-EL.] [W.]

BETHELITE, THE (הַבֵּיתְאֵלִי; B. ὁ Βαιθηλείτης, A. Βαιθι-), HIEL, is recorded as the rebuilder of Jericho (1 K. xvi. 34). [G.] [W.]

BETH-E'MEK (בֵּית הָעֵמֶק, *house of the valley*; B. Σαφθαιβαιθμέ [apparently joining to previous name], A. Βηθαεμέκ; *Bethemec*), a place on or near the border of Asher, on the north side of which was the ravine of Jiphthah-el (Josh. xix. 27). Robinson has discovered an *'Amka* about 6½ miles to the N.E. of *'Akka*; but if his identification of *Jefât* with Jiphthah-el be tenable, the site of Beth-emek must be sought for farther south than *'Amka* (Rob. iii. 103, 107, 8. Cp. Dillmann[2]). Conder (*PEFQy. Stat.* 1883, p. 137) identifies Jiphthah-el with *W. el-Kurn*, but, if *'Amka* be Beth-emek, it is more probably *W. el-Karâk'a*. [G.] [W.]

BE'THER, THE MOUNTAINS OF (הָרֵי בֶתֶר; Ges. explains ב to be a region cut up into mountains and valleys: ὄρη κοιλωμάτων; *Bethr* and *Bethel*), Cant. ii. 17. There is no clue to guide us as to what mountains are intended here.

For the site of Bether, so famous in the post-biblical history of the Jews, and so disputed, see Reland, pp. 639, 640; Rob. iii. 267–271; Hamburger, *RE.* Abth. ii. s. n. *Bethar*. [G.] [W.]

BETHES'DA[a] (Βηθεσδά, as if בֵּית חֶסֶד, *house of mercy*, or בֵּית אֶשְׁדָּא, *place of the flowing of water*; א. Βηθζαθά, *place of olives*; B. Βηθσαιδά, *fishing-place*; Euseb. Βηζαθά.; *Bethsaida*), the Hebrew name of a reservoir or tank (κολυμβήθρα, *i.e.* a swimming-pool), with five "porches" (στοαί), close upon the sheep-*gate* [R. V.] or *market* [A. V.] (ἐπὶ τῇ προβατικῇ: it will be observed that the word market is supplied) in Jerusalem (John v. 2). It should be noted that the Sinaitic Version and Chrysostom, quoting John v. 2, read προβατικὴ κολυμβήθρα, "sheep-pool;" and that the Vulgate has *probatica piscina*. Eusebius, the author of the tract *De Semente*, Cyril of Jerusalem, and Jerome also write of Bethesda as the "sheep-pool." The porches—*i.e.* cloisters or colonnades—were extensive enough to accommodate a large number of sick and infirm people, whose custom it was to wait there for the "troubling of the water" (*v.* 7).

There were other κολυμβηθραι or "swimming-pools" at Jerusalem, such as the pool of Siloam (John ix. 7, 11), the pools *Struthion* and *Amygdalon* (Jos. *B. J.* v. 11, § 4), and the pool of Solomon (*B. J.* v. 4, § 2). The κολυμβήθρα was usually rectangular in form, open to the air, and surrounded by "porches" or cloisters[b] (στοαί), in which the bathers lounged and undressed. Siloam had four such cloisters (*Itin. Hierosol.*), of which remains have been found; Bethesda had five, a peculiarity that may be explained by comparing the statements of Eusebius and Cyril. From the former we gather that Bethesda was a double pool, and from the latter (*Hom. in Par.* § 2) that it had four cloisters round it and one in the middle. We may, perhaps, then reconstruct Bethesda as two pools closely adjoining each other, so as to form a square or rectangle, with a cloister on each side and one in the centre between the two pools.

Eusebius—though unfortunately he gives no clue to the situation of Bethesda—describes it (*OS.*[2] p. 251, 15) as a swimming-pool in Jerusalem, which is the sheep-*pool*, formerly having five porches; and he identifies it with the twin pools (ἐν ταῖς λίμναις διδύμοις), of which one was supplied by the periodical rains, while the water of the other was of a reddish colour (πεφοινιγμένον), due, as the tradition then ran, to the fact that the flesh of the sacrifices was anciently washed there before offering, on which account the pool was also called προβατικὴ (see, however, the comments of Lightfoot on this view, in his *Exercit.* on John v. 2). Eusebius's statement is partly confirmed by the Bordeaux Pilgrim (A.D. 333), who, after mentioning in his *Itinerary* "two large pools at the side of the Temple; that is, one on the right hand and one on the left," states that "more within the city there are twin pools, having five porches, which are called Bethsaida," and he adds that the water when agitated is of a ruddy colour (*Itin. Hierosol.*).

The writer of the tract *De Semente* (Migne, xxviii. 164) says that the sheep-pool was in existence in his day (*circ.* 320 A.D.), but that the five stoae had been destroyed. Eucherius (*De Loc. Sanct.*), 440 A.D., notices the twin pools, and the ruddy colour of the water in one of them; and Theodosius, 530 A.D., places it about 100 paces from the house of Pilate, and says (*De Ter. Sanct.* viii.) that near, or in it according to some MSS., there was a church dedicated to the Virgin. Antoninus states (*Itin.* xxvii.) that at

[a] The reading "Bethesda," though supported by the Peshiṭto, has the weight of MS. authority against it; and R. V. gives in the margin the alternative readings "Bethsaida" and "Bethzatha." The pool is not mentioned by any Jewish writer.

[b] Cloisters or colonnades round artificial tanks are common in the East. One example is the *Taj Bowree*, in the set of drawings of Beejapore published by the East India Company.

the time of his visit, 570 A.D., the pool was choked with filth, and that in one of the porches there was the Basilica of St. Mary. In the next century the Mary-legend, now connected with the Church of St. Anne, was fully established, and the placed was styled "the holy Probatica in which the illustrious Anna brought forth Mary" (Sophr. *Anac.* xx.; cp. Joan. Dam. *In Nat. B. V. Mar.*; *De Fide Orth.* iv.).

Four sites have been proposed for Bethesda:—

1. The large reservoir called the *Birket Isrâîl*, within the walls of the city, close by the St. Stephen's gate and under the north-east wall of the Haram area, is now shown as the modern representative of Bethesda. This tradition, however, does not appear to be older than the 13th century, for Brocardus, 1283 A.D., is the first to distinctly apply the name *Piscina Probatica* to this pool; the earlier historians of the Crusades seem to refer to 2. The arguments in favour of the *Birket Isrâîl* are, that the most probable position of the sheep-gate is at the N.E. part of the city [JERUSALEM], which applies equally to 2 and 3; and that if this remarkable reservoir be not Bethesda, it is not easy to see which of the ancient pools it represents.

2. A large pool adjacent to the Church of St. Anne, which has recently been recovered (*PEF. Qy. Stat.* 1888, pp. 115–134). Several writers, from William of Tyre onwards, allude to the presence of water in this pool; and in the *Citez de Iherusalem*, mention is made of a spring in front of the church. In favour of this site are, its close connexion with the Church of St. Anne, and the birthplace, according to modern tradition, of the Virgin; the identity of sense between *Beit Hanna*, the house of Anne, and Beth-Hesda, both meaning house of mercy or compassion; and the discovery in that place of a marble foot with an inscription testifying to the cure of a certain Pompeia Lucilia.

3. Sir C. Warren (*Recovy. of Jerusm.* pp. 196, 198) has identified the two *souterrains* near the Convent of the Sisters of Sion with the Bethesda of Eusebius and the Bordeaux Pilgrim; and the two large pools mentioned by the latter with the *Birket Isrâîl* and the pool which formerly existed to the north of it. This identification has the support of very early tradition; and the *souterrains* are situated in that part of the city which at the time of the Gospel history was known as Bezetha, a name which is only another form of Bethzatha and Bezatha (see *Bordeaux Pilgrim*, Appendix iii., P. P. Text Society Series).

Pool of Bethesda—Birket Isrâîl. (As it appeared about 1860. The pool is now filled up, or nearly so.)

4. Robinson (i. 342–3), with whom Conder agrees, suggests the "fountain of the Virgin," in the valley of the Kedron, a short distance above the Pool of Siloam. In favour of this are its situation, supposing the sheep-gate to be at the south-east of the city, as Lightfoot, Robinson, and others suppose; the strange intermittent "troubling of the water" caused by the periodical ebbing and flowing of the supply; and the fact that the Jews of the present day bathe in it when the water rises as a cure for rheumatism. Against it are the confined size of the pool; the difficulty of finding room for a kolumbethra with its five stoae; and the absence of any trace or tradition of the existence of a pool in that locality (see Barclay's detailed account, *City*, &c. pp. 516–524 and 325–6).[c]

For a description of the *Birket Isrâîl*, as dis-

[c] May it not, however, be possible that the true reading of John v. 2 is, "There is in Jerusalem, by the sheep-pool, *a building* which is called in Hebrew Bethesda, having five porches"? In this case there would be two distinct places, the pool and a building, analogous to a modern hospital for sick poor, with five aisles or covered galleries.

closed by Sir C. Warren's excavations, see *PEF. Mem. of Jerusalem*, pp. 122–126. [G.] [W.]

BETH-E'ZEL (בֵּית הָאֵצֶל), of uncertain etymology [see Ges.]; οἶκος ἐχόμενος αὐτῆς; *domus vicina*), a place named only in Mic. i. 11. It may have been situated in the plain of Philistia; but others identify it with Azel on the Mount of Olives (Zech. xiv. 5. Cp. Riehm, *HBW.* s. n.). [G.] [W.]

BETH-GA'DER (בֵּית גָּדֵר, *house of the wall*; B. Βαιθγαιδών, A. Βαιθγεδώρ; *Bethgader*), the same place as GEDER (Josh. xii. 13). It has not been identified. [G.] [W.]

BETH-GA'MUL (בֵּית גָּמוּל, *house of the weaned*; T.[7] οἶκος Γαιμώλ, א. Γαμωλά; *Bethgamul*), a town of Moab, in the *mishor* or downs east of Jordan ("plain country," Jer. xlviii. [LXX. ch. xxxi.] 23, cp. *v.* 21); apparently a place of late date, since there is no trace of it in the earlier lists of Num. xxxii. 35–38 and Josh. xiii. 16–20. A place called *Kh. Jemail*, nearly due east of Dibon, and not far from *Umm Rus'as*, was visited by Tristram (*Land of Moab*, p. 150). It occupies a conspicuous position, and meets the requirements of the text. *Umm el-Jemâl*, mentioned by Burckhardt as lying south of *Busrah*, is much too far to the north. [G.] [W.]

BETH-HACCE'REM (בֵּית הַכֶּרֶם, *house of the vineyard*; in Neh., א. Βηθακάμ, B. Βηθαχάμ, A. Βηθαχχαρμά; in Jer., B. Βαιθθαχαρμά, א. Βεθθα-, א[1]. Βαβρά, A. Βηθθαχάρ; *Bethacharam, Bethacarem*; R. V. "Beth-haccherem"), a town which, like a few other places, is distinguished by the application to it of the word *pelec*, פֶּלֶךְ, A. V. "part" [R. V. "district"] (Neh. iii. 14). It had then a "ruler" called שַׂר. From the other mention of it (Jer. vi. 1) we find that it was used as a beacon-station, and that it was near Tekoa. By Jerome (*Comm.* Jer. vi.) a village named *Bethacharma* is said to have been on a mountain between Tekoa and Jerusalem, a position in which the eminence known as the Frank mountain (Herodium) stands conspicuous; and this has accordingly been suggested as Beth-haccerem (Pococke, Rob. i. 480). The name is at any rate a testimony to the early fruitfulness of this part of Palestine.

Karem (Καρέμ) is one of the towns added in the LXX. to the Hebrew text of Josh. xv. 59 [LXX. 59 a], as in the mountains of Judah, in the district of Bethlehem. This is doubtless *'Ain Kârim*, near Jerusalem, which may possibly also be Beth-haccerem. [G.] [W.]

BETH-HA'RAN (בֵּית הָרָן; B. Βαιθαράν, A. Βαιθαρρά; *Betharan*), one of the "fenced cities" on the east of Jordan, "built" by the Gadites (Num. xxxii. 36). It is named with Beth-nimrah, and therefore is no doubt the same place as BETH-ARAM (accurately Beth-haram, Josh. xiii. 27. See Dillmann,[2] *ll. cc.*). The name is not found in the lists of the towns of Moab in Isaiah, Jeremiah, or Ezekiel. A *Beit Haran* still remains among the ruined sites S. of the Arnon (Tristram, *Land of Moab*, p. 348). [G.] [W.]

BETH-HOG'LA and -HOGLAH (בֵּית חָגְלָה, Ges. *house of partridge*; though Jerome gives another interpretation, *locus gyri*, reading the name בֵּית עֲגֵלָה, and connects it with the funeral races or dances at the mourning for Jacob [ATAD]: *Bethagla*); a place on the border of Judah (Josh. xv. 6; B. Βαιθαγλάαμ, A. Βαιθαλά) and of Benjamin (xviii. 19), to which latter tribe it was reckoned to belong (xviii. 21, B. Βεθεγαιώ, A. Βηθαγλά). A magnificent spring and a ruin between Jericho and the Jordan still bear the names of *'Ain Hajla* and *Kûsr Hajla*, and are doubtless on or near the old site (Rob. i. 544–6; see also *PEF. Mem.* iii. 213; Dillmann[5] on Gen. l. 11). The LXX. reading, Βαιθαγλαάμ, may point to En-eglaim, a place which was certainly near this locality. [G.] [W.]

BETH-HO'RON (בֵּית חוֹרוֹן, or בֵּית חֹרֹן, and once בֵּית חֹרֹן, *place of the hollow*; B. Ὡρωείν, A. Βηθωρών; *Beth-horon*), the name of two towns or villages, an "upper" (בֵּית הָעֶלְיוֹן) and a "nether" (בֵּית הַתַּחְתוֹן; Josh. xvi. 3, 5; 1 Ch. vii. 24), on the road from Gibeon to Azekah (Josh. x. 10, 11) and the Philistine plain (1 Macc. iii. 24). Beth-horon lay on the boundary line between Benjamin and Ephraim (Josh. xvi. 3, 5, and xviii. 13, 14), was counted to Ephraim (Josh. xxi. 22; 1 Ch. vii. 24), and given to the Kohathites (Josh. xxi. 22; 1 Ch. vi. 68 [53]).

The road connecting the two places is memorable in sacred history as the scene of two of the most complete victories achieved by the Jewish arms; that of Joshua over the five kings of the Amorites (Josh. x.; Ecclus. xlvi. 6). and that of Judas Maccabaeus over the forces of Syria under Seron (1 Macc. iii. 13–24). Later still, the Roman army under Cestius Gallus was totally cut up at the same spot (Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 19, §§ 8, 9).

There is no room for doubt that the two Beth-horons still survive in the modern villages of *Beit'ûr* (بيت عور) *et-Tahta* and *el-Fôka*, which were first noticed by Dr. Clarke, and have been since visited by Dr. Robinson, Dean Stanley, and others (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 17, 86). Besides the similarity of the name, and the fact that the two places are still designated as "upper" and "lower," all the requirements of the narrative are fulfilled in this identification. The road is still the direct one from the site which must have been Gibeon (*el-Jîb*) and from Michmash (*Mûkhmâs*) to the Philistine plain on the one hand, and Antipatris (Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 19, § 9) on the other. On the mountain which lies to the southward of the nether village is still preserved the name (*Yâlo*) and the site of Ajalon, so closely connected with the proudest memories of Beth-horon; and the long "descent" between the two remains unaltered from what it was on that great day which was "like no day before or after it" (Josh. x. 14). See map p. 394.

The importance of the road on which the two Beth-horons are situated, the main approach to the interior of the country from the Philistine plain, at once explains and justifies the frequent fortification of these towns at different periods of the history (1 K. ix. 17; 2 Ch. viii. 5; 1 Macc. ix. 50; Judith iv. 4, 5). The road is now very

rough, and little used; but, as late as the 16th century, it was the principal and most frequented line of communication between Jerusalem and the coast. There are many traces of the Roman paved road near Beth-horon. It leaves the main north road at *Tuleil el-Fûl*, 3½ miles from Jerusalem, due west of Jericho, and, bending slightly to the north, runs by the modern village of *el-Jîb*, the ancient Gibeon; it then proceeds by the Beth-horons in a direct line due west to *Jimzu* [GIMZO] and *Ludd* [LYDDA], where it parts into three, diverging north to *Kefr Sâba* [ANTIPATRIS], south to Gaza, and west to *Yâfa* [JOPPA].

From Gibeon to the Upper Beth-horon is a distance of about 4 miles of broken ascent and descent. The ascent, however, predominates, and this therefore appears to be the "going up" to Beth-horon which formed the first stage of Joshua's pursuit.[a] With the upper village the descent commences; the road rough and difficult even for the mountain-paths of Palestine: now over sheets of smooth rock flat as the flagstones of a London pavement; now over the upturned edges of the limestone strata; and now amongst the loose rectangular stones,[b] so characteristic of the whole of this district. There are in many places steps cut, and other marks of the path having been artificially improved. But though rough, the way can hardly be called "precipitous;" still less is it a ravine (Stanley, p. 208), since it runs for the most part along the back of a ridge or watershed dividing wadys on either hand. After about three miles of this descent, a slight rise leads to the lower village standing on its mamelon,—the last outpost of the Benjamite hills, and characterised by the date-palm in the enclosure of the village mosque. A short and sharp fall below the village, a few undulations, and the road is amongst the *dûra* of the great corn-growing plain of Sharon.

This rough descent from the upper to the lower *Beit 'ûr* is the "going down to Beth-horon" of the Bible narrative. Standing on the high ground of the upper village, and overlooking the wild scene, we may feel assured that it was over this rough path that the Canaanites fled to their native lowlands.

In a remarkable fragment of early history (1 Ch. vii. 24. See note in *Speaker's Comm.*) we are told that both the upper and lower towns were built by a woman of Ephraim, Sheerah [R. V.], who in the present state of the passage appears as a granddaughter of the founder of her tribe, and also as a direct progenitor of the great leader with whose history the place is so closely connected. [G.] [W.]

BETH-JESHI'MOTH, or -JESI'MOTH (בֵּית הַיְשִׁימוֹת, in Numb. הַיְשִׁמֹת, *house of the wastes;* B. Αἰσιμώθ, A. Ἀσιμώθ; *Bethsimoth*), a town or place east of Jordan, in the "deserts" (עַרְבֹת) of Moab; that is, on the lower level at the south end of the Jordan valley (Num. xxxiii. 49); and named with Ashdoth-pisgah and Beth-peor. It was one of the limits of the encampment of Israel before crossing the Jordan. Later it was allotted to Reuben (Josh. xii. 3, B. Ἀσειμώθ, A. Ἀσι-, F[vid]. Αἰσι-; xiii. 20, B. Βαιθθασειμώθ, A. Βησιμούθ; *Bethjesimoth*), but came at last into the hands of Moab, and formed one of the cities which were "the glory of the country" (Ezek. xxv. 9). Eusebius (*OS.*[2] p. 247, 81) mentions Βηθασιμοὶθ as a place near the Dead Sea, opposite to and 10 miles from Jericho. It is now probably *'Ain Suweimeh*, a small mound near the N.E. corner of the Dead Sea, covered with chips of pottery and glass (see Dillmann[2] on Numb. xxi. 20). [G.] [W.]

BETH-LEBA'OTH (בֵּית לְבָאוֹת, *house of lionesses;* B. Βαθαρώθ, A. Βαιθαλβάθ; *Bethlebaoth*), a town in the lot of Simeon (Josh. xix. 6), and therefore in the extreme south of Judah (xv. 32, Lebaoth), probably in the wild country to which its name bears witness. In 1 Ch. iv. 31 the name is BETH-BIREI. [G.] [W.]

BETH-LEHEM (בֵּית לֶחֶם, Ges. = *house of bread;* Βαιθλεέμ or Βηθλεέμ; *Bethlehem*). **1.** One of the oldest towns in Palestine, already in existence at the time of Jacob's return to the country. Its earliest name was EPHRATH or EPHRATAH (see Gen. xxxv. 16, xlviii. 7; Josh. xv. 59, LXX.), and it is not till long after the occupation of the country by the Israelites that we meet with it under its new name of Bethlehem.

The ancient name lingered as a familiar word in the mouths of the inhabitants of the place (Ruth i. 2, iv. 11; 1 Sam. xvii. 12), and in the poetry of the Psalmists and Prophets (Ps. cxxxii. 6; Mic. v. 2) to a late period. [EPHRATH.] In the genealogical lists of 1 Ch. it recurs, and Ephrath appears as a person—the wife of Caleb and mother of Hur (חוּר; ii. 19, 50, iv. 4); the title of "father of Bethlehem" being bestowed both on Hur (iv. 4) and on Salma, the son of Hur (ii. 51, 54). The name of Salma recalls a very similar name intimately connected with Bethlehem, namely, the father of Boaz, Salmah (שַׂלְמָה, Ruth iv. 20; A. V. and R. V. "Salmon") or Salmon (שַׂלְמוֹן, v. 21). Hur is also named in Ex. xxxi. 2, and 1 Ch. ii. 20, as the father of Uri the father of Bezaleel.

After the conquest Bethlehem appears under its own name Bethlehem-judah (Judg. xvii. 7; 1 Sam. xvii. 12; Ruth i. 1, 2), possibly, though hardly probably, to distinguish it from the small and remote place of the same name in Zebulun. As the Hebrew text now stands, however, it is absent from the list of the towns of Judah in Joshua xv., but it is retained in the original text preserved by the LXX., and forms part of the eleven names which that Version inserts between *vv.* 59 and 60 [in Swete's ed. *v.* 59 a. Cp. Dillmann[2] in loco]. Among these it occurs between Theko (Tekoa), Θεκώ (cp. 1 Ch. iv. 4, 5), and Phagor (? Peor, Φαγώρ).

[a] The statements of Dr. Robinson and Dean Stanley on this point are somewhat at variance; but although the road from Gibeon to *Beit 'ûr el-Fôka* is by no means a uniform rise, yet the impression is certainly that of an ascent; and *Beit 'ûr*, though perhaps no higher than the ridge between it and Gibeon, yet looks higher, because it is so much above everything beyond it.

[b] In the traditions of the Jews these stones are believed to be those which were showered from heaven on the routed Canaanites. Whoever beholds them is bound to bless God (Otho, p. 83).

A remarkable obscurity rests over Bethlehem throughout the whole of the Sacred history. Not to speak of the later event which has made the name of Bethlehem so familiar to the whole Christian and Mussulman world, it was, as the birthplace of David, the scene of a most important occurrence to ancient Israel. And yet from some cause or other it never rose to any eminence, nor ever became the theatre of any action or business. It is difficult to say why Hebron and Jerusalem, with no special associations in their favour, were fixed on as capitals, while the place in which the great ideal king, the hero and poet of the nation, drew his first breath and spent his youth, remained an "ordinary Judaean village." No doubt this is in part owing to what will be noticed presently—the isolated nature of its position; but that circumstance did not prevent Gibeon, Ramah, and many other places situated on eminences from becoming famous, and is not sufficient to account entirely for such silence respecting a place strong by nature, and so important as a military position that it was at one time occupied by a Philistine garrison (2 Sam. xxiii. 14; 1 Ch. xi. 16).

Though not named as a Levitical city, it was apparently a residence of Levites, for from it came the young man Jonathan, the son of Gershom, who became the first priest of the Danites at their new northern settlement (Judg. xvii. 7, xviii. 30), and from it also came the concubine of the other Levite whose death at Gibeah caused the destruction of the tribe of Benjamin (xix. 1–9).

The Book of Ruth is a page from the domestic history of Bethlehem: the names, almost the very persons, of the Bethlehemites are there brought before us; we are allowed to assist at their most peculiar customs, and to witness the very springs of those events which have conferred immortality on the name of the place. Many of these customs were doubtless common to Israel in general, but one thing must have been peculiar to Bethlehem. What most strikes the view, after the charm of the general picture has lost its first hold on us, is the intimate connexion of the place with Moab. Of the origin of this connexion no record exists, no hint of it has yet been discovered, but it continued in force for at least a century after the arrival of Ruth, till the time when her great grandson could find no more secure retreat for his parents from the fury of Saul, than the house of the king of Moab at Mizpeh (1 Sam. xxii. 3, 4. JESSE). But whatever its origin, here we find the connexion in full vigour. When the famine occurs, the natural resource is to go to the country of Moab and "continue there;" the surprise of the city is occasioned not at Naomi's going but at her return. Ruth was "not like" the handmaidens of Boaz—some difference of feature or complexion there was doubtless which distinguished the "children of Lot" from the children of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; but yet she gleans after the reapers in the field without molestation or remark, and when Boaz in the most public manner possible proclaims his intention of taking the stranger to be his wife, no voice of remonstrance is raised, but loud congratulations are expressed: the parallel in the life of Jacob occurs at once to all, and a blessing is invoked on the head of Ruth the Moabitess, that she may be like the two daughters of the Mesopotamian Nahor, "like Rachel and like Leah, who did build the house of Israel." This, in the face of the strong denunciations of Moab contained in the Law, is, to say the least, very remarkable.

The elevation of David to the kingdom does not appear to have affected the fortunes of his native place. The residence of Saul acquired a new title specially from him, by which it was called even down to the latest time of Jewish history (2 Sam. xxi. 6; Joseph, *B. J.* v. 2, § 1, Γαβαθσαουλή), but David did nothing to dignify Bethlehem, or connect it with himself. The only touch of recollection which he manifests for it, is that recorded in the well-known story of his sudden longing for the water of the well by the gate of his childhood (2 Sam. xxiii. 15).

The few remaining casual notices of Bethlehem in the Old Testament may be quickly enumerated. It was fortified by Rehoboam (2 Ch. xi. 6). By the time of the Captivity, the Inn (?) of Chimham by אֵצֶל = "close to") Bethlehem, appears to have become the recognised point of departure for travellers to Egypt (Jer. xli. 17) —a caravanserai or khan (גֵּרוּת; see Stanley, App. § 90; R. V. "Geruth-Chimham;" marg. *the lodging-place of C.* See *QPB.*[3] in loco), perhaps the identical one which existed there at the time of our Lord (*κατάλυμα*), like those which still exist all over the East at the stations of travellers. Lastly, "children of Bethlehem," to the number of 123, returned with Zerubbabel from Babylon (Ezra ii. 21; Neh. vii. 26).

In the New Testament Bethlehem retains its distinctive title of Bethlehem-judah[a] (Matt. ii. 1, 5), and once, in the announcement of the Angels, the "city of David"[b] (Luke ii. 4; cp. John vii. 42; *κώμη*; *castellum*). Its connexion with the history of Christ is too familiar to all to need any notice here: the remark should merely be made that as in the earlier history less is recorded of the place after the youth of David than before, so in the later, nothing occurs after the birth of our Lord to indicate that any additional importance or interest was fastened on the town. In fact, the passages just quoted, and the few which follow, exhaust the references to it in the N. T. (Matt. ii. 6, 8, 16; Luke ii. 15).

After this nothing is heard of it till near the middle of the 2nd century, when Justin Martyr speaks of our Lord's birth as having taken place "in a certain cave very close to the village," which cave he goes on to say had been specially pointed out by Isaiah as "a sign." The passage from Isaiah to which he refers is xxxiii. 13–19; and in the LXX. Version of v. 16 occurs the following—"He shall dwell in the lofty cave of the strong rock" (Justin. *Dial. c. Tryph.* §§ 70, 78). Such is the earliest supplement we possess to the meagre indications of the

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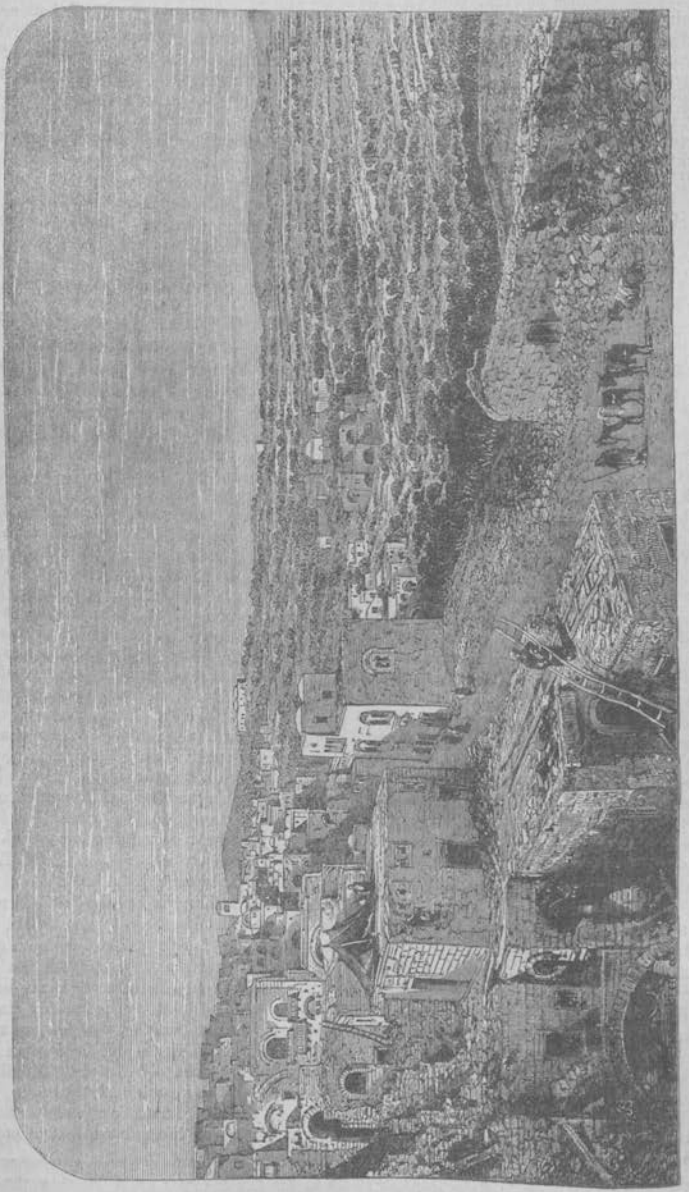
[a] In the Greek copies of St. Matthew the name is given as τῆς Ἰουδαίας (Westcott and Hort); but in the more ancient Syriac recension published by Mr. Cureton it is, as in the O. T., Bethlehem-judah.

[b] Observe that this phrase has lost the meaning which it bears in the O. T., where it specially and invariably signifies the fortress of the Jebusites, the fastness of Zion (2 Sam. v. 7, 9; 1 Ch. xi. 5, 7).

narrative of the Gospels; and while it is not possible to say with certainty that the tradition is true, there is no reason for discrediting it. There is nothing in itself improbable—as there certainly is in many cases where the traditional scenes of events are laid in caverns—in the supposition that the place in which Joseph and Mary took shelter, and where was the "manger" or "stall" (whatever the φάτνη may have been),[e] was a cave in the limestone rock of which the eminence of Bethlehem is composed (see *Speaker's Comm.* on Luke ii. 7). Nor is it necessary to assume that Justin's quotation from Isaiah is the ground of an inference of



Bethlehem, from the Armenian convent. (From a photograph.)

his own; it may equally be an authority happily adduced by him in support of the existing tradition.

But the step from the belief that the Nativity may have taken place in a cavern, to the belief that the present subterraneous vault or crypt is that cavern, is a very wide one. Even in the

[e] It is as well to remember that the "stable," and its accompaniments, are the creations of the imagination of poets and painters, with no support from the Gospel narrative.

150 years that had passed when Justin wrote, so much had happened at Bethlehem that it is difficult to believe that the true spot could have been accurately preserved. In that interval—an interval as long as that between the landing of William III. and the battle of Waterloo—not only had the neighbourhood of Jerusalem been overrun and devastated by the Romans at the destruction of the city, but the Emperor Hadrian, amongst other desecrations, had actually planted a grove of Adonis at the spot (*lucus inumbrabat Thamuz id est Adonidis*, Jerome, *ad Paul.* 58, 3). This grove remained at Bethlehem for no less than 180 years, viz. from A.D. 135 till 315. Cyril of Jerusalem, born 317, says, "Bethlehem a few years ago was a wild wood" (*Catech.* xii. 20). After this the place was purged of its abominations by Constantine, who about A.D. 330 erected the present church (Euseb. *Vit. Const.* 3, 40. See Tobler, p. 102, *note*). Conceive the alterations in the ground implied in this statement!—a heathen sanctuary established and a grove planted on the spot—that grove and those erections demolished to make room for the Basilica of Constantine!

The modern town of *Beit Lahm* (بيت لحم) lies to the east of the main road from Jerusalem to Hebron, 6 miles from the former. It is a well-built stone town, standing on a narrow limestone ridge which runs east and west. The hill has a deep valley on the north, and another on the south. The west end shelves down gradually; but the east end is bolder, and overlooks a plain of some extent. The slopes of the ridge are in many parts covered by terraced gardens, shaded by rows of olives with figs and vines, the terraces sweeping round the contour of the hill with great regularity. Towards the eastern end of the ridge is the open market-place, and beyond it spreads the noble Basilica of St. Helena, "half church, half fort," now embraced by its three convents—Greek, Latin, and Armenian.

This is not the place for a description of the "holy places" of Bethlehem. All that can be said about them has been well said by Lord Nugent (i. 13–21) and Dean Stanley (pp. 438–442. See also, though interspersed with much irrelevant matter, Stewart, pp. 246, 334–5). The architecture of the church is described by De Vogüé (*Les Églises de la Terre Sainte*, pp. 46–117); see also Fergusson's *History of Architecture*, vol. ii. 288–290.[d] One fact, of great interest—probably the most genuine about the place—is associated with a portion of the crypt of this church; namely, that here, "beside what he believed to be the cradle of the Christian faith," St. Jerome lived for more than thirty years, leaving a lasting monument of his sojourn in the Vulgate translation of the Bible.

In the plain below and east of the convent, about a mile from the walls, is the traditional scene of the Angels' appearance to the shepherds, a very small poor village called *Beit Sahûr*, to the east of which are the unimportant remains of a Greek church. These buildings and ruins are surrounded by olive-trees (Seetzen, ii. 41, 42). Here in Arculf's time, "by the tower of Ader," was a church dedicated to the three shepherds, and containing their monuments (Arculf, p. 6). But this plain is too rich ever to have been allowed to lie in pasturage, and it is more likely to have been then occupied, as it is now and as it doubtless was in the days of Ruth, by corn-fields, and the sheep to have been kept on the hills.*

The traditional well of David (2 Sam. xxiii. 15), a group of three cisterns, is on a flat rock terrace to the north-west of the present town. About half a mile east of the convent there is a small spring, but the principal water supply is from a shaft over the Jerusalem aqueduct, on the south side of the hill; there is also a large well in the monastery.

The population of *Beit Lahm* is about 5,000 souls, almost entirely Christians. All travellers (e.g. *Eothen*) remark the good looks of the women, the substantial clean appearance of the houses, and the general air of comfort (for an Eastern town) which prevails.

2. בֵּ֫ית לֶ֫חֶם; B. Βαιθμάν, A. Βαιθλεέμ; *Bethlehem*. A town in the portion of Zebulun named nowhere but in Josh. xix. 15. It has been recovered by Dr. Robinson at *Beit Lahm*, about six miles west of Nazareth, and lying between that town and the main road from Akka to Gaza. Robinson characterises it as "a very miserable village, none more so in all the country, and without a trace of antiquity except the name" (iii. 113). It was probably the birthplace of Ibzan, the judge. [G.] [W.]

BETH'LEHEMITE, THE (בֵּית הַלַּחְמִי; *Bethlehemites*). A native or inhabitant of Bethlehem. Jesse (LXX. aliter in 1 Sam. xvi. 1, BA. Βηθλεεμείτης in 1 Sam. xvi. 18, A. Βηθλεεμείτης in 1 Sam. xvii. 58, B. om.) and Elhanan (2 Sam. xxi. 19, B. Βαιθλεεμείτης, A. Βηθλεεμίτης) were Bethlehemites. Another Elhanan, son of Dodo of Bethlehem, was one of David's guard (2 Sam. xxiii. 24; LXX. aliter). [ELHANAN.] [W. A. W.] [F.]

BETH-LO'MON (A. Βαιθλωμών, B. Ραγεθλωμών; *Scpolemon*), 1 Esd. v. 17. [BETH-LEHEM, 1.] [G.] [W.]

BETH-MA'ACHAH (בֵּ֫ית מַעֲכָה, and with the article, בֵּ֫ית הַמַּ֫עֲכָה; B. Βαιθμαχά, A. Βηθμαχά; *Bethmaacha*), a place named only in 2 Sam. xx. 14, 15, and there occurring more as a definition of the position of ABEL than for itself (see Driver in loco). It is said to be now represented by Abl, a village six and a half miles west of Banias in the north of Palestine (Harper, *The Bible and modern Discoveries*, p. 313). [G.] [W.]

BETH-MARCA'BOTH (בֵּ֫ית הַמַּרְכָּבֹת, *house of the chariots*, in Chronicles, without the ar-

[d] Dean Stanley mentions, and recurs characteristically to the interesting fact, that the present roof is constructed from English oak given to the church by Edward IV. (*S. & P.*, pp. 141, 439). Tobler, p. 104, *note*, adduces the authority of Eutychius that the present church is the work of Justinian, who destroyed that of Constantine as not sufficiently magnificent.

* Ἀγραυλοῦντες (Luke ii. 8; A. V. and R. V. "abiding in the field") has no special reference to "field" more than hill; but means rather "passing the night out of doors." Χώρα also means a "district" or neighbourhood, with no special topographical signification.

ticle: in Josh., B. Βαιθμαχερέβ, A. Βαιθαμμαρχασβώθ; in Ch., B. Βαιθμαρειμώθ, A. ἐν Βαιθ'μαρχαβώθ: *Bethmarchaboth*), one of the towns of Simeon, situated to the extreme south of Judah, with Ziklag and Hormah (Josh. xix. 5; 1 Ch. iv. 31). What "chariots" can have been in use in this rough and thinly inhabited part of the country, at a time so early as that at which these lists of towns purport to have been made out, we know not. At a later period—that of Solomon—"chariot cities" are named, and a regular trade with Egypt in chariots was carried on (1 K. ix. 19 = 2 Ch. viii. 6; 1 K. x. 29 = 2 Ch. i. 17), which would naturally require depôts or stopping-places on the road "up" to Palestine (Stanley, p. 160). In the parallel list (Josh. xv. 31), Madmannah (LXX. Μακαρεἰμ) occurs in place of Bethmarcaboth; possibly the latter was substituted for the former after the town had become the resort of chariots (cp. Dillmann,[2] *l. c.*).

[G.] [W.]

BETH-MEO'N (בֵּ֣ית מְעוֹן; *οἶκος Μαών*; *Beth-maon*), Jer. xlviii. 23. A contracted form of BETH-BAAL-MEON. [G.] [W.]

BETH-ME'RHAK (בֵּ֣ית הַמֶּרְחָק; *ἐν οἴκῳ τῷ μακράν*; *procul a domo*). The A. V. translates, "a place that was far off"; R. V. as the name above, but in margin *the Far House* (see MV.[11]). A place (2 Sam. xv. 17) outside Jerusalem at which David tarried, when fleeing from Absalom, that he might see his servants, and those who were to accompany him, pass by. There is no clue to its exact position. [W.]

BETH-NIM'RAH (בֵּ֣ית נִמְרָה, Ges. *house of limpid and wholesome water:* in Num., B. Ναμράμ, A. Ἀμβράν; in Josh., B. Βαιθαναβρά, A. Βηθαμνά: *Bethnemra*), one of the "fenced cities" on the east of the Jordan taken and "built" by the tribe of Gad (Num. xxxii. 36) and described as lying "in the valley" (בָּעֵמֶק) beside Beth-haran (Josh. xiii. 27). In Num. xxxii. 3 (B. Ναμβρά, A. Ἀμβράμ, F. Ναμρά) it is named simply NIMRAH. By Eusebius and Jerome (*OS.*[2] pp. 136, 1; 137, 19; 246, 42, *s. nn.* Βηθναμράν, Βηθναμβρίς, Bethamnaram, and Bethnemra) the village is said to have been still standing five miles north of Libias (Betharan); and Eusebius further mentions (*OS.*[2] p. 278, 22, *s. n.* Νεβρὰ) that it was a large place, *κώμη μεγίστη*, in Batanaea, and called Ναβαρά.

It is now *Tell Nimrîn*, on the south side of and close to the perennial stream of *Nahr Nimrin*, the Arab appellation of the lower end of the *Wâdy Sh'aib*, where the waters of that valley discharge themselves into the Jordan, close to one of the regular fords a few miles above Jericho. The mound is surrounded by *sidr* groves, and the stream is fringed with canes (Conder, *MS. Notes;* Morrill, *East of Jordan*, p. 207). The *Wâdy Sh'aib* runs back up into the eastern mountains, as far as *es-Salt*. Its name (the modern form of Hobab?) connects it with the wanderings of the children of Israel, and a tradition still clings to the neighbourhood that it was down this valley they descended to the Jordan (Seetzen, ii. 377).

It seems to have escaped notice how fully the requirements of Bethabara are met in the circumstances of Bethnimrah—its abundance of water and its situation close to "the region round about Jordan" (*ἡ περίχωρος τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, i.e.* the CICCAR of the O. T., the Oasis of Jericho), immediately accessible to "Jerusalem and all Judaea" (John i. 28; Matt. iii. 5; Mark i. 5) by the direct and ordinary road from the capital. Add to this, what is certainly a confirmation of this suggestion, that in the LXX. (B.) of Josh. xiii. 27 the name of Bethnimrah is found almost exactly assuming the form of Bethabara—Βαιθαναβρά (see above).

The "Waters of Nimrim," which are named in the denunciations of Moab by Isaiah (xv. 6) and Jeremiah (xlviii. 34), may from the context be the brook which still bears the same name at the south-east part of the Dead Sea. [NIMRIM.] A similar name (signifying, however, in Arabic, "panther") is not uncommon on the east of the Jordan. [G.] [W.]

BETHO'RON (B. Βαιθωρών; A. Βεθωρώ; Vulg. om.), Judith iv. 4. [BETH-HORON.]

BETH-PA'LET (בֵּ֣ית פָּלֶט, Ges. *house of flight;* in Josh., B. Βαιφάλαδ, A. Βαιθφαλέθ; *Bethphelet;* R. V. *Beth-pelet*), a town among those in the extreme south of Judah, named in Josh. xv. 27, and Neh. xi. 26 (BA. om., א[c.1mg] Βηβφαλατ'), with Moladah and Beer-sheba. In the latter place it is BETHPHELET (so Vulgate). Its remains have not yet been discovered. [G.] [W.]

BETH-PAZ'ZEZ, (בֵּ֣ית פַּצֵּץ, Ges. = *house of dispersion;* B. Βησσαφής, A. Βαιθφασής; *Beth-pheses*), a town of Issachar named with Enhaddah (Josh. xix. 21), and of which nothing is known. [G.] [W.]

BETH-PEO'R (בֵּ֣ית פְּעוֹר; *οἶκος Φογώρ*; in Josh., B. Βαιθφογώρ, A. Βεθ-; *fanum Phogor, Phogor, Bethphogor;* in *OS.*[2] p. 156, 20, *Beth-fogor*), a place, no doubt, dedicated to the god Baalpeor, on the east of Jordan, opposite (*ἀπέναντι*) Jericho, and six miles above Libias or Betharan (Eusebius, *OS.*[2] p. 247, 78). It was in the possession of the tribe of Reuben (Josh. xiii. 20). In the Pentateuch the name occurs in a formula by which one of the last halting-places of the children of Israel is designated—"the ravine (הַנִּיא) over against (מוּל) Beth-peor" (Deut. iii. 29; iv. 46). In this ravine Moses was probably buried (xxxiv. 6).

Here, as in other cases, Beth-Peor may be an abbreviation for Beth-Baal-Peor (cp. W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, i. 93, n. 2).

Conder (*Heth and Moab*, p. 143) places Beth-peor on a narrow ridge S. of *el-Maslûbiyeh;* Tristram (*Land of Moab*, p. 305) on the ridge N. of *Jebel Neba*, Nebo. Cp. Dillmann[2] on Num. xxiii. 28. [G.] [W.]

BETH-PHAGE (Βεθφαγή and Βηθφαγῆ; *Bethphage;* בֵּ֣ית פַּגֵּי [Delitzsch, *Heb. N. T.*], *house of unripe figs*), the name of a place on the Mount of Olives, on the road between Jericho and Jerusalem. From the two being twice mentioned together, it was apparently close to BETHANY (Matt. xxi. 1; Mark xi. 1; Luke xix. 29); and from its being named first

of the two in the narrative of a journey from east to west, it may be presumed that it lay, if anything, to the eastward of Bethany. The fact of our Lord's making Bethany His nightly lodging-place (Matt. xxi. 17, &c.) is no confirmation of this (as Winer would have it); since He would doubtless take up His abode in a place where He had friends, even though it were not the first place at which He arrived on the road. No remains which could answer to this position have however been found (Rob. i. 433), and the traditional site is above Bethany, halfway between that village and the top of the mount.

By Eusebius and Jerome, and also by Origen, the place was known, though no indication of its position is given; by Eusebius (*OS.*[2] p. 251, 9) it is called *κώμη*, by Jerome (*OS.*[2] p. 142, 1) *villula*. They describe it as a village of the priests, possibly from "Beth-phace," signifying in Syriac the "house of the jaw," and the jaw in the sacrifices being the portion of the priests (Reland, p. 653). Lightfoot's theory, grounded on the statements of the Talmudists, is extraordinary: that Bethphage was the name of a district reaching from the foot of Olivet to the wall of Jerusalem (but see Reland, p. 652; Hug, *Einl.* i. 18, 19). Schwarz (pp. 263–4) and Barclay (in his map) appear to agree in placing Bethphage on the southern shoulder of the "Mount of Offence," above the village of Siloam, and therefore west of Bethany.

The mediaeval Bethphage was discovered in 1877 on the road from the Mount of Olives to Bethany (*PEFQy. Stat.* 1878, p. 51). Certain passages in the Talmud (Tal. Bab. *Menachoth*, xi. 2; 78 *b*) seem to indicate that Bethphage marked, on the east, the Sabbatic zone round Jerusalem; and Ganneau proposes (*PEFQy. Stat.* 1878, p. 60) to identify it with *Kefr et-Tûr*, the village of the Mount of Olives, which is at the required distance from the city.

The name of Bethphage, the signification of which as given above is generally accepted, is, like those of Bethany, Caphenatha, Bezetha, and the Mount of Olives itself, a testimony to the ancient fruitfulness of this district (Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 187). [G.] [W.]

BETH-PHE'LET (R. V. *Beth-pelet*), Neh. xi. 26. [BETH-PALET.]

BETH-RA'PHA (בֵּית רָפָא, *house of Rapha*, of uncertain etymology; B. *ὁ Βαθραάλα*, A. *Βαθρεφά*; *Bethrapha*), a name which occurs in the genealogy of Judah as the son of Esh-ton (1 Ch. iv. 12 only). There is a Rapha in the line of Benjamin and elsewhere, but no apparent connexion exists between those and this, nor has the name been identified as belonging to any place. [G.] [W.]

BETH-REHO'B (בֵּית רְחוֹב, *house of Rechob*, or *of room;* in Judg. B. *ὁ οἶκος Ραάβ*, A. *Τώβ*; *Rohob*).

1. A place described as being "far from Zidon," and as having near it the valley in which lay the town of Laish or Dan (Judg. xviii. 28). It is probably the same as REHOB, a place mentioned (Num. xiii. 21; LXX. v. 22, B. *Ραάβ*, A. *Ροώβ*, F. *Ροώθ*) as the extreme point reached by the spies, and used apparently as Dan was afterwards, to denote approximately the northern limit of the Promised Land. Dr. Robinson conjectures (iii. 371) that this ancient place is represented by the modern *Hunîn*, a fortress commanding the plain of the *Hûleh*, in which the city of Dan (*Tell el-Kâdy*) lay. It may, however (see Dillmann[2] on Num. *l. c.*), as has been suggested in the case of the neighbouring town of Abel-Beth-Maacah, have been a colony or offshoot from the Aramean state of Beth-rehob (2 Sam. x. 6). It must not be confounded with two towns of the name of Rehob in the territory of Asher. [REHOB.]

2. *Ροώβ*. An Aramean state the soldiers of which were hired by the Ammonites, in conjunction with those of Zobah, Maacah, and Ishtob (the men of Tob), to fight against David (2 Sam. x. 6). In *v.* 8 it is called Rehob (A. *Ροάβ*); and in 1 Ch. xix. 6 Aram-Naharaim (A. V. and LXX. "Mesopotamia") takes the place of Beth-rehob and Ishtob (see *Speaker's Comm.* and Klostermann on 2 Sam. x. 6). It lay apparently to the S. of Zobah, and bordered on the Euphrates. [ARAM (1).] Some authorities (see Dillmann,[2] *l. c.*), however, think that it is the same as the Beth-rehob of Judg. xviii. 28, and the Rehob of Num. xiii. 21. [REHOB.]

Hadadezer the king of Zobah is said to have been the son of Rehob (2 Sam. viii. 3, 12; BA. *Ραάβ*). [G.] [W.]

BETH-SAIDA (*Βηθσαϊδά*; بيت صيدا, *a fishing place*, "*sporting lodge;*" *Bethsaida*), the name of one or possibly two places in Northern Palestine.

"Bethsaida of Galilee," a city (*πόλις*), was the native place of Andrew, Peter, and Philip (John i. 44; xii. 21), and perhaps situated in the land of Gennesareth (*τὴν γῆν Γ.*; Mark vi. 45, cp. *v.* 53). It was evidently not far from Capernaum and Chorazin (Matt. xi. 21; Luke x. 13; and cp. Mark vi. 45 with John vi. 11); and, if the interpretation of the name is to be trusted, close to the water's edge. By Jerome (*Comm. in Esai.* ix. 1) and Eusebius (*OS.*[2] p. 251, 7) these towns and Tiberias are all mentioned together as lying on the shore of the lake. Epiphanius (*adv. Haer.* ii.) says of Bethsaida and Capernaum, *οὐ μακρὰν ὄντων τῷ διαστήματι*. Wilibald (A.D. 722) went from Magdalum to Capernaum, thence to Bethsaida, and then to Chorazin, or possibly, from the context, to Gergesa, now *Khersa*, on the eastern shore of the lake. These ancient notices, however, though they fix its general situation, do not contain any indication of its exact position; and as its name and all memory of its site have perished, no positive identification can be made of it.

The difficulty experienced in fixing the site of Bethsaida is due, in great measure, to the uncertainty in which the question whether there were two places of that name, or only one, is still involved.

I. The theory that there were two Bethsaidas was first put forward by Reland (p. 653), and it has since been adopted by Robinson, Stanley, Tristram, and other authorities. The arguments in its favour are:—(*a*) That John (xii. 21) mentions a Bethsaida of Galilee, which Mark (vi. 45, 53) seems to place in Gennesareth; whilst

Josephus alludes to a Bethsaida in Lower Gaulonitis, which was on the Lake of Gennesareth, and near the Jordan. This place, formerly a village (κώμη), was rebuilt and adorned by Philip the tetrarch, and raised to the dignity of a town under the name of Julias, after the daughter of the Emperor (*Ant.* xviii. 2, § 1; *Vit.* 71;—*B. J.* ii. 9, § 1; iii. 10, § 7). Here Philip died, and was, perhaps, buried (*Ant.* xviii. 4, § 6). Pliny (v. 15) and Jerome (*Comm. on* Matt. xvi. 13) both speak of Julias as east of Jordan. (*b*) That in a narrative of the same event, the feeding of the five thousand, Luke (ix. 10) places the scene of the miracle at Bethsaida, whilst Mark (vi. 45) states that the disciples were told "to go to the other side before to Bethsaida," after the miracle had been performed.

II. On the other hand, (*a*) the words (A. V.) "a desert place belonging to" a city called Bethsaida are omitted in the Sinaitic Version of Luke ix. 10, in a very ancient Syriac recension (the Nitrian) published by Mr. Cureton, by Westcott and Hort, and by R. V.; (*b*) no ancient author or pilgrim mentions two Bethsaidas; and (*c*) the Sinaitic Version, in a remarkable ["but quite arbitrary"] reading of John vi. 23 (see Westcott in *Speaker's Comm.* p. xcii.), describes the place where the five thousand were fed as being near Tiberias. This view is confirmed by Arculf, who places the scene of the miracle on the grassy plain behind *'Ain Barîdeh* (E. T. p. 9), and who travelled before any motive could have arisen for the transference of the site from the eastern to the western shore of the lake. The miracle took place in a τόπος ἔρημος (Mark vi. 31, 32)—a retired spot covered with a profusion of green grass (John vi. 3, 10; Mark vi. 39; Matt. xiv. 19). When evening was come, Matthew says (xiv. 22, 34) that the disciples were directed to go before "unto the other side," and that "they came into the land of Gennesareth"; Mark (vi. 45–53) that they were "to go to the other side before unto Bethsaida," and that "they came into the land of Gennesareth"; and John (vi. 17–21) that they "went over the sea toward Capernaum," and that, after the storm, "immediately the ship was at the land whither they went." It is, perhaps, impossible to completely reconcile these statements; but if *'Ain Barîdeh* were the starting-point, *Tell Hûm*, Capernaum, and the mouth of the Jordan, Bethsaida Julias, would be nearly in the same direction, and it is possible that, after having started for Bethsaida, the wind and waves of the storm may have driven the boat out of its course, and obliged the disciples to land near *Khân Minyeh*, in the land of Gennesareth. The arguments in favour of one Bethsaida are given by Wilson (*Recov. of Jerusalem*, pp. 375–387) and Thomson (*Land and the Book*, p. 373).

If Dalmanutha (Mark viii. 10) were on the west side of the lake, then the village mentioned in *v.* 22[a] must have been Bethsaida Julias; because in the interval Christ had departed by ship to the other side (*v.* 13). And with this well accords the mention immediately after of the villages of Cæsarea Philippi (*v.* 27), and of the "high mountain" of the Transfiguration (ix. 2), which, as Stanley has ingeniously suggested,[b] was not the traditional spot, but a part of the Hermon range somewhere above the source of the Jordan (*S. and P.* p. 399).

The advocates of two Bethsaidas place the Galilean town at *et-Tâbiqah*, on the shore of the lake between *Khân Minyeh* and *Tell Hûm*, except Ritter, Seetzen, and Socin, who identify it with *Khân Minyeh*, and Bethsaida Julias at *et-Tell*, a ruin on the hillside, east of Jordan, where the river leaves the mountains. If there was only one Bethsaida, it was probably near the mouth of the Jordan, and perhaps, like *Kerak* (Taricheae), surrounded by the river, and so liable to be included at one period in Galilee and at another in Gaulonitis. [G.] [W.]

BETH-SAMOS (B. Βαιτασμών, A. Βαιθασμώθ; *Cebethamus*), 1 Esd. v. 18. [BETH-AZMAVETH.]

BETH-SAN (T.[c] Βαιθσάν, A. in 1 Macc. xii. Βεθσά; *Bethsan*), 1 Macc. v. 52; xii. 40, 41. [BETH-SHEAN.]

BETH-SHAN (*Bethsan;* 1 Sam. xxxi. 10, 12, A. Βηθσάν, B. [*v.* 10] Βαιθέμ, [*v.* 12] Βαιθσαμ; 2 Sam. xxi. 12, A. Βηθσάν, B. Βαίθ). [BETH-SHEAN.] [W. A. W.] [F.]

BETH-SHEA'N (בֵּית שְׁאָן, *house of rest* or *security;* or, in Samuel, BETH-SHAN [בֵּית שָׁן]; *Bethsan*), a city which, with its "daughter" towns, belonged to Manasseh (1 Ch. vii. 29; B. Βαιθσαάν, A. -σάν), though within the limits of Issachar (Josh. xvii. 11; B[ms] A. Βαιθσάν, B. Καιθσάν), and therefore on the west of Jordan (cp. 1 Macc. v. 52), but not mentioned in the lists of the latter tribe. The Canaanites were not driven out from the town (Judg. i. 27; B. Βαιθσάν, A. Βαιθήλ).[a] In Solomon's time it seems to have given its name to a district extending from the town itself to Abel-meholah; and "all Bethshean" was under the charge of one of his commissariat officers (1 K. iv. 12; B. πᾶς ὁ οἶκος Δάν, A. π. ὁ οἱ. Σάν).

The corpses of Saul and his sons were fastened up to the wall of Bethshean by the Philistines (1 Sam. xxxi. 10, 12; A. Βηθσάν [bis], B. Βαιθέμ [*v.* 10], Βαιθσάμ [*v.* 12]) in the open "street" or space (רְחֹב), which—then as now—fronted the gate of an Eastern town (2 Sam. xxi. 12). From this time we lose sight of Bethshean till the period of the Maccabees, in connexion with whose exploits it is mentioned more than once in a cursory manner (1 Macc. v. 52; cp. 1 Macc. xii. 40, 41). The name of Scythopolis (Σκύθων πόλις) appears for the first time in 2 Macc. xii. 29. [SCYTHOPOLIS.] This name, which it received after the exile, and under the Greek dominion, has not survived to the present day; as in many other cases (cp. PTOLEMAIS) the old Semitic appellation has revived, and the place is still called

[a] The use of the word κώμη in this place is remarkable. Stanley suggests that its old appellation had stuck to it, even after the change in its dignity (*S. & P.* App. § 85).

[b] A similar suggestion was made by Reland (*Pal.* pp. 334–6) and by Lightfoot (*Hor. Hebr.* p. 447).

[c] The LXX. (T[r]. and Swete) in Judg. i. 27 contains the words ἡ ἐστιν Σκυθῶν πόλις inserted after Bethshean.

Beisân. In the Mishna (*Avoda Zarah*, i. § 4) Bethshean is cited as an example of a town containing an idol, and therefore only to be entered by Jews on certain conditions. It became a famous Christian school contemporary with Caesarea, the seat of a bishopric (4th cent.), and was the birthplace of the Gnostic Basilides. It lies in the Ghôr or Jordan valley, about twelve miles south of the Sea of Galilee, and four miles west of the Jordan. The town is situated on the south side of the *Nahr Jâlûd*, on a low table-land above the Jordan valley (*PEF. Mem.* ii. 105). A few miles to the south-west are the mountains of Gilboa, and close beside the town runs the water of the *'Ain Jâlûd*, the fountain of which is by Jezreel, and is in all probability the spring by which the Israelites encamped before the battle in which Saul was killed (1 Sam. xxix. 1).[b] Three other large brooks pass through or by the town; and in the fact of the abundance of water, and the exuberant fertility[c] of the soil consequent thereon, as well as in the power of using their chariots, which the level nature of the country near the town conferred on them (Josh. xvii. 16), resides the secret of the hold which the Canaanites retained on the place.

If Jabesh-Gilead was where Dr. Robinson conjectures—at *ed-Deir* in the *Wâdy Yâbis*—the distance from thence to *Beisân*, which it took the men of Jabesh "all night" to traverse, cannot be less than twenty miles. [G.] [W.]

BETH-SHE'MESH (בֵּית שֶׁמֶשׁ, *house of the sun; Bethsames*), the name of several places.

1. One of the towns which marked the north boundary of Judah (Josh. xv. 10; **πόλις ἡλίου**), but reckoned among the cities of Dan (Josh. xix. 41). It was in the neighbourhood of Kirjath-jearim and Timnah, and therefore in close proximity to the low-country of Philistia. The expression "went down" in Josh. xv. 10, 1 Sam. vi. 21, seems to indicate that the position of the town was lower than Kirjath-jearim; and it is in accordance with this indication that there was a valley (עֵמֶק) of cornfields attached to the place (1 Sam. vi. 13; B. **Βαιθσάμυς**, A. **Βεθθάμυς**).

From Ekron to Beth-shemesh a road (דֶּרֶךְ, **ὁδός**) existed along which the Philistines sent back the ark after its calamitous residence in their country (1 Sam. vi. 9, 12); and it was in the field of "Joshua the Beth-shemite" (בֵּית הַשִּׁמְשִׁי) that the "great stone" [ABEL] was, on which the ark was set down (1 Sam. vi. 18; see *QPB.*[2] *in loco*). Beth-shemesh was a "suburb city," allotted to the priests (Josh. xxi. 16, B. **Βαιθσάμυς**, A. **Βεθσάμες**; 1 Ch. vi. 59, B. **Βασάμυς**, A. **Βαιθσάμυς**); and it is named in one of Solomon's commissariat districts under the charge of Ben-Dekar (1 K. iv. 9; B. **Βαιθσάμυς**, A. **Βεθσάμυς**). It was the scene of an encounter between Jehoash, king of Israel, and Amaziah, king of Judah, in which the latter was worsted and made prisoner (2 K. xiv. 11, 13, B. **Βαιθσάμυς** [bis], A. **Βηθ-** [or **Βεθ-**] **σαμυέ**; 2 Ch. xxv. 21, 23, BA. **Βαιθσάμυς** [bis]). Later, in the days of Ahaz, it was taken and occupied by the Philistines, together with several other places in this locality (2 Ch. xxviii. 18; BA. **Βαιθσάμυς**).

By comparison of the lists in Josh. xv. 10, xix. 41 (B. **πόλεις Σάμμαυς**, A. **πόλις Σαμές**), 43, and 1 K. iv. 9, it will be seen that IR-SHEMESH, "city of the sun," must have been identical with Beth-shemesh, Ir being probably the older form of the name; and again, from Judg. i. 35 (LXX. aliter), it appears as if Harheres, "mount of the sun," were a third name for the same place (Robinson and Keil); suggesting an early and extensive worship of the sun in this neighbourhood. [IR-SHEMESH; HERES.]

Beth-shemesh is now *'Ain Shems*. It was visited by Dr. Robinson, who found it to be in a position exactly according with the indications of Scripture, on the north-west slopes of the mountains of Judah—"a low plateau at the junction of two fine plains" (Rob. iii. 153)—about two miles from the great Philistine plain, and three or four from Ekron (ii. 224–6). The origin of the *'Ain* ("spring") in the modern name is not obvious, as no spring or well appears now to exist at the spot; but the *Shems* and the position are decisive (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 60).

2. **Βαιθσάμυς**, A. **Βαιθσμάς**. A city on the border of Issachar (Josh. xix. 22; cp. *v.* 38), not identified.

3. B. **Θεσσάμυς**, A. **Θασμοὺς** in Josh.; B. **Βαιθσάμυς**, A. **Βεθσάμυς** in Judg. One of the "fenced cities" of Naphtali, twice named (Josh. xix. 38; Judg. i. 33), and on both occasions with BETH-ANATH. The Canaanite inhabitants were not expelled from either place, but became tributaries to Israel. Jerome's expression (*OS.*[2] p. 140, 8, *s. n.* Bethsames) in reference to this is perhaps worthy of notice, "in quâ *cultores* pristini manserunt;" possibly glancing at the worship from which the place derived its name.

4. By this name is once mentioned (Jer. xliii. [LXX. l.] 13) an idolatrous temple or place in Egypt, which B. renders by **Ἡλιουπόλις ἐν Ὄν**, A. **Ἡ ἐν ἐνών**, *i.e.* the famous Heliopolis; Vulg. *domus solis*. In the Middle Ages Heliopolis was still called by the Arabs *'Ain Shems* (Rob. i. 25). [AVEN; ON.] [G.] [W.]

BETH-SHEMITE, THE (בֵּית־הַשִּׁמְשִׁי; B. **ὁ Βαιθσαμυσείτης**, A. **ὁ Βεθθαμυσίτης**; *Bethsamita, Bethsamitis*). Properly "the Beth-shimshite," an inhabitant of Beth-shemesh (1 Sam. vi. 14, 18). The LXX. in *v.* 14 refer the words to the field and not to Joshua the owner of the field. [W. A. W.]

BETH-SHIT'TAH (בֵּית הַשִּׁטָּה, *house of the acacia*; B. **Βηθσεεδτά**, A. **Βασεεττά**; *Beth-*

[b] The exactness of the definition in this description is impaired in the A. V. by the substitution of "a fountain" for "*the* fountain" of the original and R. V. Cp. the LXX. readings; B. **Ἀελδών**, A. **Ἀενδώρ** (?=En-dor; cp. xxviii. 7, or = En-harod [Klostermann]).

[c] So great was this fertility, that it was said by the Rabbis, that if Paradise was in the land of Israel, Bethshean was the gate of it: for that its fruits were the sweetest in all the land (see Lightfoot, *Chor. Cent.* lx.; Hamburger, *RE.*[2] s. n.). The name is (see Riehm, *HWB.* s. n.) called Nysa or Nyssa (from its vine-culture) by Pliny (*H. N.* v. 16), and **Μεθορὰμ** by Zomara (Reland, p. 993). Its fertility was due to its extreme heat, for which it is still as noted as it was in the days of Josephus (*B. J.* iii. 9, § 1).

setta), one of the spots to which the flight of the host of the Midianites extended after their discomfiture by Gideon (Judg. vii. 22). Both the narrative and the name (cp. "Abel-Shittim," which was in the Jordan valley opposite Jericho) require its situation to be somewhere near the river, where also Zererath (probably Zeredatha or Zartan) and Abel-meholah doubtless lay: no certain identification has yet been made of any of these spots; but they were probably not far from the mouth of *W. Mâleh*. The *Shŭttah* mentioned by Robinson (ii. 356) and Wilson (Ritter, *Jordan*, p. 414) is too far to the west to suit the above requirements. Josephus's version of the locality is absolutely in favour of the place being well watered: *ἐν κοίλῳ τινὶ χαράδραις περιειλημμένῳ* (*Ant.* v. 6, § 5). [G.] [W.]

BETH-SU'RA (T.^{r} *ἡ* Βαιθσούρα, *τὰ* Βαιθσούρα; A. generally Βεθσούρα; *Bethsura*, exc. 1 Macc. iv. 29, *Bethoron*), 1 Macc. iv. 29, 61; vi. 7, 26, 31, 49, 50; ix. 52; x. 14; xi. 65; xiv. 7;—2 Macc. xi. 5; xiii. 19, 22. [BETH-ZUR.]

BETH-TAPPUAH (תַּפּוּחַ בֵּ', *house of the apple* or *citron*; B. Βαιθαχού, A. Βεθθαπφουέ; *Beth-thaphua*), one of the towns of Judah, in the mountainous district, and near Hebron (Josh. xv. 53; cp. 1 Ch. ii. 43 [B. Θαπούς, A. Θαφφού]). It is, perhaps, the Taphon or Tefo of 1 Macc. ix. 50. Here it has actually been discovered by Robinson under the modern name of *Teffûh*, 1¾ hour, or say 5 miles, W. of Hebron, on a ridge of high table-land. The terraces of the ancient cultivation still remain in use; and though the "apples" have disappeared, yet olive-groves and vineyards with fields of grain surround the place on every side (Rob. ii. 71; Schwarz, p. 105; *PEF. Mem.* iii. 310).

The name of Tappuah was borne by another town of Judah which lay in the rich lowland of the Shefelah. [APPLE; TAPPUAH.] [G.] [W.]

BETHU'EL (בְּתוּאֵל, Ges. = *man of God*, for מ', an interpretation queried by Tregelles and MV.[11]; Βαθουήλ; Joseph. Βαθούηλος; *Bathuel*), the son of Nahor by Milcah, nephew of Abraham, and father of Rebekah (Gen. xxii. 22, 23; xxiv. 15, 24, 47; xxviii. 2). In xxv. 20, and xxviii. 5, he is called "Bethuel the Syrian" (*i.e.* Aramite, הָאֲרַמִּי). Though often referred to as above in the narrative, Bethuel only appears in person once (xxiv. 50). Upon this an ingenious conjecture is raised by Prof. Blunt (*Coincidences*, I. § iv.) that he was the subject of some imbecility or other incapacity. The Jewish tradition, as given in the Targum Ps.-Jonathan on Gen. xxiv. 55 (cp. *v.* 33), is that he died on the morning after the arrival of Abram's servant, owing to his having eaten a sauce containing poison at the meal the evening before; and that, on that account, Laban requested that his sister's departure might be delayed for a year or ten months. Josephus was perhaps aware of this tradition, since he speaks of Bethuel as dead (*Ant.* i. 16, § 2). [G.] [W.]

BETHU'EL (בְּתוּאֵל, Ges. = *man of God*, for מ' [see above]; B. Βαθούν, A. Βαθούλ; *Bathuel*), 1 Ch. iv. 30. [BETHUL.]

BETHU'L (בְּתוּל; Arab. بثور [*Bethur*]; *Bethul*), a town of Simeon in the south, named with El-tolad and Hormah (Josh. xix. 4; B. Βουλά, A. Βαθούλ). In the parallel lists in Josh. xv. 30 (BA. Βαιθήλ) and 1 Ch. iv. 30 (B. Βαθούν, A. Βαθούλ), the name appears in the Heb. under the forms of CHESIL (כְּסִיל) and BETHUEL, and probably also under that of Bethel in Josh. xii. 16 (LXX. om.); since, for the reasons urged under BETHEL, and also on account of the position of the name in this list, the northern Bethel can hardly be intended. [BETHEL.] [G.] [W.]

BETHU'LIA (Βετυλούα; B. commonly Βαιτουλουὰ or Βετ-, A. commonly Βαιτυλουὰ or Βετ-, ℵ. Βαιτουλλιὰ or -λούα; *Bethulia*), the city which was the scene of the chief events of the Book of Judith, in which book only does the name occur. Its position is there described with very minute detail. It was near to Dothaim (iv. 6), on a hill (*ὄρος*) which overlooked (*ἀπέναντι*) the plain of Esdraelon (vi. 11, 13, 14; vii. 7, 10; xiii. 10), and commanded the passes from that plain to the hill-country of Manasseh (iv. 7; vii. 1), in a position so strong that Holofernes abandoned the idea of taking it by attack, and determined to reduce it by possessing himself of the two springs or wells (*πηγαί*) which were "under the city" in the valley at the foot of the eminence on which it was built, and from which the inhabitants derived their chief supply of water (vi. 11; vii. 7, 13, 21). Notwithstanding this detail, however, the identification of the site of Bethulia has hitherto defied all attempts, and is one of the greatest puzzles of sacred geography; so much so as to form an important argument against the historical truth of the Book of Judith (Rob. iii. 337–8. See *Speaker's Comm.*, note on Jud. iv. 6).

In the Middle Ages the name of Bethulia was given to "the Frank Mountain," between Bethlehem and Jerusalem (Rob. i. 479: see Bonaparte's Desp. to the Directory, dated 21 Floréal 1799), but it is unnecessary to say that this is very much too far to the south to suit the narrative. Others have assumed it to be *Safed* in North Galilee (Rob. ii. 425); which again, if in other respects it would agree with the story, is too far north. Von Raumer (*Pal.* pp. 135–6) suggests *Sanûr*, which is perhaps the nearest to probability. The ruins of that town are on an "isolated rocky hill," with a plain of considerable extent to the east, and, as far as situation is concerned, naturally all but impregnable (Rob. ii. 312). It is about three miles from *Tell Dothân*, and some six or seven from *Jenîn* (Enganim), which stand on the very edge of the great plain of Esdraelon. Though not absolutely commanding the pass, which leads from *Jenîn* to *Sebustieh* and forms the only practicable ascent to the high country, it is yet sufficiently near to bear out the somewhat vague statement of Jud. v. 6. Nor is it unimportant to remember that *Sanûr* actually endured a siege of two months from Djezzar Pasha without yielding, and that on a subsequent occasion it was only taken after a three or four months' investment, by a force very much out of proportion to the size of the place (Rob. ii. 313). Conder proposes (*PEF. Mem.* ii.

156) to identify Bethulia with *Meselieh* or *Mithilia*, a small village on the hillside, south of *Jenîn* and near *W. el-Melek*. Other opinions as to locality may be seen in Riehm, *HWB.* s. n., and in *Speaker's Comm.* l. c. [G.] [W.]

BETH-ZACHARI'AS. [BATH-ZACHARIAS.]

BETH-ZUR (בֵּית צוּר, *house of rock;* in Josh. B. Βαιθσούρ, A. Βεθ-; *Bessur, Bethsur,* and in Macc. *Bethsura*), a town in the mountains of Judah, named between Halhul and Gedor (Josh. xv. 58). As far as any interpretation can, in their present imperfect state, be put on the genealogical lists of 1 Ch. ii. 42–49, Bethzur would appear from *v.* 45 (A. Βηθσούρ, B. Γεδ-) to have been founded by the people of Maon, which again had derived its origin from Hebron. However this may be, Bethzur was "built"—*i.e.* probably fortified—by Rehoboam, with other towns of Judah, for the defence of his new kingdom (2 Ch. xi. 7; BA. Βαιθσουρά). After the Captivity the people of Bethzur assisted Nehemiah in the rebuilding of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 16; Bא. Βησόρ, A. Βηθ-σούρ); the place had a "ruler" (שַׂר), and the peculiar word Pelec (פֶּלֶךְ) is employed to denote a district or circle attached to it, and to some other of the cities mentioned here. [TOPOGRAPHICAL TERMS.]

In the wars of the Maccabees, Bethzur, or Bethsura, played an important part. It was fortified by Judas and his brethren "that the people might have a defence against Idumaea," and they succeeded in making it "very strong, and not to be taken without great difficulty" (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 9, § 4); so much so that it was able to resist for a length of time the attacks of Simon Maccabaeus (1 Macc. xi. 65) and of Lysias (2 Macc. xi. 5), the garrison having in the former case capitulated. Before Bethzur took place one of the earliest victories of Judas over Lysias (1 Macc. iv. 29), and it was in an attempt to relieve it when besieged by Antiochus Eupator, that he was defeated in the passes between Bethzur and Bath-zacharias, and his brother Eleazar killed by one of the elephants of the king's army (1 Macc. vi. 32–47; Jos. *Ant.* xii. 9, § 4). The recovery of the site of Bethzur, under the almost identical name of *Beit Sûr*, by Wolcott and Robinson (i. 216, note; iii. 277), explains its impregnability, and also the reason for the choice of its position, since it commands the road from Beersheba and Hebron, which has always been the main approach to Jerusalem from the south (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 311, 324).

A short distance from the Tell, on which are strewn the remains of the town, is a spring, *'Ain edh-Dhirweh*, which in the days of Jerome, and later, was regarded as the scene of the baptism of the Eunuch by Philip. The probability of this is examined elsewhere [GAZA]; in the meantime it may be noticed that *Beit Sûr* is not near the road to Gaza (Acts viii. 26), which runs much more to the north-west (cp. Riehm, *HWB.* s. n.). [BETH-SURA.]

[G.] [W.]

BETO'LIUS (B. Βετολιώ, Vulg. (?) *Liptis*), 1 Esd. v. 21. His descendants returned from the Captivity with Zerubbabel. [BETH-EL.]

BETOMES'THAM and BETOMAS'THEM; Syr. *Bithmasthim*), a town "over against Esdraelon, facing the plain that is near Dothaim" (Judith iv. 6 [B. Βαιτομαισθάιμ, A. Βετομεσθ-, א. and Vulg. om.]; xv. 4 [BA. Βαιτομασθάιμ, א. -θέν]), and which from the manner of its mention would seem to have been of equal importance with Bethulia itself. No attempt to identify it has yet been successful (see *Speaker's Comm.*, note on Judith iv. 6). It is possibly mentioned under the form *Estomason* in the list of Christian bishoprics (Reland, pp. 223, 225). [BETHULIA; DOTHAIM.] [G.] [W.]

BETO'NIM (בְּטֹנִים, Ges. = *pistachio nuts;* B. Βοτανεί, A. Βοτανίν; *Betonim*), a town in the inheritance of the children of Gad, apparently on their northern boundary (Josh. xiii. 26). The word, somewhat differently pointed (בָּטְנִים), occurs in Gen. xliii. 11, A. V. and R. V. "nuts," and is probably related to the modern Arabic word *Butm* = terebinth, *Pistacia terebinthus.* The identification of Betonim with *Batneh* near Es-Salt has been proposed by Robinson and Van de Welde (see Dillmann[2] in Josh. *l. c.*).

[G.] [W.]

BETROTHING. [MARRIAGE.]

BEU'LAH [3 syll.] (בְּעוּלָה = *she who is married;* οἰκουμένη; *inhabitata*), the name which the land of Israel is to bear, when "the land shall be married (תִּבָּעֵל)," Is. lxii. 4. [F.]

BE'ZAI (בֵּצַי, Ges., following Bohlen, connects it with the Persian for *sword;* LXX. [2 Esd.], B. Βασού, A. Βασσού; in Neh. vii. אA. Βεσεί, A. Βασί; *Besai*). "Children of Bezai," to the number of 323 [Neh. 324], returned from Captivity with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii. 17; Neh. vii. 23). The name occurs again among those who sealed the covenant (Neh. x. 18, B. Βησεί, A. Βηθεί). [BASSA.]

[W. A. W.] [F.]

BEZAL'E-EL (בְּצַלְאֵל, *in the shadow,* i.e. protection *of God;* Βεσελεήλ; *Beseleel*). **1.** The artificer to whom was confided by Jehovah the design and execution of the works of art required for the Tabernacle in the wilderness (Ex. xxxi. 1–6). His charge was chiefly in all works of metal, wood, and stone, Aholiab being associated with him for the textile fabrics; but it is plain from the terms in which the two are mentioned (xxxvi. 1, 2; xxxviii. 22), as well as from the enumeration of the works in Bezaleel's name in xxxvii. and xxxviii., that he was the chief of the two, and master of Aholiab's department as well as his own. Bezaleel was of the tribe of Judah, the son of Uri the son of Hur (or Chur). Hur was the offspring of the marriage of Caleb (one of the chiefs of the great family of Pharez) with Ephrath (1 Ch. ii. 19, 50), and one of his sons or descendants (cp. Ruth iv. 20) was Salma, or Salmon, who is handed down under the title of "father of Bethlehem;" and who, as the actual father of Boaz, was the direct progenitor of king David (1 Ch. ii. 51, 54; Ruth iv. 21). [BETHLEHEM; HUR.]

2. BA. Βεσελήλ, ℵ. Βεσσελ-. One of the sons of Pahath-moab who had taken a foreign wife (Ezra x. 30). [G.] [W.]

BE'ZEK (בֶּזֶק; Βεζέκ; *Bezec*). **1.** The residence of Adoni-bezek, *i.e.* the "lord of Bezek" (Judg. i. 5); in the "lot (גּוֹרָל) of Judah" (*v.* 3), and inhabited by Canaanites and Perizzites (*v.* 4). Some (see Riehm, *HWB.* s. n.) consider this to have been a distinct place from, others the same as,

2. A. Βεζέκ, where Saul numbered the forces of Israel and Judah before going to the relief of Jabesh-gilead (1 Sam. xi. 8). From the terms of the narrative this cannot have been more than a day's march from Jabesh, and was therefore doubtless somewhere in the centre of the country, near the Jordan valley. In accordance with this is the mention by Eusebius (*OS.*[2] p. 249, 52) of two places of this name seventeen miles from Neapolis (Shechem), on the road to Bethshean (Scythopolis). The LXX. B. reads καὶ ἐπισκέπτεται αὐτοὺς Ἀβιέζεκ ἐν Βαμά, and possibly alludes to some "high place" (=Gibeah, Wellhausen) at which this solemn muster took place under one Abiezek; A. has the reading ἐν Βεζέκ. This Josephus gives as Βαλά (*Ant.* vi. 5, § 3). It is now *Kh. Ibzîk*, fourteen miles from *Nâblus* on the road to *Beisân* (*PEF. Mem.* ii. 231–237). [G.] [W.]

BE'ZER IN THE WILDERNESS (בֶּצֶר בַּמִּדְבָּר; Βοσόρ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ; *Besor in solitudine*), a city of the Reubenites, with "suburbs," in the *Mishor* or downs, set apart by Moses as one of the three cities of refuge on the east of the Jordan, and allotted to the Merarites (Deut. iv. 43; Josh. xx. 8, xxi. 36; 1 Ch. vi. 78). In the two last passages the exact specification, בַּמִּישׁר, of the other two is omitted, but traces of its former presence in the text in Josh. xxi. 36 are furnished us by the reading of the LXX. [*v.* 35] and Vulg.—B. τὴν Βοσὸρ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, τὴν Μεισὼ (A. τῇ Μισὼρ) καὶ τὰ περισπόρια αὐτῆς; *Bosor in solitudine*, Misor *et Jaser*.

It was known to Eusebius, who says (*OS.*[2] p. 247, 55, *s. n.* Βοσόρ) that it was east of Jericho, in the desert beyond Jordan; and it is probably the same as the *Bezer* or *Bosor* mentioned in connexion with Dibon, in the inscription of king Mesha on the Moabite stone (*Records of the Past*, N. S. ii. 203). It is now perhaps *Kesûr el-Besheir*, a ruin S.W. of *Dhibân*. Dillmann[2] (Deut. *l. c.*) is disposed to identify it with the Bozrah of Jer. xlviii. 24. [G.] [W.]

BE'ZER (בֶּצֶר; A. Βασάρ, B. om.; *Bosor*), son of Zophah, one of the heads of the house of Asher (1 Ch. vii. 37). [W. A. W.]

BE'ZETH (T.[7] Βηζέθ; B. Βηθζαίθ; *Bethzecha*), a place at which Bacchides encamped after leaving Jerusalem, and where there was a "great pit" (τὸ φρέαρ τὸ μέγα; 1 Macc. vii. 19). By Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 10, § 2) the name is given as "the village Bethzetho" (κώμη Βηθζηθὼ λεγομένη), which recalls the name applied to the Mount of Olives in the early Syriac recension of the N. T. published by Mr. Cureton — Beth-Zaith corresponding precisely with the reading of the Sinaitic MS. in 1 Macc. vii. 19. The name may refer either to the main body of the Mount of Olives, or to the hill north of Jerusalem, which at a later period was called Bezetha. [G.] [W.]

BI'ATAS (T.[7] Φαλίας, A. Φιαθάς; *Philias*), 1 Esd. ix. 48; a Levite teacher and expounder of the Law after the return from the Captivity. [PELIAH.] [W. A. W.] [F.]

BIBLE (Gk. τὰ βιβλία; Lat. *Biblia*). This is the most general designation for the Christian sacred Books, and embraces those which were primarily given to the Jews, as well as the more strictly Christian writings of the New Testament. The Romish Church and also some other Christian communions include, under this name of Bible, the deutero-canonical books of the Apocrypha. In the Septuagint αἱ βίβλοι is found (Dan. ix. 2) as the name given to the Jewish Scriptures, but τὰ βιβλία occurs in a quotation made by Eusebius (*Praep. Evang.* xiii. 12, 16) from the writings of Aristobulus, a Jewish philosopher who lived in the first half of the second century before Christ. It is also used in the prologue to the Book of Sirach, and in 1 Macc. i. 56 we find the expression τὰ βιβλία τοῦ νόμου. Josephus, too (*cont. Apion.* i. 8), speaks of the βιβλία of the Jewish Scriptures, and subsequently the word is constantly employed by the Greek Fathers and historians in the sense of Holy Scripture.

In Greek the plural form of the word (τὰ βιβλία) gave the valuable intimation that the contents of the volume so named were various, and that in the collection several separate books were comprised. The Jewish Scriptures alone, as we shall see, were counted as twenty-two Books, and comprised more than that number of distinct portions, while the time that intervened between the composition of the earliest and the latest of these must have been several centuries. But the Latin ecclesiastical writers having treated *Biblia* as a singular, the word has entered as singular into the languages of Western Christendom, and thus the diversity of origin and the variety of the contents of the Bible have been somewhat put out of sight.

These same Jewish and Christian Books are sometimes spoken of collectively as "the Scriptures" *par excellence*. *Scriptura* is the Latin rendering of the Greek γραφή, a name which our Lord Himself (John v. 39) applied to the Jewish Books, and by which they are spoken of in other places of the New Testament (Acts xvii. 2, 11, xviii. 24, 28; Rom. xv. 4; 1 Cor. xv. 3, 4). St. Paul, too, to mark the high estimation in which these Books were held, calls them more than once (Rom. i. 2; 2 Tim. iii. 15) ἅγιαι γραφαί, the Holy Scriptures, and this title is now often applied to the whole Bible.

As the Christian writers also sometimes (cp. Heb. ix. 15) speak of God's earlier dispensation, which is set forth in the Jewish Scriptures, as a διαθήκη (Lat. *testamentum, foedus*), a testament or covenant, and St. Paul (2 Cor. iii. 14) calls it ἡ παλαιὰ διαθήκη, "the Old Testament,"—while they regard the Christian dispensation, of which they are the ministers, as a new διαθήκη (2 Cor. iii. 6; Heb. ix. 15),—the word "Testament" has come to be generally applied to the two divisions of the Bible, and this had grown to be usual in

the Church as early as the close of the second century (Tert. *adv. Prax.* 15; Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxx. 7). So the pre-Christian and post-Christian portions are spoken of respectively as the Old and the New Testaments. It will be convenient to treat of these two divisions of the Bible separately.

I. The Books of the Old Testament are preserved to us in the Hebrew Bible, but the form under which we now find them in Hebrew MSS. and in printed texts differs somewhat from that in which these sacred records were first set down. Leaving out of consideration whether the present square character of the Hebrew text was the earliest form of writing among the Jews (though there can be little question that it was not), we know that in the earliest times only the consonantal part of each word was expressed in writing, the vowels being easily supplied by the intelligence of the reader. But all the Hebrew MSS. which as yet have been discovered, and our Hebrew Bibles as usually printed, are now supplied with points above or below the consonants to indicate the necessary vowels. These additions to the primary text were made at a late date, when foreign invasion and dispersion had broken up the unity of the Jewish people, and the vocalization was not brought into its present form till several centuries after the commencement of the Christian era. Ever since the return of the Jews from Babylon there had existed men, like the Scribes of the New Testament, learned in the traditional interpretation of the sacred text, and it was by such men that a system of marks for vocalization was elaborated; and after this was complete, all copies of the Hebrew Bible were conformed to the one type. These men are known as the "Massoretes" or "possessors of tradition" (from *Massorah* = tradition), and hence the text which we possess is frequently named the "Massoretic text." Beside the vowel-points the Massoretes have also added some marginal notes in places where for some reason, either because the adopted text was thought not quite correct or not adapted for public reading, the reader was required to modify the written words. Such marginal notes are called *Keri*, a name designating the text which is to be read as distinguished from the *Kethib* or written text in the body of the page. It is easy to understand how these carefully prepared MSS. (in which the standard for the consonantal portion was probably derived from some copy of high repute and splendid calligraphy, but not necessarily the most free from errors of copying) would in time supersede all others. In this way it has come to pass that our Hebrew Bibles represent only one recension of the sacred text, viz. that which the Massoretes adopted in post-Christian times. There are, moreover, very few sources from which we are able to get knowledge of the earlier condition of the text; the chief being the Septuagint, the Targums, and the Samaritan Pentateuch. The oldest Hebrew MS. of any portion of the Bible the date of which can be fixed with certainty was written at the commencement of the tenth century of our era. This is known as the *Codex Petropolitanus*, the Petersburg MS., and it is dated A.D. 916.

The arrangement of the Books in the Hebrew Bible differs from that adopted in the English Version, and requires to be specially noticed. The first section is that which contains the five Books of Moses, and was called by the Jews the תורה or "Law," and sometimes by the Rabbins "the five-fifths of the Law." The Hebrew names of the Books are taken in each case from some word or words occurring in the first sentence of the text. Thus the first Book is called "Bereshith," *i.e.* "In the beginning." The names given to these Books in our English Bibles—Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy—are derived by transliteration or translation from the Septuagint.

Next to the Law follows the section called נביאים, "the Prophets." This consists of two parts, each containing four Books. The נביאים ראשונים or "earlier Prophets" include (1) Joshua, (2) Judges, (3) Samuel, and (4) Kings. In the two last-named the two Books are counted as one. The second part or נביאים אחרונים, "the later Prophets," comprises (1) Isaiah, (2) Jeremiah, (3) Ezekiel, and (4) the twelve smaller prophecies, known by us as "the minor Prophets," and which in the Jewish enumeration were counted for one Book only.

The third section is called כתובים or "Writings," and is generally known as the "Hagiographa." This contains first the Psalms, next Proverbs, then Job, after these the five Megilloth or "Rolls," which were so named because, being used on certain annual occasions in the synagogue-service, they were written each on a separate roll. These Rolls are, The Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther. These are followed by Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah, and last of all Chronicles, called in the Hebrew דברי הימים, *i.e.* "The Words of the Days," and in the Septuagint τὰ παραλειπόμενα, "things omitted," a name which marks the Book as supplementary to the Books of Kings. We are indebted to Jerome for the name "Chronicles."

We know that a threefold division of the Hebrew Scriptures after this manner existed in our Lord's time. He speaks (Luke xxiv. 44) of "the Law of Moses, the Prophets, and the Psalms," as if giving a complete enumeration of the Jewish Books. But it is to be noted that while He applies to the first two sections the names by which they are distinguished in the Hebrew Bible, He only mentions in the third section the one Book, "the Psalms," which stands first in that division. It would not therefore be of necessity a sound conclusion to decide from this alone that all the Books now included in the third portion of the Hebrew Bible were embraced by Christ under the name of Psalms. And it ought to be remembered that three Books of the Hagiographa—Esther, Canticles, and Ecclesiastes—are never quoted in the New Testament, nor by the learned Jew of Alexandria, Philo, who lived at the same date as the New Testament writers; while from Jewish authorities we learn that there was a discussion between the Schools of Hillel and Shammai, the founders of which were contemporaries of Herod the Great, whether Canticles and Ecclesiastes formed a part of the canonical Jewish Scriptures.

Towards the end of the 1st century A.D. Josephus gives us an account of the Jewish Books then recognised as Scripture. He says

(*c. Apion.* i. 8): "We do not possess myriads of books discordant and conflicting, but only two-and-twenty, which contain a history of all time, and are justly believed to be divine. Of these, five are the Books of Moses: . . . from the death of Moses to the reign of Artaxerxes, who succeeded Xerxes as king of Persia, the Prophets compiled the history of their times in thirteen Books. The remaining four contain hymns to God and didactic teaching for men." This account appears to embrace all the Books of the Jewish Bible. The thirteen Books of history written by the prophets, from Moses to Artaxerxes, would embrace those eight which form the second section of the Jewish Books, with Ruth added as a conclusion to Judges, and Lamentations combined with Jeremiah. With these Josephus reckoned Ezra and Nehemiah (counted as one), Chronicles, Esther, Job, and Daniel. The four which he places in his last class are Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs. He has classified the Books in a different way from the order in which they are found arranged in the Hebrew Bible, because he wanted to enforce most strongly his statement about the regular and uninterrupted composition of the whole Jewish history. There has been no list of the Hebrew Scriptures preserved to us of an earlier date than Josephus.

Josephus' enumeration, though not his arrangement, is that which was known to the earliest Christian writers: as to Melito, Bishop of Sardis (Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 26), to Origen (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 25), and to Jerome († A.D. 420), who derived his information almost entirely from Jewish sources (*Prol. gal. in lib. Reg.*). Through Jerome the traditional Jewish opinions concerning the composition of these Books became generally accepted among Christians, and were passed down with little or no question to comparatively recent times. These traditional opinions set the Pentateuch far above the other Old Testament Scriptures both in importance and antiquity. In the Book of Chronicles (2 Chron. xxv. 12) the Pentateuch is spoken of as "the Book of Moses;" and following this the Talmud (*Baba Bathra*, f. 14 b) relates that "Moses wrote his book (the Pentateuch) with the exception of eight verses which were added by Joshua." Compared with the Law, therefore, all other parts of the Scriptures were to the mind of the Jew of very secondary value, and only to be accounted of as their teaching found support from the Mosaic records. The Law was believed to have been given in its entirety to the people before they entered Canaan, and all the rest of Israel's history to have been passed through with a full knowledge of this elaborate code, and consequently to have been made all the more sinful by the great deflections which it presented from the legislation bequeathed to the people by their great leader and lawgiver. This opinion, accepted by the Christian world, exercised a persistent influence on nearly all the expositions of Scripture down to modern times. About the middle of last century, however, a course of inquiry was commenced which has considerably modified the opinions of many students, and the results and tendencies of which cannot be disregarded. Therefore, before ascribing to the first division of the Old Testament that antiquity which has so long been claimed for it, we are bound to state what has been put forward by the advocates of a much later origin. A French physician named Astruc published in 1753 a work which may be taken as the starting-point of these inquiries. Examining the language of the Book of Genesis, he came to the conclusion that Moses had before him for the composition of that Book many records of a date anterior to his own, and out of these compiled his narrative. A principal point in Astruc's argument is the occurrence throughout the Book of different designations for the Deity. He dwells also on the occurrence of repetitions which seemed to him to be inconsistent with unity of authorship, and he assigned parts of the Book of Genesis to at least twelve different writers. The same kind of investigation has since been applied to the other Books; and similar peculiarities being observable in them, and also in the Book of Joshua, the conclusion has been drawn that the writers who exhibit these peculiarities cannot have lived before Moses, and that on this ground the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch must be given up.

Commencing a little later, but carried on side by side with the linguistic investigations, there has been another line of inquiry. The growth of Israel's religion as represented in the historical Books has been studied, and a comparison made of this history with what might have been looked for had the laws of the Pentateuch been known and observed from the time of Israel's departure out of Egypt. The conclusions arrived at by labourers in these investigations may be briefly stated thus. The large number of different documents assumed by the earlier scholars has been reduced to three or four, and the distinctions recognised between the different portions are mainly those marked by the use of different designations for the Deity. The historical inquiries have dealt with the Scripture records as they would with secular history, and have started with Israel's existence as a nation from the date of the Exodus. The people were then settled in Egypt, and their conflict with the Egyptian power cemented their national unity. They were delivered by Moses, and it is argued that he and others who felt with him ascribed their deliverance to the aid of Jehovah, Who was worshipped by the people, but was not their sole divinity. Moses taught them that by Jehovah's help they had been enabled to emerge from what was meant to be permanent bondage, and to perform that long series of journeyings which brought them to the borders of Canaan. During his leadership he also gave to the people some elementary laws, and specially the ten commandments and those simple statutes in Exodus which follow the ten words. It is thought that the condition of the people was far too rude to be fitted for the acceptance of the more advanced legislation, and that it was not till the times of David and Solomon that a point of culture was reached which made extensive literary composition possible; and that some time after this, mainly through the instrumentality of the Prophets of the eighth century, a first draft of the Mosaic Books was brought into form, the legislative portion of which comprised the laws contained in Exodus xx.–xxiv., some of which are given in a summary

form also in Exodus xxxiv. The compiler of this first Code, spoken of often as the "Book of the Covenant" (Exod. xxiv. 7), is supposed to have gathered his material partly from records preserved from old times in the form of pedigrees and the like, and partly from the current traditions of the people. The thread which binds his narrative into one is the enforcement of the sole worship of Jehovah, and the special use of that name in those portions which are assigned to the earliest form of the Pentateuch has caused its supposed writer to be named the Jahvist, in contradistinction to the Elohist, who employs more frequently *Elohim* (rendered *God* in the English Bible) for the Divine name. This first writer tells the story of Israel taken into covenant with Jehovah, and how by His power the land of old promised to Abraham became the possession of his descendants. His composition is supposed to have date about the time of Isaiah. The influence of Moses is thought to have been feeble in the times immediately after his death, but still kept alive by the nobler part of the people till the days of Samuel, when an impulse was given to prophetic labours which increased through the times of the earlier kings, and had acquired so great an influence in the days of Amos and Isaiah as to enable the prophets to formulate a primary legislation and to come forward as the religious reformers of the nation.

But just as Moses had had no great array of sympathisers, and his zeal for the one God had only been kept alive in the nation by the enthusiasm of a few men of whom Samuel may be taken as a prominent example, so the prophets were not without their hindrances. It depended on the king whether they were supported in their labours or impeded altogether. With the monarch on their side their influence was considerable, but even down to the times of Hezekiah they had not been able to secure the abolition of the high places, where other deities had a share in the honours, nor to enforce the sole worship of Jehovah, which they are so constant in proclaiming in their words.

It is not until the days of Josiah that such sole worship is recorded in the national history, and it is to the time of that solemn narrative in 2 K. xxii., where we are told how Hilkiah found the Book of the Law in the house of the Lord, that many persons refer the composition of the Book of Deuteronomy, which forbids the offering of sacrifices at any places except (Deut. xii. 13) "in the place that Jehovah chooseth in one of thy tribes." It is thought that priest and prophet at that time combined to make the idea which Moses first put forward a reality for the nation. For this purpose the Deuteronomic code was composed, and a sanctity claimed for it on account of the place in which it was reported to have been discovered. For this end a deception was practised upon the people which the introduction of the new code might be deemed to justify. The new laws were in time combined with the older, and thus the Pentateuch continued till after the return from Babylon. Then by the hands of Ezra and his fellow-labourers further additions were made, and those laws introduced which are found scattered in the Books of Leviticus and Numbers. One main aim of this later code is said to have been to make more marked the distinction between the priests of the house of Aaron and the members of the other Levitical families who were engaged in the service of the Temple, but who did not come near to the altar. The Levites had many of them in former times served at those high places which had been abolished by Josiah. When, therefore, these men came to join themselves to the service of the one shrine at Jerusalem, it was deemed needful to put a difference between them and the priestly body who had from the first been specially attached to the Temple on Mount Zion. These final laws were in time combined with those previously enacted, and thus a last edition brought the Pentateuch into, or nearly into, its present form.

The investigations of which these are the results are not without value, though they cannot be accepted in their entirety. They have made it clear that in the Mosaic Books there are three stages of legislation, and have also pointed out how the history indicates a national advance from one of them to the others. Thus the traditional teaching that the whole history of Israel was a falling away from a complete plan which was assumed as the nation's standard from the first can hardly be accepted. Of the threefold form of the legislation there can be no question. In the "Book of the Covenant" there is no provision made of priests as a distinct class; the second code in Deuteronomy sets before us the whole tribe of Levi as priests; while in the middle Books there is a marked distinction placed between the family of Aaron, who are alone to serve at the altar, and the rest of the Levites who are employed in the Temple-worship, but in a subordinate position. Again, in Ex. xx. 24 there is a command that altars shall be built in all places where Jehovah records His Name; in Deuteronomy (xii. 13) the sacrifices are only to be offered "in the place which Jehovah chooseth in one of thy tribes;" in Leviticus (i. 3 sq.) it is ordered that the sacrifices shall be brought to the door of the tent of meeting, and that the sons of Aaron are to take the blood and sprinkle it on the altar. Again, the sacrifices enjoined in Exodus are only burnt-offerings and peace-offerings: these the legislation in Deuteronomy increases by tithes, vows, and freewill offerings, while the middle Books add thereto sin-offerings and trespass-offerings. In Exodus there is very little said about purification. It is forbidden (Ex. xxii. 31) to eat the flesh that is torn of beasts in the field, and it is said of the whole people, "Ye shall be holy men unto me." In Deuteronomy the people are forbidden to cut themselves; a distinction is made between clean and unclean beasts, and washing with water is appointed for the unclean. To these regulations are superadded, in Leviticus and Numbers, various modes of purification, the use of the ashes of a red heifer, and all those observances appointed at the healing of a leper. Once more, the feasts first ordained in Exodus are the Sabbath, the feast of unleavened bread, the Sabbatical year, the feasts of harvest and of ingatherings. In Deuteronomy we find the Passover, the feast of unleavened bread, the feast of weeks, the feast of tabernacles, and the year of release; while in the Books of Leviticus and Numbers we have, beside these, the observance of the new moons, the seven great

Sabbaths, the day of firstfruits, the feast of trumpets, the Day of Atonement, and the year of Jubilee. Thus three stages of religious service are provided for.

Now, it is clear from the history of Israel that for a long period no attempt was made, even by the most religious men, to observe anything beyond the covenant code of the Pentateuch. For during the time of the Judges there were many altars erected beside the one at Shiloh. Men who were not priests, as Joshua and Gideon, offered sacrifices, and the sacrifices are only peace-offerings and burnt-offerings. Later on, in the days of Samuel, the same is the case. Saul as well as Samuel offers sacrifice, and it is not the fact of such men offering which constitutes an offence, when God is displeased with the sacrifice. In the times of the Kings we find worship continued at the high places, and it was not done away with by the erection of Solomon's Temple; while in the northern kingdom, after the severance, we find Elijah sacrificing at an altar of Jehovah on Carmel, which had been used long before. The reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah were attempts, in some degree successful, to put an end to such worship; but as late as Jeremiah's time (Jer. xli. 5) we find that worshippers went to Mizpah, and looked upon that ancient sanctuary as "the house of the Lord." Further than this, the additional offerings, purifications, and festivals which have been mentioned as peculiar to the legislation of Deuteronomy and the middle Books, find no place in the language of the Psalms or in the writings of the Prophets before the Exile. The sin-offering is first mentioned (2 Ch. xxix. 21, 23, 24) by the chronicler in his account of the restoration of religion under Hezekiah, and the trespass-offering in Isaiah (liii. 10), though it is doubtful whether the word there can be pressed to prove the observance of such offerings at the Temple in Isaiah's time. The Levitical purifications and the elaborate cycle of feasts are not mentioned at all in the literature before the Exile.

The question has, of course, arisen whether, in consequence of this great divergence of practice as shown in the history and literature from the legislation as given in the Pentateuch, it is possible to accept the Pentateuchal legislation as of Mosaic origin. In considering such a question we should not leave out of sight that in Ex. xxiv. 4 it is expressly stated that Moses wrote all the words of the Lord, meaning that Book of the Covenant which is contained in those chapters, and that also in Deuteronomy (xxxi. 9) a like statement is made concerning the Deuteronomic code; but no such definite declaration is put forward concerning the legislation in the Books of Leviticus and Numbers. This seems to imply that the code of Exodus should stand first in order, then the Deuteronomic laws, and after them the laws of Leviticus and Numbers, these last as being Mosaic in the sense that they were revealed to Moses, but not necessarily gathered and put into form till a period after the date of the second code. Viewed in this order, and in the light of the history, the threefold code admits of explanation, and the non-observance of the larger portion becomes intelligible. The Book of the Covenant given at Sinai was a simple statute book, containing what was needful for the guidance of the heads of tribes before the people became permanently settled in Canaan. The second code, in Deuteronomy, was put forth for the edification of the whole people, and is designed for a state where the entire land is occupied by Israel, and the enemies driven utterly away: while the legislation in Leviticus and Numbers is provided for a state in which the people have become thoroughly settled in their religious life, and as God's chosen people press forward towards a grand ideal of devotion to His service. By these several codes preparation was made for a regular development of the religious life of the nation, but that development was long hindered. Much of the religious discipline of Israel fell into abeyance during the forty years' sojourn in the desert (Josh. v. 5; Amos v. 25); and when the people entered the Holy Land, their enemies were not driven out at once, nor did Israel realise a complete national life for long years to come; and meanwhile they were borne down on all sides by foreign oppressors, and often led away to foreign superstitions. When the people became united under the sovereignty of the house of David, we discover that instead of one central seat for Divine worship, numerous altars had been, from the national needs, established in various parts of the land, in harmony with the primal legislation of the covenant given at Sinai. These numerous shrines, often held very sacred, made an advance to the Deuteronomic stage difficult, and during the brief union of the whole nation it was never carried out. Soon the ten tribes were severed from the rest, and the task was made more difficult still, though the more religious element of the nation longed for the realisation of the higher ideal. The attempts at reform under Hezekiah and Josiah show this, and make us able to understand how the discovery of the Deuteronomic code in the reign of the latter king was a veritable new revelation to the majority of the nation, though the language of Huldah shows that to her, and to those who felt with her, it was but the bringing to light of what the imperfect worship of former generations had buried in an oblivion which was never intended. The short time between the reforms of Josiah and the Captivity, largely occupied with the troubles of foreign invasion, made any advance impossible; but when the chastened people were brought back under Ezra and Nehemiah, both those leaders were ready to inaugurate and the nation to accept the more complete religious code which is comprised in the Books of Leviticus and Numbers, and which then for the first time became the rule by which the services of the second Temple were carried on. Such neglect and oblivion of the two fuller codes as is here presumed cannot be taken to prove their non-existence. Accepting Moses as the Prophet of the Lord, and regarding, as Christ did, his legislation not as a product of national development, but as a divinely inspired code, containing an ideal to which the nation was to be taught to press forward, the prophetic character of the two later codes is just what we should expect,—a provision made from the outset whereby Israel should be trained to the doctrine of Atonement, and prepared for Him of Whom Moses spake as a Prophet like unto himself. More-

over, there are some portions of evidence that point to the earlier existence of the whole Mosaic code which deserve consideration. The language of Deuteronomy and of Leviticus and Numbers is not that of the later kingdom, during which modern speculation would place their composition, nor of the time of the Chronicler; while the Levitical code, which never came to be observed till after the Exile, refers in all its details to a time when a life in the wilderness and a camp was what the writer had before him, while throughout the whole there is no anachronism such as must have beset a composition written after the Exile, and by one without experience of the camp life in the desert. But, above all, we find hints, slight indeed, but yet sufficient, throughout the whole history, that the fuller codes were not altogether unknown, but only through circumstances rendered impracticable. In the first flush of hope as they entered the land the people celebrated a grand Passover feast, long neglected and to be long neglected in the future, but proved by this celebration not to have been unknown. In the times of the Judges, the ark of the covenant and the tent of meeting are frequently spoken of; there is a distinct priesthood at Shiloh, and the vow of the Nazarite is understood by the parents of Samson, though these things are only found appointed in the supposedly later Levitical legislation. In the days of Samuel the ark of the covenant plays a large part in the history, though Samuel seems to have neglected it; and the Urim and Thummim, which belong only to the fuller legislation, are consulted by Saul. The Temple of Solomon, as did the Tabernacle before it, makes provision, by the separation of the Most Holy Place, for the observance of the solemnities of the great Day of Atonement; yet never from the time of its institution in Lev. xvi. have we any allusion to this, the highest and most significant service of the whole code, in any part of the historic, prophetic, or poetic literature of the nation. Indications like these make it impossible for us to doubt that, though well-nigh forgotten, the codes enjoining these services were in existence from the first, and that the Book of the Law found by Hilkiah was a copy of that which Moses wrote and delivered to the priests, the sons of Levi (Deut. xxxi. 9). That something analogous to what we now call editing was performed upon the sacred Books of the Jews in the days of Ezra seems highly probable, but in the case of the Law this work was bestowed on material which had existed from very early times. This material may have been modified in many parts by the varying circumstances of the national life, but it still retained so great a portion of the primitive record as to make the name "Law of Moses" something more than a fiction. To those who regard the Bible as the channel of God's revelation and its teaching as inspired, the acceptance of a conclusion which would import into its records the sanction of a deception practised for ever so good an end must be entirely repugnant. But there seems no need to take such a course. The historic development of Israel's religion does not prove the non-existence of the whole of the three Mosaic codes. It only shows that the people did not for a long while advance beyond the first stage. To adopt the theory proposed of the late origin as well as the manner of introduction of the Deuteronomic legislation is to commence undermining the whole credit of the sacred volume.

In the second section of the Hebrew Bible it is not difficult to understand why the Books comprised in the first half, though generally accounted historical, should have been placed by the Jews where they now stand, and reckoned among the prophetical writings. The earliest chroniclers of whom we read in the Old Testament belonged to the prophetic order, and their works are often alluded to by the compiler of the Chronicles (1 Ch. xxix. 29; 2 Ch. ix. 29, xii. 15, xx. 34). Before the days of Isaiah mention is made of Samuel, Nathan, Gad, Ahijah, Iddo, Shemaiah, and Jehu the son of Hanani, as labourers on this work of the national Chronicles, and the existence of such a composition (2 Ch. xxiv. 27) as the story (or commentary, Heb. *midrash*) of the Book of the Kings is proof that much attention had been paid to the keeping of these records. Drawn from the writings of these authors, and others unrecorded who preceded them, the Books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings have a claim to the name of prophetical Books, though they contained no predictive element whatever. That the Books are of this composite character may be seen from many parts. The last few chapters of Judges (xvii.–xxi.) seem clearly to belong to a different work than the earlier chapters, and in 1 Sam. xvi. and xvii. we can trace, as it seems, two narratives of the history of Saul and David. The first supplies the material for the account of David's anointing and his introduction into the palace of Saul at the time of the king's frenzy. The latter—which contained, it may be, a history of David's prowess—is used as the source whence the conquest of Goliath is taken, and, though ranged after the previous history, shows clearly that it belongs to an earlier time, for it makes Saul and Abner alike ignorant of David's name and parentage. The compiler has been at no pains to disguise the double source of his information, and this fact is good evidence that we are presented by him with a faithful copy of what he had before him. The Book of Joshua is in style and character closely connected with the Pentateuch, while Judges, Samuel, and Kings are probably the work of three separate compilers, the last of whom must have lived after the conquest of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, the second towards the close of the reign of David, and the first perhaps among the sons of the prophets of whom we read in the days of Samuel. The Talmud ascribes the Book of Judges to Samuel, and the Book of Kings to Jeremiah. The Books of Samuel are clearly written from another point of view than the Kings. One proof of this is that the compiler of Samuel mentions without disapproval the worship at the high places, while in the Kings we constantly find (1 K. iii. 2; xiv. 23; xv. 14, &c.) this worship represented as the great blot on reigns in Judah marked otherwise by much zeal for pure religion.

The collection of the writings of the "later prophets" must have been a work of some considerable time. The last three of the minor Prophets date after the return from Babylon, while the work of Ezekiel may have been

brought into its form by the writer himself during his residence in exile. The Book of Jeremiah, in which the order of prophecies in the Septuagint differs considerably from their arrangement in the Hebrew text, may have been entrusted to Baruch, and another copy perhaps to some of those who went down into Egypt, and the double arrangement may be accounted for as having been carried out in two separate places, Babylon and Egypt. We may be sure that the writings of Isaiah and the earlier prophets were preserved in like manner by *disciples*, and there is little doubt that among the followers of "the men of Hezekiah" there would be many to collect and preserve this literature previous to the national overthrow. There is still much controversy about the integrity of Isaiah and also of Zechariah, opinion inclining in both cases to a double authorship. There is no question about any other Book except that of Jonah, which has been placed in the Canon rather as dealing with the history of one of the Prophets, than as being the work of the Prophet himself.

The contents of the third division of the Hebrew Bible are very varied, and seem to show in many ways that this part was not finally closed at as early a period as the other two. We have in it poetry, prophecy, history, and philosophic teaching, and it is not easy to find a principle on which, as in the two former divisions, the Books are formed into one collection. First stand the Psalms, divided into five books: viz. Bk. 1, Pss. i.–xli.; Bk. 2, xlii.–lxxii.; Bk. 3, lxxiii.–lxxxix.; Bk. 4, xc.–cvi.; Bk. 5, cvii.–cl. The whole volume of the Psalms is called in Hebrew תְּהִלִּים, "Praises," and it is by the titles of many of the Psalms, and by the note at the close of Psalm lxxii. "The Prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended," that these poems are connected specially with the name of David. It is probable that they were gathered at two or three times. The first collection most likely consisted of those which David wrote for the service of the Temple. These may have been gathered by Solomon, and perhaps form the main part of Book 1. The next period of activity in provision for the music of the Temple-worship appears to have been in the days of Hezekiah, to whose scribes (Proverbs xxv. 1) we may perhaps set down the collection of such of David's Psalms as were not contained in the earlier service book and also of the Psalms of Asaph. These, with additions, form Books 2 and 3, and it was perhaps not before the days of Nehemiah (2 Macc ii. 13) that a further collection was undertaken, and even then the Psalm-book may have been left open to accept further additions, if, as many suppose, there are in it a few Psalms which suit best with the events of Maccabean times. The division into five Books was probably made to match in the Psalter the five Books of the Law. According to the titles affixed to the Psalms, David is said to have written seventy-three, and his singers—Asaph, Ethan, and the sons of Korah—twenty-four. Two are ascribed to Solomon (viz. lxxii. and cxxvii.), and one (Ps. xc.) to "Moses the man of God." In the title of Ps. cxxxvii. the Septuagint joins Jeremiah's name to that of David, and mentions Haggai and Zechariah as authors of the Psalms cxxxviii. and cxlvi.–cxlviii. About one-third of the Psalms have no title or ascription. Sometimes the titles may be accepted as genuine or as representing very early tradition, but in some cases they are only of late origin and the result of conjecture. No authority should be attached to them except after they have been subjected to strict criticism.

The poetical genius of David was succeeded by a philosophic mind in his son Solomon, to whom we owe a large part of the Proverbs, which Book stands next in the Hagiographa. The word *Mashal*, a proverb, from which the Hebrew name of the Book is derived, implies primarily sententious wisdom conveyed under the form of a comparison or simile, and then the more general proverbial utterance, a wise thought tersely expressed, even when there is contained in it nothing of the nature of a simile. The Book, though ascribed in the title to Solomon, is made up of several parts. The first section extends from ch. i.–ix., the next from x.–xxiv. 22, and this portion is specially marked as the "Proverbs of Solomon." The first clause of xxiv. 23, rendered in the A. V. "These things also belong to the wise," but which would be better translated "These also are sayings of the wise," marks the commencement of a short appendix (xxiv. 23–34), which contains words of the same character as what precede, though not perhaps so generally attributed to Solomon. From xxv. 1–xxix. 27 we have additional proverbs ascribed to Solomon, which were collected at a later period by "the men of Hezekiah." Then follow "the words of Agur" (xxx. 1–33), though some would render the first words of verse 15 "the proverbs of Alukah," and so break up the chapter into two parts; and lastly "the words of king Lemuel" (xxxi. 1–31), though it may be that the alphabetical acrostic containing the character of the virtuous woman (*vv.* 10–31) is an independent composition, the author of which is left unnamed. The brevity of these final pieces suggests that when the Book was being closed there were added to the Salomonic portions such passages of the same nature as time had consecrated and made a permanent part of the national literature.

The Book of Job has its name from the person whose history forms its subject, and whose trials gave rise to the debate contained therein. The Rabbinical tradition that Moses was the author is not to be regarded, the philosophic character of the discussion pointing to an age as late as, if not later than, that of Solomon. But though the style may indicate a somewhat late date for the composition, Job himself may have lived in very early times; and the history, which the writer of the Book has used for the basis of his discussion, may have been for a long time part of the national store. The introductory portion and the conclusion are in prose, Job's lament and the debate with his friends in poetry; and the Book seems to have been written at some period of national suffering when problems concerning the dealings of Providence were forced upon the mind, both with reference to the people at large and to individuals.

Of the five Rolls two are ascribed to Solomon, viz. the Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes, but there has been much doubt expressed whether in

these Books some later writers have not adopted the name of Solomon to give a dignity to their composition, though never intending that the reader should accept the impersonation for a real fact. These doubts have been strengthened by the discussions, already alluded to, which prevailed among the Jews concerning the canonicity of these Books. With regard to the Song of Songs there has been a further discussion whether the language should be interpreted allegorically of the love of Christ for His Church, in which case it is wonderful that St. Paul, who uses the figure of the marriage bond so constantly in illustration of the union between the Church and her Lord, should have made no quotation from a Book so filled with the same imagery; or whether the work should be regarded literally as a pastoral poem, painting in Oriental figures the struggles and triumph of a pure affection. It seems justifiable to allow to writers of Scripture, where there is no design of deception, the literary privileges of which other writers avail themselves, and that therefore we are not bound by the form adopted in these two books to accept them as Solomon's own composition.

The Book of Ruth is a connecting link between Judges and the history of David contained in Samuel, and so is counted by the Jews along with the former Book. The Lamentations are probably the work of Jeremiah, as the prefatory verse, with which the Book is introduced in the Septuagint, represents them to be. The Book of Esther is one of the latest of the canonical Scriptures, written perhaps in the reign of Xerxes or of his son Artaxerxes Longimanus. It is intended to account for the observance of the feast of Purim (2 Macc. xv. 36), and explains the cause of its institution. The absence of the Divine name from the whole Book may perhaps best be accounted for by regarding it as drawn from Persian records. Of the author nothing is known, but it is one of those Books which, dealing with the history of the Exile and the Return, were favourite subjects with the restored people, and which were amplified in later times by additions which appear in the Greek of the Septuagint Version. The like amplification has happened to the Book of Daniel and to Ezra and Nehemiah's narrative, and from the same cause.

The order in which these five rolls are placed in our Hebrew Bibles (though not observed in all MSS.) is the order of the yearly feasts at which they are severally read; Canticles being read at the feast of the Passover, Ruth at Pentecost, Lamentations on the 9th of Ab (the anniversary of the destruction of the holy Temple, and for other reasons a black day in Jewish history), Ecclesiastes at the feast of Tabernacles, and Esther at Purim.

The Haggadic additions to Daniel and Ezra-Nehemiah have just been alluded to. That the former of these was a Book which it delighted the people so to expand with legend is probably the reason why it is found among the Kethubim, and not placed with Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi among the Prophets. The quasi-historical character of much of the matter in Daniel may be another reason for its position. The Book of Ezra is a historic compilation from several sources, one part (ch. ii. and iii. 1) being identical with the seventh chapter of Nehemiah, while other portions are perhaps drawn from writings by Haggai and Daniel, while the four closing chapters are made up of Ezra's own history, and the whole was probably put into one narrative at a somewhat later date than Ezra's time, with the view of forming a continuation to the Books of Chronicles.

The Book of Nehemiah was always counted as one with the preceding. It consists in the main of personal narrative by Nehemiah concerning those events in the restoration of the people and the rebuilding of Jerusalem in which the writer himself took part; but the text, from vii. 6 to xii. 47, is composed of documents which have been inserted into the first narrative from national records and genealogies, with a view of giving more completeness to the history. There is one indication that this portion must have been allowed to be augmented by annotators till a comparatively late date; for in xii. 11, among the high priests we come upon the name of Jaddua, who, we know, was a contemporary of Alexander the Great. But whether only a few names, in this place, were inserted at so late a period, or a larger part of the inserted materials was then introduced, we are not able to judge, though about the authority of the sources from whence these were drawn there can be no question, while the first six chapters and those portions of chapter xii. where Nehemiah speaks in the first person and the whole of the last chapter have always been received as the genuine work of Nehemiah.

The two Books of Chronicles, placed last in order in the Hebrew Bible, have been assigned to Ezra, and their composition may very well be placed about that date. There occurs however in one place (1 Ch. iii. 22, 24) a genealogy, that of Zerubbabel, which is carried down to a much later time, but this may be explained in the same way as the occurrence of Jaddua's name in Nehemiah. The Books were written that the genealogies of the Levites might be known, and so the Temple might be served by the proper officers and in their due courses. The early chapters of the first Book are occupied with these registers, and the remainder is devoted to a history of the kingdom of the house of David, introduced by a brief mention of the first king, Saul. Such a history was calculated both to comfort and to warn the newly-returned people, by showing from the past what sins had led to the downfall of the people, and yet how, on their repentance, God had not forsaken them, but brought them again to Jerusalem, in the way set forth by the narrative of Ezra-Nehemiah.

We do not find for the Old Testament, what exists for the New, a definite date at which the Canon is known to have been authoritatively closed. We are therefore compelled to go back from post-Christian times to arrive at any conclusion on the subject. The first witness of importance is Jerome, who died A.D. 420. He has preserved for us, in his *Prologus Galeatus*, a list of the Books acknowledged in his day by the Jews. He says they are generally reckoned as twenty-two, viz. five Books of Moses, eight of the Prophets, and nine of the Hagiographa. But, he adds, some separate Ruth from Judges and Lamentations from Jeremiah, and thus make the number of the Books to be twenty-four. Jerome's list, it will be seen, embraces all the

writings of the Old Testament, and it represents, there is no doubt, a traditional canon of a much earlier date.

Origen's list, which is preserved for us by Eusebius (*H. E.* vi. 25), goes back to a time a century and a half before Jerome. It is substantially the same as his, stating that the Books are twenty-two in number, and combining Ruth with Judges and Lamentations with Jeremiah. A slip of the scribe has made the Books enumerated to be only twenty-one, for the Book of the twelve minor Prophets is unmentioned. But though Origen's Greek is lost, we have Ruffinus' translation of it, in which the omission is supplied, and the list made identical with Jerome's.

A still earlier list, made by Melito bishop of Sardis, is also given by Eusebius (*H. E.* iv. 26). Melito lived somewhere in the latter half of the 2nd century. His list does not state how many Books were reckoned in the Canon, but he mentions the five Books of Moses, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, four Books of Kings, two of Chronicles, the Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Job, Isaiah, Jeremiah, twelve minor Prophets in one Book, Daniel, Ezekiel, Esdras. The last named no doubt included Nehemiah, and probably also Esther, which otherwise does not appear. All the other Books (Jeremiah, including Lamentations), though in a different order, find a place in Melito's canon.

This brings us back to Josephus, whose enumeration has been already mentioned, and shown to accord with our present list. But Jewish evidence goes farther than this. For in the prologue of Ecclesiasticus we find allusion to a translation of these same Books made at least a century and a half before Christ. The writer of this prologue, Jesus the son of Sirach, speaks of his grandfather having "much given himself to the reading of the Law, and the Prophets, and other Books of our fathers," and how he was in consequence drawn to write something himself. This sentence points to the threefold division of the Jewish sacred Books as known to the writer of Ecclesiasticus. Shortly afterwards the prologue speaks of these same writings, "the Law itself and the Prophets and the rest of the Books," as being translated, and says, "They have no small difference when they are spoken in their own language." The writer to whom we owe these remarks lived about 132 B.C. in the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes II., and from his words we may almost certainly conclude that the Septuagint Version had by his day been brought to a completion. That Version embraces all the Books of the Old Testament accepted by the Christian Church. Beyond this we cannot go.

The statements which are found in Rabbinical writings concerning the non-acceptance, even in Christian times, of such works as Ecclesiastes and the Song of Solomon, must be taken to mean no more than that, as in the case of the New Testament, so with the Old, one or two Books belonged to a class of *ἀντιλεγόμενα*. They were widely received, but not everywhere nor by all. But the Greek translators counted them as of the Canon, and supplied a version of them as they had done of the Books universally received.

II. The New Testament, like the Old, comprises several Books, by various writers, but the whole was in all probability composed within the last half of the first century of our era. Much more time elapsed, however, before these works were all gathered into one collection, and stamped with authority as canonical writings. A recently discovered work, *The Teaching of the Apostles*, shows that in the very early years of the 2nd century only a small part of our present Canon was known to that portion of the Christian Church to which the writer of this treatise belonged. The Canon now includes twenty-seven separate writings, the works of eight or nine different authors. Most of them were accepted in some portion of Christendom at a very early period of Church history, though a few only gained general acceptance after the lapse of some centuries. It is in the 4th century that we first find a list of New Testament Books containing all the present Canon. At the Council of Laodicea (A.D. 363) a list of Books was accepted "which should be read in the Church;" and of our present Books only the Apocalypse was there omitted. This Book is found included, thirty-four years later (A.D. 397), in the list accepted at the Council of Carthage. The Books about which any question was raised in the Church, and which are called by Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 25) *ἀντιλεγόμενα*, are the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistles of St. James and St. Jude, the Second Epistle of St. Peter, the Second and Third Epistles of St. John, and the Apocalypse.

In our English Bibles these various Books are arranged according to their subject-matter, the historical Books standing first, followed by the letters of St. Paul and the other Apostles, and the volume is concluded by the Apocalypse, which, being largely eschatological, seems to claim the last place in the volume. It is, however, quite certain that letters from the Apostles were written to the Churches which they had founded or in which they had preached the Gospel, some time before the need was felt for any history of the life of Christ, or of the foundation of the Christian society. Some of St. Paul's Epistles are generally accepted as the earliest in order of time of all our Christian writings, and the dates at which they were produced range most probably from A.D. 52, when the first letter to the Thessalonians was sent from Corinth, down to A.D. 67, when the Second Epistle to Timothy was despatched from Rome during that second imprisonment which was terminated by St. Paul's martyrdom. The other Books were produced at various times within and subsequent to these dates.

Of the Gospels it is certain that St. John's was written later than the other three, and probably almost as late as any Book in the New Testament Canon. The other three Gospels, called Synoptic, because they treat mainly of the same part of Christ's history, viz. His life in and around Galilee, and so may be studied together, are yet written each from a different point of view. St. Matthew writes for Jews, and so deals with all that would carry most conviction to that people that Jesus was the promised Messiah. St. Luke as clearly was writing for the Gentile world and from the point of view of a non-Jew; while St. Mark is a Jew, writing probably for some Hellenic Church, and brings out especially all that bespeaks the divinity of Jesus.

The Acts of the Apostles is, as its introduction intimates, a continuation of the Gospel narrative, by adding to the recital of what Jesus did and taught, a history of what was done and taught by those who immediately followed Him, showing how they fulfilled His parting command to preach first in Jerusalem and throughout Judea, then in Samaria and Galilee, and afterwards to go forth to the uttermost parts of the earth.

The letters of St. Paul, much more than those which bear the names of the other Apostles, were directed to special circumstances in the state of those Churches to which they were addressed. Sometimes they are letters of rebuke for errors which were creeping into the midst of a congregation, sometimes they are written in answer to questions addressed to the Apostle, sometimes they are letters of encouragement, and of thanks to the brethren for acts of kindness shown to St. Paul himself, and sometimes more than one of these features are exhibited in the same epistle. The Pastoral Letters (to Timothy and Titus) contain advice to those disciples for the government of the Churches over which they had been placed by St. Paul himself.

The Epistle to the Hebrews, sometimes assigned to St. Paul, is now more generally thought to have been written by some Christian of Alexandria, perhaps Apollos, to whom St. Paul's arguments and the Jewish Scriptures were extremely familiar, and who was possessed of a style and knowledge calculated to commend the advances which Christianity had made beyond the Jewish faith and practice, and to convince men that, even though faith in Him brought with it a great conflict of suffering, Christ was a precious gain to those who had laid hold on Him.

The other Epistles of the New Testament are often styled Catholic, because they are addressed to the Church of Christ at large, and not to any special congregation. The name applies well enough to all but the Second and Third Epistles of St. John, one of which is written to a Christian lady and her children, the other to an individual Christian.

The Apocalypse commences with exhortations and warnings to the Churches then existing in Asia, and advances in prophetic strain to picture the trials and victories of Christ's Church throughout all time. The date of this work, which seems much more to lean on the Jewish economy than *does* St. John's Gospel, ought almost certainly to be placed before the destruction of Jerusalem.

All the original autographs of the New Testament writings have, as was very likely to be the case, perished long ago, but many MSS. of comparatively early date are still in existence, some going back to within less than a century of the time when the Canon was settled at the Council of Carthage. These MSS. are of two kinds. The earliest in date are written in capital letters, and have no separation between the different words. These are called *uncials*, from the character of the writing. By the 9th century, however, a running hand, which combined the letters of each word together, had superseded the more cumbrous early writing, and MSS. in that hand (styled *cursive*) are much more numerous than the uncials; but, as being made many centuries later, they have the chance of being heirs to an abundant store of copyists' blunders. The principal uncials known at present are distinguished as A, B, C, D, and ℵ. The first is the Codex Alexandrinus in the British Museum, of which copies have lately been produced in facsimile by photography. B is the Codex Vaticanus at Rome; C the Codex Ephraemi, which is at Paris; and D the Codex Bezae, in the University Library at Cambridge. ℵ is the Codex Sinaiticus, discovered at a monastery on Mount Sinai by Dr. Tischendorf, and since edited by him. Recent scholarship has given a decided preference to the text of B, and, next to that, *the* text of ℵ. Of uncial MSS. about a score are known, but many of these are fragmentary and contain only small portions of the text. So also are most of the cursives, though about thirty, out of a total of nearly a thousand, have the text entire.

Besides MSS. we can learn something of the character of the earliest text from Versions that have been made of it, of which the earliest Latin, the Syriac, and those Versions in the languages of Egypt are the most important. Latin Versions were first made in Northern Africa for the use of Christian congregations in Carthage and elsewhere. There exist in whole or part three Syriac Versions, the earliest of which must have been made in the 2nd century; while the 2nd and 3rd centuries produced the Egyptian Versions, of which the Coptic is of the greatest antiquity. It is not possible to arrive at certainty from Versions as to what the original Greek text must have been, but they are often very helpful in deciding which readings may safely be rejected.

A third aid to the study of the text is found in the quotations made from it in the writings of the early Fathers. But this source of help is not so valuable as it might be judged to be, because the earlier authors were not so much concerned about verbal accuracy in their quotations, as to give the drift of the passage on which they were dwelling. Hence they appear often to have quoted from memory, the same writer giving on different occasions slightly varying readings of the same text.

Yet by means of these helps to criticism it is well-nigh certain in every passage what the original text of the New Testament was. There is probably not more than one word in a thousand about which any serious doubt can remain as to what the true reading must have been.

On the Old Testament the student may refer with advantage to some of the earlier *Einleitungen*—as Eichhorn (Göttingen, 1823–24); De Wette (Berlin, 1844); Hävernick (Erlangen, 1836); Hengstenberg (Berlin, 1831–39): and concerning more recent investigations, to the writings of Prof. Kuenen of Leyden, and of Dr. J. Wellhausen of Marburg, a condensed sketch of whose opinions are given in his article *Israel*, in the tenth edition of the *Encyc. Brit.*; and to the works of Dr. W. Robertson Smith, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, and *The Prophets of Israel*.

For the New Testament the *Prolegomena* of Mill (Oxford, 1707) and of Wetstein (Amsterdam, 1730) are still valuable. Further information will be found in the *Introduction to the New Testament*, by Dr. Salmon. [J. R. L.]

The preceding article is intended to give only a general view of the subject. It must be supplemented by the articles CANON, OLD TESTAMENT, NEW TESTAMENT, SEPTUAGINT, VULGATE, VERSIONS (ANCIENT), and by the special articles on the separate Books of the Bible.
[EDD.]

BICH'RI (בִּכְרִי; BA. Βαχορεί; *Bichri* and *Bochri*; *first-born*, Sim.; *youthful*, Gesen., Fürst; but perhaps rather *son of Becher*), ancestor of Sheba (2 Sam. xx. 1 ff.). [BECHER.] [A. C. H.]

BID'KAR (בִּדְקַר, Ges. [Treg. and MV.[11]] = בֶּן־דְּקַר [cp. 1 K. iv. 9, R. V.], *a piercer*, but this abbreviation of בן into ב is questioned by Olshausen, *Lehrb. d. Heb. Sprache*, p. 613; B. Βαδεκά, B[b]A. = -καρ, B[ams]. Βαλεκάρ; Joseph. Βαδάκρος; *Badacer*), Jehu's "captain" (שָׁלִישׁ; Joseph. ὁ τῆς τρίτης μοίρας ἡγεμών, *Ant.* ix. 6, § 3), originally his fellow-officer (2 K. ix. 25); who completed the sentence on Jehoram son of Ahab, by casting his body into the field of Naboth after Jehu had transfixed him with an arrow. [W. A. W.] [F.]

BIER. [BURIAL.]

BIG'THA (בִּגְתָא, of uncertain meaning, see Oettli [Strack u. Zöckler's *Kjf. Komm.* in loco]. Ges. connects it, Bigthan, and Abagtha with a Pers. root signifying "fortunate." MV.[11] and Bertheau-Ryssel = *God-given*; Βαραζί; *Bagatha*), one of the seven "chamberlains" (סָרִיסִים, eunuchs) of the harem of Ahasuerus (Esth. i. 10). [F. W. F.]

BIG'THAN and **BIGTHA'NA** (בִּגְתָן, Esth. ii. 21, and בִּגְתָנָא, vi. 2; *Bagathan*, the same as Abagtha in i. 10), an eunuch (chamberlain, A. V.) in the court of Ahasuerus, one of the seven "who kept the door" (marg. "threshold," ἀρχισωματοφύλακες, LXX.), and who conspired with Teresh, one of his coadjutors, against the king's life. The conspiracy was detected by Mordecai, and the eunuchs hung, *i.e.* crucified, or impaled (Herod. iii. 120; Thuc. i. 110, &c.). Prideaux (*Con.* i. 363) supposes that these officers had been partially superseded by the degradation of Vashti and the elevation of Mordecai, and sought revenge by the murder of Ahasuerus. The suggestion falls in with that of the Chaldee Vs., and of the LXX., which in Esth. ii. 21 interpolates the words ἐλυπήθησαν οἱ δύο εὐνοῦχοι τοῦ βασίλεως . . . ὅτι προήχθη Μορδοχαῖος. The name is omitted by the LXX., on both occasions. Bigthan is probably derived from the Persian and Sanskrit *Bagadâta*, "a gift of fortune" (Gesen.-Treg. after Bohlen, *s. v.* See BIGTHA). Ahasuerus (if Xerxes be intended by this name) afterwards fell a victim to the conspiracy of an eunuch (Ctesias, *Pers.* 29; Arist. *Polit.* v. 10; Diod. Sic. xi. 69). [F. W. F.]

BIG'VAI (בִּגְוַי, probably from the Pers., *happy*. Cp. the name Βαγαῖος [Her. iii. 128]; *Beguai*, *Begoai*).

1. "Children of Bigvai," 2056 (Neh. 2067) in number, returned from the Captivity with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii. 14 [B. Βαογεί, A[vid]. Βαγουά]; Neh. vii. 19 [א. Βαγοεί, A. Βαγουεί, B. Βατοεί]), and 72 of them at a later date with Ezra (Ezra viii. 14 [B. Βαγοουθί, A. Γαβουαεί]). [BAGOI; BAGO.]

2. Apparently one of the chiefs of Zerubbabel's expedition (Ezra ii. 2 [A. Βαγουά, B. Βατουσί]; Neh. vii. 7 [BN. Βατοεί, A. Βαγουαί]), and who afterwards signed the covenant (Neh. x. 16 [B. Βαγοσί, NA. Βαγοεί]). [F. W. F.] [F.]

BIL'DAD (בִּלְדַד = *Bel hath loved* [cp. Eldad], Nöldeke, *ZDMG.* 1888, p. 479; Βαλδάδ; *Baldad*), the second of Job's three friends. He is called the "Shuhite" (הַשּׁוּחִי, which implies both his family and nation. Shuah was the name of a son of Abraham and Keturah, and of an Arabian tribe sprung from him, when he had been sent eastward by his father. Gesen. (*s. v.*) supposes it to be "the same as the Σακκαία of Ptolemy (v. 15) to the east of Batanea," and therefore to the east of the land of Uz [SHUAH: Fried. Delitzsch (*ZKF.* ii. 91, &c.) identifies this with Sûḥu on the Euphrates, south of Carchemish]. The LXX., strangely enough, renders it ὁ τῶν Σαυχέων τύραννος, appearing to intend a distinction between him and the other friends, whom in the same verse it calls βασιλεῖς (Job ii. 11).

Bildad takes a share in each of the three controversies with Job (viii. xviii. xxv.). He follows in the train of Eliphaz, but with more violent declamation, less argument, and keener invective. He relies much on proverbial wisdom (viii. 11–18; xviii. 4–20), and represents the orthodox sage; whereas Eliphaz is more of the prophet and Zophar of the formalist (see Cox on Job). Bildad's address is abrupt and untender, and in his very first speech he cruelly attributes the death of Job's children to their own transgressions; and loudly calls on Job to repent of his supposed crimes. His second speech (ch. xviii.) merely recapitulates his former assertions of the temporal calamities of the wicked; on this occasion he implies, without expressing, Job's wickedness, and does not condescend to exhort him to repentance. In the third speech (ch. xxv.), unable to refute the sufferer's arguments, he takes refuge in irrelevant dogmatism on God's glory and man's nothingness, which is practically an admission of defeat: in reply to which Job justly reproves him both for deficiency in argument and failure in charitable forbearance. Cp. Ewald, *Das Buch Ijob*; Bradley, *The Book of Job*, on chs. viii., xviii., xxv. [F. W. F.]

BIL'EAM (בִּלְעָם; A. Ἰβλαάμ, B. om.; *Baalam*), a town in the western half of the tribe of Manasseh, named only in 1 Ch. vi. 70, as being given (with its "suburbs") to the Kohathites. In the lists in Josh. xvii. 11 and xxi. 24 this name does not appear, but Ibleam (LXX. om.) is probably, by an easy change of letters, the same place [IBLEAM]. [G.] [W.]

BIL'GAH (בִּלְגָּה, Ges. = *cheerfulness*; A. Βελγά, B. Ἐμμήρ; *Belga*). **1.** A priest in the time of David; the head of the fifteenth course for the Temple-service (1 Ch. xxiv. 14).

2. A priest who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel and Joshua (Neh. xii. 5 [N[c.am.gnp]

Βαλγάς, om. BA.], 18 [$\aleph^{c.\text{ampl}}$ Βαλγάς, B$\aleph^{*}$A. ωμ.; *Belgae*]); probably the same who, under the slightly altered name BILGAI, sealed the covenant (Neh. x. 8 [B. Βελσειά, $\aleph$. Βελσιά, A. Βελγαί; *Belgai*]). [W. A. W.] [F.]

BIL'GAI (בִּלְגַי), Neh. x. 8; probably the same as BILGAH, 2.

BIL'HAH (בִּלְהָה, perhaps *simple;* Βαλλά; *Bala*). **1.** Handmaid of Rachel (Gen. xxix. 29), and concubine of Jacob, to whom she bore Dan and Naphtali (Gen. xxx. 3–8, xxxv. 25, xlvi. 25; 1 Ch. vii. 13). Her stepson Reuben afterwards lay with her (Gen. xxxv. 22), which entailed a curse upon Reuben (Gen. xlix. 4).

2. A town of the Simeonites (1 Ch. iv. 29; B. Ἀβελλά, A. Βαλαά; *Bala*); also called Baalah and Balah. [BAAL, p. 308, No. 2, *b*.] [W. A. W.] [F.]

BIL'HAN (בִּלְהָן; *Balaan, Balan;* the same root as Bilhah, Gen. xxx. 3, &c.). The final ן is evidently a Horite termination, as in Zaavan, Akan, Dishan, Aran, Lotan, Alvan, Hemdan, Eshban, &c.; and may be compared with the Etruscan *ena*, Greek α(ν)ς, ων, &c. It is frequent in the Tema-inscriptions (cp. *Studia Biblica* [1885], p. 214.—S. R. D.).

1. A Horite chief, son of Ezer, son of Seir, dwelling in Mount Seir, in the land of Edom (Gen. xxxvi. 27 [A. Βαλαάν, L^{ed}E. -αμ]; 1 Ch. i. 42 [B. Βαλαάμ, A. -αν]).

2. A Benjamite, son of Jediael (1 Ch. vii. 10 [BA. Βαλαάν]). It does not appear clearly from which of the sons of Benjamin Jediael was descended, as he is not mentioned in Gen. xlvi. 21, or Num. xxvi. But as he was the father of Ehud (*v.* 10), and Ehud seems, from 1 Ch. viii. 3, 6, to have been a son of Bela, Jediael, and consequently Bilhan, were probably Belaites. The occurrence of Bilhan as well as Bela in the tribe of Benjamin, names both imported from Edom, is remarkable. [A. C. H.] [F.]

BIL'SHAN (בִּלְשָׁן, if = בֶּן־לְשָׁן, then *eloquent*, but see BIDKAR; *Belsan*), one of Zerubbabel's companions on his expedition from Babylon (Ezra ii. 2 [B. Βασφάμ, A. Βαλασάν]; Neh. vii. 7 [B. Βαλσάν, $\aleph$. Βασφάν, A. Βαασάν]). [F.]

BIM'HAL (בִּמְהָל, if = בֶּן־מַהַל, then *circumcised*, but see BIDKAR; B. Ἰμαβαήλ, A. Βαμαήλ; *Chamaal*), one of the sons of Japhlet in the line of Asher (1 Ch. vii. 33). [W. A. W.]

BIN'EA (בִּנְעָא; *Banaa*), the son of Moza; one of the descendants of Saul (1 Ch. viii. 37 [B. Βανά, A. Βαανά]; ix. 43 [B$\aleph$. Βαανά, A. Βανά]). [W. A. W.]

BIN'NUI (בִּנּוּי=*a building*, perhaps with reference to the formation of a family [cp. Gen. xxx. 3, R. V. marg.], a name frequent after the Exile. **1.** A Levite, father of Noadiah, in Ezra's time (Ezra viii. 33; B. Ἐβαννάιδ, A. υἱὸς Βαναιά; *Bennoi*).

2. One of the sons of Pahath-moab, who had taken a foreign wife (Ezra x. 30; B$\aleph$. Θανουέλ, A. Βανουί; *Bennui*). [BALNUUS.]

3. Another Israelite, of the sons of Bani, who had also taken a foreign wife (Ezra x. 38; B$\aleph$A. Βανούι; *Bennui*).

4. Altered from BANI in the corresponding list in Ezra (Neh. vii. 15 [B$\aleph$A. Βανουί; *Bannui*]).

5. A Levite, son of Henadad, who assisted at the reparation of the wall of Jerusalem, under Nehemiah (Neh. iii. 24 [B$\aleph$A. Βανεί; *Bennui*]; x. 9 [BA. Βαναιού, $\aleph^{\text{ca}}$. Ἀβαναιού; *Bennui*]). Possibly the same as the Levite Binnui in xii. 8 [B$\aleph$A. Βανουί; *Bennui*]. [W. A. W.] [F.]

BIRDS (עוֹף, צִפּוֹר, עַיִט, בָּזָךְ, בַּעַל כָּנָף; *'Oph, tzippor, 'ayit, ba'al-chânâph;* τὰ πετεινά, τὰ ὄρνεα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ὄρνις, ὀρνίθιον; *volucris, avis*). עוף, from the root עוף, *'ooph*, "to fly," the same as the Arabic عاف, *'aph*, is frequently used of birds in general; and it is not pretended by any that it denotes any particular species. צִפּוֹר, which occurs upwards of forty times in the O. T., equivalent to the Arabic صفر, *scfar*, "to whistle," is everywhere translated "bird" or "fowl" except in two passages where it is given as "sparrow," a rendering more accurately expressive of its real meaning. The Hebrews, like the modern Orientals, seem to have been singularly unobservant of the distinctions of the vast number of species of passerine birds. With the exception of a few very striking and conspicuous species, as the swallows, swift, and starling, they were all included as *tzippor*, "sparrows;" just as the Arabs and Syrians speak of them all as عصفور, *'asfûr*, i.e. "sparrow," yet when the distinctions are pointed out, recognise them at once as a kind of *'asfûr*. The word may be taken, with the consent of all the critics, as the common name of all small perching birds, though especially applied to the sparrow. Bochart, while explaining the word as including all passerine birds, adduces and discusses at some length nine passages, where with more or less reason the sparrow is specifically intended; but it is unnecessary to enter upon these. The Greeks used στρουθίον with exactly the same indefiniteness and latitude. [See SPARROW, under which the small birds are more fully treated of.]

עַיִט, *'ayit*, is translated "bird" by the A. V. in Jer. xii. 9, by R. V. "bird of prey;" elsewhere "fowls," always denoting birds of prey, from the root עיט, "to rush on the prey." In each passage where it occurs, some familiar characteristic of raptorial birds is referred to, but nothing which points to any particular species. "When the fowls (*'ayit*) came down upon the carcases, Abram drove them away" (Gen. xv. 11). "There is a path which no fowl (*'ayit*) knoweth, and which the vulture's eye hath not seen" (Job xxviii. 7). In the former passage, the habit of the various species of eagles and vultures congregating over a carcase is referred to, in the second the wonderful power of distant vision. Raptorial birds do not detect their prey by scent, but by vision. No blast which falls in the night, although it be close to a griffin's roosting-place, where the birds are often astir, is attacked till morning, save by the jackals and hyaenas; but if it be during the day, although there may not be a vulture in the sky which the human eye can detect, within a few minutes a speck will appear

overhead, and a vulture will wheel and circle in rapid downward flight, followed in rapid succession from all quarters by a motley crowd of carrion feeders, kites, buzzards, eagles, crows: "Wherever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together."

The track of a wounded deer or gazelle can be descried by the vulture from a height where it cannot itself be detected by any human eyes.

In Is. xviii. 6, "The fowls shall summer upon them," we have another well-known habit of birds of prey alluded to. The Ethiopian enemies of Israel are to be stripped like a vine, of foliage, sprigs, and branches—only a bare stem is to be left, and on this the buzzard shall perch. No large raptorial bird will settle on a green tree if a dead stump or bare pole is in the neighbourhood, a fact which is often taken advantage of by fowlers in setting their snares for these birds.

בַּעַל כָּנָף, *ba'al chânâph*, i.e. *possessor of wings*, is used in Prov. i. 17, and is a poetical expression denoting generally all birds (cp. Eccles. x. 20 Heb.)

In the summary of the history of Creation in Genesis, birds are described as having been created on the fifth day, from the waters, immediately after sea-monsters, reptiles, and fishes, and before the beasts of the earth (Mammalia), which preceded man on the sixth day.

The recently exhumed Assyrian tablets of the Creation are unfortunately deficient, so far as has yet been ascertained, in that portion which relates to the work of the fifth day as recorded in Genesis. But the seventh tablet in the series discovered by the late G. Smith at Kouyunjik, though only a fragment, records the creation of "cattle of the field, beasts of the field, and creeping things of the field," exactly in the same order as in Genesis, and also refers to the previous creation of "the strong monsters" (G. Smith, *Chaldaean Account of Genesis*, p. 76).

The reference in the tablet to the satisfaction which a former creation, apparently that of sea-monsters or whales, had given the Creator, is parallel to Gen. i. 23; and if the missing tablet be ever discovered, there is reason to expect that we shall find the creation of birds in the same order as given in Genesis. Cp. Sayce, *Religion of the ancient Babylonians*, p. 388, &c.; *Records of the Past*, N. S. i. 129.

As a matter of fact, this order of bird creation is in exact accord with the geological record. The earliest undoubted appearance of birds in our fossil remains is in the Oolitic deposits, where at Solenhofen, in Bavaria, the fossilised remains of a bird, known as *Archaeopteryx*, were discovered in 1861. Some supposed footprints of birds had been found in the triassic formation in the valley of the Connecticut in 1835; but most palaeontologists are now agreed in referring them to gigantic reptiles and not to birds. Thus the first appearance of a bird is exactly where it is placed in the Mosaic record, immediately following the great reptilian epoch. The *Archaeopteryx* has many curious reptilian peculiarities, especially the long lizard-like tail of twenty vertebrae, from each of which springs a pair of well-developed rectrices or tail feathers. The unique specimen is now in the British Museum. More remains of birds—some of them resembling or allied to Penguins, Cormorants, Divers, Rails, and Waders—have been found in the Cretaceous or Chalk deposits; and still more in the Eocene, some of which retain the reptilian character and have their jaws or beaks armed with true teeth. Still more numerous are the birds of the Meiocene deposits, and they are still more closely allied to our existing forms; no less than forty-four existing genera being represented in the lacustrine deposits of Auvergne, in the neighbourhood of Mentz, in the freshwater formations of Berne and Provence, in Greece, the Himalayas, and North America. After this the Pleiocene and Postpleiocene forms rapidly become closely allied to living species; with which in the cave deposits and kitchen middens they are for the most part identical. It is interesting to observe that in the Oceanic islands, such as the Mauritius and the other Mascarene Islands, and in New Zealand, which mammalia had scarcely reached when first discovered by man, the highest forms of life were birds, many of them incapable of flight, and of gigantic size, side by side with gigantic tortoises and reptiles. To these places the products of the sixth day's creation had not reached.

The birds of Palestine are exceptionally numerous and varied for so small a region, 348 species having been already recorded from that country. Ornithologically, Palestine belongs to what is termed by naturalists "the Palae-arctic region," *i.e.* Europe; Africa north of the Sahara, but not Egypt; Asia Minor, Syria, Persia, and all Asia north of the Himalayas and North China. But of this region Palestine is almost an outlying province, impinging as it does on Egypt, which belongs to the Ethiopian region on one side, and on the Indian region on another. In winter, the bird population of Palestine is chiefly composed of hordes of European migrants of all orders and families, which seek refuge there. When spring returns, these begin for the most part to troop northwards, and the native or truly indigenous birds take their places, largely reinforced by summer migrants from the south. Still the seaboard and the interior, until the western limits of the Jordan valley are reached, are purely Palae-arctic in their character. But the depressed valley of the Ghor, or Jordan and Dead Sea, which is sunk 1300 feet below the level of the Mediterranean, seems to be an outlier of the Ethiopian region, containing also a sprinkling of Indian forms; the Sunbird, Bush-babbler, Smyrna Kingfisher, Bulbul, and others being the most remarkable species. The Southern and Eastern desert regions present, as their chief ornithological characteristic, the types of the African deserts. In the whole of the country, as might be expected from the character of its coast and the scarcity of marshes, sea-birds and water-fowl are comparatively scarce; but probably in no country in the world are diurnal birds of prey more numerous in individuals or more varied in species. This explains the exceptional number of Hebrew names of birds of prey, which are preserved to us in Leviticus and Deuteronomy. Game birds are few, both in numbers and species, while of passerine birds, especially warblers, the numbers far exceed those of Southern England. The most abundant of all families of birds,

though the species are few, are the Pigeons and Doves. [H. B. T.]

BIR'SHA (בִּרְשַׁע, Ges. [Treg. and MV.[11]], if = בֶּן־רָשַׁע, *a wicked one*, but see BIDKAR, and against the interpretation Dillmann[5] and Delitzsch [1887] in loco; Βαρσά; *Bersa*), king of Gomorrah at the time of the invasion of Chedorlaomer (Gen. xiv. 2). [F.]

BIRTH. [CHILDREN.]

BIRTHDAYS (τὰ γενέσια, Matt. xiv. 6). Properly τὰ γενέθλια is a birthday feast (and hence in the early writers the day of a martyr's commemoration), but τὰ γενέσια seems (according to Schleusner, Meyer, Bleek, &c.) to be used in this sense in later and Hellenistic Greek, for in Herod. iv. 26 it means a day in honour of the dead. It is, however, possible that in Matt. xiv. 6 the feast to commemorate Herod's *accession* is intended (Grotius; Wieseler, *Beitr.* p. 182; Hausrath; Volkmar, &c.), for we know that such feasts were common (especially in Herod's family, Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 11, § 6, xvii. 8, § 4; Blunt's *Coincidences*, Append. vii.), and were called "the day of the king" (Hos. vii. 5). The Gemarists distinguish expressly between ניונוסיא של מלכים, γενέσια *regni*, and the יום הלדה or birthday (*Avodah Zarah*, i. 3, ed. Strack; Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr. ad* Matt. xiv. 6). On the other hand, Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 4, § 7) and Philo (*c. Flacc.*) use γενέσια for a birthday feast, and Josephus uses ἡμέρα τῆς ἀρχῆς for an anniversary of accession (*Ant.* xv. 11, § 6), so that the question must be regarded as an open one (see *Speaker's Comm.* in loco; Edersheim's *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, i. 672).

The custom of observing birthdays is very ancient (Gen. xl. 20; Jer. xx. 15); and in Job i. 4, &c., we read that Job's sons "feasted every one his day." In Persia they were celebrated with peculiar honours and banquets, for the details of which see Herod. i. 138. And in Egypt "the birthdays of the kings were celebrated with great pomp. They were looked upon as holy: no business was done upon them, and all classes indulged in the festivities suitable to the occasion. Every Egyptian attached much importance to the day, and even to the hour of his birth" (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* i. 281 [1878]). Probably in consequence of the ceremonies usual in their celebration, the Jews regarded their observance as an idolatrous custom (Lightfoot, *l. c.*). [F. W. F.]

BIRTHRIGHT (בְּכוֹרָה; τὰ πρωτοτόκια). We must distinguish this from the "blessing" exercised by Isaac and Jacob in turn, in favour of a selected son or sons, analogous to a testamentary disposition; whereas the analogy of birthright is rather with entail. The blessing, in the instances which we have of it, includes spiritual privilege; whereas the birthright seems limited to property. Yet the blessing, being of a mixed character, limits or overrides primogeniture in the case of Reuben, and of Manasseh who was adopted with, but postponed to, Ephraim by Jacob. The distinctive mention of first-born sons in each generation meets us in the earliest genealogies; even in that of the outcast Cain we have, down to Lamech, a line apparently of first-born sons (Gen. iv. 17 sq.). Afterwards an even more distinctive formula is found with considerable uniformity: "A. lived so many years and begat B., and A. lived after he begat B. so many years and begat sons and daughters." The first deviation occurs in the generations from Noah, but the same formula is resumed in tracing the line of Terah's descent from Shem through Arphaxad, whom Shem "begat after the flood," and who seems preferred to the elder brothers. Distinctive mention of first-born sons appears in Gen. xxii. 21, xxv. 13, xxxv. 23, xxxvi. 15; Num. xxvi. 5, &c. The advantages accruing to the eldest son were not definitely fixed in patriarchal times. The theory that he was the priest of the family rests on no scriptural statement, and the Rabbis appear divided on the question (see Hottinger's *Note on Goodwin's Moses and Aaron*, i. 1; Ugol. iii. 53). Great respect was paid to him in the household; and, as the family widened into a tribe, this grew into a sustained authority, undefined save by custom, in all matters of common interest. Thus the "princes" of the congregation had probably rights of primogeniture (Num. vii. 2; xxi. 18; xxv. 14). A "double portion" of the paternal property was under certain circumstances allotted to the firstborn by the Mosaic Law (Deut. xxi. 15–17), nor could the caprice of the father then deprive him of it. This probably means twice as much as any other son enjoyed. Of similar character, in earlier days, was the exceptional inheritance of Joseph, his sons reckoning with his brethren, and becoming heads of tribes (Gen. xlviii. Cp. Riehm, *HWB.* s. n. "Erbrecht"). This seems to explain the request of Elisha for a "double portion" of Elijah's spirit (2 K. ii. 9; so most commentators). The sin of Onan (Gen. xxxviii. 9) is clearly the result of a wish to maintain the birthright in his own line instead of in that of his deceased elder brother. And we may account for the tenacity with which Tamar clung to her domestic and conjugal rights by the same consideration, although, being a Canaanitess, she takes a heathenish mode of maintaining them (*ib.* 13 sq.: see Kurtz, *Gesch. des A. Bundes*, § 86). Reuben, through his unfilial conduct, was deprived of the birthright (Gen. xlix. 4; 1 Ch. v. 1). We see, however, from Gen. xxxvii. 21, 29, 30, that in earlier days he had some kind of position distinct and apart from his brethren, and that he felt some responsibility for the younger sons as especially pertaining to him (*v.* 30; cp. xlii. 37). It is likely that some remembrance of this lost pre-eminence stirred the Reubenite leaders of Korah's rebellion (Num. xvi. 1, 2; xxvi. 5–9). Esau's act, transferring his right to Jacob, was allowed to be valid (Gen. xxv. 33). The first-born of the king was his successor by law[a] (2 Ch. xxi. 3); David, however, by Divine appointment, excluded Adonijah in favour of Solomon, which deviation from rule was indicated by the anointing (Goodwin, *op. cit.* 4, with Hottinger's notes).

[a] In an article in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* (Ohio, U.S.), January 1888, an opinion is urged, with much support of chronological coincidences, that the succession to the Jewish throne lay in the son first born after the father had reached twenty-one years of age.

The Jews attached a sacred import to the title (see Schöttgen, *Hor. Hebr.* i. 922): thus "Israel is ... My firstborn" (Ex. v. 22); and thus "firstborn" and "first-begotten" seem applied to the Messiah (Rom. viii. 29; Heb. i. 6). See FIRST-BORN, HEIR. Keil, *Bibl. Archaol.* II. iii. 1. 1, § 142, has some remarks of interest. [H. H.]

BIR'ZAVITH (בִּרְזָוִת, *Keri* בִּרְזָיִת; B. Βηζαίθ, A. Βερζαιέ; *Barsaith*), a name occurring in the genealogies of Asher (1 Ch. vii. 31), and possibly, from the mode of its mention, the name of a place (cp. the similar expression, "father of Bethlehem," "father of Tekoa," &c. in chs. ii. and iv.). The reading of the *Keri* may be interpreted "well of olives." No trace of it is found elsewhere. [W. A. W.]

BISH'LAM (בִּשְׁלָם, if = בֶּן־שְׁלָם, *peaceful* [but see BIDKAR]; *Beselam*), apparently an officer or commissioner (συντασσόμενος, 1 Esd. ii. 16) of Artaxerxes in Palestine at the time of the return of Zerubbabel from Captivity (Ezra iv. 7). The LXX. translates it ἐν εἰρήνῃ, *in peace* (see margin of A. V.); so also the Syriac and Arabic Versions; but this has nothing to recommend it. [W. A. W.]

BISHOP (ἐπίσκοπος). This word, applied in the N. T. to the officers of the Church who were charged with certain functions of superintendence, had been in use before as a title of office. The inspectors or commissioners sent by Athens to her subject-states were ἐπίσκοποι (Aristoph. *Aves*, 1022), and their office, like that of the Spartan Harmosts, authorized them to interfere in all the political arrangements of the states to which they were sent. Other instances of the use of the term are the following. It is "the designation of the inspectors whose business it was to report to the Indian kings (Arrian, *Ind.* xii. 5); of the commissioners appointed by Mithridates to settle affairs in Ephesus (Appian, *Mithr.* 48); of magistrates who regulated the sale of provisions under the Romans (Charisius in the *Dig.* l. 4, 18); and of certain officers in Rhodes whose functions are unknown" (Ross, *Inscr. Graec. Ined.* fasc. iii. Nos. 275, 276. Cp. Lightfoot, *Philipp.* p. 93). Fresh instances from inscriptions are given by Hatch, *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 37, 38 (cp. C. Gore, *The Church and the Ministry*, p. 403); and the word is used once by Cicero, *ad Attic.* vii. 11. To the Hellenistic Jews the title was familiar from its use in the LXX., where it appears in the following passages:—Job xx. 29 (אֵל); 2 Ch. xxxiv. 12, 17, of Josiah's overseers (מְפַקֵּד); Is. lx. 17, exactors (נֹגְשִׂים); Numb. iv. 16, office (פְּקֻדָּה); 2 K. xi. 18 (פְּקֻדוֹת), officers over the house of the Lord; *v.* 15, officers of the host. So Numb. xxxi. 14 (פְּקֻדִים); Judg. ix. 28, Zebul his officer (פְּקִיד); Nehem. xi. 9, 14, 22, overseer (פְּקִיד). In Wisd. i. 6 it is used of God, as the true beholder of the heart; and in 1 Macc. i. 51, of the overseers whom Antiochus appointed over all the people (so Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5, § 4). In the N. T. the word is only found in five places. Once (1 Pet. ii. 25) it is applied to our Lord, the "Shepherd and Bishop of your souls;" and four times to officers of the Christian Church, at Ephesus (Acts xx. 28; 1 Tim. iii. 2), Philippi (Philip. i. 1), and Crete (Titus i. 7). That the "bishops" thus spoken of are identical with "presbyters" is scarcely disputed by any who accept the Pastoral Epistles as genuine.* The following facts, among others, may be taken as establishing it beyond controversy:—

1. ἐπίσκοποι and πρεσβύτεροι are nowhere named together as being orders distinct from each other.

2. ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι are named apparently as an exhaustive division of the local officers of the Churches addressed by St. Paul as an Apostle (Phil. i. 1; 1 Tim. iii. 1, 8).

3. The same persons are described by both names (Acts xx. 17, 28; Titus i. 5, 7; cp. 1 Pet. v. 1, 2, πρεσβύτεροι ... ἐπισκοποῦντες, if this last word, omitted in BN., be genuine).

4. πρεσβύτεροι discharge functions which are essentially "episcopal," *i.e.* involving pastoral superintendence (1 Tim. v. 17; 1 Pet. v. 1, 2). See further, Lightfoot, *Philipp.* p. 94.

The age which followed that of the Apostles witnessed a gradual change in the application of the words. In the Epistle of Clement of Rome (*circa* 96 A.D.) the two words ἐπίσκοπος and πρεσβύτερος are still dealt with as interchangeable (*ad Cor.* I. xlii., xliv., lvii.), and in the Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων the terms ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι are joined together (c. xv.) exactly as they are by St. Paul. But by the time of Ignatius (A.D. 110) the "Bishop" is recognised as distinct from, and superior to, the presbyters. See Polyc. §§ 5, 6; Eph. § 2, &c.

Assuming as proved the identity of the "Bishops" and "elders" of the N. T., we have to inquire into (I.) the origin of the titles and the relation which existed between them; (II.) the functions and mode of appointment of the men to whom both titles were applied; (III.) their relations to the general government and discipline of the Church.

I. There can be no doubt that πρεσβύτεροι had the priority in order of time. Whether the existence of a body bearing that name is implied in the use of the correlative οἱ νεώτεροι (cp. Luke xxii. 26; 1 Pet. v. 5) in the narrative of Ananias may be doubtful (see Acts v. 6, and obs. νεανίσκοι in *v.* 10); but there can be no question that the order itself is recognised as an already existing fact in Judaea in Acts xi. 30. Presbyters take part in the deliberations of the Church at Jerusalem in Acts xv., and are appointed "in every city" among the Gentile Churches planted by St. Paul and St. Barnabas on their first missionary journey (Acts xiv. 23). Of the origin of the order St. Luke says nothing, but his silence is best explained by the supposition that, as the expansion of the Church rendered organization necessary, the organization would be that of the Jews (cp. Jas. ii. 2, where συναγωγή is used of a Christian assembly), and thus as a matter of course a

* Harnack maintains that the orders were originally distinct; but then he refuses to accept the authority of the Pastoral Epistles, and distinctly says that "anyone who admits the genuineness of the Pastoral Epistles will reach quite different conclusions from one who regards them as non-Pauline, and relegates them to the second century." See *Expositor*, 3rd Series, v. 322.

body of elders or presbyters (cp. Luke vii. 3, πρεσβύτεροι = זְקֵנִים) would be chosen for disciplinary purposes, and to watch over the well-being of the society. It is more difficult to explain the origin of the title ἐπίσκοπος. The earliest occurrence of it is in the address of St. Paul to the Ephesian elders at Miletus (Acts xx. 28); and there it is rather descriptive of functions than given as a title. [Still earlier, ἐπισκοπή, "bishopric," occurs in a quotation from Ps. cix. in St. Peter's speech in Acts i. 20.] The earliest Epistle in which the word is formally used as equivalent to πρεσβύτεροι (except on the improbable hypothesis that 1 Timothy belongs to the period following on St. Paul's departure from Ephesus in Acts xx. 1) is that to the Philippians, as late as the time of the Apostle's first Roman imprisonment. It is used again only in the Pastoral Epistles; and thus, as far as the N. T. is concerned, is limited to *Gentile* Churches. With regard to the source of the title two views are possible. (1) It may have been suggested by the use of the term in the LXX.; and, remembering the earliest use of the kindred ἐπισκοπή, there appears to be much probability in this view. If the office was thus designated, it was only natural that the holder of the office should be termed ἐπίσκοπος. (2) It may, however, have been selected because of its use in contemporary Gentile societies, where it was possibly used of officers, in the general sense of "overseers" (cp. Hatch, *B. L.* p. 37, with Gore, *Church and Ministry*, p. 409). But it would be a serious error to infer that, because this term was chosen for Church officers, therefore they were "in relation to the Christian communities what the senate was in relation to a municipality, and what the committee was in reference to an association." The Church, as the translators of the LXX. before her, in framing her religious vocabulary seems designedly to have selected terms which were not profaned by religious or rather idolatrous associations, but which had been used in civil and political senses (cp. Trench's *Synonyms of the N. T.*, p. 122). Just as ἐκκλησία and λειτουργία were transferred from civil to religious uses, so it may have been with ἐπίσκοπος. The use of the term in 1 Pet. ii. 25 as applied to the "Shepherd and Bishop of souls" is of itself sufficient to prevent us from pressing the argument from the identity of titles; and if it was selected as the name of office in the Gentile Churches, it may well have been because there was a life in the organization of the Church higher than that of the synagogue, and functions of pastoral superintendence devolving on the elders of the Christian congregation which were unknown to other periods. The instances of its use collected at the beginning of this article show to how great an extent it was a neutral word. This of itself was an advantage. It had the further merit of being to some extent descriptive as well as titular; a *nomen officii* as well as a *nomen dignitatis*. It was profaned by no idolatrous associations. It could be associated, as πρεσβύτερος could not be, with the thought of the highest pastoral superintendence—of Christ Himself as the ποιμὴν καὶ ἐπίσκοπος.

II. Of the order in which the first elders were appointed, as of the occasion which led to the institution of the office, we have no record. Arguing from the analogy of the seven in Acts vi. 5, 6, it might have seemed probable that the *choice* (ἐκλογή) would be made by the members of the Church collectively, and the *appointment* (κατάστασις: cp. Acts vi. 3, οὓς καταστήσωμεν) by the Apostles; the act of ordination being accompanied with prayer and imposition of hands. But within the limits of the N. T. (with which alone this article is concerned) it cannot be said that there is evidence of anything like popular election of the elders. Those ordained "in every Church" by St. Paul and St. Barnabas on their first missionary journey evidently received their appointment from those Apostles (χειροτονήσαντες δὲ αὐτοῖς πρεσβυτέρους). Titus is left in Crete that he may *appoint* (καταστήσῃς, Titus i. 5) elders in every city, nothing being said of their *election*; while the directions given to Timothy in 1 Tim. iii. 1–13 (and perhaps v. 22) imply that the appointment rested with him. In the case of Timothy himself the πρεσβυτέριον, probably the body of the elders at Lystra, had taken part with the Apostle in the act of ordination, but there is a significant difference in the prepositions used in the two passages in which St. Paul speaks of this. The "gift" (χάρισμα) was in Timothy *through* (διὰ) the laying on of the Apostle's hands (2 Tim. i. 6), *with* (μετὰ) the laying on of the hands of the presbytery (1 Tim. iv. 14). "Laying on of hands" is alluded to in several other passages of the N. T., and was clearly the outward sign of the communication of all χαρίσματα, including "gifts of healing" as well as more definitely spiritual gifts (see Acts viii. 18; ix. 12, 17; xiii. 3; xix. 6; xxviii. 8; Heb. vi. 2). It is doubtful whether in 1 Tim. v. 22 the reference is to ordination (so Van Oosterzee, after most of the older interpreters), or to the restoration of penitents (Ellicott), or whether it is purposely left indefinite so as to include all the various occasions on which the rite was used (Huther). There is, however, no doubt that from the first the two essentials of "prayer" and "laying on of hands" were required in the ordination of all Church officers alike.

The conditions to be observed in the selection of ἐπίσκοποι are stated in the Pastoral Epistles (1 Tim. iii. 1–7; Titus i. 5–9). They are: blameless life and reputation among "those that are without" as well as within the Church, fitness for the work of teaching, the wide kindliness of temper which shows itself in hospitality, the being "the husband of one wife." Some doubt has been felt with regard to the meaning of this expression, and three different interpretations have been proposed of what the Apostle forbids. (1) Simultaneous polygamy (this, however, seems to be excluded by the parallel requirement in the case of a widow, ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς γυνή, cp. v. 9). (2) Successive polygamy (so Ellicott, and the majority of commentators). (3) Any unfaithfulness to the marriage vow, whether by keeping a concubine, or by other laxity of life (so Huther; cp. the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, ii. 1097). Further, the man who is chosen must have shown powers of government in his own household as well as in self-control, nor must he be a recent, and therefore an untried, convert. When appointed, the

duties of the Bishop-elders were as follows:— 1. *General superintendence over the well-being of the flock* (1 Pet. v. 2). According to the aspects which this function presented, those on whom it devolved were called ποιμένες (Eph. iv. 11), προεστῶτες (1 Tim. v. 17), προϊστάμενοι (Rom. xii. 8; 1 Thess. v. 12), and ἡγουμένοι (Heb. xiii. 7, 17, 24). Its exercise called for the χάρισμα κυβερνήσεως (1 Cor. xii. 28). A reference to these passages will be sufficient to show that so far as the N. T. is concerned there is no evidence whatever that the office was instituted primarily for a *financial* purpose. It is on behalf of the *souls* that the rulers watch as they that shall give account. They are over the flock "in the Lord." It is thus the whole spiritual oversight of the flock that is contemplated. Corporal works of mercy would not be forgotten, but neither would they be the main business of the ἐπίσκοποι. 2. *The work of teaching both publicly and privately.* "Though *government* was probably the first conception of the office, yet the work of *teaching* must have fallen to the presbyters from the very first, and have assumed greater prominence as time went on. With the growth of the Church, the visits of the Apostles and Evangelists to any individual community must have become less and less frequent, so that the burden of instruction would be gradually transferred from these missionary preachers to the local officers of the congregation. Hence St. Paul in two passages, where he gives directions relating to Bishops or presbyters, insists specially on the faculty of teaching as a qualification for the position (1 Tim. iii. 2; Titus i. 9). Yet even here this work seems to be regarded rather as incidental to, than as inherent in, the office. In the one Epistle he directs that double honour shall be paid to those presbyters who have ruled well, but *especially* to such as 'labour in word and doctrine' (1 Tim. v. 17), as though one holding this office might decline the work of instruction. In the other, he closes the list of qualifications with the requirement that the Bishop (or presbyter) hold fast the faithful word in accordance with the apostolic teaching 'that he may be able both to exhort in the healthy doctrine and to confute gainsayers,' alleging as a reason the pernicious activity and growing numbers of the false teachers. Nevertheless there is no ground for supposing that the work of teaching and the work of governing pertained to separate members of the presbyteral college. As each had his special gift, so would he devote himself more or less exclusively to the one or the other of these sacred functions" (Lightfoot on *Philipp.* p. 192). 3. *The work of visiting the sick* appears in Jas. v. 14 as assigned to the elders of the Church. There indeed it is connected with the practice of anointing as a means of healing, but this office of Christian sympathy would not, we may believe, be confined to the exercise of the extraordinary χαρίσματα ἰαμάτων, and it is probably to such "visitation of the sick" that we are to refer the ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν ἀσθενούντων of Acts xx. 35, and the ἀντιλήψεις of 1 Cor. xii. 28. 4. Among these acts of charity that of *receiving strangers* occupied a conspicuous place (1 Tim. iii. 2; Tit. i. 8). The Bishop-elder's house was to be the house of the Christian who arrived in a strange city, and found himself without a friend. 5. Of the part taken by them in the liturgical meetings of the Church we have no distinct evidence. Reasoning from the language of 1 Cor. x. xii., and from the practices of the post-apostolic age, we may believe that they would preside at such meetings, and that it would belong to them to bless and to give thanks when the Church met to break bread.

The mode in which these officers of the Church were supported or remunerated varied probably in different cities. At Miletus St. Paul exhorts the elders of the Church to follow his example and work for their own livelihood (Acts xx. 34). In 1 Cor. ix. 14, and Gal. vi. 6, he asserts the right of the ministers of the Church to be supported by it. In 1 Tim. v. 17 he gives a special application of the principle in the assignment of a double allowance (τιμή certainly includes "recompense," cp. Acts xxviii. 10; and see Ellicott and Huther in loco) to those who have been conspicuous for their activity.

Collectively at Jerusalem, and probably in other Churches, the body of Bishop-elders took part in deliberations (Acts xv. 6–22, xxi. 18), addressed other Churches (xv. 23, where, however, the true reading is οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἀδελφοί), and were joined with the Apostles in the work of ordaining by the laying on of hands (1 Tim. iv. 14 compared with 2 Tim. i. 6). But the office of ordaining others is never entrusted to Bishop-elders by themselves. There is not a word about it in St. Paul's address to the Ephesian elders at Miletus; and from the fact that the Apostle sent Timothy as his delegate and representative to the already organized Church of Ephesus, it may fairly be argued that the ἐπίσκοποι of the N. T. had not ordinarily this power committed to them. If the presbyters were self-sufficient for their own government or their own propagation, it is difficult if not impossible to understand why Timothy should have been sent to Ephesus to exercise these functions, and thus set aside and override their authority (cp. Bp. Charles Wordsworth's *Remarks on Dr. Lightfoot's Essay*, p. 36). It lay in the necessities of any organized society that such a body of men should be subject to a power higher than their own, whether vested in one chosen by themselves or deriving his authority from some external source; and we find accordingly that it belonged to the delegate of an Apostle, and *à fortiori* to the Apostle himself, to receive accusations against them, to hear evidence, to admonish where there was hope of amendment, to depose where this proved unavailing (1 Tim. v. 1, 19; Titus iii. 10).

III. It is clear from what has been said that episcopal functions in the modern sense of the words, as implying a special superintendence over the ministers of the Church with powers of ordaining others, belonged only to the Apostles, and to those whom they invested with their authority. The name of Apostle was not, however, limited to the twelve. It was claimed by St. Paul for himself (1 Cor. ix. 1); it is used by him of others (2 Cor. viii. 23; Philip. ii. 25, and perhaps Rom. xvi. 7: see, however, Dr. Gifford's note in the *Speaker's Commentary* in loco). It is clear that a process of change must

have been at work between the date of the latest of the Pastoral Epistles and the letters of Ignatius, leading not so much to an altered organization as to a modification of the original terminology, and a *localization* of the higher office. The name of Apostle is looked on in the latter as belonging to the past, a title of honour which their successors could not claim. [It is, however, still found in the Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων, but apparently as the title of itinerant rather than permanently localized ministers (c. xi.).] That of Bishop rises in its significance and takes the place left vacant. The dangers by which the Church was threatened made the exercise of the authority which was thus transmitted more necessary. The permanent superintendence of the Bishop over a given district, as contrasted with the less settled rule of the travelling apostle, would tend to its development. According to one view which has much in its favour, the Revelation of St. John presents something like an intermediate stage in this process. The Angels of the Seven Churches are partly addressed as their representatives, partly as individuals ruling them (see Rev. ii. 2, iii. 2–4). The name may belong to the special symbolism of the Apocalypse, or have been introduced like πρεσβύτεροι from the synagogue, and we have no reason for believing it ever to have been in current use as part of the terminology of the Church. But the functions assigned to the Angels are those of the earlier apostolate, of the later episcopate (cp. Trench on the *Epistles to the Seven Churches of Asia*, p. 53, and Archdeacon Lee in the *Speaker's Commentary*, in loco: but against this view see Lightfoot on *Philipp.* p. 197). The abuse of the old title of the highest office by pretenders, as in Rev. ii. 2, may have led to a reaction against its being used at all except for those to whom it belonged κατ' ἐξοχήν. In this, or in some similar way, the constitution of the Church assumed its later form; the Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons of the Ignatian Epistles took the place of the Apostles, Bishops or elders, and Deacons of the New Testament. The full history of the change, however, belongs rather to the subject of the antiquities of the early Church than to the province of Biblical exegesis. For fuller information on this point, and for the later history of the word, see BISHOP in the *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.*; *The Expositor*, 3rd Series, vols. v. and vi.; and Gore, *The Church and the Ministry*.

[E. H. P.] [E. C. S. G.]

BITHIAH (בִּתְיָה [= בַּת יְהוָה, Olshausen, *Lehrb. d. Heb. Sprache*, p. 611], *worshipper*, lit. *daughter*, *of Jehovah*; B. Γελιά, A. Βεθθιά; *Bethia*), an Egyptian princess, "the daughter of Pharaoh," a wife of Mered, a man of the tribe of Judah, mentioned in an obscure passage in the genealogies of that tribe (1 Ch. iv. 17–19). Mered appears to have been a descendant of Caleb the son of Jephunneh, and to have lived in the early days of the occupation of Canaan, as four of his sons are spoken of as founders of towns. The passage in which he is mentioned may be translated thus: "And the sons of Ezrah [were] Jether, and Mered, and Epher, and Jalon: and she bare Miriam, and Shammai, and Ishbah the father of Eshtemoa. And his wife the Jewess [R. V.] bare Jered the father of Gedor, and Heber the father of Soco, and Jekuthiel the father of Zanoah. And these are the sons of Bithiah the daughter of Pharaoh, which Mered took. And the sons of his wife Hodiah [R. V. "the wife of Hodiah"], the sister of Naham, [R. V. "were"] the father of Keilah, whose inhabitants are Garmites, and of Eshtemoa, whose inhabitants are Maachathites" (1 Ch. iv. 17–19). The probable order would be to transpose "And these are the sons of Bithiah," &c., so as to precede "and she bare:" or else the full stop can be omitted at the close of *v.* 18, "which Mered took" (see JEHUDIJAH for the rendering and possible transpositions).

From the mention of the Jewish wife, it is clear that Bithiah was an Egyptian: Pharaoh is therefore the regal title [PHARAOH], not a proper name. We have thus a glimpse of the relations of the Hebrews and Egypt. The peaceable intermarriage of a Pharaoh's daughter with even a powerful Hebrew chief is out of the question. We must rather suppose Bithiah to have been carried captive in a foray. Now it was precisely in the early period of the occupation that Egypt was the prey of foreign Shemite conquest. On the fall of the 19th dynasty, a time of anarchy ensued, and the Syrian "Arisu" ruled the country, which was apparently broken up into several principalities. At such a time an Egyptian princess might easily have been taken captive. If Bithiah were the mother of Miriam, the LXX., however, making Miriam child of Jether, there would be a double confirmation of the view here taken, in the use of an Egyptian name, for long afterwards disused, and the Egyptian non-Semitic precedence of the daughter.

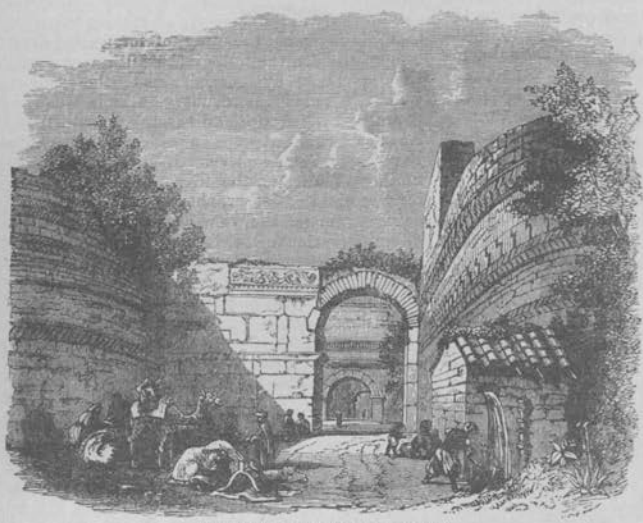
The name Bithiah implies conversion, although Semitic names were prevalent in Egypt at this time, like Bata-'anta, "daughter of (the goddess) Anath," a daughter of Ramses II. of the 19th dynasty. [PUTIEL.] [R. S. P.]

BITH'RON (more accurately "the Bithron," הַבִּתְרוֹן, *the broken or divided place*, from בָּתַר, *to cut up*, Ges.; διὰν τὴν παρατείνουσαν; *omnis Bethhoron*), a place—from the form of the expression, "all the Bithron," doubtless a district—in the Arabah or Jordan valley, on the east side of the river (2 Sam. ii. 29). The spot at which Abner's party crossed the Jordan not being specified, we cannot fix the position of the Bithron, which lay between that ford and Mahanaim. As far as we know, the whole of the country in the *Ghôr* on the other side of the river is of the broken and intersected character indicated by the derivation of the name. If the renderings of the Vulg. and Aquila are correct, they must of course intend another Bethhoron than the well-known one; perhaps *Livias* (Fürst). Bethharam, the conjecture of Thenius, is not probable. Maundeville (*E. T.* p. 180) says that the Jordan "separates the land of Galilee, and the land of Idumea, and the land of Betron." Dr. Robinson suggests, doubtfully (*Phys. Geog.* pp. 63, 79), that *Wâdy 'Ajlûn*, north of the Jabbok, may be Bithron. [G.] [W.]

BITHY'NIA (Βιθυνία; *Bithynia*). This province of Asia Minor, though illustrious in the earlier parts of post-apostolic history, through Pliny's letters and the Council of Nicaea, has

little connexion with the history of the Apostles themselves. It is only mentioned in Acts xvi. 7 and in 1 Pet. i. 1. From the former of these passages it appears that St. Paul, when on his progress from Iconium to Troas, in the course of his second missionary journey, made an attempt to enter Bithynia, but was prevented, either by providential hindrances or by direct Divine intimations. From the latter it is evident that, when St. Peter wrote his First Epistle, there were Christians (probably of Jewish or proselyte origin) in some of the towns of this province, as well as in "Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, and Asia."

Bithynia, considered as a Roman province, was on the south-west contiguous to ASIA. On the east its limits underwent great modifications. The province was originally inherited by the Roman republic (B.C. 74) as a legacy from Nicomedes III., the last of an independent line of monarchs, one of whom had invited into Asia



Gate of Nicaea, the capital of Bithynia.

Minor those Gauls who gave the name of GALATIA to the central district of the peninsula. On the death of Mithridates, king of Pontus, B.C. 63, the western part of the Pontic kingdom was added to the province of Bithynia, which again received further accessions on this side under Augustus, A.D. 7. Thus the province is sometimes called "Pontus and Bithynia" in inscriptions; and the language of Pliny's letters is similar. The province of Pontus was not constituted till the reign of Nero [PONTUS]. It is observable that in Acts ii. 9 Pontus is in the enumeration and not Bithynia, and that in 1 Pet. i. 1 both are mentioned. See Marquardt's continuation of Becker's *Röm. Alterthümer*, III. i. p. 146. For a description of the country, which is mountainous, well-wooded, and fertile, see Hamilton's *Researches in Asia Minor*, and cp. Ainsworth in the *Roy. Geog. Jour.* vol. ix. The course of the river Rhyndacus is a marked feature on the south-western frontier of Bithynia, and the snowy range of the Mysian Olympus on the south-west (see *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geog.*, art. BITHYNIA). [J. S. H.] [W.]

BITTER HERBS (מְרֹרִים, *merôrim*; πικρίδες; *lactucae agrestes*). The Hebrew word occurs in Ex. xii. 8; Num. ix. 11; and Lam. iii. 15: in the latter passage it is said, "He hath filled me with bitterness, he hath made me drunken [R. V. "sated"] with wormwood." The two other passages refer to the observance of the Passover: the Israelites were commanded to eat the Paschal lamb "with unleavened bread and with bitter herbs."

There can be little doubt that the term *merôrim* is general and includes the various edible kinds of bitter plants, whether cultivated or wild, which the Israelites could with facility obtain in sufficient abundance to supply their numbers either in Egypt, where the first Passover was eaten, or in the deserts of the Peninsula of Sinai, or in Palestine. The Mishna (*Pesachim*, c. 2, § 6) enumerates five kinds of bitter herbs—*chazereth*, *'ulshin*, *thamcah*, *charchabina*, and *maror*—which it was lawful to eat either green or dried. There is great difficulty in identifying the plants which these words respectively denote, but lettuce, endive, chicory, and bugloss are among the five. The reader may see the subject discussed by Bochart (*Hieroz.* i. 691, ed. Rosenmüller), by Carpzovius (*Apparat. Hist. Crit.* p. 402), and by Knobel-Dillmann[2] on Exod. xii. 8. According to the testimony of Forskâl, in Niebuhr's Preface to the *Description de l'Arabie* (p. xliv.), the modern Jews of Arabia and Egypt eat lettuce, or, if this is not at hand, bugloss[a] with the Paschal lamb. The Greek word πικρὶς is identified by Sprengel (*Hist. Rei Herb.* i. 100) with the *Helminthia* [rather, *Picris*] *Echioides* (Linn.), Bristly Helminthia (Ox-tongue), a plant belonging to the chicory group. *Helminthia* is merely a modern subdivision of the genus *Picris* of Linnaeus.

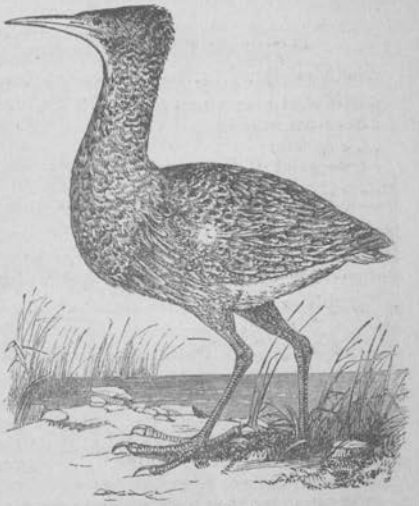
Abenezra in Celsius (*Hierob.* ii. 227) remarks that, according to the observations of a certain learned Spaniard, the ancient Egyptians always used to place different kinds of herbs upon the table, with mustard, and that they dipped morsels of bread into this salad. That the Jews derived this custom of eating herbs with their meat from the Egyptians is extremely probable, for it is easy to see how, on the one hand, the bitter-herb salad should remind the Jews of the bitterness of their bondage (Ex. i. 14), and,

[a] لسان الثور (*lissan etthôr*), which Forskâl (*Flor. Ægypt.* p. lxii.) identifies with *Borago officinalis*.

on the other hand, how it should also bring to their remembrance their merciful deliverance from it. It is curious to observe in connexion with the remarks of Abenezra, the custom—for such it appears to have been—of dipping a morsel of bread into *the* dish (τὸ τρύβλιον) which prevailed in our Lord's time (Matt. xxvi. 23; John xiii. 26. See notes in *Speaker's Comm.*). May not τὸ τρύβλιον be the salad dish of bitter herbs, and τὸ ψώμιον, the morsel of bread of which Abenezra speaks?[b]

The *merôrim* may well be understood to denote various sorts of bitter plants, such particularly as belong to the *Cruciferae*, as some of the bitter cresses, or to the chicory group of the *Compositae*, the hawkweeds, and sow-thistles, and wild lettuces which grow abundantly in the Peninsula of Sinai, in Palestine, and in Egypt. There are not many of these two great families of plants which are not eaten as salads by the Orientals. The artichoke is eaten raw, as are the hearts of all the other larger wild thistles. Many of the cresses, the stocks (*Matthiola*), and Elecampane (*Inula*), are used as salads by the Arabs (Decaisne, *Florula Sinaica* in *Annal. des Sciences Natur.* 1834; Strand, *Flor. Palaest.* No. 445, &c.). [W. H.] [H. B. T.]

BITTERN (קִפֹּד, *kippôd*; ἐχῖνος, πελεκάν, Aq.; κύκνος, Theod. in Zeph. ii. 14; *ericius*). The Hebrew word has been the subject of various interpretations, the old Versions generally sanctioning the "hedgehog" or "porcupine;" in which rendering they have been followed by Bochart (*Hieroz.* ii. 454), Shaw (*Trav.* i. 321, 8vo ed.), Lowth (Isaiah xiv. 23), the R.V., and others. The grounds for this rendering are due to the similarity between the Hebrew word and the Arabic name of the porcupine and hedgehog (قنفذ, *kunfud*); but on an examination of the passages where the name occurs, it will be seen at once that this rendering is inadmissible. The word occurs in Is. xiv. 23, where of Babylon the Lord says, "I will make it a possession for the *kippôd* and pools of water;"—in Is. xxxiv. 11, of the land of Idumea it is said, "The *kâath* and the *kippôd* shall possess it;" and again in Zeph. ii. 14, "I will make Nineveh a desolation and dry like a wilderness; flocks shall lie down in the midst of her; . . . both the *kâath* and the *kippôd* shall lodge in the chapiters [R.V.] thereof; *their* voice shall sing in the windows." The former passage would seem to point to some solitude-loving aquatic bird, which might well be represented by the *bittern*, as the A. V. has it; but the passage in Zephaniah which speaks of Nineveh being made "dry like a wilderness," does not at first sight appear to be so strictly suited to this rendering. Gesenius, Lee, Parkhurst, Winer, MV.[11], all give "hedgehog" or "porcupine" as the representative of the Hebrew word; but neither of these two animals ever lodges on the chapiters of columns, nor is it their nature to frequent pools of water. Not less unhappy is the reading of the Arabic Version, *el-houbara*, a species of bustard—the *Houbara undulata* (see *Ibis*, i. 284), which is a dweller in dry open plains. We are inclined to believe that the A. V. is correct, and that the bittern is the bird denoted by the original word; as to the objection alluded to above that this bird is a lover of marshes and pools, and would not therefore be found in a locality which is "dry like a wilderness," a little reflection will convince the reader that the difficulty is more apparent than real. Nineveh might be made "dry like a wilderness," but the bittern would find an abode in the Tigris which flows through the plain of Mesopotamia; as to the bittern perching on the chapiters of ruined columns, there is no difficulty in the expression, for the columns would be prostrate, and lying in a



Botaurus stellaris.

thick tangle of nettles and rushes, where the bittern would, according to its observed habit, conceal itself during the day, standing motionless on a stem or tuft. There are many reedy marshes by the Tigris near Nineveh. In these, when the city was desolate, the bittern would take up its abode, and its loud booming would be heard by night among the ruins. As a matter of fact the bittern is very plentiful throughout the swamps, both of the Tigris and the Euphrates, as well as in all the marshes of Syria; and its strange booming note, which we have often heard disturbing the stillness of the night, gives a sense of desolation, only surpassed by the wail of the hyaena. In all countries where it is found, the peasants have a superstitious dread of its unearthly boom, and the bird itself is a somewhat mysterious, peculiar creature, rarely seen by day, and, when found, looking exactly like a stump of withered rushes, standing perfectly erect, with its long beak pointing directly upwards.

The Bittern, *Botaurus stellaris*, was formerly familiar in the fen districts of England, but now

[b] Our custom of eating salad mixtures is in all probability derived from the Jews. "Why do we pour over our lettuces a mixture of oil, vinegar, and mustard? The practice began in Judaea, where, in order to render palatable the bitter herbs eaten with the paschal lamb, it was usual, says Moses Kotsinses, to sprinkle over them a thick sauce called Karoseth, which was composed of the oil drawn from dates or from pressed raisin-kernels, of vinegar and mustard" (see "Extract from the Portfolio of a Man of Letters," *Monthly Magazine*, 1810, p. 148).

only an occasional straggler is ever found, for drainage and cultivation have banished it. It has a most extensive range, being found in the whole of Europe, Africa, and Asia. Two other species are known, both closely resembling it: one in America, the other in Australasia and New Zealand. It belongs to the heron family, Ardeidae; but, unlike its congeners, it is not gregarious, eschewing the society of even its own species. [H. B. T.]

BITUMEN. [SLIME.]

BIZJO'TH-JAH (בִּיזְיוֹתְיָה; BA. *αἱ κῶμαι αὐτῶν, i.e.* בְּנוֹתֶיהָ, which is no doubt right, Hollenberg [*Char. d. Alex. Uebers. d. B. Josua*, p. 14], Dillmann and Driver; see Neh. xi. 2; *Baziothia*; R. V. *Biziothiah*), a town in the south of Judah named with BEERSHEBA and BAALAH (Josh. xv. 28). No mention or identification of it is found elsewhere. [G.] [W.]

BIZ'THA (בִּזְתָא; Βαζάν, A. Βαζεά; *Bazatha*), the second of the seven eunuchs of king Ahasuerus' harem (Esth. i. 10). The name is Persian, possibly بستہ, *beste*, a word referring to his condition as a eunuch (Ges., MV.[11] Cp. Bertheau-Ryssel in loco). [F.]

BLACK. [COLOURS.]

BLAINS (אֲבַעְבֻּעֹת; *φλυκτίδες* [Ex. ix. 9], *ἀναζέουσαι ἔν τε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἐν τοῖς τετράποσι*; also שְׁחִין, *pustula ardens*), violent ulcerous inflammations (from בּוּעַ, "to boil up"). Blains were the sixth plague of Egypt, and are called in Deut. xxviii. 27, 35, "the botch of Egypt" (שְׁחִין מִצְרַיִם; cp. Job ii. 7, שְׁחִין רָע). The disease intended seems to have been the *ψωρὰ ἀγρία* or black leprosy, a fearful kind of elephantiasis (cp. Plin. xxvi. 5). It must have come with dreadful intensity on the magicians whose art it baffled, and whose scrupulous cleanliness (Herod. ii. 36) it rendered nugatory: so that they were unable to stand in the presence of Moses because of the boils.

Other names for purulent and leprous eruptions are בַּהֶרֶת שְׂאֵת (Morphea alba), סַפַּחַת (Morphea nigra), and the more harmless scab, מִסְפַּחַת, Lev. xiii. *passim* (Jahn, *Arch. Bibl.* § 189). [F. W. F.]

BLASPHEMY (נְאָצוֹת, נְדוּפִים; *βλασφημία*), in its technical English sense, signifies the speaking evil of God (נָקַב שֵׁם יְהוָה), and in this sense it is found in Ps. lxxiv. 18, Is. lii. 5, Rom. ii. 24, &c. But according to its derivation (*βλάπτω φημὴ* quasi *βλαψιφ.*) it may mean any species of calumny and abuse (or even an unlucky word, Eurip. *Ion*, 1187): see 1 K. xxi. 10; Acts xviii. 6; Jude 9, &c. Hence in the LXX. it is used to render בָּרַךְ, Job ii. 5; גִּדֻּפָה, 2 K. xix. 6; הוֹכִיחַ, 2 K. xix. 4, and לָעַג, Hos. vii. 16, so that it means "reproach," "derision," &c.: and it has even a wider use, as 2 Sam. xii. 14, where it means "to despise Judaism," and 1 Macc. ii. 6, where *βλασφημία*=idolatry. In Ecclus. iii. 18 we have *ὡς βλάσφημος ὁ ἐγκαταλιπὼν πατέρα*, where it is equivalent to *κατηραμένος* (Schleusner, *Thesaur.* s. v.).

Blasphemy was punished with stoning, which was inflicted on the son of Shelomith (Lev. xxiv. 11. Cp. also 1 K. xxi. 13). On this charge both our Lord (Matt. xxvi. 65) and St. Stephen (Acts vi. 11, vii. 57, &c.) were condemned to death by the Jews. From Lev. xxiv. 16, wrongly understood, arose the singular superstition about never even *pronouncing* the name of Jehovah. Ex. xxii. 28, "Thou shalt not revile the gods, nor curse the ruler of thy people," is by many not referred to blasphemy in the strict sense, since "Elohim" is there used of magistrates, &c.; but the majority of modern commentators prefer with R. V. to render "thou shalt not revile God," &c. (see *Speaker's Comm.* in loco; *QPB.*[3] note on Exod: xxi. 6), and rightly understand the passage as a protest against blasphemy.

The Jews, misapplying Ex. xxiii. 13, "Make no mention of the name of other gods," seemed to think themselves bound to give nicknames to the heathen deities; hence their use of Bosheth for Baal, Bethaven for Bethel, Beelzebul for Beelzebub (Hos. iv. 5, &c.). It is not strange that this "contumelia numinum" (Plin. xiii. 9), joined to their zealous proselytism, made them so deeply unpopular among the nations of antiquity (Winer, s. v. *Gotteslästerung*). When a person heard blasphemy he laid his hand on the head of the offender, to symbolise his sole responsibility for the guilt, and, rising on his feet, tore his robe, which might never again be mended. On the mystical reasons for these observances, see Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr. ad* Matt. xxvi. 65.

It only remains to speak of "the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost," which has been so fruitful a theme for speculation and controversy (Matt. xii, 32; Mark iii. 28). It consisted in attributing to the power of Satan those unquestionable miracles which Jesus performed by "the finger of God," and the power of the Holy Spirit; nor have we any safe ground for *extending* it to include all sorts of *willing* (as distinguished from *wilful*) offences, besides this one limited and special sin. The expression "it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world," &c., is a direct application of a Jewish phrase. According to the Jewish school notions, "a quo blasphematur nomen Dei, ei non valet poenitentia ad suspendendum judicium, nec dies expiationis ad expiandum, nec plagae ad adstergendum, sed omnes suspendunt judicium, *et mors abstergit.*" Our Lord used the phrase to imply that "blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven; neither before death, *nor by means of death*" (Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.* in loco; Hamburger, *RE.* s. v. *Lästerung*). As there are no tenable grounds for identifying this blasphemy with "the sin unto death," 1 John v. 16, we shall not here enter into the very difficult inquiries to which that expression leads.

For other uses of the word in the N. T. see Matt. ix. 3, xv. 19; Acts xxvi. 11; Eph. iv. 31; Col. iii. 8; 1 Tim. i. 13, vi. 4; 2 Pet. ii. 11. See Suicer, *Thes.* s. v.; and for Jewish customs, Hamburger, *RE.* s. v. *Lästerung*. [F. W. F.]

BLASTUS (Βλάστος; *Blastus*), the chamberlain (*ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος*) of Herod Agrippa I.,

mentioned in Acts xii. 20, as having been persuaded by the Tyrians and Sidonians to gain them a hearing from the king. His position and influence corresponded to those of the "praepositi sacro cubiculo" at Rome (see Gibbon, *Decl. and Fall*, xvii.). Chamberlains were generally eunuchs [EUNUCH]. [E. R. B.]

BLESSING. [SALUTATION.]

BLINDING. [PUNISHMENTS.]

BLINDNESS (עִוָּרֹן, עִוָּרֶת, from the root עוּר, *to bore*) is extremely common among Orientals from many causes: *e.g.* the quantities of dust and sand pulverised by the sun's intense heat; the perpetual glare of light; the attacks of flies which convey the contagion of ophthalmia; the contrast of the heat with the cold sea-air on the coast where blindness is specially prevalent; the dews at night while they sleep on the roofs; small-pox, old age, &c.; and perhaps more than all the Mahommedan fatalism, which leads to a neglect of the proper remedies in time. One traveller mentions 4,000 blind men in Cairo, and Volney reckons that 1 in every 5 were blind, besides others with sore eyes (i. 86. Cp. Trench, *On the Miracles*. ch. 8 [on Matt. ix. 27, &c.]). *Ludd*, the ancient Lydda, and *Ramleh*, enjoy a fearful notoriety for the number of blind persons they contain. The common saying is that in *Ludd* every man is either blind or has but one eye. Jaffa is said to contain 500 blind out of a population of 5,000 at most. There is an asylum for the blind in Cairo (which contains 300), and their conduct is often turbulent and fanatic (Lane, i. 39, 292). Blind beggars figure repeatedly in the N. T. (Matt. xii. 22, &c.), and "opening the eyes of the blind" is mentioned in prophecy as a peculiar attribute of the Messiah (Is. xxix. 18, &c.). The Jews were specially charged to treat the blind with compassion and care (Lev. xix. 4; Deut. xxvii. 18).

Penal and miraculous blindness is several times mentioned in the Bible (סַנְוֵרִים, Gen. xix. 11, ἀορασία, LXX.; 2 K. vi. 18–22; Acts ix. 9). In the last passage some have attempted (on the ground of St. Luke's profession as a physician) to attach a technical meaning to ἀχλὺς and σκότος (Jahn, *Arch. Bibl.* § 201), viz. a spot or "thin tunicle over the cornea," which vanishes naturally after a time: for which fact Winer (s. v. *Blindheit*) quotes Hippocr. (*Praedict.* ii. 215), ἀχλυὲς . . . ἐκλεαίνονται καὶ ἀφανίζονται ἢν μὴ τρῶμά τι ἐπιγένηται ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ. But this does not remove the supernatural character of the infliction. In the same way analogies are quoted for the use of saliva (Matt. viii. 23, &c.) and of fish-gall in the case of the Tobias (cp. Plin. *H. N.* xxxii. 24); but, whatever may be thought of the latter instance, it is very obvious that in the former the saliva was no more instrumental in the cure than the touch alone would have been (Trench, *On the Miracles*, ad loc.).

Blindness wilfully inflicted for political or other purposes was common in the East, and is alluded to in Scripture (Num. xvi. 14; 1 Sam. xi. 2; Jer. xxii. 12). [F. W. F.]

BLOOD (דָּם). To blood is ascribed in Scripture the mysterious sacredness which belongs to life, and God reserves it to Himself when allowing man the dominion over and the use of the lower animals for food, &c. (as regards, however, the eating of blood, see FOOD). Thus reserved, it acquires a double power: (1) that of sacrificial atonement, in which it had a wide recognition in the heathen world; and (2) that of becoming a curse, when wantonly shed, *e.g.* even that of beast or fowl by the huntsman, unless duly expiated, *e.g.* by burial (Gen. ix. 4; Lev. vii. 26, xvii. 11–13). As regards (1), the blood of sacrifices was caught by the Jewish priest from the neck of the victim in a basin, then sprinkled seven times (in the case of birds at once squeezed out) on the altar, *i.e.* on its horns, its base, or its four corners, or on its side above or below a line running round it, or on the mercy-seat, according to the quality and purpose of the offering: but that of the Passover on the lintel and door-posts (Exod. xii.; Lev. iv. 5–7, xvi. 14–19; Ugolini, *Thes.* vol. x. and xiii.). There was a drain from the Temple into the brook Cedron to carry off the blood (Maimon. *apud* Cramer, *de Arâ Exter.*; Ugolini, viii.). In regard to (2), it sufficed to pour the animal's blood on the earth, or to bury it, as a solemn rendering of the life to God; in case of human bloodshed a mysterious connexion is observable between the curse of blood and the earth or land on which it is shed, which becomes polluted by it, and as it were animated with a curse upon the blood-shedder; and the proper expiation is the blood of that shedder, which every one had thus an interest in seeking, and was bound to seek (Gen. iv. 10, 11, ix. 4–6; Num. xxxv. 33; Ps. cvi. 38; see BLOOD, REVENGER OF). Thus a domestic animal causing human death appears to share a homicidal curse (Ex. xxi. 28), a development in fact of the Covenant to Noah (Gen. ix. 5). In the case of a dead body found, and the death not accounted for, the guilt of blood attached to the nearest city, to be ascertained by measurement, until freed by prescribed rites of expiation (Deut. xxi. 1–9). The guilt of murder is one for which "satisfaction" was forbidden (Num. xxxv. 31; cf. Ps. ix. 12). The prohibition against murder and against eating blood and strangled animals formed two of the seven Noachic precepts, enforced on all proselytes of the gate, which was doubtless a further reason for the retention of the two latter in Acts xv. 20, 29. [H. H.]

BLOOD, ISSUE OF (זוֹב דָּם; זוֹב, Rabbin.; *fluxu laborans*). The term is in Scripture applied only to the case of women under menstruation or menorrhagia (Lev. xv. 19–30; Matt. ix. 20, γυνὴ αἱμορροοῦσα; Mark v. 25 and Luke viii. 43, οὖσα ἐν ῥύσει αἵματος). The latter caused a permanent legal uncleanness, the former a temporary one, mostly for seven days; after which she was to be purified by the customary offering. This latter is a prolonged and exaggerated condition of the former, and was a most intractable complaint, baffling the best physicians, until recent research threw light upon it. The "bloody flux" (δυσεντερία) in Acts xxviii. 8 (on the accuracy exhibited by St. Paul in the use of this term, see note in *Speaker's Comm.*), where the patient is of the male sex, represents the normal form of dysentery, in which the mucous membrane of the

rectum is shed off, together with a constant voiding of blood, fever, and prostration (see Bartholini, *de Morbis Biblicis*, 17). [H. H.]

BLOOD, REVENGER OF (גֹּאֵל; *Goël*). It was, and even still is, a common practice among nations of patriarchal habits, that the nearest of kin should, as a matter of duty, avenge the death of a murdered relative. The early impressions and practice on this subject may be gathered from writings of a different though very early age and of different countries (Gen. xxxiv. 30; Hom. *Il.* xxiii. 84, 88, xxiv. 480, 482; *Od.* xv. 270, 276; Müller on Aeschyl. *Eum.* c. ii. A. & B.). Compensation for murder is allowed by the Koran, and he who transgresses after this by killing the murderer shall suffer a grievous punishment (Sale, *Koran*, ii. 21, and xvii. 230; Rodwell, pp. 167, 388). Among the Bedouins and other Arab tribes, should the offer of blood-money be refused, the "Thar," or law of blood, comes into operation, and any person within the *fifth* degree of blood from the homicide may be legally killed by any one within the same degree of consanguinity to the victim. Frequently the homicide will wander from tent to tent over the Desert, or even rove through the towns and villages on its borders, with a chain round his neck and in rags, begging contributions from the charitable to pay the apportioned blood-money. Three days and four hours are allowed to the persons included within the "Thar," for escape. The right to blood-revenge is never lost, except as annulled by compensation: it descends to the latest generation. Similar customs with local distinctions are found in Persia, Abyssinia, among the Druses and Circassians (Niebuhr, *Descr. de l'Arabie*, pp. 28, 30, *Voyage*, ii. 350; Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins*, i. 148–157, *Travels in Arabia*, i. 409, ii. 330, *Syria*, pp. 113, 540, 643; Vambéry, *Travels*, p. 108; Arnold, *Persia*, ii. 183; Layard, *Nin. & Bab.* pp. 305–307; Chardin, *Voyages*, vi. 107–112; W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, i. See Index, s. v. Blood-revenge). Money-compensations for homicide are appointed by the Hindú law (Sir W. Jones, vol. iii. chap. vii.), and Tacitus remarks that among the German nations "luitur homicidium certo armentorum ac pecorum numero" (*Germ.* 21). By the Anglo-Saxon law also money-compensation for homicide, *wer-gild*, was sanctioned on a scale proportioned to the rank of the murdered person (Lappenberg, ii. 336; Lingard, i. 411, 414).

The spirit of all legislation on the subject has probably been to restrain the licence of punishment assumed by relatives, and to limit the duration of feuds. Burckhardt, as quoted above, considers the custom beneficial, as tending to diminish tribal warfare among the Arabs. The law of Moses was very precise in its directions on the subject of Retaliation.

1. The wilful murderer was to be put to death without permission of compensation. The nearest relative of the deceased became the authorized avenger of blood (גֹּאֵל, *the redeemer*, or *avenger*, as next of kin, Gesen. *s. v.* p. 254, who rejects the opinion of Michaelis, understanding by it "polluted," *i.e.* till the murder was avenged; ὁ ἀγχιστεύων, LXX., *propinquus occisi*, Vulg., Num. xxxv. 19), and was bound to execute retaliation himself if it lay in his power. The king, however, in later times appears to have had the power of restraining this licence. The shedder of blood was thus regarded as impious and polluted (Num. xxxv. 16–31; Deut. xix. 11; 2 Sam. xiv. 7, 11, xvi. 8, and iii. 29, with 1 K. ii. 33, 37; 1 Ch. xxiv. 22–25).

2. The law of retaliation was not to extend beyond the immediate offender (Deut. xxiv. 16; 2 K. xiv. 6; 2 Ch. xxv. 4; Jer. xxxi. 29, 30; Ezek. xviii. 20; Joseph. *Ant.* iv. 8, § 39).

3. The involuntary shedder of blood was permitted to take flight to one of six Levitical cities, specially appointed out of the forty-eight as cities of refuge, three on each side of the Jordan (Num. xxxv. 22, 23; Deut. xix. 4–6). The cities were Kedesh, in Mount Naphtali; Shechem, in Mount Ephraim; Hebron, in the hill-country of Judah. On the E. side of Jordan, Bezer, in Reuben; Ramoth, in Gad; Golan, in Manasseh (Josh. xx. 7, 8). The elders of the city of refuge were to hear his case and protect him till he could be tried before the authorities of his own city. If the act were then decided to have been involuntary, he was taken back to the city of refuge, round which an area with a radius of 2,000 cubits (or with the suburbs 3,000, Patrick) was assigned as the limit of protection, and was to remain there in safety till the death of the high-priest for the time being. Beyond the limit of the city of refuge the revenger might slay him, but after the high-priest's death he might return to his home with impunity (Num. xxxv. 25, 28; Josh. xx. 4, 6). The roads to the cities were to be kept open (Deut. xix. 3).

To these particulars the Talmudists add, among others of an absurd kind, the following:—At the cross-roads posts were erected bearing the word מקלט, *refuge*, to direct the fugitive. All facilities of water and situation were provided in the cities: no implements of war or chase were allowed there. The mothers of high-priests used to send presents to the detained persons to prevent their wishing for the high-priest's death. If the fugitive died before the high-priest, his bones were sent home after the high-priest's death (P. Fagius in Targ. Onk. Ap. Rittershus. *de Jure Asyli, Crit. Sacr.* viii. p. 159; Lightfoot, *Cent. Chorogr.* c. 50, *Op.* ii. p. 208).

4. If a person were found dead, the elders of the nearest city were to meet in a rough valley untouched by the plough, and, washing their hands over a beheaded heifer, protest their innocence of the deed, and deprecate the anger of the Almighty (Deut. xxi. 1–9). [H. W. P.]

BOANE'RGES (Βοανηργές, not Βοανεργὲς as Textus Receptus; Vulg. *Boanerges*). The etymology is obscure. That Βοανη represents בְּנֵי (for בְּנֵי) is rejected by Kautzsch (*Gramm. d. Bibl.-Aram.* § 5, 2 (a)) as "monstrous," and he thinks no better of connecting ργες with רִנַּשׁ (Aram.) or רַעַשׁ (Heb.); neither mean "thunder," but "tumult," "shaking." Kautzsch himself prefers the root רנן. The true reading Βοανηργὲς is important, as pointing to the division Βοανη-ργες. The intention of the name was probably to mark the personal character of the two

Apostles. Westcott (*Gospel of St. John*, Introd. p. xxxii.) justifies the name as regards St. John (1) by the sayings ascribed to him (Luke ix. 49, 54); (2) by the general tone of the Apocalypse; (3) by the stern denunciations of doctrinal error in St. John's Epistles. Ebrard (in Herzog,[2] art. "John the Apostle") points out in this connexion the mistake of conceiving St. John as a sentimental, emotional character. Suicer (*s. v.* βροντή) collects passages from nearly all the great Fathers, which explain the name to refer merely to the office of the sons of Zebedee as Apostles and Evangelists; they thundered forth the Gospel. This does not appear an adequate explanation. Archbp. Trench notices the coincidence that thunder is not mentioned in the N. T. except in the writings of St. John. See whole art. Trench, *Studies in the Gospels*, "Sons of Thunder." [E. R. B.]

BOAR, WILD (חֲזִיר, *khazir*; σῦς; *asser*; Arab. خنزير, *khanzir*; *Sus scrofa*, Linn.), occurs only once in the A. V., Ps. lxxx. 13, "The boar out of the wood doth waste it," but the Hebrew word is frequently used, and rendered in A. V. "swine" when referring to the domesticated animal. The passage quoted is the only reference to the wild boar in Scripture. In the N. T. all the allusions are to the domesticated animal, invariably termed χοῖρος. It must not however be supposed that the wild boar was rare in Bible lands, for throughout the East it is and always has been plentiful; the configuration of the country and the many wooded glens and gorges, as well as the marshes and reeds of the Jordan and its tributaries, affording it secure lairs. From the thickets and canebrakes of the Jordan, it is even now impossible for either man or dog to dislodge the wild boar. But during the annual overflowing of the river, a little before harvest time, they are driven out of their submerged haunts, and spread themselves over the upper country, concealing themselves in woods or thickets by day, and committing fearful devastation among the crops at night, trampling and destroying far more than they eat. In the neighbourhood of Jericho, the husbandmen at this period have to keep watch by night, over both their barley and especially their root crops. The presence of the marauders can always be detected by the crashing noise they make in forcing their way through the thickets, when the guards fire, directed by the sound. In a single night a party of wild boars will uproot a whole field, and destroy the husbandman's hopes for the year. Nor is it only in and near the Jordan Valley that the boar is destructive. Even on the slopes of Hermon, where the vine is largely cultivated, the wild boar commits great ravages among the vines, devouring not only the grapes, but the young shoots; and yet contriving effectively to conceal himself during the day. In the downs of Southern Philistia and Beersheba, it is equally common, ploughing up the plains in every direction for the roots of the asphodels, irises, and crocuses which there abound, and which form its sole subsistence. In the regions east of Jordan, where men are few and boars are many, they scarcely take the trouble to conceal themselves in the daytime. On one of the sculptures of Kouyunjik, a wild sow is depicted with nine young ones in a cane-brake (Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 109, Pl. 12, 2nd Series, Mon.).

The wild boar, *Sus scrofa*, is a pachydermatous animal, family *Suina*. It has an immense geographical range, extending throughout the whole continental old world, except South Africa, irrespective of climate. The Indian boar has by some been distinguished as *Sus Indicus*, having a longer and more pointed head, and small and pointed ears. It is rather smaller than the West Asiatic hog, which is quite as large as, and more active than, the German race. In all the varieties, the young are very prettily marked with zebra-like stripes. Other species are found in Africa and South-Eastern Asia and its islands, and many extinct, among the fossils of the later Tertiaries. [H. B. T.]

BO'AZ (בֹּעַז, Ges. connects this with an Arabic word = *sprightliness, alacrity*; B. Βόος, A. [sometimes] Βοόζ; *Booz*). **1.** A wealthy Bethlehemite, kinsman to Elimelech, the husband of Naomi. Finding that the kinsman of Ruth, who stood in a still nearer relation than himself, was unwilling to perform the office of גֹּאֵל, he had those obligations publicly transferred with the usual ceremonies to his own discharge; and hence it became his duty by the "levirate law" to marry Ruth (although it is hinted, Ruth iii. 10, that he was much her senior, and indeed this fact is evident whatever system of chronology we adopt), and to redeem the estates of her deceased husband Mahlon (iv. 1 ff.; Jahn, *Arch. Bibl.* § 157. See notes in *Speaker's Comm.* on Ruth iv., and consult Riehm, *HWB.* s. n. *Ruth*). He gladly undertook these responsibilities, and their happy union was blessed by the birth of Obed, from whom in a direct line our Lord was descended. No objection seems to have arisen on the score of Ruth's Moabitish birth; a fact which has some bearing on the date of the narrative (cp. Ezra ix. 1 sq.). [BETHLEHEM.]

Boaz is mentioned in the genealogy (Matt. i. 5), but there is great difficulty in assigning his date. The genealogy in Ruth (iv. 18–22; see notes in *Speaker's Comm.*) only allows 10 generations for 850 years, and only 4 for the 450 years between Salmon and David, if (as is almost certain from St. Matt. and from Jewish tradition) the Rahab mentioned is Rahab the harlot. If Boaz be identical with the judge Ibzan [IBZAN], as is stated with some shadow of probability by the Jerusalem Talmud and various Rabbis, several generations must be inserted. Dr. Kennicott, from the difference in form between Salmah and Salmon (Ruth v. 20, 21), supposes that by mistake two different men were identified (*Dissert.* i. 543); but we want at least *three* generations, and this supposition gives us only one. Mill quotes from Nicolas Syranus the theory, "dicunt majores nostri, et bene quod videtur, quod *tres fuerint Booz sibi succedentes;* in Mt. i. isti tres sub uno nomine comprehenduntur." Even if we shorten the period of the Judges to 240 years, we must suppose that Boaz was the youngest son of Salmon, and that he did not marry till the age of 65 (Dr. Mill, *On the Genealogies;* Lord A. Hervey, *Id.* p. 262, &c.). The difficulties in con-

nexion with this genealogy have led some critics to consider it a mere excerpt from 2 Ch. ii., and inserted in the original text by an unknown writer in the Greek period (Reuss, *Die Gesch. d. heilig. Schriften A. T.*, p. 298; Oettli in Strack u. Zöckler's *Kgf. Komm.*, Ruth. Einleit. § 4). This opinion is purely conjectural.

2. The name of one of Solomon's brazen pillars erected in the Temple porch. [JACHIN.] It stood on the left, and was 17½ cubits high (1 K. vii. 15, 21 [LXX. *v.* 7, B. Βαλάζ, A. Βόος]; 2 Ch. iii. 15, 17, BA. Ἰσχύς; Jer. lii. 21). It was hollow and surmounted by a chapiter, 5 cubits high, ornamented with network and 100 pomegranates. The apparent discrepancies in stating the height of it, arise from the including and excluding of the ornament which united the shaft to the chapiter, &c. [F. W. F.]

BOC'CAS (ὁ Βοκκάς; *Boccus*), a priest in the line of Esdras (1 Esd. viii. 2). [BUKKI; BORITH.]

BO'CHERU (בְּכֹרִי, with the termination *-u* sometimes found in proper names; cp. Gashmu "the Arabian" [Neh. vi. 1, 6], and see Olshausen, *Lehrb. d. Heb. Sprache*, p. 201; Euting, *Nab. Inschriften*, pp. 90–92: LXX. πρωτότοκος: *Bocru;* 1 Ch. viii. 38, ix. 44), son of Azel, of the descendants of Saul. [BECHER.] [S. R. D.]

BO'CHIM (הַבְּכִים, *the weepers;* ὁ Κλαυθμών, Κλαυθμῶνες; *locus flentium sive lacrymarum*), a place on the west of Jordan, above Gilgal (Judg. ii. 1, 5), so called because the people "wept" there. The LXX. inserts ἐπὶ Βαιθήλ after Bochim in Judg. ii. 1, possibly a tradition that the place of weeping was near Bethel. [G.] [W.]

BO'HAN (בֹּהַן, *thumb;* Βαίων; *Boen*), a Reubenite, after whom a stone was named, possibly to commemorate some achievement in the conquest of Palestine (1 Sam. vii. 12). Its position was on the border of the territories of Benjamin and Judah between Beth-arabah and Beth-hogla on the E., and Adummim and En-shemesh on the W. Its exact situation is unknown (Josh. xv. 6 [see Dillmann² in loco]; xviii. 17, A. Βαάμ). M. Ganneau proposes to identify it with *Hajr el-Asbah*, a large stone, 6 miles S.W. of *'Ain Hajla*, Beth-hogla, which gives its name to the locality. This, however, seems to be too far south for a point on the boundary of Benjamin (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 199). [STONES.] [W.]

BOIL. [MEDICINE.]

BOLSTER. The Hebrew word (מְרַאֲשֹׁת, *mĕra'ăshôth*) so rendered, denotes, like the English, simply a place for the head. Hardy travellers, like Jacob (Gen. xxviii. 11, 18) and Elijah (1 K. xix. 6), sleeping on the bare ground, would make use of a stone for this purpose; and soldiers on the march had probably no softer resting-place (1 Sam. xxvi. 7, 11, 12, 16). Possibly both Saul and Elijah may have used the water-bottle which they carried as a bolster; and if this were the case, David's midnight adventure becomes more conspicuously daring. The "pillow" of goat's hair which Michal's cunning put in the place of the bolster in her husband's bed (1 Sam. xix. 13, 16) was probably, as Ewald suggests, a net or curtain of goat's hair, to protect the sleeper from the mosquitoes (*Gesch.* iii. p. 101, note), like the "canopy" of Holofernes. [W. A. W.]

BOLLED. Ex. ix. 31, "the flax was bolled," rather as in R. V. marg. "was in bloom" (*QPB.*³). The Heb. word גִּבְעֹל is connected by Ges. with גָּבִיעַ, a cup, and so here, a cup or calix of flowers. The record is one of importance as fixing the date of the plague of hail about the middle of February or early in March (see *Speaker's Comm.* on Ex. ix. 31, note; Knobel places it in January. See Dillmann, Exod.² l. c.). [F.]

BONDAGE. [SLAVERY.]

BONNET. [See HEAD-DRESS.] In Old English, as in Scotch to this day, the word "bonnet" was applied to the head-dress of men. Thus in Hall's *Rich. III.*, fol. 9 a: "And after a lytle season puttyng of hys *boneth* he sayde: O Lorde God creator of all thynges, howe muche is this realme of Englande and the people of the same bounden to thy goodnes." And in Shakspere (*Haml.* v. 2):

"Your *bonnet* to his right use: 'tis for the head."

[W. A. W.]

BOOK. [WRITING.]

BOOTHS. [SUCCOTH; TABERNACLES, FEAST OF.]

BOOTY. This consisted of captives of both sexes, cattle, and whatever a captured city might contain, especially metallic treasures. The earliest Biblical record of such a capture is that by Abram in his rescue of Lot, where the king of Sodom offers him the entire plunder, claiming only the rescued captives for himself. This Abram rejects as regards his own share, but stipulates that his confederates shall receive their portion (Gen. xiv. 24). Within the limits of Canaan, no captives were to be made (Deut. xx. 14, 17); beyond those limits, in case of warlike resistance, all the women and children were to be made captives, and the men put to death. So the Israelites anticipate that, if worsted by the Canaanites, they would be put to the sword, and "their wives and children become a prey" (Num. xiv. 3). A special charge was given to destroy the "pictures [R. V. "figured stones"] and images" of the Canaanites, as tending to idolatry (Num. xxxiii. 52). The case of Amalek was a special one, in which Saul was bidden to destroy the cattle. So also was that of the expedition against Arad, in which the people take a vow to destroy the cities, and that of Jericho, on which the curse of God seems to have rested, and the gold and silver &c. of which were viewed as reserved wholly for Him (1 Sam. xv. 2, 3; Num. xxi. 2; Josh. vi. 19). The law of booty —as laid down in the case of Amalek—was, that it should be divided equally between the army who won it and the people of Israel; but of the former one head in every five hundred was reserved to God, and appropriated to the priests, and of the latter one in every fifty was similarly reserved, and appropriated

to the Levites (Num. xxxi. 26–47). The share of the women in the spoil, as enhancing their interest in the victory, is mentioned in several lyric passages, and these point no doubt to well-known custom (Judg. v. 30; 2 Sam. i. 24; Ps. lxviii. 12). As regarded the army, David added a regulation that the baggage-guard should share equally with the troops engaged. The present made by David out of his booty, to the elders of towns in Judah, was an act of grateful courtesy merely, though perhaps suggested by the Law (Num. *l. c.*). So the spoils devoted by him to provide for the Temple must be regarded as a freewill offering (1 Sam. xxx. 24–26; 2 Sam. viii. 11; 1 Ch. xxvi. 27). In the extraordinary victory of Judith, the plunder of the hostile camp is left to the people promiscuously for thirty days, the camp-furniture of Holofernes, with his bed and canopy, being assigned to her as her special share, and by her dedicated (Judith xv. 11; xvi. 19). The name given to the son of Isaiah, "Maher-shalal-hash-baz" (R. V. marg. "the spoil speedeth, the prey hasteth"; see also *QPB.*[3]) is expressive of the havoc to be wrought within a few years upon Damascus and Samaria by the king of Assyria; and the plunder of treasures by the hostile hand is an oft-recurring image of prophecy. Thus the spoiler that was never yet spoiled, and that gathered spoil like eggs from the nest of every nation, aptly portrays the violent career of the Assyrian (Is. viii. 3, 4; x. 14; xxxiii. 1). [H. H.]

BO'OZ (Rec. T. Βοάζ; Westcott and Hort, Βοὲς in Matt., Βοὸς in Luke; *Booz*), Matt. i. 5; Luke iii. 32. [BOAZ.]

BO'RITH (*Borith*), a priest in the line of Esdras (2 Esd. i. 2). The corresponding name is Boccas in 1 Esd. viii. 2, and BUKKI in 1 Ch. vi. 5.

BORROWING. [LOAN.]

BOS'CATH, 2 K. xxii. 1. [BOZKATH.]

BOSOM. See (1) ABRAHAM'S BOSOM; (2) DRESS, 3, (4); (3) MEALS. Cp. also CRUSE (3).

BO'SOR. **1.** B. Βοσόρ; A. Βοσσὸρ in *v.* 26; בֹּצֶר; *Bosor*; a city, both large and fortified, on the east of Jordan in the land of Gilead (Galaad), named with Bozrah (Bosora), Carnaim, and other places in 1 Macc. v. 26, 36. It is now probably *Busr el-Hariri* at the southern edge of the *Lejah*. [G.] [W.]

2. ὁ Βόσορ; *ex Bosor;* i. q. BEOR, the father of Balaam (2 Pet. ii. 15). The origin of Bosor for Beor is quite uncertain. Probably it is due to a textual corruption. That it is a Chaldaism for Beor, as is sometimes stated, is entirely out of the question; for though, under certain circumstances (see Driver's *Heb. Tenses*[2], § 178), the Heb. ע = Chald. ע, the reverse change of Heb. ע = Chald. ע is unheard of. Cp. Flecker, *Scripture Onomatology*, pp. 69–75. [S. R. D.]

BOS'ORA (BN. Βοσορά, בָּצֵר; *Barasa, Bosor*), a strong city in Gilead taken by Judas Maccabaeus (1 Macc. v. 26, 28). It is probably the Roman Bostra, now *Busrah*, near the south border of the Hauran. The ruins are extensive and perfect; temples, churches, mosques, triumphal arches, a great theatre, gateways, colonnades, &c.; a Roman road connected it with Damascus on the one hand and with *Busra* on the Euphrates on the other (Reland, *Pal.* p. 665; Porter, ii. chap. 12; De Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale;* Merrill, *East of Jordan*, pp. 53–58; Wright in *Leisure Hour*, 1874, p. 763.) [G.] [W.]

BOTCH. [MEDICINE.]

BOTTLE. The words which are usually rendered in A. V. "bottle" are, in O. T., 1. חֵמָת (Gen. xxi. 14, 15, 19; R. V. marg. *skin*); ἀσκός; *uter:* a skin-bottle. 2. נֵבֶל, or נֹבֶל (1 Sam. x. 3; Job xxxviii. 37; Is. xxx. 14, marg.; Jer. xiii. 12; Lam. iv. 2, "pitcher"); ἀγγεῖον, κεράμιον, ἀσκός; *uter, vas testeum, lagena, lagunc(u)la.* 3. בַּקְבּוּק (Jer. xix. 1); βικὸς ὀστράκινος; *lagunc(u)la:* earthen bottle. 4. נֹאד (Josh. ix. 4, 13; Judg. iv. 19; 1 Sam. xvi. 20; Pss. lvi. 8, cxix. 83); ἀσκός; *uter, lagena;* R. V. "wine-skin." On the Hebrew version of Ps. lvi. 8 it may be remarked (1) that the word נֹאד—possibly selected for its alliteration with נָדִי, the opening word of the verse—means properly a skin, *i.e.* a bottle made of skin; (2) that there is no ground for supposing that any custom prevailed among the Israelites of collecting tears in vessels used for the purpose, and for which the name "lachrymatories" appears to have been invented.

In N. T. the only word rendered "bottle" (R. V. "wine-skin") is ἀσκός (Matt. ix. 17; Mark ii. 22; Luke v. 37). The bottles of Scripture are thus evidently of two kinds. 1. The skin bottle; 2. The bottle of earthen or glass ware, both of them capable of being closed from the air.

1. The skin bottle will be best described in the following account collected from Chardin and others. The Arabs, and all those that lead a wandering life, keep their water, milk, and other liquors, in leathern bottles. These are made of goatskins. When the animal is killed, they cut off its feet and its head, and they draw it in this manner out of the skin, without opening its belly. They are stuffed out full and strained by driving in billets and chips of oak-wood, and are then tanned with oak-bark, or in Arabia with acacia-bark, and the hairy part left outside. If not tanned, a disagreeable taste is imparted to the water. They afterwards sew up the places where the legs were cut off and the tail, and when it is filled they tie it about the neck. The great leathern bottles are made of the skin of a he-goat, and the small ones, that serve instead of a bottle of water on the road, are made of a kid's skin. These bottles when rent are repaired sometimes by setting in a piece; sometimes by gathering up the wounded place in manner of a purse; sometimes they put in a round flat piece of wood, and by that means stop the hole (Chardin, ii. 405, viii. 409; Wellsted, *Arabia*, i. 89, ii. 78; Lane, *Mod. Egyp.* ii. c. 14, p. 154; Harmer, from Chardin's notes, ed. Clarke, i. 284; Baker, *Abyssinia*, p. 50;

Robinson, *Pal.* ii. 79). Bruce gives a description of a vessel of the same kind, but larger. "A *gerba* (Lane, *kirbeh*) is an ox's skin, squared, and the edges sewed together by a double seam, which does not let out water. An opening is left at the top, in the same manner as the bunghole of a cask; around this the skin is gathered to the size of a large handful, which, when the gerba is full of water, is tied round with whipcord. These gerbas contain about sixty gallons each, and two of them are the load of a camel. They are then all besmeared on the outside with grease, as well to hinder the water from oozing through, as to prevent its being evaporated by the heat of the sun upon the gerba, which, in fact, happened to us twice, so as to put us in danger of perishing with thirst" (*Travels*, iv. 334).

Skin Bottles. (From the Museo Borbonico.)

Wine-bottles of skin are mentioned as used by Greeks, Romans, and Egyptians, by Homer (*Od.* vi. 78, *οἶνον ἔχενεν ἀσκῷ ἐν αἰγείῳ*; *Il.* iii. 247); by Herodotus, as used in Egypt (ii. 121), where he speaks of letting the wine out of the skin by the *ποδεών*, the end usually tied up to serve as the neck; by Virgil (*Georg.* ii. 384). Also by Athenaeus, who mentions a large skin-bottle of the nature of the gerba (*ἀσκὸς ἐκ παρδαλῶν δερμάτων ἐῤῥαμμένος*, v. 28, p. 199). Chardin says that wine in Persia is preserved in skins saturated with pitch, which, when good, impart no flavour to the wine (*Voyages*, iv. 75). Skins for wine or other liquids are in use to this day in Spain, where they are called *borrachas*.

The effect of external heat upon a skin-bottle is indicated in Ps. cxix. 83, "a bottle [R. V. marg. *wine-skin*] in the smoke;" and of expansion produced by fermentation in Matt. ix. 17, "new wine in old bottles" [R. V. "wine-skins"].

2. Vessels of metal, earthen, or glass ware for liquids were in use among the Greeks, Egyptians, Etruscans, and Assyrians (*χρυσότυπος φιάλη Τυρσηνή*, Athen. i. 20 (28); *ἀργυρέη φιάλη*, *Il.* xxiii. 243; *ἀμφίθετον φιάλην ἀπύρωτον*, *ib.* 270), and also no doubt among the Jews, especially in later times. Thus Jer. xix. 1, "a potter's earthen bottle." The Jews probably borrowed their manufactures in this particular from Egypt, which was celebrated for glass work, as remains and illustrations of Egyptian workmanship are extant at least as early as the 15th century B.C. (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* ii. 59, 60 [1878]).

Egyptian Bottles. 1 to 7, glass; 8 to 11, earthenware. (From the British Museum Collection.)

Glass bottles of the 3rd or 4th century B.C. have been found at Babylon by Sir A. Layard. At Cairo many persons obtain a livelihood by selling Nile water, which is carried by camels or asses in skins, or by the carrier himself on his back in pitchers of porous grey earth (Lane, *Mod. Egyp.* ii. 153, 155; Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 611; Maundrell, *Journey*, p. 407, Bohn; Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* i. 148–158; *Dict. of Gk. and Rom. Antiq.*, s. v. "Vinum"; Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 196, 503; Gesenius, *s. vv.*) [H. W. P.]

Assyrian Glass Bottles. (From the British Museum Collection.)

BOTTOMLESS PIT. [DEEP, THE.]

BOW. [ARMS.]

BOWELS (the translation of two very different words, מֵעַיִם, רַחֲמִים; *τὰ σπλάγχνα*). The bowels being regarded by the Hebrews as the seat of the affections, mercy, tenderness, and compassion, the word often stands as an equivalent for heart, breast, and bosom with us. In most cases the R. V. has adopted the English idiom ("tender mercies," "compassion," "heart") in place of the literal translation of the A. V. (cp. the two in *e.g.* Pss. xxv. 6, xl. 8; Prov. xii. 10; Cant. v. 4; Luke i. 78; 2 Cor. iii. 15, vi. 12; Philip. i. 8, ii. 1; Col. iii. 12; Philem. *vv.* 7, 12, 20; 1 John iii. 17); in some the word "bowels" is still retained (*e.g.* Jer. iv. 29, xxxi. 20), as giving a more appropriate sense (cp. *D. B.*, Amer. ed.). [F.]

BOWL. 1. גֻּלָּה; *στρεπτὸν ἀνθέμιον*; *funiculus*; see Ges. *Thes.* p. 288. 2. סַפָּל; *λεκάνη*; *concha*: in Judg. v. 25, A. V. and R. V. "dish"; in Judg. vi. 38, A. V. and R. V. "bowl." 3. גָּבִיעַ; *κρατήρ*; *scyphus*. 4. מִזְרָק; *κύαθος*; *cyathus*. Of these words (1) may be taken to indicate chiefly roundness, from גָּלַל, *to roll*, as a ball or globe, placed as an ornament on the tops or capitals of columns (1 K. vii. 41; 2 Ch. iv. 12, 13: cp. the form גֻּל in Zech. iv. 2); also the knob or boss from which proceed the branches of a candlestick (Zech. iv. 2), and also a suspended lamp, in A. V. and R. V. "golden bowl" (Eccles. xii. 6). (2) Of uncertain etymology. Ges. connects it with smallness or shallowness,

and it perhaps represents a shallow dish or basin. It is rendered *bowls* by A. V. in 1 K. vii. 50, 2 K. xii. 13 (14), and *cups* by R. V. (3) A round vessel (Jer. xxxv. 5), *κεράμιον*, LXX. (4) A lustratory vessel, from נָקָה, *pure*.

Bowl, with Hebrew Inscription. (Birch's *Ancient Pottery.*)

Bowl, with Syriac Inscription. (Birch's *Ancient Pottery.*)

A like uncertainty prevails as to the precise form and material of these vessels as is noticed under BASIN. Bowls would probably be used at meals for liquids, or broth, or pottage (2 K. iv. 40). Modern Arabs are content with a few wooden bowls. In the Brit. Mus. are deposited several terra-cotta bowls with Chaldean inscriptions of a superstitious character, expressing charms against sickness and evil spirits, which may possibly help to explain the "divining cup" of Joseph (Gen. xliv. 5. See DIVINATION). The bowl was filled with some liquid and drunk off as a charm against evil. See the case of Tippoo Sahib drinking water out of a black stone as a charm against misfortune (Gleig, *Life of Munro*, i. 218). One of the Brit. Mus. bowls still retains the stain of a liquid. These bowls, however, are thought by Mr. Birch not to be very ancient (Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* pp. 509, 511, 526; Birch, *Anc. Pottery*, i. 154; Shaw, p. 231.) [H. W. P.]

BOX. The A. V. rendering of פַּךְ (*φακός*; *lenticula*), "a box of oil," in 2 K. ix. 1, 3; but more correctly "vial" in 1 Sam. x. 1. R. V. has "vial" in both places. [ALABASTER.] [F.]

BOX-TREE (תְּאַשּׁוּר,[a] *teasshûr*; *θαασούρ*, *κέδρος*; *buxus*, *pinus*; R. V. margin, *cypress*) occurs in Is. lx. 13, together with "the fir-tree and the pine-tree," as furnishing wood from Lebanon for the Temple that was to be built at Jerusalem. In Is. xli. 19 the *teasshûr* is mentioned in connexion with "the cedar, ... the fir-tree and the pine," &c., which should one day be planted in the wilderness. The Talmudical and Jewish writers generally are of opinion that the box-tree is intended, and with them agree Montanus, Deodatus, the A. V. and other modern Versions; Rosenmüller (*Bibl. Bot.* 300), Celsius (*Hierob.* ii. 153), and Parkhurst (*Heb. Lex.* s. v. תאשור) are also in favour of the box-tree. The Syriac and the Arabic Version of Saadiah understand the *teasshûr* to denote a species of cedar called *sherbin*,[b] which is distinguished by the small size of the cones and the upright growth of the branches. This interpretation is also sanctioned by Gesenius and most modern commentators. Hiller (*Hierophyt.* i. 401) believes that the Hebrew word may denote either the box or the maple. With regard to that theory which identifies the *teasshûr* with the *sherbin*, there is not, beyond the authority of the Syriac and Arabic Versions, any satisfactory evidence to support it. Although the Arabic Version of Dioscorides gives *sherbin* as the rendering of the Greek *κέδρος*, the two trees which Dioscorides speaks of are rather to be referred to the genus *juniperus* than to that of *pinus*. The true *sherbin* is the *Juniperus excelsa*, one of the most conspicuous and characteristic trees of the higher part of Lebanon. It has often been confounded with the cedar and especially with the cypress, which it resembles in its habit and general appearance. Celsius (*Hierob.* i. 80) and Sprengel (*Hist. Rei Herb.* i. 267), as well as Niebuhr, have been led to confound the tall juniper with the cedar. The same word, however, in the Chaldee, the Syriac, and the Arabic Versions, is occasionally used to express the *berosh* (בְּרוֹשׁ), which is either the juniper or the pine, most probably the latter (*Pinus halepensis*). The passage in Ezek. xxvii. 6,[c] although it is one of acknowledged difficulty, is taken by many, with Bochart (*Geog. Sac.* i. iii. c. 5, 180) and Rosenmüller, to uphold the claim of the box-tree to represent the *teasshûr*; and is thus translated by R. V.: "they have made thy benches (marg. *deck*) of ivory, inlaid with boxwood (*al.* larch, cp. *QPB.*[3]) from the isles of Chittim." Now it is probable that the isles of Chittim may refer to any of the islands or maritime districts of the Mediterranean. Modern critics [see MV.[11]] identify Chittim here with Cyprus, but Bochart believes that Corsica is intended in this passage: the Vulg. has "de insulis Italiae." Corsica was celebrated for its box-trees (Plin. xvi. 16; Theophrast. *H. P.* iii. 15, § 5), and it is well known that the ancients understood the art of veneering wood, especially box-wood, with ivory, tortoise-shell, &c. (Virg. *Aen.* x. 137). This passage therefore does certainly seem to favour the opinion that *teasshûr* denotes the wood of the box-tree (*Buxus longifolia*), the Oriental representative of our European *Buxus sempervivus*, differing in having larger and more pointed leaves, and in other inconspicuous points. It is a small evergreen tree, about twenty feet high, growing in the higher parts of Lebanon. The wood is highly prized in Syria for the manufacture of combs, spoons, locks, and other domestic articles. [W. H.] [H. B. T.]

BO'ZEZ (בּוֹצֵץ, Ges. = *shining*; BA. Βαζές; *Boses*), the name of one of the two "sharp

[a] Apparently from the root אָשַׁר, "to be straight, upright" (Ges. *Thes.*).

[b] שְׁרִבִּין.

[c] קַרְשֵׁךְ עֲשׂוּרֵשֵׁן בַּת־אַשֻּׁרִים מֵאֵיי כִּתִּים [Baer]; A. V. "The company of the Ashurites have made thy benches of ivory, brought out of the isles of Chittim." Bochart, followed by most critics, reads בַּתְאַשֻּׁרִים as one word, בַּת־א׳.

rocks" (Hebrew, "teeth of the cliff") "between the passages" by which Jonathan entered the Philistine garrison. It seems to have been that on the north side (1 Sam. xiv. 4, 5). Robinson notices two hills of blunt conical form in the bottom of the *Wâdy Suweinit* just below *Mŭkhmâs* (i. 441 and iii. 289); Stanley, on the other hand, could not make them out (*S. & P.* p. 205, note). And indeed these hills answer neither to the expression of the text nor the requirements of the narrative. Conder (*Tent Work in Pal.* ii. 112–14) proposes to identify it with *el-Hosn*, a cliff on the N. side of *W. Suweinît*, near *Mŭkhmâs*; cp. *PEFQy. Stat.*, 1881, p. 252. [G.] [W.]

BOZ'KATH (בָּצְקַת, perhaps an *elevated* place; B. Βασηδώθ, A. Μασχάθ, in Josh.; BA. in Kings, Βασουρώθ; Joseph. Βοσκέθ; *Bascath* in Josh., *Besecath* in Kings), a city of Judah in the Shefêlah; named in the same group with Lachish and Eglon (Josh. xv. 39). It is mentioned once again (2 K. xxii. 1) as the native place of the mother of king Josiah. Here it is spelt in the A. V. "Boscath." The site has not yet been discovered. [G.] [W.]

BOZ'RAH (בָּצְרָה, possibly from a root with the force of restraining, therefore used for a *sheepfold*, Ges., and also for a *fortified place*, MV.[11]; Βοσόρρα; Βοσόρ, also ὀχυρώμα, Jer. xlix. 22; τεῖχος, Amos i. 12; θλίψις, Mic. ii. 12; Vulg. *ovile*; *Bosra*), the name of more than one place on the east of Palestine. **1.** In Edom—the city of Jobab the son of Zerah, one of the early kings of that nation (Gen. xxxvi. 33; 1 Ch. i. 44). This is doubtless the place mentioned in later times by Isaiah (xxxiv. 6; lxiii. 1) in connexion with Edom, by Jeremiah (xlix. 13, 22), Amos (i. 12), and, perhaps, by Micah (ii. 12), "sheep of B." (R. V., cp. Is. xxxiv. 6), though the word is here rendered by the Vulgate and by Gesenius "the sheep into a fold" (Ges. *Thes.* p. 230). It was known to Eusebius, who speaks of it (*OS.*[2] p. 247, 58) as a city of Esau in the mountains of Idumaea, in connexion with Is. lxii. 1, and in contradistinction to Bosor the "city of refuge." There is no reason to doubt that the modern representative of Bozrah is *el-Buseireh*, البصيرة, which was first visited by Burckhardt (*Syr.* p. 407; *Beszeyra*), and lies in the mountain district to the S.E. of the Dead Sea, between *Tûfileh* and *Petra*, about half-way between the latter and the Dead Sea. Irby and Mangles mention it under the name of *Ipseyra* and *Bsaida* (chap. viii.: see also Robinson, ii. 167). The "goats" which Isaiah connects with the place were found in large numbers in this neighbourhood by Burckhardt (*Syr.* p. 405).

2. In his catalogue of the cities of the land of Moab, Jeremiah (xlviii. 24) mentions a

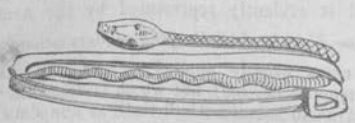
Bozrah.

Bozrah as in "the plain country" (v. 21, אֶרֶץ הַמִּישֹׁר, *i.e.* the high level downs on the east of the Dead Sea and of the lower Jordan, the *Belka* of the modern Arabs). Here lay Heshbon, Nebo, Kirjathaim, Diblathaim, and the other towns named in this passage, and it is here that Bozrah should be sought, and not, as has been suggested, at Bostra, the Roman city in Bashan full sixty miles from Heshbon (Porter's *Damascus*, ii. 163). If recovered [see Dillmann[2] on Deut. iv. 43], it is probably the same as Bezer in the wilderness, and the Bezer, or Bosor, of king Mesha's inscription [BEZER] (*Records of the Past*, N. S. ii. 203), now *Kesûr el-Besheir*, S.W. of *Dhîbân*, Dibon. [G.] [W.]

RACELET (אֲצַעֲדָה; ψέλλιον; χλιδών). Under ARMLET an account is given of these ornaments, the materials of which they were generally made, and the manner in which they

were worn, &c. Besides אֲצָעָדָה (Num. xxxi. 50; 2 Sam. i. 10) four other words are translated by "bracelet" in the Bible, viz.: 1. צְמִיד (from צָמַד, to fasten), Gen. xxiv. 22, Num. xxxi. 50, &c. 2. שֶׁרֶה (a chain, *σειρά*, from its being wreathed, שָׂרַר). It only occurs in this sense in Is. iii. 19 [R. V. marg. *chains*], but compare the expression "wreathen chains" in Ex. xxviii. 14, 22. Bracelets of fine twisted Venetian gold are still common in Egypt (Lane, ii. 368, Append. A and plates). 3. פְּתִיל, Gen. xxxviii. 18, 25, rendered "bracelet" by A. V., but meaning probably "a string by which a seal-ring was suspended" (Gesen. *s. v.*; cp. R. V. "cord"). The same word is rendered "lace" (Ex. xxviii. 28); "wires" (Ex. xxxix. 3); "ribband" (Num. xv. 38; R. V. "cord"); "line" (Ezek. xl. 3); and "thread" (Judg. xvi. 9; R. V. "string"). 4. חָח, Ex. xxxv. 22; R. V. "brooches." This word is thought by many to mean "a nose-ring" (*al.* LXX. *σφραγῖδες*; *armillae*. Cp. Bochart, *Hieroz.* i. 764). Elsewhere it is rendered "hook" (2 K. xix. 28; Ezek. xxix. 4) and "chain" (Ezek. xix. 4; R. V. "hooks").

Men as well as women wore bracelets, as we see from Cant. v. 14, which may be rendered, "His wrists are circlets of gold full set with topazes" [R. V. "His hands are *as* rings of gold set with beryl"]. Layard says of the Assyrian kings: "The arms were encircled by armlets, and *the wrists by bracelets*, all equally remarkable for



Gold Egyptian Bracelet. (Wilkinson.)

the taste and beauty of the design and workmanship. In the centre of the bracelets were stars and rosettes, which were probably inlaid with precious stones" (*Nineveh*, ii. 323). These

Assyrian Bracelet Clasp. (Nineveh Marbles.)

may be observed on the sculptures in the British Museum. [ARMLET; ANKLET.] [F. W. F.]

BRAMBLE, BRIER, PRICKS, THISTLE, THORNS, THORN-HEDGE.[a] By these names at least eighteen Hebrew and four Greek words are rendered in the A. V. and R. V. In the many passages where they occur the context rarely gives any clue by which we can identify the particular species denoted, and in many cases the derivation does not aid us in the identification. But it can scarcely be doubted that by different Hebrew names different plants are indicated, and in most cases a knowledge of the Flora of Palestine will enable us to arrive at a probable conclusion. To those who have noticed the plants of Palestine, how truly it is, in its shrubs and weeds alike, a land of thorns and briers; it can be no matter of surprise that our Hebrew vocabulary, scanty as it is on most subjects of natural history, should here be so rich. The combined heat and dryness of the climate develop a tendency to form thorns, even in the succulent groups where we should least expect them. Botanically the thorn, *spina*, is entirely distinct from the prickle, *aculeus*; the former being formed in the wood, and often disappearing under cultivation or in a rich soil; the latter being an excrescence on the bark, as in the rose or the bramble, and unaffected by cultivation. All plants become more spiny in rocky and parched situations; the expansive effort, which under moister conditions would develop a twig or branch with leaf or blossom, being arrested, and forming merely a barren spine. Upon waste land in these regions the whole growth is thorny. "Upon the land of my people shall come up thorns and briers" (Is. xxxii. 13). "The thorn and the thistle shall come up on their altars" (Hos. x. 8).

The Hebrew words are: 1. *'Atad*, אָטָד (*ῥάμνος*, *rhamnus*), rendered by the A. V. and R. V. in Judg. ix. 14, 15, "bramble," and in Ps. lviii. 9, "thorns." There can be little question as to the plant intended, for the Arabic عَطَد, *atad*, is identical, and is applied by the natives to the Boxthorn or Rhamnus of which two species are common—*Lycium Europaeum* (L.),

Lycium Europaeum.

spread over the whole country, from the Lebanon downwards, excepting in the Jordan valley, where its place is taken by *Lycium*

[a] This article may replace THORNS and THISTLES in Vol. III., where the subject is not so fully treated.

Arabicum (Boiss.), an allied form. It is used, like our hawthorn, for hedges, having numerous erect branches with stiff short spines, small pinkish white flowers, and a dark berry. It has very small, thick, oblong leaves, close set, less than half the size of those of our box-tree, to which it has a fancied resemblance, whence its English name. It belongs to the family *Solanaceae*.

2. *Choach*, חוֹחַ (ἄκαν, ἀκάνθη, κνίδη, ἀκχούχ; *carduus, tribulus, spina, lappa;* and in Job xli. 2, ψέλλιον, *armilla*), variously rendered. In Is. xxxiv. 13, by the A. V. "brambles," by the R. V. "thistles," marg. *thorns:* in 1 Sam. xiii. 6, "thickets;" by A. V. and R. V. "The people did hide themselves in thickets" (ἐν ταῖς μάνδραις, *abditis*): in 2 K. xiv. 9, 2 Ch. xxv. 18, Job xxxi. 40, in the A. V. and R. V. "thistle," marg. *thorns:* "The thistle that was in Lebanon sent to the cedar that was in Lebanon;" "Let thistles grow instead of wheat." In other passages both the A. V. and R. V. render the word "thorns." In Job xli. 2, "Canst thou bore his jaw through with a thorn?" (R. V. "hook"), the word is evidently used for a weapon resembling a *choach*. The Arabic أخوخ, *achooch*, is almost identical, and is applied to a prickly hawthorn. Celsius would therefore translate it by *Prunus sylvestris*, the blackthorn, which however is not a native of the country. The only passage which affords any indication of the character of the plant is that in Job, from which we may infer that it is a thorny plant of quick growth, springing up in cultivated ground. There are two classes of prickly weeds which choke the corn-fields of Palestine—the true thistles, and the Centaureas or knapweeds. As the knapweed seems to be designated by *dardar*, *choach* may very well stand for the common thistle [see MV.[11]]. Of this genus there are many species abundant in the Holy Land, especially in the corn plains of the coast and of Esdraelon. The typical thistle of the corn-fields is *Notobasis syriaca* (L.), a tall pink flowering thistle with powerful spines. *Carthamus dentatus* (Vahl), and *C. oxyacantha*, a yellow flowering species with poisonous spines, inflicting irritating wounds, are also common. About 80 species of thistles have been recorded from Palestine.

3. *Dardar*, דַּרְדַּר (τρίβολος, *tribulus*), occurs in the O. T. in connexion with the Heb. *kôts* (קוֹץ) in Gen. iii. 18, "thorns and *thistles*," and Hos. x. 8: "The thorn and the *thistle* shall come up on their altars" (A. V. and R. V.). Τρίβολος, "thistles," occurs in Matt. vi. 16, and also in Heb. vi. 8, "briers" A. V., "thistles" R. V. There is not much difficulty in identifying the plant intended, at least generically, as the Tribulus is often mentioned in classical writers in connexion with *carduus*, "the thistle," and is generally admitted to be a knapweed or star thistle, of which several species, especially one, the *Centaurea calcitrapa* (L.), are most troublesome intruders in corn-fields throughout the Mediterranean countries. There is also another species closely allied to this, but with even more powerful spines, an inch and a half in length, very abundant in fields and waste places in Northern Palestine, *Centaurea verutum* (L.), which is so formidable that horses refuse to face it, and it has to be beaten down with sticks. Celsius has argued at great length (*Hierob.* ii. p. 128) in favour of the prickly *Fagonia arabica* (L.), but it is unnecessary to enter on his argument, as the plant is an inhabitant of the desert, and only found within Palestine about the shores of the Dead Sea. Sprengel, Royle, and others suggest *Tribulus terrestris* (L.), which, though a common weed, is neither characteristic nor especially spinous. It is clear that *dardar* has always been identified in the LXX. and elsewhere with τρίβολος, which is indisputably the *Centaurea calcitrapa*. This has been shown by Du Molin (*Flore Poétique Ancienne*, p. 305) in his dissertation on the *Tribulus* of Virgil. The thorns of these star thistles are not on the leaf or stem, but are simply the scales of the involucrum or flower sheath, lengthened into long hard spines. We are further enabled to identify τρίβολος by the ancient military engine named from it, a ball with iron spikes projecting in all directions, thrown down to arrest cavalry, and which may frequently be seen in museums. This instrument has still a place in modern military defence, under the name of "caltrop," taken from this same thistle.

4. *Chedek*, חֶדֶק, occurs twice: in Prov. xv. 19, "The way of the slothful man is as an hedge of thorns," A. V. and R. V. (ἄκανθα, *spina*); in Mic. vii. 4, "The best of them is a brier," A. V. and R. V. (σὴς ἐκτρώγων, *paliurus*). The Hebrew word is evidently represented by the Arabic حدق, *hhedek*, which Freytag renders *melongena*, the name usually applied to the egg plant (*Solanum melongena*), but which is described by the Arabian botanist Abu'l Fadli as abundant in Phoenicia, like *melongena*, but larger, covered with thorns and bearing a fruit the size of a walnut, green at first, but yellow when ripe. This is an exact description of *Solanum sanctum* (L.), commonly known as the apple of Sodom or vine of Sodom, and which is very common in all the hotter parts of Palestine, where it is often used as a hedge. The context in the passages where *chedek* occurs suggests not a ground thistle, but some taller prickly plant suitable for fencing, as is the Sodom apple. It is a shrubby plant from 3 to 5 feet high, with widely-branching stems, thickly clad with spines like those of the English brier, with large leaves, woolly on the underside, and a spinous midrib. The blossom resembles in shape and colour that of the potato, to which it is closely allied, and bears a large crop of fruit, perfectly spherical, larger than the potato apple, at first green, then yellow, and finally, when the pulp within has dried, a brilliant red, containing inside a quantity of dust and small black seeds. We may thus definitely assign the *chedek* to the Sodom apple.

5. *Kôtz*, קוֹץ (ἄκανθα, *spinae*), occurs twelve times in the Old Testament, and is always in our Versions translated "thorns," as in Gen. iii. 18: "*Thorns* also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee." In the LXX. it is rendered by ἄκανθα, which is also frequently used in the N. T. ("thorns," A. V. and R. V.), as in the Sermon on the Mount and in the Parable of the Sower. *Kôts* is derived from a root signifying

"to cut," perhaps allied to the Arabic قاط (Ges.). But neither from its derivation, nor from the context of the passages where it occurs, have we ground to refer it to any particular species. It is probably as general as the words by which it is rendered in the Greek and English.

6. *Shâmîr*, שָׁמִיר, occurs only in Isaiah; where in seven out of eight passages it is used in connexion with שַׁיִת, *shayith*. It is variously rendered by the LXX. χέρσος, ξηρά, ἄγρωστις, χόρτος, *vepres spinae*. Both the A. V. and R. V. always translate it "briers." Celsius (*Hierob.* ii. 187) identifies this with the Arabic سمر, *samur*, described by Abu'l Fadli as a thorny tree, a species of *sidra*, but which does not bear fruit, and which is common in Arabia. But while this may be accepted without hesitation, it is not so easy at once to identify the *sidra* specifically, as the Arabs give the name to different trees in different localities. The Arabs of Southern and Eastern Palestine give the name *sidra* to all thorny non-fruit-bearing trees which attain any size, and of these there are many species commonly found, all belonging to the natural order *Rhamnaceae*. Some are distinguished by the natives as *dâhl*, *nub'k*, and *samur*. The latter name is given in the south to *Paliurus aculeatus* (L., Christ's thorn), and further north to *Rhamnus palaestina* (Boiss.), the Syrian buckthorn, which is more common on the higher lands. The Hebrew *shâmîr* may therefore with probability be assigned to one or both of these species. The *Rhamnus* is very like our blackthorn in appearance, with very small leaves, yellow blossom, and thorns like those of the hawthorn. *Paliurus aculeatus* has much larger leaves, small whitish blossoms, and a number of sharp thorns on the twigs, as well as spines on the midriff of the leaves. It is common about Jerusalem, and by some has been taken, as its name implies, for the material of which the crown of thorns was composed (but see § 8).

7. *Shaîth*, שַׁיִת (ἄκανθα, *spina*), occurs only in Isaiah (*e.g.* v. 6, vii. 23–25, &c.), and then only in connexion with *shâmîr*; it is rendered "thorns" in A. V. and R. V. It is probably an indefinite term; at least we have no clue or derivation by which we can assign it to any particular species.*

8. *Na'atzûtz*, נַעֲצוּץ (στοιβή, *saliunca*), occurs twice, in Isaiah vii. 19 and lv. 13, and is rendered by "thorns" in A. V. and R. V. Celsius would refer *na'atzûz* to the Arabic نعض, *na'd*, which is explained to be a large thorny fruit-bearing tree, and identified by him with the *nub'k*, or *dhâl*, ضال, *Zizyphus spina-christi* (L.). The *nub'k* is very common in the Jordan valley and in the hotter parts of the country. It often forms impenetrable thickets, and grows to a considerable size when it has room. The larger trees are known as Dâhl, but I believe there is no specific difference, though Abu'l Fadli states that there are two species, bearing the same fruit, but the larger having smaller thorns, and growing in the mountains. The Zizyphus is not uncommon near Jerusalem, but there is stunted in growth. In the low plains it reaches its full size and is known as the Dhôm tree. One of these overshadowing the fountain of 'Ain Dûk at Jericho is an ancient and noble tree, and superstitiously honoured by the Arabs. It is sometimes called the Lotus tree. The thorns of the Zizyphus are long, sharp, and recurved, and apt to create a festering wound. The leaves are oval and of a very glossy green. The blossom is small and white, and the fruit a yellow berry, the size of a small gooseberry, of a pleasant subacid flavour and with a stone like that of the hawthorn. It is eaten by the natives fresh or dried, with sour milk. It is generally believed that of the Zizyphus, or, as it is often called, the Jujube tree, was composed the crown of thorns of our Lord's Passion. Its tough and flexible twigs are well suited for such a purpose, and the plant is one of the denizens of the valleys round Jerusalem.

No fence is more impervious or more easily made than that of the *nub'k*. The Arabs simply cut down a few branches and lay them in line round the barley as it is sown. No goats, cattle, or camels will attempt to force it, insignificant as it appears, not more than a yard high, while the twigs and recurved hooks become so interwoven that to pull them aside is no easy task.

9. *Barkanim*, בַּרְקָנִים (*tribuli*, untranslated in the LXX.), occurs only in Judg. viii. 7, 16, "I will tear your flesh with thorns of the wilderness and with briers," A. V. and R. V. The Rabbinical commentators simply state that it is a species of thorn, but do not further define it. Celsius, referring to David's punishment of the Ammonites after the capture of Rabbath, suggests that *Barkanim* may mean the spiked wheels of threshing instruments dragged over the prostrate bodies of the captives. To this it may be objected that we have no evidence that such threshing machines were in use at this early period; and as *tribulus* means both a brier and a threshing instrument, Gesenius very reasonably observes that the instrument is more likely to have been named from the plant than the plant from the instrument. As to the particular species intended we have no clue, etymological or other, but about the fords of Succoth the Zizyphus now grows in impenetrable thickets, and higher up the country by Bethshean the common bramble, *Rubus fruticosus* (L.), is very common. One of these is probably indicated by the Hebrew word.

10. *Sillôn*, סִלּוֹן, σκόλωψ, occurs in Ezek. ii. 6, xxviii. 24—"thorns," "pricking briers," A. V. and R. V. This seems to be identical with the Arabic سلان, *sallon*, the sharp points at the end of each segment of the palm-leaf, and hence sometimes used for a needle-point.

11. *Sârâbim*, סָרָבִים, occurs once only in Ezek. ii. 6, where both A. V. and R. V. have "briers." The LXX. renders the passage παροιστρήσουσι, and the Vulgate *increduli*. There has been, as these various interpretations show, a wide discrepancy between the different translators. Celsius (*Hierob.* ii. 222) interprets the word *refractarii* as from סרב, "to rebel" [cp. A. V.

* Celsius, after searching in vain for a key, pathetically concludes, "Ejus indagandae usque adeo nulla patet via, nullumque vestigium, ut neque conjecturae locus relictus videatur." (*Hierob.* ii. 187.)

marg.], and rejects the rendering *spinae* as a Latin gloss. The rendering "briers" seems, however, to be that preferred by modern commentators.

12. *Sirpad*, סִרְפָּד (*κόννζα*, Symm. *ἀντὶ κνιδός*, *urtica*), occurs once only: "Instead of the *brier* shall come up the myrtle tree" (Is. lv. 13). The Rabbinical commentators support the rendering of A. V. and R. V. rather than that of the LXX., which interprets it as a kind of nettle. But having no etymological or other clue, all is mere conjecture.

13. *Sirim*, *Siroth*, סִירִים, סִירוֹת, always in the plural (*ἄκανθαι*, *ἀκάνθινα ξύλα*, *σκόλοψ*, *σμίλαξ*; *spinae*), "thorns," A. V. and R. V. The word occurs in several passages. We have no etymological key to indicate any particular species. It may be a general term, but from the context in Eccles. vii. 6 we may infer a plant used for firing. There is one thorny plant of rapid and abundant growth, universally used for heating ovens, and which cannot be assigned to any of the words examined above, *Acanthus spinosus* (L.). From its large and abundant foliage, it is most suitable for kindling, and we have often noticed the women in the summer collecting the acanthus in large bundles for fuel.

14. *Tzinnim*, *Tzeninim*, צִנִּים [Prov. xxii. 5; Job v. 5], צְנִינִים [Num. xxxiii. 55; Josh. xxiii. 13] (*βολίς*, *τρίβολος*; *sudes*, *lancea*), "thorns," A. V. and R. V.; in Amos iv. 2 (metaph.), "hooks." The word is simply used for a thorn or prick, and has no reference to any particular plant.

15. *Sek*, שֵׂךְ (*σκόλοψ*, *clavis*), is found only in Num. xxxiii. 55, where the A. V. and R. V. render it "pricks"; "As pricks in your eyes."

The word is identical with the Arabic شوك, *shawk*, a thorn. This, like the last, appears to be a general term. From the same root *sook*, שׂוּךְ, "to hedge," "enclose," or "twist," is also derived the word *mesoochah*, מְסוּכָה (Mic. vii. 4) or מְשֻׂכָה (Prov. xv. 19), translated "thorn-hedge" in A. V and R. V.

16. קִמּוֹשׂ, *kimmôsh* (cp. Baer on Hos. ix. 6), is in Is. xxxiv. 13 and Hos. ix. 6 rendered "nettles;" the kindred form קִמְשֹׁנִים (pl.), Prov. xxiv. 13, is rendered "thorns."

Thus among the various Hebrew names nine at any rate may, with more or less probability, be assigned to conspicuous and familiar thorny plants of the country. Among these, however, is not our briar or wild rose, which can only just claim a place in the Flora of the country. There are several beautiful specimens of wild briar, but they are all in the extreme north and on Hermon and Lebanon.

The prickly pear (*Opuntia vulgaris*, L.), though now so common and ordinarily used for hedges in Palestine, is not among the brambles and briers of Scripture, having been introduced from tropical America. It has now overrun the whole of the Mediterranean countries, and is often incorrectly introduced into scriptural and historical pictures. On the whole subject see Dietrich, 'Dornen- u. Distel-namen' in his *Abhandl. f. Semit. Wortforschung* (1844). [H. B. T.]

BRASS (*χαλκός*). The word נְחֹשֶׁת is improperly translated by A. V. and R. V. by "brass" in the earlier Books of Scripture, since the Hebrews were not acquainted with the compound of copper and zinc known by that name. In most places of the O. T. the correct translation would be "copper," although it may sometimes possibly mean "bronze" (*χαλκὸς κεκραμένος*), a compound of copper and tin. Indeed a simple metal was obviously intended, as we see from Deut. viii. 9, "out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass," and Job xxviii. 2, "Brass is molten out of the stone," and Deut. xxxiii. 25, "Thy shoes shall be iron and brass," which seems to be a promise that Asher should have a district rich in mines, which we know to have been the case, since Eusebius (viii. 15, 17) speaks of the Christians being condemned *τοῖς κατὰ Φαινὼ τῆς Παλαιστίνης χαλκοῦ μετάλλοις* (Lightfoot, *Cent. Chorogr.* c. 99). [ASHER.]

Copper was known at a very early period, and the invention of working it is attributed to Tubal-cain (Gen. iv. 22; cp. Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* ii. 153; cp. "Prius aeris erat quam ferri cognitus usus," Lucr. v. 1292). Its extreme ductility (*χαλκὸς* probably from *χαλάω*) made its application almost universal among the ancients, as Hesiod expressly says (*Dict. of Gk. and Rom. Antiq.*, art. *Aes*).

The same word is used for money, in both Testaments (Ezek. xvi. 36; Matt. x. 9, &c.).

It is often used in metaphors, *e.g.* Lev. xxvi. 9, "I will make your heaven as iron and your earth as brass," *i.e.* dead and hard. This expression is reversed in Deut. xxviii. 23 (cp. Coleridge's "All in a hot and *copper* sky," &c. *Anc. Mar.*). "Is my flesh of brass?" *i.e.* invulnerable (Job vi. 12). "They are all brass and iron," *i.e.* base, ignoble, impure (Jer. vi. 28). It is often used as an emblem of strength (Zech. vi. 1; Jer. i. 18, &c.). The "brazen thighs" of the mystic image in Nebuchadnezzar's dream were a fit symbol of the Ἀχαιοὶ χαλκοχίτωνες. No special mention of orichalcum seems to be made in the Bible.

The word *χαλκολίβανον* in Rev. i. 15, ii. 18 (*οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὅμοιοι χαλκολιβάνῳ*), has excited much difference of opinion. St. John was probably thinking of the *χαλκὸς στίλβων* of Dan. x. 6 or *χαλκὸς ἐξαστράπτων* of Ezek. i. 7. The A. V. renders it "fine brass," as though it were from *χ.* and *λείβω* (smelting brass), or that *ὀρείχαλκος* which was so rare as to be more valuable than gold. Bochart makes it "aes album igneo colore splendens," as though from לָבָן, "shining" (R. V. "burnished brass"). It *may* perhaps be deep-coloured [amber-coloured, *Speaker's Comm.*] frankincense, as opposed to *ἀργυρολίβανον*. Suidas defines it as *εἶδος ἠλέκτρου τιμιώτερον χρυσοῦ*. See Wetstein, *N. T.* ii. 472; Bochart, *Hieroz.* ii. 883. [F. W. F.]

On the use of copper and bronze in ancient Egypt, among the Hebrews, and in Assyria, see *PSBA.* xii. pp. 227–34. [F.]

BRAYING IN A MORTAR, Prov. xxvii. 2. [PUNISHMENTS, III. (*a*) 4.]

BRAZEN SEA, 2 K. xxv. 13; Jer. lii. 17. [SEA, MOLTEN.]

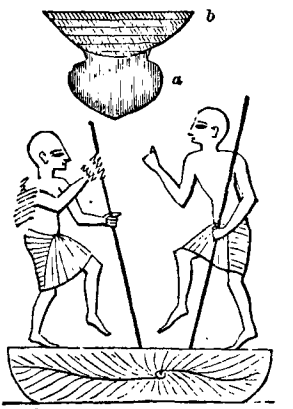
BRAZEN SERPENT. [SERPENT.]

BREAD (לֶחֶם). The preparation of bread as an article of food dates from a very early period: it must not, however, be inferred from the use of the word *lechem* in Gen. iii. 19 ("bread," A. V. and R. V.) that it was known at the time of the fall, the word there occurring in its general sense of *food:* the earliest undoubted instance of its use is found in Gen. xviii. 6. The corn or grain (דָּגָן, שִׁבֳּר) employed was of various sorts: the best bread was made of wheat, which after being ground produced the "flour" or "meal" (קֶמַח; ἄλευρον; Judg. vi. 19; 1 Sam. i. 24; 1 K. iv. 22, xvii. 12, 14), and when sifted the "fine flour" (סֹלֶת; more fully סֹלֶת חִטִּים, Ex. xxix. 2; or קֶמַח סֹלֶת, Gen. xviii. 6; σεμίδαλις) usually employed in the sacred offerings (Ex. xxix. 40; Lev. ii. 1; Ezek. xlvi. 14), and in the meals of the wealthy (1 K. iv. 22; 2 K. vii. 1; Ezek. xvi. 13, 19; Rev. xviii. 13). "Barley" was used only by the very poor (John vi. 9, 13), or in times of scarcity (Ruth iii. 15, compared with i. 1; 2 K. iv. 38, 42; Rev. vi. 6; Joseph. *B. J.* v. 10, § 2). Being the food of horses (1 K. iv. 28), it was considered a symbol of what was mean and insignificant (Judg. vii. 13; comp. Joseph. *Ant.* v. 6, § 4, *μάζαν κριθίνην, ὑπ' εὐτελείας ἀνθρώποις ἄβρωτον*; Liv. xxvii. 13), as well as of what was of a mere animal character, and hence ordered for the offering of jealousy (Num. v. 15; cp. Hos. iii. 2; Philo, ii. 307). "Spelt" (כֻּסֶּמֶת; *ὄλυρα, ζέα*; A. V. *rye, fitches, spelt;* R. V. "spelt" always) was also used both in Egypt (Ex. ix. 32) and Palestine (Is. xxviii. 25; Ezek. iv. 9; 1 K. xix. 6, LXX. *ἐγκρυφίας ὀλυρίτης*): Herodotus indeed states (ii. 36) that in the former country bread was made exclusively of *olyra*, which, as does the LXX., he identifies with *zea;* but in this he was mistaken, as wheat was also used (Ex. ix. 32; cp. Wilkinson's *Anc. Eg.* i. 180 [1878]). Occasionally the grains above mentioned were mixed, and other ingredients, such as beans, lentiles, and millet, were added (Ezek. iv. 9; cp. 2 Sam. xvii. 28); the bread so produced is called "barley cakes" (Ezek. iv. 12, so R. V.), inasmuch as barley was the main ingredient. The amount of meal required for a single baking was an ephah or three measures (Gen. xviii. 6; Judg. vi. 19; 1 Sam. i. 24; Matt. xiii. 33), which appears to have been suited to the size of the ordinary oven. The baking was done in primitive times by the mistress of the house (Gen. xviii. 6) or by one of the daughters (2 Sam. xiii. 8). Female servants were employed in large households (1 Sam. viii. 13), and it appears always to have been the proper business of women in a family (Jer. vii. 18, xliv. 19; Matt. xiii. 33; cp. Plin. xviii. 11, 28). Baking as a profession was carried on by men (Hos. vii. 4, 6). In Jerusalem the bakers congregated in one quarter of the town, as we may infer from the names "bakers' street" (Jer. xxxvii. 21) and "tower of the ovens" (Neh. iii. 11, xii. 38; "furnaces," A. V. and R. V.). In the time of the Herods, bakers were scattered throughout the towns of Palestine (*Ant.* xv. 9, § 2). As the bread was made in thin cakes, which soon became dry and unpalatable, it was usual to bake daily, or when required (Gen. xviii. 6; cp. Harmer's *Observations*, i. 483): reference is perhaps made to this in the Lord's Prayer (Matt. vi. 11; Luke xi. 3). The bread taken by persons on a journey (Gen. xlv. 23; Josh. ix. 12) was probably a kind of biscuit.

The process of making bread was as follows:—The flour was first mixed with water, or perhaps milk (Burckhardt's *Notes on the Bedouins*, i. 58); it was then kneaded (לוּשׁ) with the

Egyptians kneading dough with their hands (Wilkinson. From a painting in the Tomb of Rameses III. at Thebes).

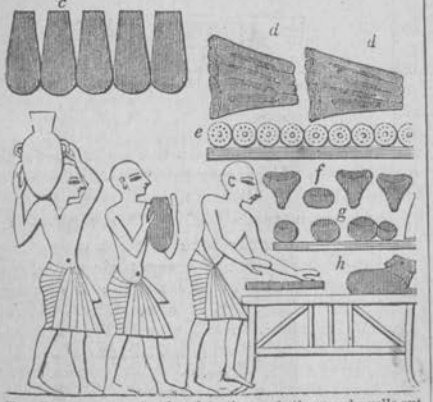
hands (in Egypt with the feet also; Herod. ii. 36; Wilkinson, ii. 386) in a small wooden bowl



Egyptians kneading the dough with their feet. At *a* and *b* the dough is probably left to ferment in a basket, as is now done at Cairo (Wilkinson).

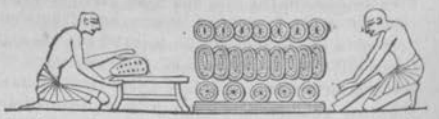
or "kneading-trough" (מִשְׁאֶרֶת, a term which may, however, rather refer to the leathern bag in which the Bedouins carry their provisions, and which serves both as a wallet and a table: Niebuhr's *Voyage*, i. 171; Harmer, iv. 366 sq.; the LXX. inclines to this view, giving *ἐγκαταλείμματα* in Deut. xxviii. 5, 17 ["store," A. V.; "kneading-trough," R. V.]; the expression in Ex. xii. 34, however, "bound up in their clothes," favours the idea of a wooden bowl), until it became dough (בָּצֵק; *σταῖς*, Ex. xii. 34, 39; 2 Sam. xiii. 8; Jer. vii. 18; Hos. vii. 4: the term "dough" is improperly given in the A. V. as = עֲרִיסוֹת, in Num. xv. 20, 21; Neh. x. 37; Ezek. xliv. 30. [In these passages R. V. has "dough" in the text and *coarse meal* in margin]). When the kneading was completed, leaven (שְׂאֹר; *ζύμη*) was generally added

[LEAVEN]: but when the time for preparation was short, it was omitted, and unleavened cakes, hastily baked, were eaten, as is still the prevalent custom among the Bedouins (Gen. xviii. 6, xix. 3; Ex. xii. 39; Judg. vi. 19; 1 Sam. xxviii. 24). Such cakes were termed מַצּוֹת (ἄζυμα, LXX.), a word of doubtful sense, variously supposed to convey the ideas of *sweetness* (Gesen. *Thesaur.* p. 815), or [more probably] *purity* (Knobel-Dillmann on Ex. xii. 20), while leavened bread was called חָמֵץ (lit. *sharpened* or *soured*; Ex. xii. 39; Hos. vii. 4). Unleavened cakes were ordered to be eaten at the Passover to commemorate the hastiness of the departure (Ex. xii. 15, xiii. 3, 7; Deut. xvi. 3), as well as on other sacred occasions (Lev. ii. 11, vi. 16; Num. vi. 15). The leavened mass was allowed to stand for some time (Matt. xiii. 33; Luke xiii. 21), sometimes for a whole night ("their baker sleepeth all the night," Hos. vii. 6; see R. V. marg.), exposed to a moderate heat in order to forward the fermentation ("he ceaseth to stir *the fire*, from the kneading of the dough until it be leavened," Hos. vii. 4, R. V.). The dough was then divided into round cakes (כִּכָּרוֹת לֶחֶם, lit. *circles*; ἄρτοι; "loaves," A. V. and R. V.; Ex. xxix. 23; Judg. viii. 5; 1 Sam. x. 3; Prov. vi. 26; in Judg. vii. 13, צְלוֹל; μαγίς), not unlike flat stones in shape and appearance (Matt. vii. 9; cp. iv. 3), about a span in diameter and a finger's breadth in thickness (cp. Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, i. 164): three of these were required for the meal of a single person (Luke xi. 5), and consequently one was barely sufficient to sustain life (1 Sam. ii. 36, "morsel," A. V., "loaf," R. V.; Jer. xxxvii. 21, "piece," A. V., "loaf," R. V.), whence the expression לֶחֶם לַחַץ, "bread of affliction" (1 K. xxii. 27; Is. xxx. 20), referring not to the quality (*pane plebeio*, Grotius), but to the



Two Egyptians carrying bread to the confectioner, who rolls out the paste, which is afterwards made into cakes of various forms, *c, d, e, f, g, h* (Wilkinson).

quantity: two hundred would suffice for a party for a reasonable time (1 Sam. xxv. 18; 2 Sam. xvi. 1). The cakes were sometimes *punctured*, and hence called חַלָּה (κολλυρίς; Ex. xxix. 2, 23; Lev. ii. 4, viii. 26, xxiv. 5; Num. xv 20; 2 Sam. vi. 19), and mixed with oil. Similar cakes, sprinkled with seeds, were made in Egypt (Wilkinson, ii. 386). Sometimes they were rolled out into wafers (רָקִיק; λάγανον; Ex. xxix. 2, 23; Lev. ii. 4; Num. vi. 15–19),



Egyptians making cakes of bread sprinkled with seeds (Wilkinson).

and merely coated with oil. Oil was occasionally added to the ordinary cake (1 K. xvii. 12). A more delicate kind of cake is described in 2 Sam. xiii. 6, 8, 10; the dough ("flour," A. V.) is kneaded a second time, and probably some stimulating seeds added, as seems to be implied in the name לְבִיבוֹת (from לֵבָב, *heart*: cp. our expression *a cordial*; κολλύριδες; *sorbitiunculae*). The cakes were now taken to the oven; having been first, according to the practice in Egypt, gathered into "white baskets" (Gen. xl. 16), סַלֵּי חֹרִי, a doubtful expression, referred by some to the whiteness of the bread (καναῖ χονδριτῶν; Aquil. κόφινοι γυρέως; *canistra farinae*; R. V. "baskets of white bread:" see notes in *Speaker's Comm.* and Delitzsch, *Genesis* [1887], in loco), by others, as in the A. V., to the whiteness of the baskets, and again, by connecting the word חֹרִי with the idea of a *hole*, to an open-work basket (*margin*, A. V.), or lastly to bread baked in a hole (Kitto, *Cyclop.* art. *Bread*). The baskets were placed on a tray and carried on the baker's head (Gen. xl. 16; Herod. ii. 35; Wilkinson, ii. 386).

An Egyptian carrying cakes to the oven (Wilkinson).

The methods of baking (אֲפָה) were, and still are, very various in the East, adapted to the various styles of life. In the towns, where professional bakers resided, there were no doubt fixed ovens, in shape and size resembling those in use among ourselves: but more usually each household possessed a portable oven (תַּנּוּר; κλίβανος), consisting of a stone or metal jar about three feet high, which was heated inwardly with wood (1 K. xvii. 12; Is. xliv. 15; Jer. vii. 18) or dried grass and flower-stalks (χόρτος, Matt. vi. 30); when the fire had burned down, the cakes were applied either inwardly (Herod. ii. 92) or outwardly: such ovens were used by the Egyptians (Wilkinson, ii. 385), and by the Easterns of Jerome's time (*Comment.* in Lam. v. 10), and are still common among the Bedouins

(Wellsted's *Travels*, i. 350; Niebuhr's *Descript. de l'Arabie*, pp. 45, 46). The use of a single oven by several families only took place in time of famine (Lev. xxvi. 26). Another species of oven consisted of a hole dug in the ground, the sides of which were coated with clay and the bottom with pebbles (Harmer, i. 487). Jahn (*Archaeol.* i. 9, § 140) thinks that this oven is referred to in the term כִּירַיִם (Lev. xi. 35); but the dual number is an objection to this view (see Knobel-Dillmann in loco); the term חֹרִי (Gen. xl. 16) has also been referred to it.

Other modes of baking were specially adapted to the migratory habits of the pastoral Jews, as of the modern Bedouins; the cakes were either spread upon stones, which were previously heated by lighting a fire above them (Burckhardt's *Notes*, i. 58) or beneath them (Belzoni's *Travels*, p. 84); or they were thrown into the heated embers of the fire itself (Wellsted's *Travels*, i. 350; Niebuhr, *Descript.* p. 46); or lastly, they were roasted by being placed between layers of dung, which burns slowly, and is therefore specially adapted for the purpose (Ezek. iv. 12, 15; Burckhardt's *Notes*, i. 57; Niebuhr's *Descript.* p. 46). The terms by which such cakes were described were עֻגָה (Gen. xviii. 6; Ex. xii. 39; 1 K. xvii. 13; Ezek. iv. 12; Hos. vii. 8), מָעוֹג (1 K. xvii. 12; Ps. xxxv. 16), or more fully עֻגַת רְצָפִים (1 K. xix. 6, lit. on the *hot stones*, R. V. marg.; "coals," A. V. and R. V.), the term עֻגָה referring, however, not to the mode of baking, but to the *rounded* shape of the cake (Gesen. *Thesaur.* p. 997): the equivalent terms in the LXX. ἐγκρυφίας, and in the Vulg. *subcinericius panis*, have direct reference to the peculiar mode of baking. The cakes required to be carefully turned during the process (Hos. vii. 8; Harmer, i. 488). Other methods were used for other kinds of bread; some were baked on a pan (מַחֲבַת, see Knobel-Dillmann on Lev. ii. 5; τήγανον; *sartago:* the Greek term survives in the *tajen* of the Bedouins), the result being similar to the *khubz* still used among the latter people (Burckhardt's *Notes*, i. 58), or like the Greek ταγήνιαι, which were baked in oil, and eaten warm with honey (Athen. xiv. 55, p. 646); such cakes appeared to have been chiefly used as sacred offerings (Lev. ii. 5, vi. 14, vii. 9; 1 Ch. xxiii. 29). A similar cooking utensil was used by Tamar (2 Sam. xiii. 9), named מַשְׁרֶת (τήγανον), in which she baked the cakes and then emptied them out in a heap (יָצַק, not *poured*, as if it had been broth) before Amnon. A different kind of bread, probably resembling the *ftita* of the Bedouins, a *pasty* substance (Burckhardt's *Notes*, i. 57), was prepared in a saucepan, מַרְחֶשֶׁת (ἐσχάρα; *craticula*; *frying-pan*, A. V. and R. V.; none of which meanings, however, correspond with the etymological sense of the word, which is connected with *boiling*; see Knobel-Dillmann on Lev. ii. 7); this was also reserved for sacred offerings (Lev. ii. 7; vii. 9). As the above-mentioned kinds of bread (the last excepted) were thin and crisp, the mode of eating them was by breaking (Lev. ii. 6; Is. lviii. 7; Lam. iv. 4; Matt. xiv. 19, xv. 36, xxvi. 26; Acts xx. 11; comp. Xen. *Anab.* vii. 3, § 22, ἄρτους διέκλα), whence the term פֶּרֶס, to *break* = to *give bread* (Jer. xvi. 7): the pieces broken for consumption were called κλάσματα (Matt. xiv. 20; John vi. 12). Old bread is described in Josh. ix. 5, 12, as *crumbled* (נִקֻּדִים; a sense preferred by Dillmann[2] after Aquil. ἐψαθυρωμένος; *in frusta comminuti*. The A. V. and R. V., "mouldy," follow the LXX. B. εὐρωτιῶν καὶ βεβρωμένος), a term which is also applied (1 K. xiv. 3) to a kind of biscuit, which easily crumbled (κολλυρίς; "cracknels," A. V. and R. V.). [W. L. B.] [F.]

BREASTPLATE of the High Priest. [PRIEST, Dress of.]

BREASTPLATE. [ARMS, p. 241.]

BREECHES (מִכְנָסַיִם; περισκελῆ; *feminalia*), part of the dress of the priests. They were short, and extended only from the loins to the thigh (Ex. xxviii. 42, xxxix. 28; Lev. vi. 19, xvi. 4; Ezek. xliv. 18: cp. Joseph. *Ant.* iii. 7, § 1; Philo, *de Monarch.* ii. 5). See PRIEST, Dress of. [F.]

BRETHREN OF JESUS. [BROTHER.]

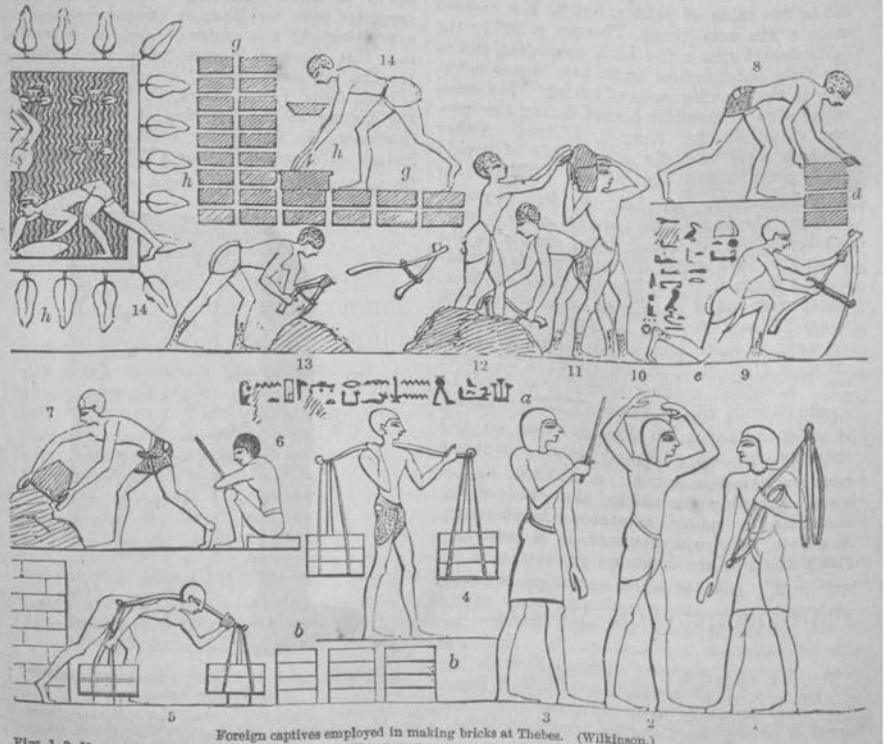
BRICK (לְבֵנָה, *made of white clay*, from לָבַן, *to be white*; πλίνθος; *later*; in Ezek. iv. 1, A. V., *tile*). Herodotus (i. 179), describing the mode of building the walls of Babylon, says that the clay dug out of the ditch was made into bricks as soon as it was carried up, and burnt in kilns (κάμινοι). The bricks were cemented with hot bitumen (ἄσφαλτος), and at every thirtieth row crates of reeds were stuffed in. This account agrees with the existing remains at some places, as at Mugheir, Ur (Pietro della Valle, *Viaggi*, ii. 844), and with the history of the building of the Tower of Confusion, in which the builders used brick instead of stone, and slime (חֵמָר; ἄσφαλτος) for mortar (Gen. xi. 3; Joseph. *Ant.* i. 4, § 3).

Egyptian brick stamped with the praenomen of Thotmes III. (Birch's *Ancient Pottery*.)

In the alluvial plain of Assyria, both the material for bricks and the bituminous cement, which bubbles up from the ground, and is collected and exported by the Arabs, were close

at hand for building purposes (Plin. *H. N.* xxxv. 15, 51, 178); but the Babylonian bricks were more commonly burnt in kilns than those used at Nineveh, which are chiefly sun-dried, like the Egyptian (see Maspéro, *Archéol. Égypt.* p. 8; Babelon, *Man. d'Archéol. Orient.* p. 12). Xenophon mentions a wall called the wall of Media, not far from Babylon, made of burnt bricks set in bitumen (πλίνθοις ὀπταῖς ἐν ἀσφάλτῳ κειμέναις), 20 feet wide and 100 feet high. Also another wall of brick 50 feet wide (Diod. ii. 7, 8, 12; Xen. *Anab.* ii. 4, § 12, iii. 4, § 11; Nah. iii. 14; Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 46, 252, 278). While it is needless to inquire to what place, or to whom the actual invention of brick-making is to be ascribed, there is perhaps no place in the world more favourable for the process, none in which the remains of original brick structures have been more largely used in later times for building purposes. The Babylonian bricks are usually from 12 to 13 in. square, and 3½ in. thick. (English bricks are usually 9 in. long, 4½ wide, 2½ thick.) They most of them bear the name, inscribed in cuneiform character, of Nebuchadnezzar, whose buildings, no doubt, replaced those of an earlier age (Layard, *Nin. and Babyl.* pp. 505, 531). They also possess more of the character of tiles (Ezek. iv. 1). They were sometimes glazed and enamelled with patterns of various colours. Semiramis is said by Diodorus to have overlaid some of her towers with surfaces of enamelled brick bearing elaborate designs (Diod. ii. 8). Enamelled bricks have been found at Nimroud (Layard, ii. 312). Pliny (vii. 56, 57, 193) says that the Babylonians

Brick Arch, Thebes. (Birch's *Ancient Pottery.*)



Foreign captives employed in making bricks at Thebes. (Wilkinson.)

Figs. 1, 2. Men returning after carrying the bricks. Figs. 3, 6. Taskmasters. Figs. 4, 5. Men carrying bricks. Figs. 7, 9-13. Digging and mixing the clay or mud. Figs. 8, 14. Making bricks with a wooden mould, *d*, *h*. Fig. 14. Fetching water from the tank, *h*. At *e* the bricks (tôbi) are said to be made at Thebes.

used to record their astronomical observations on tiles (*coctilibus lateribus*). He also, as well as Vitruvius, describes the process of making bricks at Rome. There were three sizes: (1) 1½ ft. long, 1 ft. broad; (2) 4 (Greek) palms long, 12·135 in.; (3) 5 palms long, 15·16875 in. The breadth of (2) and (3) was the same. He says the Greeks preferred brick walls in general to stone (xxxv. 14, 49, 172; see Vitruv. ii. 3, 8). Bricks of more than 3 palms length and of less than 1½ palm are mentioned by the Talmudists (Gesen., p. 740; see Plin. *l. c.* 171). The Israelites, in common with other captives, were employed by the Egyptian monarchs in making bricks and in building (Ex. i. 14; v. 7). Kiln-bricks were not generally used in Egypt, but were dried in the sun, and even without straw are as firm as when first put up in the reigns of the Amunophs and Thothmes, whose names they bear. The usual dimensions vary from 20 in. or 17 in. to 14¼ in. long; 8¾ in. to 6¼ in. wide; and 7 in. to 4½ in. thick. When made of the Nile mud, or alluvial deposit, they required (as they still require) straw to prevent cracking, but those formed of clay taken from the torrent beds on the edge of the desert held together without straw; and crude brick walls had frequently the additional security of a layer of reeds and sticks, placed at intervals to act as binders (Wilkinson, i. 342 [1878]; Birch, *Ancient Pottery*, p. 9 sq. [1873], cp. Herod. i. 179). Baked bricks however were used, chiefly in places in contact with water. They are smaller than the sun-dried bricks. A brick pyramid is mentioned by Herodotus (ii. 136) as the work of King Asychis. Sesostris (ii. 138) is said to have employed his captives in building. Numerous remains of buildings of various kinds exist, constructed of sun-dried bricks, of which many specimens are to be seen in the British Museum, with inscriptions indicating their date and purpose. (See cut on p. 457.) Among the paintings at Thebes, one on a tomb, given on the preceding page, represents the enforced labours in brick-making of captives, who are distinguished from the natives by the colour in which they are drawn. Watching over the labourers are "task-masters," who, armed with sticks, are receiving the "tale of bricks" and urging on the work. The processes of digging out the clay, of moulding, and of arranging, are all duly represented; and though the labourers cannot be determined to be Jews, yet the similarity of employment illustrates the Bible history in a remarkable degree (Wilkinson, i. 342–345; Birch, *l. c.*: see Aristoph. *Av.* 1133, Αἰγύπτιος πλινθοφόρος; Ex. v. 17, 18). The Jews learned the art of brick-making in Egypt, and we find a complaint made by Isaiah that the people built altars of brick instead of unhewn stone as the Law directed (Is. lxv. 3; Ex. xx. 25).[a] [POTTERY.] [H. W. P.]

BRIDE, BRIDEGROOM. [MARRIAGE.]

[a] Mention is made of a brick-kiln in 2 Sam. xii. 31 Jer. xliii. 9, Nah. iii. 14; but it is very doubtful if מַלְבֵּן has the sense of brick-*kiln* in any of these passages. Cp. Driver, *Notes on the Heb. Text of the Books of Sam.* l. c.; and cp. *QPB.*[3] and R.V. marg. on the same passage. [S. R. D.]

BRIDGE. The only mention of a bridge in the canonical Scriptures is possibly and quite indirectly in the proper name Geshur (גְּשׁוּר), a district in Bashan, N.E. of the sea of Galilee, whose inhabitants, the Geshurites, are mentioned several times in Scripture (Deut. iii. 14; Josh. xii. 5, xiii. 13; 1 Ch. ii. 23; Gesen. p. 308). Absalom was the son of a daughter of the king of Geshur (2 Sam. iii. 3, xiii. 37, xiv. 23, 32; 1 Ch. iii. 2). The Chaldee paraphrase on Nahum ii. 6 renders שְׁעָרִים, "gates," by "bridges," where however dykes or weirs are perhaps to be understood, which, being burst by inundation, destroyed the walls of Nineveh (Diod. ii. 27). Judas Maccabaeus is said to have intended to make a bridge in order to besiege the town of Casphor or Caspis, situate near a lake (2 Macc. xii. 13). Josephus (*Ant.* v. 1, § 3), speaking of the Jordan at the time of the passage of the Israelites, says that it had never been bridged before, οὐκ ἔζευκτο πρότερον, as if since that time bridges had been made over it. In Is. xxxvii. 25, קֻר, *dig for water*, is rendered by LXX. γέφυραν τίθημι.

Permanent bridges over water do not appear to have been used by the Israelites in their earlier times, and west of the Jordan there are no rivers of permanent importance (see Amm. Marc. xiv. 8; Reland, p. 284); but we have frequent mention made of fords, and of their military importance (Gen. xxxii. 22; Josh. ii. 7 Judg. iii. 28, vii. 24, xii. 5; Is. xvi. 2).

Though the arch was known and used in Egypt as early as the 15th century B.C. (Wilkinson, ii. 302 sq.; Birch, i. 14), the Romans were the first constructors of arched bridges. They made bridges over the Jordan and other rivers of Syria, of which remains still exist, especially one between Lake Hûleh and the Sea of Galilee, called the Bridge of the daughters of Jacob (Stanley, p. 296; Irby and Mangles, pp. 90–92, 142, 143; Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 315; Robinson, ii. 441). The bridge (γεφύρα) connecting the Temple with the upper city, of which Josephus speaks (*B. J.* vi. 6, § 2; *Ant.* xv. 11, 5), seems to have been an arched viaduct (Robinson, i. 288; iii. 224). [H. W. P.]

BRIER. [BRAMBLE.]

BRIMSTONE (גָּפְרִית,[a] *gophrith*; θεῖον; *sulphur*). There can be no question that the Hebrew word, which occurs several times in the Bible, is correctly rendered "brimstone;"[b] this meaning is fully corroborated by the old Versions. The word is very frequently associated with "fire:" "The Lord rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah brimstone and fire out of heaven" (Gen. xix. 24; see also Ps. xi. 6; Ezek. xxxviii.

[a] Probably allied to גֹּפֶר, a general name for such trees as abound with resinous inflammable exudations; hence גָּפְרִית, "sulphur," as being very combustible. See Gesenius, *s. v.* Cp. the Arabic كِبْرِيت, *kibrīt*, and the Assyrian *ku pru*. Lagarde conjectures it to be connected with the Bactrian *vohû kereti*, fumigant, Pers. *gō-girdi*, sulphur (*Uebersicht üb. d. im Aram., Arab., u. Hebr. üibliche Bildung d. Nomina*, pp. 217–20).

[b] From A.-S. *brennan*, "to burn," and *stone*.

22). In Job xviii. 15 and Is. xxx. 33, "brimstone" occurs alone, but no doubt in a sense similar to that in the foregoing passages, viz. as an expression synonymous with lightning, as has been observed by Le Clerc (*Dissert. de Sodomae subversione*, Comment. Pentat. adjecta, § iv.), Michaelis, Rosenmüller, Dillmann,[b] and others.[c] There is a peculiar sulphurous odour which is occasionally perceived to accompany a thunderstorm; the ancients draw particular attention to it: see Pliny (*N. H.* xxxv. 15), "Fulmina ac fulgura quoque sulphuris odorem habent;" Seneca (*Q. nat.* ii. 53), and Persius (*Sat.* ii. 24, 25). Hence the expression "fire and brimstone" in the Sacred writings to denote a storm of thunder and lightning. The stream of brimstone in Is. xxx. 33 is, no doubt, as Lee (*Heb. Lex.* p. 123) has well expressed it, "a rushing stream of lightning."

From Deut. xxix. 23, "the whole land thereof is brimstone...like the overthrow of Sodom," it would appear that native sulphur itself is alluded to (see also Is. xxxiv. 9). There are extensive deposits of sulphur in the volcanic districts of South-Eastern and North-Eastern Palestine, chiefly on the east side of Jordan. In the region of Argob or Trachonitis, and on the banks of the Yarmuk or Hieromax, these deposits are especially abundant. In the Yarmuk, near the ancient Gadara, are nine hot sulphurous springs (Tristram, *Land of Israel*, p. 462). But by far the most important deposits are round the Dead Sea, where sulphur is found, not only in the strata of the surrounding cliffs, but ejected in vast quantities from springs, both on the edge of and in the lake, and also in some of the ravines running down to it. From these different sources, it is scattered in lumps larger or smaller over the flats to the north and west of the lake. One of the most remarkable rock deposits is in the Wâdy Mahawat, at the south-west of the lake; where, on the sides of the Wâdy, are exposed large masses of bitumen overlying a thin stratum of sulphur (*Land of Israel*, p. 358). All along the western shore of the lake, from 'Ain Feshkah to Jebel Usdum, occur hot springs, producing an abundant deposit of sulphur. But nowhere are these phenomena more wonderful than in the gorge of the Callirrhoë or Zerka Main, and many of the lesser glens opening on to the east of the Dead Sea. The hot springs of Callirrhoë are annually depositing an incrustation of sulphur on the sides of the glen, to a thickness sometimes of 150 feet, and all traces of the ancient baths and the erections of Herod have long since been buried under many feet of brimstone. Scarcely less rapid has been the deposit on parts of the shore, a little to the south of the mouth of the Callirrhoë (Tristram, *Land of Moab*, p. 243, &c.). Not the least interesting feature of these sulphur deposits and springs, is that they support a peculiar and unique flora, chiefly of the Asclepiad family, such as *Daemia cordata*, described by Josephus with marvellous legends (*Bell. Jud.* vii. 6, 3). *Cleome trinervia* is another of these curious plants, with the smell and colour of the sulphur on which it grows. See also Irby and Mangles (*Travels*, p. 453), Burckhardt (*Travels*, p. 394), who observes that the Arabs use sulphur in diseases of their camels, and Shaw (*Travels*, ii. 159).

Sulphur was much used by the Greeks and Romans in their religious purifications (Juv. ii. 157; Plin. xxxv. 15): hence the Greek word *θεῖον*, lit. "the divine thing," was employed to express this substance. Sulphur is found nearly pure in different parts of the world, and generally in volcanic districts; it exists in combination with metals and in various sulphates; it is very combustible, and is used in the manufacture of gunpowder, matches, &c. Pliny (*l. c.*) says one kind of sulphur was employed "ad ellychnia conficienda." [W. H.] [H. B. T.]

[b] A different explanation is preferred by Bp. Harold Browne (*Speaker's Comm.* on Gen. xix. 24) and Dean Payne Smith (*O. T. Comm. for Engl. Readers*, in loco). Taking "brimstone" to mean bitumen, the bitumen, whether volcanic or otherwise, was made the instrument by which the offending cities were destroyed.

BROIDED, BROIDERED. See EMBROIDERER. The word "broided" occurs in the A. V. [ed. 1611] of 1 Tim. ii. 9, "not with broided hair," and has been replaced by the corrupt form "broidered" in many more modern editions. "Broided" (see marg. *plaited*) is an old form of *braided*, which word has been placed in this text by the R. V. [F.]

BROOK. Four Hebrew words are thus rendered in the O. T.

1. אֲפִיק, *âphik* (Ps. xlii. 1 [2]); according to Gesenius, properly the *bed*, which holds in or contains the stream. It occurs only in the poetical Books. Elsewhere it is rendered "stream," "channel," "river."

2. יְאוֹר, *yĕôr* (Is. xix. 6 [A. V. "the brooks of defence," R. V. "the streams of Egypt"], 7, 8 [A. V. "brooks," R. V. "Nile" in both *vv.*], xxiii. 3, 10 [A. V. "river," R. V. "Nile" in both *vv.*]), an Egyptian word, according to Ebers = *aur āa*, "the great stream" (*Aegypten*, &c., p. 338), and which occurs on the Rosetta-inscription (*c.* B.C. 195). It is the Memphitic *jaro*, Sahidic *jero*, and Assyr. *jârû*, and is generally applied to the Nile, or to the canals by which Egypt was watered (see MV.[11] *s. v.*). The only exceptions to this usage are found in Dan. xii. 5, 6, 7, where A. V. and R. V. read "river" (see *Speaker's Comm.*[2] on Dan. xii. 5), and the word is applied to the Tigris.

3. מְיכָל, *mîcâl* (2 Sam. xvii. 20), which occurs but once, and is of very uncertain derivation and meaning, though some such sense as "rivulet" (A. V. and R. V. "brook") would be in accordance with the context (see Driver, *Notes on the Heb. Text of the Books of Sam.* in loco). The Targum erroneously paraphrases it "Jordan."

4. נַחַל, *nachal*, a term applied both to the dry torrent-bed (Num. xxi. 12, A. V. and R. V. "valley"; Judg. xvi. 4, A. V. and R. V. "valley" in text, "brook" in marg.) and to the torrent itself (1 K. xvii. 3, A. V. and R. V. "brook"). It corresponds with the Arabic *wâdy*, the Greek χειμάρρους, the Italian *fiumara*, and the Indian *nullah*. For further information, see RIVER. [W. A. W.] [F.]

BROTHER (אָח; ἀδελφός). The word is sometimes used in Hebrew as in all languages in

a general or metaphorical sense. In the O. T. the term "brother" is sometimes applied to (1) kinsman, and not a mere brother—*e.g.* nephew (Gen. xiv. 16, xiii. 8), husband (Cant. iv. 9); (2) one of the same tribe (2 Sam. xix. 13); (3) of the same people (Ex. ii. 11), or even of a cognate people (Num. xx. 14); (4) an ally (Amos i. 9); (5) any friend (Job v. 15); (6) one of the same office (1 K. ix. 13); (7) a fellow-man (Lev. xix. 17); (8) metaphorically of any similarity. It is a very favourite Oriental metaphor, as in Job xxx. 19, "I am become a brother to the jackals" (Gesen. *s. v.*).

The word ἀδελφὸς has a similar range of meanings in the N. T., and is also used for a disciple (Matt. xxv. 40, &c.); a fellow-worker, as in St. Paul's *Epp.* passim; and especially a Christian. Indeed, we see from the Epistles and the early Fathers that it was by this name that Christians usually spoke of each other. The name "Christian" was merely used to describe believers objectively, *i.e.* from the Pagan point of view, as we see from the places where it occurs, viz. Acts [xi. 26], xxvi. 28, and 1 Pet. iv. 16. Cp. Cremer, *Bibl.-theolog. Wörterb. d. N Tlich. Gräcität*,[4] s. n.

The Jewish schools distinguish between "brother" and "neighbour;" "brother" meant an Israelite by blood, "neighbour" a proselyte. They allowed neither title to the Gentiles; but Christ and the Apostles extended the name "brother" to all Christians, and "neighbour" to all the world, 1 Cor. v. 11; Luke x. 29, 30 (Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr. ad Matt.* v. 22).

We must now briefly touch on the difficult and interesting question as to who were "the brethren of the Lord," and pass in review the theories respecting them. And first we would observe that in arguing at all against their being the *real* brethren of Jesus, far too much stress has been laid on the assumed indefiniteness of meaning attached to the word "brother" in Scripture. When the word is used *historically* and *continuously*, there is no such indefiniteness. In all the adduced cases it will be seen that, when the word is used in any but its proper sense, the context, in every case of real importance, prevents the possibility of confusion; and indeed in the only two exceptional instances (not metaphorical), viz. those in which Lot and Jacob are respectively called "brothers" of Abraham and Laban, the word is only extended so far as to mean "nephew;" and it must be remembered that even these exceptions are quoted from a single Book, many centuries earlier than the Gospels. If then the word "brethren," as repeatedly applied to James, &c. really means "cousins" or "kinsmen," it will be the *only* instance of such an application being repeatedly used without any data being furnished to correct the laxity of meaning. Again, no really parallel case can be quoted from the N. T., except in merely rhetorical and tropical passages; whereas when "nephews" or "cousins" are meant they are always specified as such, as in Col. iv. 10, Acts xxiii. 16 (Kitto, *The Apostles*, &c., p. 165 sq.). It is, then, obvious that there is no adequate warrant in the language alone, to take "brethren" as meaning "relatives;" and therefore the *à priori* presumption is in favour of a literal acceptation of the term. We have dwelt the more strongly on this point, because it seems to have been far too easily assumed that no importance is to be attached to the mere fact of their being *invariably* called Christ's *brothers;* whereas this consideration taken alone would go far to prove that they really were so.

There are, however, three traditions respecting them. They are first mentioned (Matt. xiii. 56) in a manner which would certainly lead an unbiassed mind to conclude that they were our Lord's uterine brothers. "Is not this the carpenter's son? Is not *His mother* called Mary? *and His brethren* James, and Joses, and Judas, and Simon? *and His sisters*, are they not all with us?" But since we find that there was a "Mary, the mother of James and Joses and Judas and Simon" (Matt. xxvii. 36), and that a "James and Judas (?)" were sons of Alphaeus (Luke vi. 15, 16), the most general tradition is —I. That they were all our Lord's first cousins, the sons of Alphaeus (or Clopas), who is supposed to have been a brother of Joseph (Hegesippus *ap.* Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 22) and Mary, a sister of the Virgin. This tradition is accepted by Jerome (*Cat. Script. Ecc.* 2), Augustine, and the Latin Church generally, and is now the one most commonly received. Yet there seem to be overwhelming arguments against it: for (1) The reasoning entirely depends on three very doubtful assumptions, viz. *a.* that "his mother's sister" (John xix. 25) must be in apposition with "Mary, the wife of Cleophas," which would be improbable, if only on the ground that it supposes two sisters to have had the same name, a supposition substantiated by very few parallel cases [Wieseler (cp. Mark xv. 40) thinks that Salome, the wife of Zebedee, is intended by "his mother's sister"]; *b.* that "Mary, the mother of James," was the wife of Alphaeus, *i.e.* that the James intended in Luke vi. 15 is Ἰάκωβος ὁ Ἀλφαίου; *c.* that Cleophas, or more correctly Clopas, whose wife Mary was, is identical with Alphaeus (Hegesipp.); which may be the case, although it cannot be proved. (2) If the cousins of our Lord were meant, it would be signally untrue that "neither did his brethren believe on him" (John vii. 5 sq.), for in all probability three out of the four (viz. James the Less, Matthew (or Levi), and Simon, as well as Jude, the brother (or, more probably, the son) of James, were actual *Apostles*. We do not see how this objection can be removed. (3) It is quite unaccountable that these "brethren of the Lord," if they were only his cousins, should be always mentioned in conjunction with the Virgin Mary, and never with their own mother Mary, who was both alive and in constant attendance on our Lord. (4) The "brethren of the Lord" are generally spoken of as *distinct from* the Apostles: see Acts i. 14, 1 Cor. ix. 15; and Jude (*v.* 17) seems clearly to imply that he himself was not an Apostle. It seems to us that these four objections are quite adequate to *necessitate* the rejection of the very slight grounds adduced for the identification of the "brethren of the Lord" with the "sons of Alphaeus." If "the Lord's brethren" were His cousins, what possible reason could have prevented the Evangelists from calling them cousins? Why, in writing plain prose, should they have gone out of their way to suggest a false inference? Whatever happens to other

theories, *this* at least (though it has been the favourite *theory* in the Western Church) must be absolutely rejected. It was an arbitrary attempt on the part of Jerome to assert the virginity not only of Mary but of Joseph. He invented it in A.D. 383 as furnishing a plausible argument against Helvidius; and afterwards, when it had served its temporary purpose, he quietly allowed it to fall into abeyance (see Lightfoot, *Galatians*, pp. 247–249). The real usage of the word "brethren" (apart from its lax and metaphorical applications) is alone sufficient to relegate this theory into the region of obsolete conjectures.

II. A second tradition accepted by Hilary, Epiphanius, and the Greek Fathers generally, makes them the sons of *Joseph* by a former marriage with a certain Escha or Salome of the tribe of Judah; indeed Epiphanius (*Haeres.* 29, § 4) even mentions the supposed order of birth of the four sons and two daughters. But Jerome (*Com. in Matt.* xii. 49) slights this as a mere conjecture, borrowed from the "deliramenta Apocryphorum," and Origen says that it was taken from the Gospel of St. Peter. The only shadow of ground for its possibility is the generally received tradition that there was a difference of age between Joseph and the Virgin. On the other hand, it is a fatal objection to this late tradition that, if the brethren were sons of Joseph by an earlier marriage, James as the eldest of them was legally "the son of David" and the lineal heir to David's throne.

III. Theophylact suggested that they were the offspring of a levirate marriage between Joseph and the wife of his deceased brother Alphaeus. But, apart from all evidence, it is obviously idle to examine so arbitrary an assumption.

The arguments *against* their being the sons of the Virgin after the birth of our Lord, are founded on—(1) The almost constant tradition of her ἀειπαρθενία. St. Basil (*Serm. de S. Nativ.*) even records a story that "Zechary was slain by the Jews between the porch and the altar" for affirming her to be a Virgin *after*, as well as before the birth of her most holy Son (Jer. Taylor, *Duct. Dubit.* ii. 3, 4). Still the tradition was *not* universal: it was denied, for instance, by those who were called Antidicomarianitae and Helvidiani; and it appears to have been unknown to, or unaccepted by, Tertullian and Victorinus bishop of Petavium. To quote Ezek. xliv. 2 as any *argument* on the question is plainly absurd. (2) The fact that on the cross Christ commended His mother to the care of *St. John*; but this is easily explicable on the ground of His brethren's apparent disbelief in Him at that time, though they seem to have been converted by the Resurrection. Indeed the objection, if it has any weight at all, tells also against the two other theories. (3) The identity of their names with those of the sons of Alphaeus. This argument loses every particle of weight, when we remember the constant recurrence of names in Jewish families, and the extreme commonness of these particular names. In the N. T. alone there may be at least five contemporary Jameses, and several Judes, not to mention the (at least) 21 Simons, 17 Joses, and 16 Judes mentioned by Josephus.

On the other hand, the arguments *for* "the brethren of the Lord" being (as they are exclusively called) his actual brethren are numerous and, *taken collectively*, to an unprejudiced mind almost irresistible, although singly they are open to objections: *e.g.* (1) The word πρωτότοκος. υἱός, Luke ii. 7. (2) Matt. i. 25, οὐκ ἐγίνωσκεν αὐτὴν ἕως οὗ ἔτεκεν, κ.τ.λ., to which, Alford justly remarks, only one meaning *could* have been attached but for preconceived theories about the ἀειπαρθενία. (3) The general tone of the Gospels on the subject. The "brethren" are *constantly* spoken of *with* the V. Mary, and with no shadow of a hint that they were not her own children (Matt. xii. 46; Mark iii. 31, &c.). (4) The inference which would be naturally drawn from Matt. i. 18. It can, we think, be hardly denied that any one of these arguments is singly stronger than those produced on the other side.

To sum up, then, we have seen (I.) that "the brethren of the Lord" could hardly have been identical with the sons of Alphaeus, and (II.) that we have no grounds for supposing them to have been the sons of Joseph by a previous, or (III.) a levirate marriage; and (IV.) that the arguments in favour of their being actual brothers of our Lord are very strong, and that the tradition on the other side (derived partly from apocryphal Gospels, partly from guesswork) is not sufficiently weighty or unanimous to set them aside. Finally, this tradition of the perpetual virginity of the mother of our Lord (which any one may hold, if he will, as one of the "pie credibilia," Jer. Taylor, *Duct. Dub.* ii. 3, 6) is easily accounted for by the widespread Manichean error of the inferiority of the wedded to the virgin state. Scripture in no way requires us to believe it, and the notion of a *nominal* marriage, such as prevailed in the 3rd and 4th centuries, was absolutely unknown to the Jews. Since Mary's previous virginity is alone requisite to the Gospel narrative, we must regard the question of her ἀειπαρθενία as one of mere curiosity. [JAMES; JOSES; JUDE.]

The question has been discussed by many writers. Besides the chief New Testament commentators, see Herder, *Briefe Zweener Bruder Jesu*, 1775; Blom, *de τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς*, 1839; Schaff, *Das Verhaltniss der Jacobus*, &c., 1842; Lange, *Leben Jesu*, i. 421–437 (E. T.); Keim, *Jesu von Nazara*, ii. 143 (E. T.); Laurent, *Neutest. Stud.* p. 153 ff. (1856); Pressensé, *Jesus Christ*, p. 287; Mill, *Mythical Interpretn.* pp. 219–274; McClellan, *New Test.* p. 654; and especially Bishop Lightfoot, *Galatians*, pp. 241–274. Bishop Lightfoot supports the hypothesis of Epiphanius. The Helvidian view may claim to be derived directly from Scripture; is supported by the high authority of Tertullian, who would have been eager to reject it if there had been any grounds for doing so; and is accepted by Herder, Winer, Wieseler, Laurent, Meyer, Stier, Alford, Weiss, Ewald, De Wette, Keim, De Pressensé, McClellan, and an increasing number of modern critics. [F. W. F.]

BRUIT, Jer. x. 22; Nah. iii. 19. The word, now obsolete, means report, rumour. The A. V. follows the Genevan Version; the R. V. has substituted "rumour" for "bruit" in Jeremiah, but retained "bruit" in Nahum. See *D. B.*, Amer. ed. [F.]

BUBASTIS. [PIBESETH.]

BUCKLER. [ARMS, II. 5; SHIELD.]

BUK'KI (בַּקִּי, of uncertain meaning [see Ges. and MV.[11]]; *Bocci*). **1.** Son of Abishua and father of Uzzi, fifth from Aaron in the line of the high-priests in 1 Ch. v. 31, vi. 36 (LXX. vi. 5 [B. Βωέ, A. Βωκαΐ], 51 [BA. Βωκαΐ]), and in the genealogy of Ezra, Ezra vii. 4 (B. Βοκκεί, A. -ί) and 1 Esd. viii. 2 (BA. Βοκκά), where he is called BOCCAS, which is corrupted to BORITH (2 Esd. i. 2). Whether Bukki ever filled the office of high-priest, we are not informed in Scripture. Epiphanius in his list of the ancestors of Jehoiada, whom he fancifully supposes to be brother of Elijah the Tishbite, omits both Bukki and Abishua (*advers. Melchizedec.* iii.). Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 1, § 3) expressly says that all of Aaron's line between Joseph (Abishua) the high-priest and Zadok, who was made high-priest in the reign of David, were private persons (*ἰδιωτεύσαντες*), *i.e.* not high-priests, and mentions by name "Bukki the son of Joseph the high-priest," as the first of those who lived a private life, while the pontifical dignity was in the house of Ithamar. But in v. 11, § 5, Josephus says as expressly that Abishua (there called Abiezer), having received the high-priesthood from his father Phinehas, transmitted it to his own son Bukki, who was succeeded by Uzzi, after whom it passed to Eli. We may conclude therefore that Josephus had no more means of knowing for certain who were high-priests between Phinehas and Eli than we have; and we may adopt the opinion, which is far the most probable, that there was no high-priest between them, unless perhaps Abishua. For an account of the absurd fancies of the Jews, and the statements of Christian writers relative to the succession of the high-priests at this period, see Selden, *de Success. in Pontif. Hebr.*; also *Genealog. of our Lord*, ch. x. [A. C. H.]

2. B. Βακχίρ, A. Βοκκί, F. Βαχχί; *Bocci*. Son of Jogli, "prince" (נָשִׂיא[a]) of the tribe of Dan, one of the ten men chosen to apportion the land of Canaan between the tribes (Num. xxxiv. 22). [A. C. H.]

BUKKI'AH (בַּקִּיָּהוּ, *vide* BUKKI; Βουκίας, B. Βουκείας [*bis*], A. Βοκκίας [*v.* 4], Κοκκίας [*v.* 13]; *Bocciau*), a Kohathite Levite, of the sons of Heman, one of the musicians in the Temple, the leader of the sixth band or course in the service (1 Ch. xxv. 4, 13). [A. C. H.]

BUL. [MONTHS.]

BULL, BULLOCK, terms used synonymously with ox, oxen, in the A. V. and R. V., as the representatives of several Hebrew words; twice in the N. T. as the rendering of *ταῦρος* (Heb. ix. 13, x. 4).

Behemah, בְּהֵמָה, "beast," is used for cattle in general, and is not always confined to horned cattle, *e.g.* in Gen. xxxiv. 23, "Shall not their *cattle* be ours?"

Bâkâr, בָּקָר, is properly a generic name for horned cattle when of full age and fit for the plough, without distinction of sex. It is almost always used collectively, though occasionally for an individual, as in Is. xi. 7. Accordingly it is variously rendered *bullock* (Is. lxv. 25, R. V. "ox"), *cow* (Ezek. iv. 15), *oxen* (Gen. xii. 16). Hence in Deut. xxi. 3, עֶגְלַת בָּקָר is *a heifer* [R. V. "an heifer of the herd"]; Ex. xxix. 1, פַּר בֶּן־בָּקָר, *a young bullock*; and in Gen. xviii. 7, simply בֶּן־בָּקָר, rendered *a calf* in A. V. and R. V. It is derived from an unused root, בָּקַר, "to cleave," hence "to plough," as in Latin *armentum* is *aramentum*. It is identical with the Arabic بَقَر, *bakara*.

Shôr, שׁוֹר, Arabic ثَوْر, *thawr*, differs from בָּקָר in the same way as שֶׂה, a *sheep*, differs from צֹאן, a *flock* of sheep. It is a generic name, but almost always signifies *one head of horned cattle*, without distinction of age or sex. It is very seldom used collectively. The Chaldee form of the word, תּוֹר, occurs in Ezra vi. 9, 17, vii. 17; Dan. iv. 25, &c.; and Plutarch (*Sull.* c. 17) says *Θῶρ οἱ Φοίνικες τὴν βοῦν καλοῦσι*. [It is one of the few words which appear to be common to Semitic and Aryan peoples; cp. *ταῦρος*, *taurus*, Sk. *sthûras* (according to Curtius, meaning *strong*), Germ. *stier*, Engl. *steer*, though how this community is to be explained must be matter of conjecture. There is no apparent Semitic derivation (cp. Fleischer in Levy, *NHWB.* iv. p. 680).—S. R. D.]

'Ègel, *'ęgelah*, עֵגֶל, עֶגְלָה, Arabic عِجْل, *'ajil*, *a calf*, *male* or *female*, *properly of the first year*, derived, as Gesenius thinks, from an Aethiopic word signifying *foetus*, *embryo*, *pullus*, *catulus*, while others derive it from עָגַל, *volvit*, *rotavit*, *festinavit*. The word is used of a trained heifer (Hos. x. 11), of one giving milk (Is. vii. 21, 22), of one used in ploughing (Judg. xiv. 18), and of one three years old (Gen. xv. 9). Almost synonymous with עֵגֶל is פַּר, the latter signifying generally a young bull of two years old, though in one instance (Judg. vi. 25) possibly a bull of seven years old. It is the customary term for bulls offered in sacrifice, and hence is used metaphorically in Hos. xiv. 3, "so will we render, 'as bullocks,' our lips," R. V. The LXX. and Syr. have, however, "the fruit of our lips," reading *i.e.* פְּרִי for פָּרִים, and this is preferred by many moderns (see *QPB.*[2] in loco).

There are four or five passages in which the word אַבִּרִים, *'abirim*, is used for *bulls*. It is the plural of אַבִּיר, *strong*, whence its use. See Ps. xxii. 13, l. 13, lxviii. 31; Is. xxxiv. 7; Jer. l. 11.

All the above words refer to domesticated cattle, which formed of old, as now, an important part of the wealth of the people of Palestine. [See CATTLE.] [W. D.] [H. B. T.]

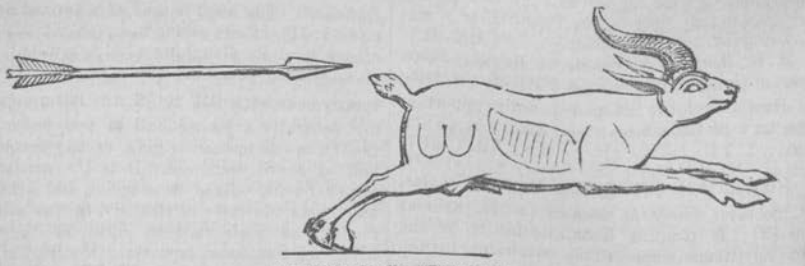
BULL, WILD, the A. V. rendering of תְּאוֹ, *tô* (Is. li. 20), the form תְּאוֹ, *tô* (Deut. xiv. 5), being translated "wild ox," the R. V. rendering both by "antelope." The LXX. gives *ὄρυξ* in the latter, and *σεντλίον* (!) in Isaiah (*incpte scripsit*, Gesenius); the Vulg. *oryx* in both passages. It

[a] The "princes" are only specified in the case of seven tribes out of the ten; not in the case of Judah, Simeon, and Benjamin.

is almost certain that the LXX., Vulgate, and R. V. are right in the rendering "oryx" or "antelope," though doubts are expressed under Ox. From its position in the catalogue of animals permitted as food, it must have been some creature of the bovine or antelope classes; and the allusion in Isaiah shows it to have been wild and untameable. Neither Bochart, Gesenius, or other authority, offers any satisfactory derivation for the word, nor does it seem to have any representative in Arabic. The Chaldaean Onkelos and some Arabic commentators (Bochart, *Hieroz.* ii. p. 367) propose some species of wild cattle. But to this Rosenmüller reasonably objects that the buffalo is not indigenous in Syria. Though it is now domesticated in the swamps of the Huleh and other similar localities, yet it is an introduction from India, and there is no reason to believe that it was ever known in Western Asia, until brought back by the Khalifs after their conquest of Persia. Wild oxen or bulls are frequently represented in Assyrian sculptures. Though now used in Egypt, we do not find it portrayed on any of the ancient monuments. Nor can we assign the *teô* to the extinct aurochs, since that animal is

Assyrian King hunting wild Bulls. (Nimrud.)

designated by *rcêm*; and moreover, as Bochart observes (*loc. cit.*), it was far too powerful a creature to be captured in a net, and as a matter of fact we know that it was by pitfalls and not by nets that it was taken. Τάφρους αὐταῖς κρυπτὰς ἐργάζονται βαθείας, καὶ ταύταις αὐτοὺς ἑλλοχῶσιν (Aelian, xvii. 45). *Hos studiose foveis captos interficiunt* (Caesar, *de Bell. Gall.* vi. 28). The deer and antelope tribes, on the contrary, were and are taken by dogs, nets, and snares. The *teô*, therefore, probably stands for some of the larger antelopes, formerly much more common in these regions than at present, and of which three species still linger in scanty numbers on the eastern frontier of Palestine. The antelope or gazelle frequently occurs in hunting scenes in Assyrian sculptures. These are the *Antilope leucoryx*, Pall., or Oryx; the Addax, *Antilope addax*, Licht., and the Bubale, *Antilope bubalis*, Pall.; the بقه الوشر *bekk'r el wash*, "wild cow" of the Arabs. As the Addax is pretty generally identified with the *Strepsiceros* of Pliny or the Pygarg, there remain but two claimants, the Bubale and the Oryx, and we may reasonably accept the rendering of the LXX., and allow *teô* to mean "antelope" generally, or "oryx" specifically.



Antelope or Gazelle. (Kouyunjik.)

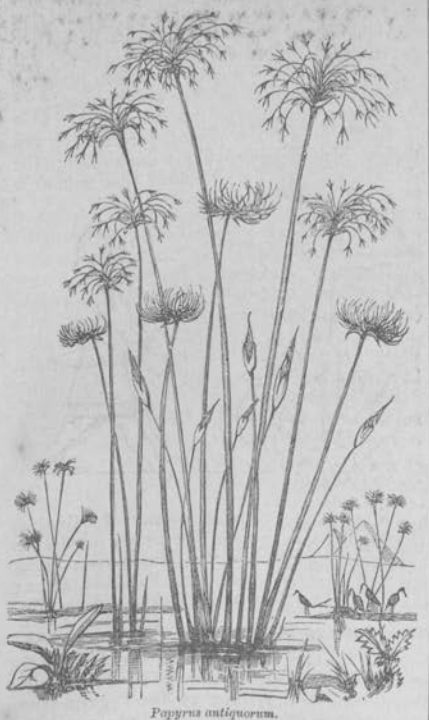
The *Antilope leucoryx* is a very beautiful and graceful antelope, with long slender recurved horns, which attain a length of 3 feet. It is of a sandy-white colour on the lower parts and face, with a darker facial stripe, and sandy-coloured flanks. It inhabits Kordofan, Sennaar, the Sahara, Upper Egypt, Arabia, and the Syrian desert, occasionally extending, according to some authorities, into Persia. [H. B. T.]

BULRUSH, RUSH, FLAG, REED, PAPER-REED, PAPYRUS.[a] Six Hebrew words, גֹּמֶא, אַחוּ, אֲגַמּוֹן, סוּף, עָרוֹת, קָנֶה, are represented in the A. V. and R. V. by one or other of these names; and as the translations are frequently interchanged, the whole group may be conveniently considered together.

Gôme, גֹּמֶא (πάπυρος, βιβλίς, θήβη, ἕλος; *papyrus, scirpus, juncus*), is variously translated in the English Versions: in Ex. ii. 3, "ark of bulrushes," A. V. and R. V., but in the margin of R. V. *papyrus*: in other passages it is rendered "rush" in both A. V. and R. V., except in Is. xviii. 2, where the R. V. has "vessels of papyrus." The Hebrew word means literally "the absorber," from the root גָּמָא, *hausit*; but the

[a] This article is in place of REED in Vol. III., where the subject is not so fully treated.

word may be Egyptian, cp. the Coptic *gōme*, "reed" (MV.[II]). It is the celebrated paper-reed of Egypt, *Papyrus antiquorum*, Willd.; a



Papyrus antiquorum.

name which, in some form or other, has found its way into almost every language in the world. From it was made the ark in which the infant Moses was preserved; but, as is stated by Isaiah (xviii. 2), it was employed in the construction of much larger vessels. Its employment in ship- or boat-building is frequently alluded to by ancient writers. Πλοῖα ποιοῦσιν ἐξ αὐτοῦ, Theophr. *Hist. Pl.* iv. 9. "Naves primum repertas in Aegypto in Nilo ex papyro," Plin. vii. 56. "Cum tenet omnia Nilus, conseritur bibula Memphitis cymba papyrus," Luc. *Phars.* iv. 136. Celsius (*Hierob.* ii. 144–152) adduces numerous references to the various uses of the papyrus from classical authors. The Egyptians employed it not only in the construction of light vessels for the navigation of the Nile, but for baskets, ropes, sails, shoes, sandals, napkins, and all sorts of domestic utensils. For these latter, as for boats, a wicker skeleton of papyrus stem was caulked and then thinly coated with tenacious pitch, till, as Pliny (xvi. 36) describes it, it became "glutino tenacior, rimisque explendis fidelior pice." Bruce states (vol. vi. p. 7) that boats of papyrus are still used among the Abyssinians. They have not, however, been found in the Central Lakes of Africa, where the plant abounds, probably being too fragile for the storms of these inland seas. But the celebrity of the papyrus is derived from its employment in the manufacture of paper, being the earliest material so used, and which has given its name to the material throughout the world. The method of preparation was very simple. Sir Gardner Wilkinson thus describes it: "Papyri are of the most remote Pharaonic periods. The mode of making them was as follows: The interior of the stalks of the plant, after the rind had been removed, was cut into thin slices in the direction of their length, and these being laid on a flat board in succession, similar slices were placed over them at right angles; and their surfaces being cemented together by a sort of glue, and subjected to a proper degree of pressure and well dried, the papyrus was completed. The length of the slices depended of course on the breadth of the intended sheet, as that of the sheet on the number of slices placed in succession alongside each other, so that though the breadth was limited, the papyrus might be extended to an indefinite length." The papyrus was so highly valued in Egypt that the right of growing and selling it was a government monopoly from which large profits accrued. It formerly abounded on the Nile and in the shallow lagoons of Lower Egypt, where, with its spreading rhizomes running laterally just below the surface of the ooze, it helped largely to consolidate the mud of the Nile. Ancient writers represent it as forming a dense forest on some parts of the river banks. This was only in the permanent marshes, or lagoons, as alluded to by Job (viii. 11), "Can the rush (*gôme*) grow up without mire?" It is strange that it has become utterly extinct in Egypt, and that to find it at all in Africa we must go to the marshes of the White Nile in Nubia 7° north latitude. Thence southwards it is common; and in the region of the Central Lakes, Victoria Nyanza and Albert Nyanza, vast tracts of swamp are covered with it. But it still exists in several places in Palestine, the only region of Asia where this characteristically Ethiopian plant has been found. It is there well known as بابور, *bābūr*, i.e. πάπῡρος; a term which, like its double βύβλος, is of Egyptian origin. The most interesting locality is at the north-east corner of the Plain of Gennesareth, where the copious fountain of 'Ain et Tîn feeds a small but dense swamp, filled with a mass of tall papyrus, very close to the supposed site of the scriptural Bethsaida. Higher up the Jordan valley, below Tell Kadi, the upper part of Lake Huleh, the ancient Merom, is covered with a floating mass of papyrus many acres in extent, quite impenetrable from the treacherous character of the morass beneath the masses of papyrus root, while the beautiful blossom tufts which surmount the stems wave with the gentlest air like a silver sea. There are also patches of papyrus on the Plain of Sharon, in a little swamp, Munkalid, N.E. of Jaffa; in the Nahr el Wedja; and also near the source of the Zerka river, under Mount Carmel at its south-east extremity. This has been supposed to be a distinct species, *Cyperus syriacus*, Parl., but it is now clearly proved to be identical, though growing under less favourable circumstances. The papyrus also claims a place in the Flora of Europe, being found by the Anapus river near Syracuse (probably introduced), and where paper is still manufactured from it. It is also stated to grow in the Lake Trasimene in Etruria.

The papyrus is the giant monarch of the rush tribe, or *Cyperaceae*, to which natural order it belongs. The root is very bulky, spreading and fleshy, with many rhizomes sending out shoots upwards and rootlets downwards, and from it springs a tall triangular stem tapering upwards, and protected by a sheath. These stems are about ten feet high, but in warm swamps, like that of Lake Huleh, they reach the length of sixteen feet. When the stem has nearly attained its full length, the sheath opens, setting free a beautiful tuft like a feather broom, displaying, in botanical phraseology, a many-rayed umbel. The secondary umbels are composed of three or four short rays, with an involucel of the three awl-shaped leaflets. The flowers are a short spike at the extremity of each ray, and the earliest do not appear till towards the end of summer.

Agmôn, אַגְמוֹן. The word is frequently used with a figurative or metaphorical meaning, and is always so rendered both in the LXX. and the Vulgate. Yet there can be no question as to its primary signification. It is from the root אגם, *agam* (inusit.), allied to the Arabic اجم, *ag'am*, "a marshy pool or reed-bed." "Densi frutices, arundinetum, palus" (Freytag).

In Is. ix. 14, xix. 15, *agmôn* occurs in the proverbial expression "branch and rush," A. V., "palm-branch and rush," R. V., simply equivalent to our "root and branch," and so interpreted in the ancient Versions, ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος, *μέγαν καὶ μίκρον*, *caput et caudam*. In Job xli. 2 it is translated "hook" by A. V.; "rope," marg. *rope of rushes*, by R. V. Celsius (*Hierob.* i. 468) gives the best explanation of this passage, viz. that allusion is made to the common practice of carrying fish that have been caught by a wisp of rushes thrust through their gills (cp. however Delitzsch in loco). In the other passage in Job (xli. 20) in which *agmôn* is translated by A. V. "chaldron," it has been suggested that the word has a different derivation from an Arabic root signifying "to burn," the interpretation adopted by the LXX. and Vulg. (ἄνθραξ, *ferens*). The R. V. seems to have solved the difficulty by suggesting "*burning* rushes." The rapidity and terrific roar with which a cane-brake once set on fire will burn can scarcely be understood by any who have not seen the result of such a conflagration in an Eastern ravine overgrown with reeds. It might be very doubtful whether *agmôn* could be referred to any special species of reed or cane were it not for the expression in Is. lviii. 5, "to bow down his head as a bulrush" (A. V., "rush" R.V.), which probably points to some rush easily yielding to the wind, and with a tuft or panicle at the top. The same plant must be referred to in Matt. xi. 5, "a reed shaken with the wind." And while the general term for reeds is קָנֶה, it is probable that אַגְמוֹן is referable to one familiar species. This can be no other than the reed typical of the country, *Arundo donax* (L.), in Arabic قصب, *kasab*, a very tall cane about 12 feet high, with a magnificent panicle of blossom at the top, and so slender and elastic that it will lie perfectly flat under a gust of wind, and immediately recover its erect position. The *Arundo donax* is very common in Egypt and Syria, growing not only in marshes, but also in lands only occasionally irrigated. The finest masses of it are to be

Arundo donax.

seen in the cane-brakes on the north-west side of the Dead Sea, where, nourished by the warm springs, it lines the shore for several miles with an impenetrable fringe, the lair of wild boars and leopards, to the exclusion of all other vegetation; and where it attains a gigantic size. There are also large patches of it along the whole Jordan valley, but not of such luxuriant growth. In the valleys of the Arnon and Callirrhoë on the east side of the Dead Sea, it is also most luxuriant. *Arundo donax* belongs to the family *Graminaceae*.

Achu, אָחוּ, occurs in Job viii. 11, and also in Gen. xli. 2, 18. The word is also used untranslated in Ecclus. xl. 16. In the passage from Job, "Can the *flag* grow without water?" (A. V.), the R. V. has in the margin *reed grass* (*βούτομος*, LXX.; *carectum*, Vulg.). In the passages in Genesis the LXX. have left the word untranslated, ἄχει, as in Ecclus. The Vulgate has *loci palustres* and *virectum paludis*; "meadow," A. V.; "reed-grass," R. V. The word ἄχι occurs in the LXX. Is. xix. 7, as the representative of עָרוֹת ("paper reeds," A. V.; "meadows," R. V.). Jerome, in his commentary on this passage, incidentally gives the origin of the word *achu*: "Pro junco, papyrum LXX. transtulerunt, de quo charta fit, addentes de suo ἄχει χλωρόν, quod in Hebraico non habetur. Cumque ab eruditis quaererem, quid hic sermo significaret, audivi ab Aegyptiis hoc nomine linguâ eorum omne quod in palude virens nascitur appellare." The word would thus be familiar to the Alexandrine translators, who retained it, as being equally intelligible with its Greek equivalent. Gesenius, without hesitation, infers it, from this and other authorities, to be an Egyptian word [so all moderns. See Ebers, *Aeg. u. die Bb. Moses*,

i. 33§ sq.—from ἑλκέω, *green*; or Delitzsch on Job viii. 11.—S. R. D.]. From the passage in Job, where it is named along with the papyrus, we may assume, although Jerome generalises it, that some specific plant is intended, and from the mention of it in Genesis we see that it was a plant eaten by cattle. Two marsh plants, both very common in Egypt,—*Cyperus esculentus* (L.), the edible rush, and *Butomus umbellatus* (L.), the flowering rush,—would meet all the requirements of the sacred text, and would also well correspond with the "flag" of the A. V.

Sûph, סוּף (ἕλος; *carectum, papyrio, juncus*), is translated by A. V. and R. V. "flags" in Ex. ii. 3, 5, "She laid the ark in the *flags* by the river's brink;" and also in Is. xix. 6. In Jonah ii. 5 it is rendered "weeds": "The weeds were wrapped about my head." The word also frequently occurs in combination, יַם־סוּף. The invariable name for the Red Sea is "the sea of weeds." In this connexion, as in the passage from Jonah, it must be understood of seaweed. But in Exodus it may be taken to mean generally "weeds" or marsh vegetation, such as the rank rushes on the border of the Nile. Celsius (*Hierob.* ii. 66) points out that it refers to the smaller herbage to the exclusion of the papyrus, reed, or cane. [The word has no apparent derivation in Hebrew, and is in all probability Egyptian. It has been connected by some with the Coptic *sippe*, "sea-weed," or *rebe*, "reeds," and by others (Brugsch) with the Egyptian *tufi*, "papyrus" (see Knobel-Dillmann on Exod. xiii. 18; MV.[11]).—S. R. D.]

'Aróth, עָרוֹת (τὸ ἄχι τὸ χλωρὸν πᾶν), occurs only once, Is. xix. 7, and is rendered "paper reeds" by the A. V., "meadows" by the R. V. Whatever be the true rendering, that of the A. V. cannot be correct, for the prophet had only just before mentioned the papyrus under its unquestioned name of גֹּמֶא, and would not immediately mention the same plant under a totally different name. The Rabbinical commentators state that it is a name for all pot-herbs and green garden stuff, which is evidently the interpretation adopted by the LXX. The word is derived from עָרָה, "to be bare or naked," and is the same as the Arabic عَرَا, *'ara*, an open plain, and hence probably signifies meadows containing the rank green herbage which abounds in marshy places.

Káneh, קָנֶה (κάλαμος, καλαμίσκος, καλάμινος, πήχος, ἀγκών, ζυγός, πυθμήν; *arundo, culmus, calamus, fistula statera*), from the same root as the English "cane," occurs in many passages of the Old Testament, and is the generic name for a reed or stalk of any kind, and hence for the stem of a candlestick, a measure of length, the armbone, &c. Thus "seven ears of corn came up upon one *stalk*" (Gen. xli. 5, 22). "Branches of the *candlestick*" (Ex. xxv. 32). "Let mine *arm* fall from my shoulder blade" (Job xxxi. 22). In Ezek. xl. 5, &c., it is used for a *measuring reed*, 6 cubits in length. In Ezek. xxvii. 19 it is translated by A. V. and R. V. "calamus," the rendering elsewhere of a very different word: "Cassia and calamus were in thy market." The equivalent Greek word κάλαμος is similarly applied in the N. T. to the growing reed, to a stalk, to a measuring rod (Rev. xi. 1, &c.), and to a pen made of reed (3 John *v.* 13).

Many species of reed are found in different parts of Palestine, and it is most probable that *káneh* is a general term with no special reference to any one species. The most common, besides those already mentioned, are *Arundo phragmitis* (L.), the *Phragmitis communis* of modern botanists, still used universally for pens in the East; the common toad rush (*Juncus bufonius*, L.); and many species of *Cyperus*, or triangular stalked rush. There are also about fifteen species of sedge (*Carex*) abundant in different parts of the country. [H. B. T.]

BULRUSHES, ARK OF. [MOSES.]

BU'NAH (בּוּנָה, Ges. = *prudence*; B. Βαναιά, A. Βαναά; *Buna*), a son of Jerahmeel, of the family of Pharez in Judah (1 Ch. ii. 25).

BUN'NI. **1.** (בָּנִי, Ges. = *built*; *Bonni, Boni*), one of the Levites in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. ix. 4); possibly the same person is mentioned in x. 15. The LXX. in both cases translates the name by *viós*.

2. Another Levite, but of earlier date than the preceding (Neh. xi. 15). The name, בּוּנִי [ed. Baer], is also slightly different. The LXX. omits it.

Bunni is said to have been the Jewish name of Nicodemus (Lightfoot on John iii. 1; Ewald, v. 233). [W. A. W.]

BURDEN (מַשָּׂא), used sometimes in the sense of an oracle or prophecy (cp. Is. xiii. 1, &c. For Jer. xxiii. 33 and the highly probable variant reading of LXX. and Vulg., see the commentators, e.g. *QPB.*[3]). מ does not express of necessity threatening language, but rather—by its etymology—language lifted up above ordinary language, such as the judicial language of God, or language spoken with uplifted or emphatic voice (see Oehler, *Theology of the O. T.* § 210, n. 9; Schultz, *Alttest. Theologie*,[4] p. 241, n. 6; Delitzsch[4] on Is. xiii. 1). [F.]

BURIAL, SEPULCHRES. The Jews uniformly disposed of the corpse by entombment, where possible, and, failing that, by interment; extending this respect to the remains even of the slain enemy and malefactor (1 K. xi. 15; Deut. xxi. 23), in the latter case by express provision of law. Since this was the only case so guarded by Mosaic precept, it may be concluded that natural feeling was relied upon as rendering any such general injunction superfluous. Similarly, to disturb remains was regarded as a barbarity, only justifiable in the case of those who had themselves outraged religion (2 K. xxiii. 16, 17; Jer. viii. 1, 2). The Rabbis quote the doctrine "dust thou art, and unto dust thou shalt return," as a reason for preferring to entomb or inter their dead; but that preferential practice is older than the Mosaic record, as traceable in patriarchal examples, and it continued unaltered by any Gentile influence. So Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 5) notices that it was a point of Jewish custom, *corpora condere quam cremare*. The treatment of the remains of Saul and his sons was exceptional; see below (1 Sam. xxxi. 11–13; 2 Sam. ii. 4–6).

On this subject we have to notice: (1) the place of burial, its site and shape; (2) the mode of burial; (3) the prevalent notions regarding this duty; to which may be usefully added (4) a brief review of parallel customs among other ancient races.

1. A natural cave, enlarged and adapted by excavation, or an artificial imitation of one, was the standard type of sepulchre. This was what the structure of the Jewish soil supplied or suggested. A distinct and simple form of sepulture, as contrasted with the complex and elaborate rites of Egypt, clings to the region of Palestine, and varies but little with the great social changes between the periods of Abraham and the Captivity. Jacob and Joseph, who both died in Egypt, are the only known instances of the Egyptian method applied to patriarchal remains. Sepulchres, when the owners' means permitted it, were commonly prepared beforehand, and stood often in gardens, by roadsides, or even adjoining houses. Kings and prophets alone were probably buried within towns, and Samuel, as a special honour, in his own house (1 K. ii. 10, xvi. 6, 28; 2 K. x. 35, xiii. 9; 2 Ch. xvi. 14, xxviii. 27; 1 Sam. xxv. 1, xxviii. 3). Sarah's tomb and Rachel's [RACHEL] seem to have been chosen merely from the accident of the place of death; but the successive interments at the former (Gen. xlix. 31) form a chronicle of the strong family feeling among the Jews. It was the sole fixed spot in the unsettled patriarchal life; and its purchase and transfer, minutely detailed, are remarkable as the sole transaction of the kind, until repeated on a similar occasion at Shechem [MACHPELAH]. Thus it was deemed a misfortune, or an indignity, not only to be deprived of burial (Is. xiv. 20; Jer. *passim*; 2 K. ix. 10), but in a lesser degree to be excluded from the family sepulchre (1 K. xiii. 22), as were Uzziah, the royal leper, Ahaz, and Manasseh (2 Ch. xxvi. 23; xxviii. 27; xxxiii. 20). Thus the remains of Saul and his sons were reclaimed, to rest in his father's tomb. Similarly it was a mark of a profound feeling towards a person not of one's family, to wish to be buried with him (Ruth i. 17; 1 K. xiii. 31), or to give him a place in one's own sepulchre (Gen. xxiii. 6; cp. 2 Ch. xxiv. 16). The head of a family commonly provided space for more than one generation; and these galleries of kindred sepulchres are common in many Eastern branches of the human race. Cities soon became populous and demanded cemeteries (cp. the term πολυάνδριον, Ezek. xxxix. 11, 15), which were placed without the walls; such an one seems intended by the expression in 2 K. xxiii. 6, Jer. xxvi. 23, "the graves of the children of the people," situated in the valley of the Kedron, or of Jehoshaphat. Jeremiah (vii. 32; xix. 11) threatens that the valley called Tophet, the favourite haunt of idolatry, should be polluted by burying there (cp. 2 K. xxiii. 16). Such was also the "Potter's Field" (Matt. xxvii. 7).

The Mishnaic description of a sepulchre, complete according to Rabbinical notions, is somewhat as follows: a cavern about 6 cubits square, or 6 by 8, from three sides of which are recessed longitudinally several vaults, called כוכים, each large enough for a corpse. These have been compared to pigeon-holes and to ovens. They are described as "rectangular, sloping spaces, cut into the wall of the rock, extending 6 feet horizontally, sufficiently wide and high to admit of a corpse being pushed in," *i.e.* end-ways (*Survey of W. Palestine, Special Papers*, p. 288). On the fourth side, the cavern is approached through a small open covered court or portico, חצר, of a size to receive the bier and bearers. In some such structures the demoniac may have housed (Mark v. 3). The entry from this court to that cavern was closed by a large stone, called גולל, which was door-shaped, and swinging upon hinges; or a small closely-fitting slab without hinges; or cheese-shaped, and so capable of being rolled, thus confirming the Evangelistic narrative. In *Survey of W. P.* ii. 123 one such is recorded as found, cylindrical, of 3½ feet diameter, *in situ*; while the marks of its grinding against the face of the rock remain: for one swinging on pivots, see *ib.* 111. Sometimes several such caverns, each with its recesses, were entered from the several sides of the same portico (Mishna *Bava Bathra*, 6, 8, quoted by J. Nicolaus, *de Sepulchris Hebraeorum*). For further particulars, see TOMBS. In the climate of Palestine decomposition is rapid, and the bones of previous corpses were probably removed to a common receptacle, thus allowing of successive entombments. Osteophagi for collecting the bones have been found with Hebrew and Greek inscriptions, but none of them are apparently earlier than the Christian era. The collection of the bones of criminals condemned to death is mentioned in the Talmud *Moed Katon*, i. 3. Benjamin of Tudela (*E. P.* p. 86) saw "tubs" (osteophagi) filled with the bones of Israelites in the cave of Machpelah at Hebron. The collection of the bones of corpses is still a common custom in the Greek Church. For a description of the osteophagi, see M. Clermont-Ganneau in *Revue Archéologique*, Juin 1873, Novembre 1878. The masonry tombs are rare; they are usually of Roman date, and most commonly found in the northern part of the country. At *Ammân* there are, according to Conder, many "towers of well-cut masonry filled inside with well-arranged sarcophagi" (*Palestine*, p. 176). The tombs haunted by the demoniac may have been of masonry, and have disappeared. With the "*kokim* given off from" the "sides" of the chamber (above) cp. Ezek. xxxii. 23, "whose graves are set in the sides of the pit," and Is. xiv. 15. Where contiguous chambers exist, one with *kokim*, the other with loculi of a different shape, the outer or older one is generally that which has the *kokim*. These, therefore, may be taken to represent the older arrangement. The later loculi are distinguished as *shelf* graves, *trough* graves, and *sunk* graves, the term sufficiently expressing the character. The earlier sepulchres, to judge from 2 K. xiii. 21, did not prevent mutual contact of remains. Sepulchres were marked sometimes by pillars, as that of Rachel, or by pyramids, as those of the Asmoneans at Modin (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 6, § 7). Cp. three known as "the Spindles" at El Meghazel near Sidon, described and figured by Perrot and Chipiez, p. 154; cp. *Quart. Review*, Jan. 1886, pp. 210–11; their chief members are cylinder or pyramid on a quadrate basement. Like temples, tombs were, from their assumed inviolability, sometimes made the depositories of treasures (De Saulcy, ii. 183). We find them

also distinguished by a "title" (2 K. xxiii. 17). Such as were not otherwise noticeable were scrupulously "whited" (Matt. xxiii. 27) once a year, after the rains before the Passover, to warn passers-by of defilement (Hottinger, *Cippi Hebr.* p. 1034; Rossteusch, *de Sepul. calce notat.* ap. Ugolini, p. xxxiii.). For the bed, perhaps sarcophagus, of Og, see under BED. "Two subterranean tombs, built rudely in basalt, surmounted by domes, and closed with square doors of black basalt, were found in *Beisân*" (Bashan; see *Survey of W. Palestine, Special Papers*, p. 292). Roman columbaria also are found in well-known Roman sites in Palestine. Tombs also exist with Christian emblems and Greek inscriptions; and the seven-branched candlestick is found on tombs with *kokim* and with graves of the 3rd century A.D. For a description of those at Sheik Abreik in Galilee, see *Survey of W. Pal.* i. pp. 386–7, of about the Christian era, where this device appears; as does that of the lion (also found over ancient synagogue, *ib.* p. 319), perhaps the emblem of Judah. They are of divers ancient patterns, and the corpses lie indifferently in all directions of the compass. Others contain niches for lamps and tear-bottles (Ps. lvi. 8). In one over 200 such niches occurred, all black with smoke (*ib.* pp. 344, 351; ii. 375). Inscriptions in tombs seem extremely rare. One such, but illegible, is figured in ii. 376. The name of Alkios, grandson of Simon Maccabaeus, occurs on a tomb near Gezer (*PEF. Qy. Statement*, 1875, p. 57). Tribal marks are believed to be occasionally discerned, as on a portico of a tomb (*ib.* p. 363).

We may trace in the above arrangements some elements of the imagery of the prophets. Thus the "shadow of death" is the contrast offered by these sepulchral chambers with their rayless vaults, to the bright glare of the Syrian sky without. The "gates of the grave" are the massive slabs or sliding stones with which the entries of some are closed. The idea of the Prophet in Is. xiv. 9 sq. seems to be derived from some vast chamber of departed kings, with its lateral *kokim*, rousing up its dead tenants to greet the greatest of earthly monarchs in his fall. Similar is the expression of Ezekiel (xxxii. 21), where the Prophet (*vv.* 18–32) contemplates seven or more vast nations with the chief of each and "all her multitude round about her graves" (*v.* 24, cp. *vv.* 22, 23, 25, 26), each forming a vast necropolis, and sings his awful dirge of triumph over their downfall, as they lie, an unclean heap of "uncircumcised" slain, with "their iniquities upon their bones" (*v.* 27). The Mukam or Mohamedan sanctuaries, connected with the names of various Bible worthies, may in some cases be their veritable tombs, besides those of the chief patriarchs near Hebron. Such are those of Eleazar and Phinehas, of Samson, of Aaron on Mount Hor, and of Joshua (*ib.* p. 262 sq.). [TOMBS.]

2. With regard to the mode of burial, we should remember that our impressions, as derived from the O. T., are those of the burial of persons of rank or public eminence, whilst those gathered from the N. T. regard persons of a private station. But in both cases "the manner of the Jews" included the use of spices, where they could command the means. Thus Asa lay in a "bed of spices" (2 Ch. xvi. 14; cp. Jer. xxxiv. 5). A portion of these were burnt in honour of the deceased, and to this use was probably destined part of the 100 pounds' weight of "myrrh and aloes" in our Lord's case. On high state occasions, the vessels, bed, and furniture used by the deceased were burnt also. Such was probably the "great burning" made for Asa. If a king was unpopular, or died disgraced (*e.g.* Jehoram, 2 Ch. xxi. 19; Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 5, § 3), this was not observed. At the present day articles of value are annually burned at the tombs of certain celebrated Rabbis in Palestine. In no case, save that of Saul and his sons, were the bodies burned, nor in that case were they so burnt as not to leave the "bones" easily concealed and transported, and the whole proceeding looks like a hasty precaution against hostile violence. Even then the bones were interred, and re-exhumed for solemn entombment. The penal doom of Achan and that of Nadab and Abihu seem to have attached an evil omen to fire, whether as causing death, or as applied to human remains; which was enhanced by its idolatrous association with the Molech and Baal rituals (Lev. x. 2–6, xviii. 21, xx. 2–5, 14; Num. xi. 1–3, xvi. 35; Josh. vii. 15, 25; 2 K. xxiii. 10; Jer. vii. 31, xix. 5, xxxii. 35). In Amos x. 8–10 a city straitly besieged and ravaged by pestilence seems to be depicted. "Ten men in one house" and all dying show such crowded quarters and such rapid mortality as Thucydides ascribes to the siege and plague at Athens (ii. 52). The dead must be disposed of somehow, and cremation is the only resource; but the horror which it raised in the Hebrew, even when practised by an extern on an extern, seems expressed in Amos ii. 1. Like cannibalism, it was regarded as the extremity of dire distress (cp. Deut. xxviii. 53 sq.). In Amos vi. 10 the uncle, perhaps the last kinsman left, turns cremator[a]; and the last of the ten inmates being thus dealt with, the solitary housekeeper is asked, "Any more yet?" and replies, "None." To which the kinsman replies, "Hush! no mention of the sacred Name," either as unsuited to such a charnel-house atmosphere, or as desecrated by association with the burning of human remains, or perhaps a cry of despair, or of superstition (so nearly Pusey, Maurice, *et al.*). The bones, however, are brought forth, to be placed probably in some common repository. The mere fact of a great mortality never causes men to burn corpses; nor did it do so among the Jews on such an occasion (Ezek. xxxix. 12–14).

A company of public buriers appears in Ezek. *l. c.* The occasion is the offence to the "passengers"[b] arising from the unburied horde of the typical Gog, lying "on the face of the field," and tasking the strenuous efforts of the united population for seven months to get rid

[a] The word and idea conveyed in the LXX. are wholly different, καὶ παραβιῶνται there taking the place of וּמַסְרְפוֹ, "and he that burneth him" (A. V.).

[b] A. V. "It shall stop the *noses* [marg. or mouths] of the passengers" (lit. shall muzzle), Ezek. xxxix. 11 [R. V. takes it differently: "it shall stop them that pass through"]; cp. Joel ii. 20. But for this the LXX. have περιοικοδομήσουσι τὸ περιστόμιον τῆς φάραγγος, which shows a different original.

of them (*v.* 12). These are then supplemented by burial-corps "of continual employment" in various parts of the country, and by the more casual aid of passers-by who "set up a sign," wherever remains are still found exposed, "till the buriers have buried it" (*vv.* 14, 15). This duty of "buriers," which the Prophet saw in vision as arising from an exceptional necessity, had become, it seems, customary in the times of the N. T. (Acts v. 6, 10). The closing of the eyes, kissing, and washing the corpse (Gen. xlvi. 4, l. 1; Acts ix. 37) are customs common to all nations. As regards the last of these, Lane, detailing the practice prevailing in modern Egypt, which is probably in its main features of high antiquity, says, "The 'mughassil,' or washer of the dead, soon comes . . . The ordinary ablution preparatory to prayer having been performed upon the corpse, with the exception of the washing of the mouth and nose, the whole body is well washed from head to foot, with warm water and soap, and with 'leef,' or fibres of the palm-tree; or, more properly, with water in which some leaves of the lote-tree, 'nabk,' or 'sidr,' have been boiled. The nostrils, ears, &c., are stuffed with cotton; and the corpse is sprinkled with a mixture of water, pounded camphor, and dried and pounded leaves of the 'nabk,' and with rose-water; sometimes other dried and pounded leaves are added to those of the 'nabk.' The ankles are bound together and the hands placed upon the breast" (*Mod. Egypt*, c. xxviii. p. 512, ed. 1860). Coffins were but seldom used, and if used were open; but fixed stone sarcophagi were common in tombs of rank. The bier, the word for which in the O. T. is the same as that rendered bed [see BED], was borne by the nearest relatives, and followed by any who wished to do honour to the dead. The grave-clothes (*ὀθόνια, ἐντάφια*) were probably of the fashion worn in life, but swathed and fastened with bandages, and the head covered separately. Previously to this being done, spices were applied to the corpse in the form of ointment, or between the folds of the linen; hence our Lord's remark (John xii. 7), that the woman had anointed His body *πρὸς τὸ ἐνταφιάζειν*, "with a view to dressing it in these *ἐντάφια*;" not, as in A. V. "for the *burial*," and R. V. "against the day of my *burying*." According to Josephus (*c. Ap.* ii. 27), the dead were buried decently, but without extravagant expense, and without costly monuments. The nearest relations performed the obsequies; and passers-by were obliged to join the funeral and assist in the lamentation. Mourning women were apparently hired, as at the present day, to wail for the dead (Jer. ix. 17). After the funeral, the house and its remaining inhabitants were purified. The high-priest was forbidden to defile himself by going "in to any dead body" (Lev. xxi. 10, 11). For the burial of Jews at Jerusalem at the present day, see Tobler, *Denkblätter*, p. 325. For the custom of mourners visiting the sepulchre, see MOURNING; for that of frequenting tombs for other purposes, see DIVINATION, § 5.

3. The precedent of Jacob's and Joseph's remains being returned to the land of Canaan was followed, in wish at least, by every pious Jew. Following a similar notion, some of the Rabbis taught that only in that land could those who were buried obtain a share in the resurrection which was to usher in Messiah's reign on earth. Thus that land was called by them "the land of the living," and the sepulchre itself, "the house of the living." Some even feigned that the bodies of the righteous, wherever else buried, rolled back to Canaan under ground, and found there only their appointed rest (J. Nicolaus, *de Sepult. Heb.* xiii. 1). Tombs were in popular belief, led by the same teaching, invested with traditions. Thus Machpelah is stated (Lightfoot, *Centuria Chorographica*, s. v. Hebron) to have been the burial-place not only of Abraham and Sarah, but also of Adam and Eve; and there was probably at the time embraced in the N. T. a spot fixed upon by tradition as the site of the tomb of every prophet of note in the O. T. To repair and adorn these was deemed a work of exalted piety (Matt. xxiii. 29). The scruples of the Scribes extended even to the burial of the ass whose neck was broken (Ex. xxxiv. 20), and of the first-born of cattle (R. Maimon. *de Primogen.* ch. iii. § 4, quoted by J. Nicolaus, *de Sepult. Heb.* xvi. 3, 4).

The neighbourhood of Jerusalem is thickly studded with tombs, many of them of great antiquity. An account of them is given under TOMBS, to which the reader is referred for further particulars of the subjects treated of in this article. An ancient Jewish sarcophagus was found at Jerusalem, another in a rock-cut tomb near the Convent of the Cross, and others at Ashdod, Carn Caitu, Jifna, and Sheik Abreik (*PEF. Survey*, &c., 1869–70, p. 152; 1871, pp. 90, 105, 116; 1873, p. 59; 1878, p. 64). For ossuaries with inscriptions found near Jerusalem, see *ib.* 1874, p. 149.

4. But all our Bible records are from the monotheistic point of view, and all known or traditional sepulchres those of monotheistic memories. The post-Babylonian extension of monotheism over the whole Palestinian area, together with the habit of constantly retenanting the same graves with new remains, would tend to efface all traces of earlier heathenish burial, which must at one time have been abundant in the Northern kingdom, and prevalent even in the Southern (cp. Jer. viii. 1, 2). It is on this ground, as well as generally, worth while to review the principal features of burial among ancient, especially neighbouring, nations. Of Hittite and Amorite burial nothing seems specially to be known. Of Babylonian, recent research has collected some highly interesting facts (see *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, ii. 4, &c. Dec. 1887), of which the chief are as follows. Entire necropoleis of considerable size show their extant remains at Surghul and El Hibba between Tigris and Euphrates. These occupy a group of artificial hillocks, raised 15 metres or less above the plain, forming entire areas of ruin, the whole of which are mortuary in character. Cremation, mostly incomplete, was the practice, for which the vast neighbouring sedge-growths combined with asphalt furnished the combustibles, although here and there palm and other grained woods were used. Very few remains of bodies are found without clear traces of fire. The corpses were enveloped in sedge-matting and plastered over with soft clay, or sometimes encased in a sort of clay oven to concentrate the heat, the calcined shells of

which are still found in abundance *in situ*. The fires were quenched, when the skeleton alone remained, and the bones were often gathered in narrow-necked vessels. These remains show that the man retained his war-equipment or dress of peace, the woman her ornaments, the child its toy. A pair of golden earrings was found well preserved. Some stone hatchets and flint arrow-heads with bronze rings and other implements often melted into shapeless lumps, perforated stones, spindles of burnt clay, stones for polishing, &c. there deposited to be of service to the dead, were picked out from the vast layers of dust; and especially some curious seals with birds or horned animals figured upon them—all having passed through the fire. Offerings of food showed their remains in date-kernels and bones of edible animals, more or less burnt, also clay receptacles for perfumes, with perforations to allow their vapours to escape. These articles were sometimes packed together in an open vessel, similar to the closed one which received the human remains.

Besides these, cremated with the corpse, subsequent offerings for human wants, chiefly those primary ones of clothing, food, and drink, showed copious remnants; but others also, symbolical, notably three forms of *phallus*, with intermediate gradations, and the "nail-cylinder," sometimes inscribed, occurred. Of pottery an extensive array—bowl, platter, cup, and bottle, showing delicate modelling—survived. The hillocks sometimes have higher terraces imposed on lower, as if to meet the demands of later mortality. A canal, lined with brick laid in asphalt, carried off temporary inundations; fragments even of statues, the bulks of which had probably been long removed, were picked up, but rarely. The most extraordinary feature of the whole mortuary system was, however, plainly visible in the ground lines and foundations of large masses of small houses, chambered, and copiously furnished with rills of water (one having as many as eight such), solely intended for the supposed *post-mortem* tenancy of the dead. The recital impresses one with the notion of enormous labour expended, and the corpses of perhaps an entire province gathered here; while of solid belief in the material needs of a future state hardly such an extensive monument exists elsewhere. For examples of this belief prevailing from Central Asia to Central America and Fiji, see Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, ch. xi., especially pp. 413 sq. Some extreme examples are (*ib.* pp. 409–10), an annual mock-fight among the Queensland aborigines, to scare away the souls let loose by death in the year's course; nets set by North American Indians around their cabins to intercept neighbours' departing souls; a widow followed home from her husband's funeral by a man flapping the air with a bundle of twigs to drive off his ghost and set her free to remarry. For some points of Biblical contact with some of its practices, cp. Deut. xxvi. 14, where the confessing Israelite is to declare, in making the prescribed offering, "I have not eaten thereof in my mourning . . . . nor given thereof for the dead," showing that a *cultus* of the dead with eatables was among practices familiar but forbidden to him; and Jer. xvi. 7, "neither shall men break bread for them [the dead] in mourning, to comfort them for the dead,"[c] &c. with Hos. ix. 4: also Ezek. xxxii. 27, ". . . the uncircumcised, which are gone down to hell with their weapons of war, and have laid their swords under their heads," referring without doubt to the burial or cremation with weapons, as above. On certain practices of laceration, &c. and of cutting off hair as a funereal offering, Prof. W. R. Smith remarks (*Religion of the Semites*, i. 305) that they "were deemed efficacious to maintain an enduring covenant between the living and the dead," referring to Wilken, *Haaropfer*, p. 74.

As regards the Persians, Vaux (*Nineveh and Persepolis*, p. 392)—quoting Arrian's description of the tomb of Cyrus, identified by Porter, Morier, and others with the solid stone building at Mûrghab, which is taken by Prof. Sayce (on Herod. i. pp. 120, 233, notes) to be the tomb of another Cyrus, brother of Xerxes—adds, "Within is the gold coffin of Cyrus, near which is a seat with feet of gold; the whole is hung around with coverings of purple and carpets of Babylon." The Magi were entrusted with the special custody of this tomb, and a small house near it is mentioned as for their use. Since the time of Cambyses, Arrian states that it had continued in their charge, handed on from father to son. Q. Curtius narrates how "Alexander the Great so respected the established customs of the country, that when the body of Darius was found, he caused it to be embalmed and sent to his mother Sisygambis, that it might be buried after the manner of the kings of Persia in the tombs of his ancestors" (*ib.* p. 362).

Of the Egyptian threefold method of embalming, so much is popularly known, from Herodotus (ii. 85–88) downwards to the latest unrollings of mummies, as to supersede more minute description here. One or two special points may be noted. With the worship of ancestors was connected the custom of visiting and banqueting in sepulchres. The offerings were the materials of the banquet—"cakes, wine, fruit, &c. with other comestibles." Libations of oil and wine were also poured over the mummy case (Rawlinson's *Ancient Egypt*, i. 423). These further illustrate the passage cited above from Jeremiah. A future state of which the basis is the need of the body to the soul accounts for the minute and scrupulous study of the preservation of remains. In sepulchral mural paintings this belief finds elaborate expression. There the soul is judged, its merits and demerits weighed in scales. In some cases it is handed over to jackal-headed demons to decapitate. Of the Egyptian Book of Hades we read (*Records of the Past*, x. 83): "The general sense of the great composition is . . . that the Sun and the gods or the souls who accompany him are swallowed up by the Earth in the west, and that they arise in the east. Of the various scenes recorded, one of the most notable shows souls in a lake of flame, but not apparently of penal infliction, to whom vegetables are brought as nourishment" (*ib.* pp. 124–5). This accounts for the funereal banquets and offerings referred to above. The Sun-god Ra is invoked in a

[c] Here the author annotates that the "funeral feast which has for its object to comfort the mourners is, I apprehend, in its origin a feast of communion with the dead."

sepulchral hymn, "Thou givest illumination to those there [in the nether world] departed," the same deity being thus the source of light to the living and the dead. We may compare the threat of the Sun-god in the Odyssey in a legend apparently containing Egyptian elements (xii. 383, δύσομαι εἰς Ἀΐδαο καὶ ἐν νεκύεσσι φαείνω). The copious inscriptions on lids of sarcophagi are well known from popular examples. On one of King Mankaura he is said to be "living eternally," a formula not of the earliest date, and supposed to mark a new religious development in the annals of Egypt. The absorption of the purified soul in Osiris makes its appearance here for the first time (Rawlinson, *ub. sup.* ii. 64). We read (*Records, &c.*, x. 9, 19 and note) that "a tomb in the consecrated mountains of the west was at one time the last and highest comfort that religion could bestow;" whereas the Louvre Papyrus, dated as of the Ptolemaean period, says, "Do not build thy tomb in thine own estate," showing how greatly the tenets of the old belief had by that time become relaxed.

In Butler's *Ancient Coptic Churches*, p. 92, it is regarded as "quite probable that ancient Egyptian forms of burial survived among wealthy persons even into Christian times, though nothing of the kind is known now," and a note adds that "embalming was still common as late as the 4th century A.D., for we read that St. Antony's dread of the process was the chief reason why his followers concealed his body." The writer adds that "the Mahomedan custom is, to lay the body in a white shroud, which is then loosely folded over it. Round this a winding sheet is wrapped, of a material varying with the wealth, &c." of the deceased . . . "Three loose bands are then tied round the sheet—one at the neck, one at the waist, and one at the knees or feet. When the body is placed in the tomb, these bands are further loosened or removed. The present Coptic custom is to dress the deceased in his best dress and lay over him a sheet of cloth, silk, &c. They do not swathe in bands, and they use a coffin."

For parallel customs among classic nations, see *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiqq.*, s. v. FUNUS. Dennis (*Cities, &c. of Etruria*, i. 38) says that the Roman *columbaria* of masonry were probably derived from the pigeon-holed tombs which abound in Etruria, but views combustion as of far higher antiquity. "De Jorio, a practical excavator, says, burial among the Greeks was to burning as ten to one, among the Romans as one to ten." Burial is, however, noted by Dennis as practised in the earliest known times of Greece, and that in the Homeric times burning was probably confined to the wealthy, owing to its cost. This, however, is inconsistent with the "pyres in thick succession burning," after the pestilence, of *Il.* i. 52, and with the truce to burn the dead, both Greek and Trojan, with the process picturesquely detailed, in *Il.* vii. 407 sq. The Roman fashion is noted as varying from time to time. Numa is recorded by Plutarch (*Numa*) as wishing to be buried, and expressly forbidding his body to be burnt. Dennis thinks burning may have then been customary for great men only, and that early Roman practice was in favour of burial, and that in the early Republic it was generally preferred. Burning gradually became fashionable, probably as wealth and luxury increased; but for the poorer sort and vast slave population burial must always have prevailed, and from Hor. *Sat.* i. 8, 8–11, plainly did so at the Augustan period. The oldest Etruscan tombs appear to be fitted with rock-hewn couches, as they exhibit furniture of a more archaic character than the "niched" sort. Yet many of these last are probably of high antiquity, and contained vases, mirrors, and other objects, of a purely Etruscan style. Only at Veii and Sutri are cinerary *ollae* found in Etruria, to receive which, when burning was preferred, the Roman *columbaria* had sometimes a hole sunk in the floor. An ancient Etruscan tomb, rock-hewn, low, dark, and with a slab-door, contained several such cinerary jars of great size; then smaller crocks, bronzes, &c.; and showed mural grotesque paintings, human and animal, patch-worked in red and yellow, supposed emblematical of the destiny of the soul. On the stone bench running along either side of the chamber, lay respectively the skeleton of a warrior with helmet and breastplate, and that of his wife. Around or beside them lay a bronze ewer, small pots painted in the earliest Etruscan style, a light candelabrum, a bronze mirror, small figures of gods and men in terra-cotta, and some of animals in amber. A small inner chamber contained square earthen cinerary urns, with lids and handles, the latter of human-headed form, supposed portraits of the incinerated dead. In the centre was a low brazier of bronze, 2 feet in diameter, probably to burn perfumes and neutralize sepulchral effluvia. Here then we have burial and cremation side by side in the same tomb, but the seeming principal figures entombed without fire. The Grotta del Triclinio, described by the same writer, shows a funeral feast gaily depicted, attended with music, dancing, and all the excitement of convivial life,—happy groups in bright colours. See also a curious description of an Etruscan cemetery, *ib.* i. 423.

In and near ancient Sidon several conspicuous tombs and an entire although small cemetery have been unearthed recently. MM. Perrot and Chipiez (*History of Art in Phoenicia*, &c., pp. 144–5) say that Syrian and Phoenician tombs are seldom found intact; when so, they are Graeco-Roman merely, and probably had an earlier occupant; that the corpses are mummy-looking, "but prepared with much more care and refinement" than Egyptian; that everything—general idea, accidental forms, external decoration—tells us of borrowing from Egypt by Phoenicia. Many minor characteristics, however, point to a Greek source (see *e.g.* a specially elegant sculptured head, No. 127 on p. 186). The accessories imply the usual beliefs that the dead retained a quasi-life and had not lost all communion with the living to whom their favour was important. The scene between Saul and the Witch of Endor shows that such beliefs had Hebrew currency; although possibly Samuel may have been believed to have been specially gifted and favoured after death, somewhat as Teiresias in Homer,[a] his prophetic

[a] μάντηος ἀλαοῦ, τοῦ τε φρένες ἔμπεδοί εἰσιν·
τῷ καὶ τεθνεῶτι νόον πόρε Περσεφόνεια,
οἴῳ πεπνύσθαι· τοὶ δὲ σκιαὶ ἀΐσσουσιν.
(*Od.* x. 493–5.)

power as it were abiding. Besides actual sarcophagi (resembling mummy-cases, with covers, some of which show the head and neck only, others the whole figure of the deceased), coffins of stone, later of cedar, later still of stone again, have been found, the period ranging in known tombs from the 6th to the 3rd century B.C. In Perrot (*ub. sup.* No. 134), a recumbent figure holds an alabaster jar of the kind used in funeral rites for the offering of precious unguents. The antiques found in these tombs include sculpture, metallurgy, the glyptic art, jewellery, ivories, with glass, terra-cotta, and fictile objects. Garlands of real leaves are supposed to have entwined the coffin-handles (*ib.* pp. 198–203). In one coffin the ear orifices of the corpse were prolonged through perforations in the lid. With this cp. Tylor (*ub. sup.* 409), "The Iroquois . . . used to leave an opening in the grave for the lingering soul to visit its body, and some of them still bore holes in the coffin for the same purpose." In some Phoenician tombs bronze masks were found, the models, doubtless, of the likenesses on the sarcophagus-lid. In one rings and nails showed traces of a cedar coffin gone to dust. "The funerary furniture has the same character as with the Egyptians and Chaldaeans;" but the dead were not burnt until the period of classic decadence. The most noted Sidonian tomb is that of King Eshmunazar, ascribed to the 4th century B.C., resembling a mummy-case, and inscribed with a text given at length in *Records, &c.*, ix. pp. 111 sq.; cp. Rawlinson's *Phoenicia*, p. 350, n. 2, also Perrot &c. *ub. sup.* He forbids all to violate his remains, "for treasures I have none;" and imprecates on any so presuming, that they "shall have no funeral couch with the Rephaim [well-known Hebrew term = *Manes*, as in Ps. lxxxviii. 10] nor be buried in graves, nor shall there be any son or offspring to succeed to them" (cp. Ps. lxix. 25, cix. 13). Thus the words of the same context, "The day of my non-existence has come, my spirit has disappeared," need not be taken as excluding a future state. [H. H.]

BURNING. See BURIAL, 2; PUNISHMENTS, III. (*a*) 3.

BURNT-OFFERING (עֹלָה or עוֹלָה, and in poetical passages כָּלִיל, *i.e.* "perfect;" ὁλοκάρπωσις [Gen.], ὁλοκαύτωμα [Ex. and Lev. &c.], LXX.; ὁλοκαύτωμα, N. T.; *holocaustum*, Vulg.). The original derivation of the word עֹלָה is from the root עָלָה, "to ascend;" and it is applied to the animal-offering, which was wholly consumed by fire on the altar, and the whole of which, except the refuse ashes, "ascended" in the smoke to God (Judg. xx. 40). It corresponds therefore in sense, though not exactly in form, to the word ὁλοκαύτωμα, "whole burnt-offering," from which the name of the sacrifice in modern languages is taken. Every sacrifice was in part "a burnt-offering," because, since fire was the chosen manifestation of God's Presence, the portion of each sacrifice especially dedicated to Him was consumed by fire. But the term is generally restricted to that which is properly a "*whole* burnt-offering," the whole of which was so offered and so consumed.

The burnt-offering is first named in Gen. viii. 20, as offered after the Flood (in iv. 4 we find the more general word מִנְחָה, "offering," a word usually applied to unbloody sacrifices, though in the LXX. and in Heb. xi. 4 translated by θυσία). Throughout the whole of the Book of Genesis (see xv. 9, 17; xxii. 2, 7, 8, 13) it appears to be the only sacrifice referred to; afterwards it became distinguished as one of the regular classes of sacrifice under the Mosaic Law.

Now all sacrifices are divided (see Heb. v. 1) into "gifts" and "sacrifices-for-sin" (*i.e.* eucharistic and propitiatory sacrifices), and of the former of these the burnt-offering was the choicest specimen. Accordingly (in Ps. xl. 8, 9, quoted in Heb. x. 5) we have first (in *v.* 8) the general opposition, as above, of sacrifices (θυσίαι; propitiatory) and offerings (προσφοραί); and then (in *v.* 9) "burnt-offering," as representing the one, is opposed to "sin-offering," as representing the other. Similarly in Ex. x. 25 (less precisely) "burnt-offering" is contrasted with "sacrifice" (so in 1 Sam. xv. 22; Ps. l. 8; Mark xii. 33). On the other hand, it is distinguished from "meat- [R. V. meal-] offerings" (which were unbloody), and from "peace-offerings" (both of the eucharistic kind), because only a portion of them was consumed (see 1 K. iii. 15, viii. 64, &c.).

The meaning therefore of the whole burnt-offering was that which is the original idea of all sacrifice, the offering by the sacrificer of himself, soul and body, to God, the submission of his will to the Will of the Lord (see Ps. xl. 10, li. 17, 19, and compare the more general treatment of the subject under the word SACRIFICE). It typified (see Heb. v. 1, 3, 7, 8) our Lord's offering (as especially in the Temptation and the Agony), the perfect sacrifice of His own human will to the Will of His Father. As that offering could only be accepted from one either sinless or already purified from sin, therefore the burnt-offering (see Ex. xxix. 36–38; Lev. viii. 14, 18, ix. 8, 12, xvi. 3, 5, &c.) was preceded by a sin-offering, always according to some, usually according to others (*e.g.* Delitzsch in Riehm's *HWB.* s. n. "Brandopfer"). So also we Christians, because the sin-offering has been made once for all for us, offer the continual burnt-offering of ourselves, "as a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to the Lord" (see Rom. xii. 1).

In accordance with this principle it was enacted that with the burnt-offering a "meal-offering" (of flour and oil) and "drink-offering" of wine should be offered, as showing that, with themselves, men dedicated also to God the chief earthly gifts with which He had blessed them (Lev. viii. 18, 22, 26, ix. 16, 17, xiv. 20; Ex. xxix. 40; Num. xxviii. 4, 5).

The ceremonial of the burnt-offering is given in detail in the Book of Leviticus. The animal was to be a male unblemished; either a young bullock, ram, or goat, or, in case of poverty, a turtle-dove or pigeon. It was to be brought by the offerer "*of his own voluntary will, that he might be accepted*," and slain by himself, after he had laid his hand upon its head, to make it his own representative, on the north side of the altar. The priest was then to sprinkle the

blood upon the altar,[a] and afterwards to cut up and burn the whole victim, only reserving the skin for himself. The birds were to be offered similarly, but not divided (see Lev. i., vii. 8, viii. 18–21, &c.). It will be observed how all these ceremonies were typical of the meaning described above, and especially how emphatically the freedom of will in the sacrificer is marked

The burnt-offering being thus the rite which represented the normal state and constant duty of man, when already in covenant with God,[b] was the one kind of sacrifice regularly appointed. Thus there were, as *public burnt-offerings*—

1st. *The daily burnt-offering*, a lamb of the first year, sacrificed every morning and evening (with an offering of flour and wine) for the people (Ex. xxix 38–42, Num. xxviii. 3–8).

2ndly. *The Sabbath burnt-offering*, double of that which was offered every day (Num. xxviii. 8–10).

3rdly. *The offering at the new moon, at the three great festivals, the great Day of Atonement, and feast of trumpets:* generally two bullocks, a ram, and seven lambs (see Num. xxviii. 11–xxix. 39).

Private burnt-offerings were appointed at the consecration of priests (Ex. xxix. 15; Lev. viii. 18, ix. 12), at the purification of women (Lev. xii. 6, 8), at the cleansing of the lepers (Lev. xiv. 19), and removal of other ceremonial uncleanness (xv. 15, 30), on any accidental breach of the Nazaritic vow, or at its conclusion (Num. vi.; cp. Acts xxi. 26), &c.

But *freewill burnt-offerings* were offered and accepted by God on any solemn occasions, as, for example, at the dedication of the Tabernacle (Num. vii.) and of the Temple (1 K. viii. 64), when they were offered in extraordinary abundance. But, except on such occasions, the nature, the extent, and the place of the sacrifice were expressly limited by God, so that, while all should be unblemished and pure, there should be no idea (as among the heathen) of buying His favour by costliness of sacrifice. Of this law Jephthah's vow was a transgression, consistent with the semi-heathenish character of his early days (see Judg. xi. 3, 24). The sacrifice of cows in 1 Sam. vi. 14 was also a formal infraction of it, excused by the probable ignorance of the people, and the special nature of the occasion. Consult on the subject generally, and specially for its typical signification, Jukes, *The Law of the Offerings*, p. 33, &c.; Dillmann on Lev. i. 3 sq.; W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, i. cp. Index, *s. n.* [A. B.] [F.]

BUSH (סְנֶה,[a] *sĕneh*; *βάτος*; *rubus*). The Hebrew word occurs only in those passages which refer to Jehovah's appearance to Moses "in the flame of fire in the bush" (Ex. iii. 2–4; Deut. xxxiii. 16). The Greek word is *βάτος* both in the LXX. and in the N. T. (Mark xii. 26; Luke xx. 37 [note that, both in St. Mark and St. Luke, "the bush" refers to the section of the Pentateuch so called. See *Speaker's Comm.* in loco]; Acts vii. 35; see also Luke vi. 44, where it is correctly rendered "bramble bush" by the A. V. and R. V.). *Βάτος* is used also to denote the *sĕneh* by Josephus, Philo, Clemens, Eusebius, and others (see Celsius, *Hierob.* ii. 58). Some Versions adopt a more general interpretation, and understand any kind of *bush*, as the A. V. The Arabic in Acts vii. 35 has *rhamnus*. Others retain the Hebrew word.

From the word *sĕneh* being used of the burning bush alone, and never in any other conjunction, we infer that some definite species of bush is intended. It cannot be our bramble, which does not occur in a state of nature in the Sinaitic Peninsula, which is too hot and dry for this group of plants. That the Hebrew should be rendered *βάτος* by the LXX. is immaterial, as the ancients, not carefully discriminating species, frequently transfer the name of a known plant to another resembling it. The question is, what kind of bush is found on Sinai, which would best answer the conditions of the problem; and this seems certainly to be the *Acacia nilotica*, known in Egypt as *sunt*, closely allied to the *Acacia seyal* or shittim tree, but much smaller and closer in growth. Both Celsius (*Hierob.* ii. 58) and Dean Stanley (*S. and P.* p. 17) would trace the derivation of the name of Sinai to the *seneh* or "thorny tree." The bush may possibly be *Crataegus aronia*, which Sir J. Hooker noticed on Mount Sinai; but which certainly is very rare in comparison with the *sunt* or Acacia bush. The bramble planted by the monks near their chapel, in the convent of St. Catharine, called by Sprengel *Rubus sanctus*,[b] is not an indigenous shrub. We incline, therefore, to the *Acacia nilotica* or *sunt*. [H. B. T.]

BUSHEL. [MEASURE.]

BUTLER. [CUPBEARER; JOSEPH.]

BUTTER (חֶמְאָה, *chem'hāh*; *βούτυρον*; *butyrum*), curdled milk, as distinguished from חָלָב, *fresh milk*; hence *curds*, *butter*, and in one place probably *cheese*. It comes from an unused root, חָמָא = Arab. خَمَأَ, *spissum fuit lac*. In Gen. xviii. 8, *butter and milk* are mentioned among the things which Abraham set before his heavenly guests (cp. Judg. v 25; 2 Sam. xvii. 29). Milk is generally offered to travellers in Palestine in a curdled or sour state,—*lebben*, thick, almost like butter (cp. Josephus' rendering in Judg. iv. 19: *γάλα διεφθορὸς ἡδή*). In Deut. xxxii. 15, we find חֶמְאַת בָּקָר וְחֲלֵב צֹאן among the blessings which Jeshurun had enjoyed, where milk of kine would seem contrasted with milk of sheep. The two passages in Job (xx. 17, xxix. 6) where the word חֶמְאָה occurs are also best

[a] It is clear that in this ceremony the burnt-offering touched closely on the propitiatory or sin-offering; although the solemnity of the blood-sprinkling in the latter was much greater, and had a peculiar significance. It is, of course, impossible that the forms of sacrifices should be rigidly separated, because the ideas which they enshrine, though capable of distinction, are yet inseparable from one another.

[b] This is remarkably illustrated by the fact that heathens were allowed to offer burnt-offerings, and that Augustus ordered two lambs and a bullock to be offered for him every day (Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 17, § 2).

[a] The derivation is uncertain. The corresponding word occurs with a similar meaning in Aramaic and Arabic. See MV.[11] [S. R. D.]

[b] "This," says Sir J. Hooker, "is a variety of our bramble, *Rubus fruticosus*."

satisfied by rendering it *milk* (A. V. and R. V. "butter"); and the same may be said of Ps. lv. 21, which should be compared with Job xxix. 6.

In Prov. xxx. 33, Gesenius thinks that cheese is meant, the word מִיץ signifying *pressure* rather than churning (A. V. and R. V.). Jarchi (on Gen. xviii. 8) explains חֶמְאָה to be *pinguedo lactis, quam de ejus superficie colligunt*, i.e. cream, and Vitringa and Hitzig give this meaning to the word in Is. vii. 15–22. Butter was not in use among the Greeks and Romans except for medicinal purposes, but this fact is of no weight as to its absence from Palestine. Robinson mentions the use of butter at the present day (*Bib. Res.* i. 449), and also the method of churning (i. 485, and ii. 418), and from this we may safely infer that the art of butter-making was known to the ancient inhabitants of the land, so little have the habits of the people of Palestine been modified in the lapse of centuries. Butter is used in different ways by the Arabs of the Hedjaz (Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, i. 52), but it is not the butter which is elsewhere eaten with bread; this butter they call *zubdeh*, which is cream or fresh *semu*, the liquid butter consisting of the fatty particles of the milk separated from the whey and the caseine (see Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, ii. 393; *D. B.* Amer. ed. *s. v.*). [W. D.] [H. B. T.]

BUZ (בּוּז, *contempt*; ὁ Βαύξ). **1.** The second son of Milcah and Nahor (Gen. xxii. 21). The gentilic name is בּוּזִי, and Elihu is called "the Buzite" (Βουζίτης) of the kindred of Ram, *i.e.* Aram. Elihu was therefore probably a descendant of Buz, whose family seems to have settled in Arabia Deserta or Petraea, since Jeremiah (xxv. 23, Πῶς), in denouncing God's judgments against them, mentions them with Thema and Dedan. Some connect the territory of Buz with Busan, a Roman fort mentioned in Amm. Marc. xviii. 10, and others with Basta in Arabia Petraea, which however has only the first letter in common with it (Winer, *s. v.*).

The jingle of the names Huz and Buz is by no means so apparent in the Hebrew (בּוּז, עוּץ); but it is quite in the Oriental taste to give to relations these rhyming appellatives: cp. Ishua and Ishui (Gen. xlvi. 17); Mehujael and Methusael (Gen. iv.), Uzziel and Uzzi (1 Ch. vii. 7): and among the Arabians, Hároot and Mároot, the rebel angels; Hasan and Hoseyn, the sons of 'Alee, &c. The Koran abounds in such homoioteleuta, and so pleasing are they to the Arabs, that they even call Cain and Abel, Kabil and Habil (Weil's *Bibl. Legends*, 23; also Southey's *Notes to Thalaba*), or Habîl and Habid (see Stanley, p. 413). The same idiom is found in Mahratta and the modern languages of the East.

2. A name occurring in the genealogies of the tribe of Gad (1 Ch. v. 14; A. Ἀχιβούζ, B. Ζαβουχάμ; *Buz*). [F. W. F.]

BU'ZI (בּוּזִי, no article; Βουζεί; *Buzi*), father of Ezekiel the Prophet (Ezek. i. 3). Hackett (*D. B.* Amer. ed. *s. n.*) considers the name gentilic elsewhere to be personal here; and that as Ezekiel was a priest, Buzi must have been one also. [F.]

BU'ZITE (בּוּזִי; Βουζίτης; *Buzites*). A descendant of Buz. The term is applied to Elihu, who was of the kindred of Ram or Aram (Job xxxii. 2, 6). [G.]

BY in 1 Cor. iv. 4. The sentence "I know nothing by myself" (A. V.) is more correctly rendered by R. V. "I know nothing against myself." The phrase of the A. V. means in Old English, "I am not conscious of any evil" (see *Speaker's Comm.* in loco). [F.]

BY AND BY is the A. V. rendering of εὐθύς in Matt. xiii. 21; of ἐξαυτῆς in Mark vi. 25; of εὐθέως in Luke xvii. 7, xxi. 9. The R. V. has dropped the word and replaced it by "straightway" in Matt. and in Luke xvii. 7 (adopting a different punctuation of the verse), by "forthwith" in Mark, and by "immediately" in Luke xxi. 9. [F.]

C

CAB. [MEASURES.]

CAB'BON (כַּבּוֹן, of uncertain meaning; BA. Χαβρά; *Chebbon*), a town [possibly the same as מַכְבֵּנָה, 1 Ch. ii. 49] in the low country (*Shefélah*) of Judah, named with Lahmam and Kithlish (Josh. xv. 40), which is only once mentioned, and of which nothing has been since discovered. Tristram (*Bible Places*, p. 40) proposes to identify it with *el-Kubeibeh*, 3¼ miles S.W. of *Beit Jibrin*, and near *Kefr Lâm*, Lahmam. [G.] [W.]

CA'BUL (כָּבוּל; B. Χωβαμασομέλ, including the Hebrew word following, מְשֻׁמְאֵל, which A. translates Χαβὼλ ἀπὸ ἀριστερῶν; *Cabul*), a place named as one of the landmarks on the boundary of Asher (Josh. xix. 27). It is probably the same as the *Chabolo* (Χαβωλὼ) of Josephus, which was in the district of Ptolemais and 40 stadia from Jotapata, now *Jefat* (*Vit.* 42–44). It is now *Kábúl*, a village 4½ English miles N.W. of *Jefat* (*PEF. Mem.* i. 271). For references to the Talmud, see Schwarz, p. 192. It is mentioned by Rabbi Uri of Biel (1564), and Marino Sanuto says it was called *Custrum Zabulon* by the Saracens in his day. Being thus on the very borders of Galilee, it is more than probable that there is some connexion between this place and the district אֶרֶץ כָּבוּל, "the land of C.") containing twenty cities, which was presented by Solomon to Hiram king of Tyre (1 K. ix. 11–14). The LXX. rendering of the name in 1 K., ὅριον, appears to arise from their having read גְּבוּל, *Gebool*, "boundary," for כָּבוּל. From the connexion in 1 K. ix. 13, the word seems to have suggested to Hiram the idea of worthlessness, though in what way is uncertain. According to Josephus, Hiram, not liking Solomon's gift, seizes on the name of one of the cities, which in his own Phoenician tongue expresses his disappointment (*μεθερμηνευόμενον γὰρ τὸ Χαβαλὼν κατὰ Φοινίκων γλῶτταν, οὐκ ἀρέσκον*, Jos. *Ant.* viii. 5, § 3 [cp. A. V. marg. of 1 K. ix. 13]), and forms from it a designation for the whole district; but this statement

respecting the meaning of כבול in Phoenician is not substantiated. Gesenius gives, only to reject, other etymologies of the name; Ewald (*Hist.* iii. 292) thinks that the name may have been wittily interpreted as if = כבל, *like naught*. Josephus states (*Ant.* viii. 5, § 3) that the land of *Chabalon* (Χαβαλών) was near Tyre, and (*cont. Ap.* i. 17) Χαβουλὼν in Galilee. He says elsewhere (*B. J.* iii. 3, § 1) that Lower Galilee extended from Tiberias to *Chabulon* near Ptolemais, where, however, the town *Chabolo* is evidently intended. In 2 Ch. viii. 2 Solomon is said to have built or rebuilt the cities. [G.] [W.]

CAD'DIS (Καδδίς, A. Γαδδίς, ℵ. Γαδδεί; *Gaddis*), the surname (διακαλούμενος) of JOANNAN, the eldest brother of Judas Maccabaeus (1 Macc. ii. 2).

CADES (ℵA. Κηδές, *v.* 63; Κεδές, *v.* 73; *Cades*), 1 Macc. xi. 63, 73. [KEDESH.]

CA'DES-BARNE (Κάδης Βαρνή; Vulg. has a different reading), Judith v. 14. [KADESH-BARNEA.]

CADESH. A. V. ed. 1611 (Gen. xvi. 14, xx. 1), R. V. KADESH.

CAD'MIEL (B. Καδοήλος, A. Καδμιὴλ in *v.* 26; B. Δαμαδιήλ, A. Καδωὴλ in *v.* 58; *Cadmihel*), a Levite appointed over the works of the Temple (1 Esd. v. 26, 58). [KADMIEL.] [F.]

CAESAR (Καῖσαρ; ὁ Καῖσαρ, John xix. 12; *Caesar*). In the N. T. Caesar is always a title, never a personal name, and denotes the emperor reigning at the time. It first became famous as the hereditary family name (*cognomen*) of C. Julius Caesar, the founder of the empire. It had been introduced a century before into the ancient patrician stock of the Julii, and was, as long as that stock occupied the throne, the distinctive name of the members of that noble house. When with the death of the Emperor Caius the Julian stock became extinct, his successor Claudius assumed with the imperial dignity the family name of the extinct stock. After that time it passed from one dynasty to another. Tacitus speaks of Caesar and Augustus as "names of imperial dignity" ("principatus vocabula," *Hist.* ii. 80). From Hadrian's time onwards usage changed, and Caesar became the title, not of the reigning emperor, but of the heir apparent. See Marquardt-Mommsen, *Römischen Alterthümer*, ii. pp. 746, 1082.

Four times in the N. T. the imperial name and authority come before us. (1) The Pharisees and Herodians tempt Jesus to challenge the sovereignty of Caesar in Judaea by condemning the payment of tribute to him (the poll-tax: Matt. xxii. 17; Mark xii. 14; Luke xx. 22). (2) Disloyalty to Caesar is the charge with which Pilate is threatened when he is disposed to release the "King of the Jews" (John xix. 12). Our Lord's claim of kingship was employed both in His lifetime and afterwards (Acts xvii. 7) to arouse the suspicion that His teaching was hostile to the Caesar. (3) Appeal to the tribunal of Caesar, the right of every Roman citizen, is the means employed by St. Paul to avoid being taken to Jerusalem for trial, and to put an end to his lengthened imprisonment at Caesarea (Acts xxv. 11). On this privilege of appeal and its limitations, see Wieseler, *Chronologie Apost. Zeit.* pp. 383–8; Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, ch. xxii. (4) Caesar's household (see below) contained many Christians, who formed an important part of the Roman church at the time of St. Paul's first imprisonment (Phil. iv. 22). [E. R. B.]

CAESAR'S HOUSEHOLD. The "domus" or "familia Caesaris" represented by this expression (Phil. iv. 22) includes properly the whole of the imperial household, from those highest in rank and influence to the slaves of the lowest order. It is not, however, probable that the friends whose salutation St. Paul conveys are to be reckoned amongst the former. The "saints" alluded to by the Apostle dated their conversion to the Gospel earlier than the time of St. Paul's visit to Rome, and Bishop Lightfoot has ingeniously recovered some of their names from the list in Rom. xvi. These converts were Greeks, Syrians, and Jews, foreigners temporarily or permanently residing in the capital; and the inscriptions relating to the imperial household record names corresponding with the list in the Epistle sufficient to establish the presumption that in that list some members of the household are included. Indirectly this result is a testimony to the genuineness of the last two chapters of the Ep. to the Romans. See Lightfoot, *Philippians*, detached note at end of ch. iv. (from which the above is taken), and *Speaker's Comm.* in loco. [F.]

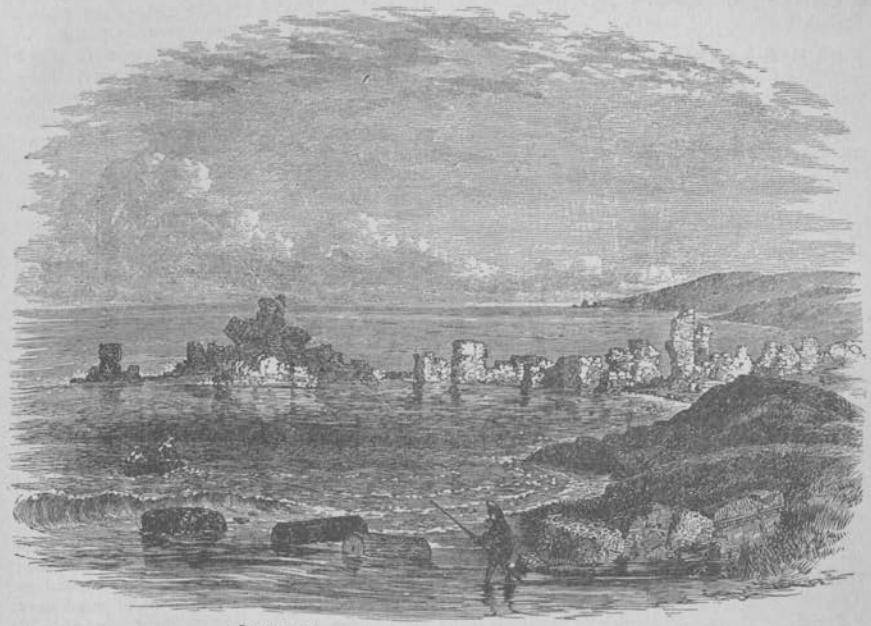
CAESARE'A (Καισαρεία, Acts viii. 40; ix. 30; x. 1, 24; xi. 11; xii. 19; xviii. 22; xxi. 8, 16; xxiii. 23, 33; xxv. 1, 4, 6, 13). The passages just enumerated show how important a place this city occupies in the Acts of the Apostles. It was the residence, apparently for several years, of Philip, one of the seven Deacons or almoners (viii. 40; xxi. 8, 16), and the scene of the conversion of the Italian centurion, Cornelius (x. 1, 24; xi. 11). Here Herod Agrippa I. died (xii. 19). From hence St. Paul sailed to Tarsus, when forced to leave Jerusalem on his return from Damascus (ix. 30), and at this port he landed after his second missionary journey (xviii. 22). He also spent some time at Caesarea on his return from the third missionary journey (xxi. 8, 16), and before long was brought back a prisoner to the same place (xxiii. 23, 33), where he remained two years in bonds before his voyage to Italy (xxv. 1, 4, 6, 13).

Caesarea was situated on the coast of Palestine, on the line of the great road from Tyre to Egypt, and between Joppa and Dora (Joseph. *B. J.* i. 21, § 5). The journey of St. Peter from Joppa (Acts x. 24) occupied rather more than a day. On the other hand St. Paul's journey from Ptolemais (Acts xxi. 8) was accomplished within the day. The distance from Jerusalem is given by Josephus, in round numbers, as 600 stadia (*Ant.* xiii. 11, § 2; *B. J.* i. 3, § 5). The Jerusalem Itinerary of the road passing through Nicopolis and Lydda gives 68 miles (Wesseling, p. 600. Dr. Robinson thinks this ought to be 78: *Bib. Res.* ii. 242, note). There is, however, a more direct road, through Antipatris, which is 7 or 8 miles shorter than that given in the Itinerary,—a point of some importance in

reference to the night-journey of Acts xxiii. [ANTIPATRIS.]

The site of Caesarea was formerly occupied by a town called "Strato's tower," which, according to Strabo, had a landing-place (*πρόσορμον ἔχων*). This town was rebuilt and enlarged by Herod the Great, and its importance was so increased by his great works that it was spoken of as being the head of Judaea ("Judaeae caput," Tac. *Hist.* ii. 79). The utmost care and expense were lavished on the building of Caesarea, which occupied ten years. It was a proud monument of the reign of Herod, who named it in honour of the Emperor Augustus. The full name was Καισαρεία Σεβαστή (Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 5, § 1). It was sometimes called Caesarea Stratonis, and Caesarea Palaestinae; sometimes also (from its position) *παραλιός* (Joseph. *B. J.* iii. 9, § 1), or *ἡ ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ* (*ib.* vii. 1, § 3). It must be carefully distinguished from CAESAREA PHILIPPI.

The magnificence of Caesarea is described in detail by Josephus in two places (*Ant.* xv. 9; *B. J.* i. 21). The chief features were connected with the harbour (itself called Σεβαστὸς λιμὴν on coins and by Josephus, *Ant.* xvii. 5, § 1), which was equal in size to the Piraeus,—a vast breakwater, composed of stones 50 feet long, curved round so as to afford complete protection from the south-westerly winds, leaving an opening only on the north. Broad landing-wharves surrounded the harbour; and conspicuous from the sea was a temple, dedicated to Caesar and to Rome, and containing colossal statues of the Emperor and the Imperial City. Caesarea contained also an amphitheatre and a theatre. The latter was the scene of the death of Herod Agrippa I. Caesarea was the



Caesarea Palaestinae. (From a Sketch by Wm. Tipping, Esq.)

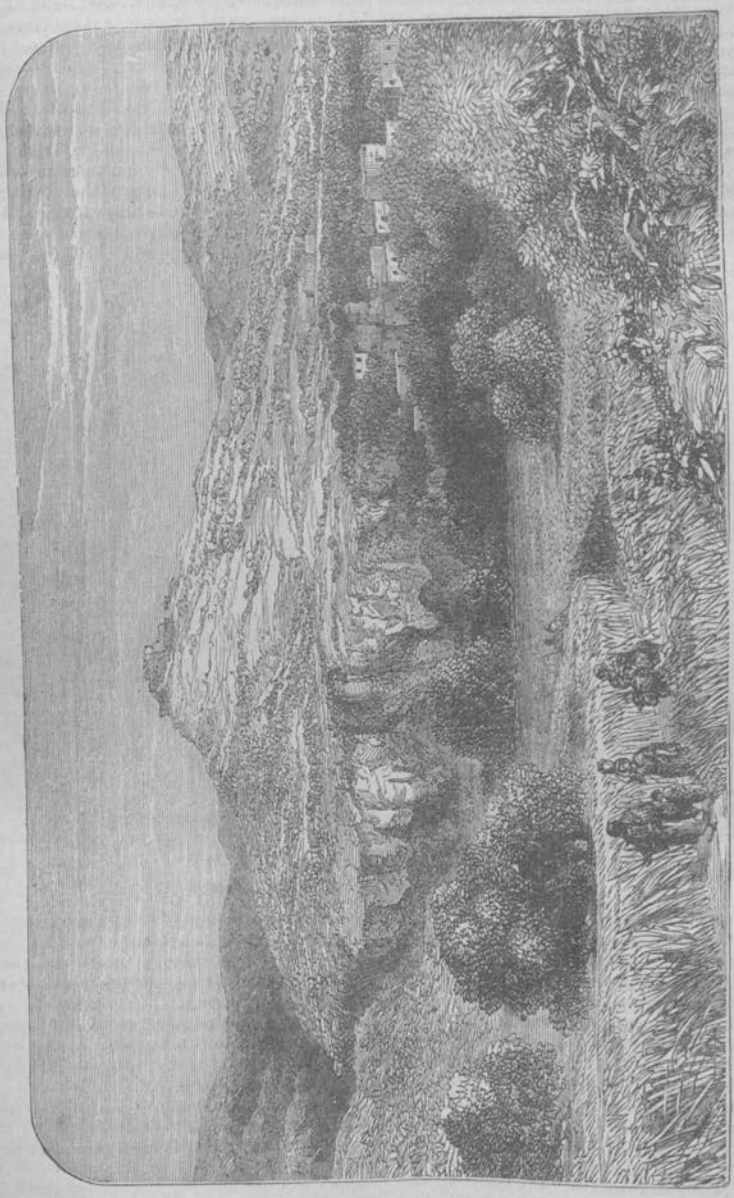
official residence of the Herodian kings, and of Festus, Felix, and the other Roman procurators of Judaea. Here also were the head-quarters of the military forces of the province. It was by no means strictly a Jewish city. The Gentile population predominated; and at the synagogue-worship the Scriptures of the O. T. were read in Greek. Constant feuds took place here between the Jews and Greeks; and an outbreak of this kind was one of the first incidents of the great war. It was at Caesarea that Vespasian was declared emperor. He made it a Roman colony, called it by his name, and gave to it the *Jus Italicum*. The history of the place, during the time of its greatest eminence, is summed up in one sentence by Pliny: "Stratonis turris, eadem Caesarea, ab Herode rege condita: nunc Colonia prima Flavia, a Vespasiano Imperatore deducta" (v. 14).

To the ecclesiastical geographer Caesarea is interesting as the home of Eusebius. It was also the scene of some of Origen's labours and the birth-place of Procopius. In 333 A.D. "the bath of Cornelius," perhaps a public bath erected by the centurion at his own cost, was shown to pilgrims (*Itin. Hieros.*). It continued to be a city of some importance even in the time of the Crusades. Now, though an Arabic corruption of the name still lingers on the site (*Kaisâriyeh*), it is utterly desolate; and its ruins have for a long period been a quarry, from which other towns in this part of Syria have been built. Remains of the theatre, the hippodrome, the mole, the temple, the aqueducts, and the walls of the Roman city are still extant (see Buckingham's *Travels;* the Appendix to vol. i. of Dr. Traill's *Josephus; PEF. Mem.* ii. 13–28; Guérin, *Samarie*, ii. 321–339). [J. S. H.] [W.]

CAESARE'A PHILIPPI (Καισάρεια ἡ Φιλίππου) is mentioned only in two Gospels (Matt. xvi. 13; Mark viii. 27), and in accounts of the

same transactions. The story in Eusebius, that the woman healed of the issue of blood, and supposed to have been named Berenice, lived at this place, rests on no foundation.

Caesarea Philippi was the northernmost point of our Lord's journeyings; and the passage in His life which was connected with the place was otherwise a very marked one (see Stanley's *Sinai & Palestine*, p. 391). The place itself is remarkable both in its physical and picturesque characteristics, and also in its historical associations. It was at the easternmost and most



Caesarea Philippi and the hill from which issues the eastern source of the Jordan. (From a photograph.)

important of the two recognised sources of the Jordan, the other being at *Tell el-Kâdy* [DAN or LAISH, which by Winer and others has been erroneously identified with Caes. Philippi]. Not that either of these sources is the most distant fountain-head of the Jordan, the name of the river being given (as in the case of the Mississippi and Missouri, to quote Dr. Robinson's illustration), not to the most remote fountains, but to the most copious. The spring rises, and the city was built, on a limestone terrace in a valley at the base of Mount Hermon. Caesarea

Philippi has no O. T. history, though it has been not unreasonably identified with BAAL-GAD. Its annals run back direct from Herod's time into heathenism. There is no difficulty in identifying it with the *Panium* of Josephus; and the inscriptions which show that the god Pan had once a sanctuary at this spot are not yet obliterated. Here Herod the Great erected a temple to Augustus, the town being then called from the grotto where Pan had been honoured. It is worth while here to quote in succession the words of Josephus and of Dr. Robinson:—"Herod, having accompanied Caesar to the sea and returned home, erected a beautiful temple of white marble near the place called Panium. This is a fine cavern in a mountain; under which there is a great cavity in the earth; and the cavern is abrupt and very deep, and full of still water. Over it hangs a vast mountain, and under the mountain rise the springs of the river Jordan. Herod adorned this place, which was already a very remarkable one, still further by the erection of this temple, which he dedicated to Caesar" (Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 10, § 3; cp. *B. J.* i. 21, § 3). "The situation is unique; combining in an unusual degree the elements of grandeur and beauty. It nestles in its recess at the southern base of the mighty Hermon, which towers in majesty to an elevation of 7000 or 8000 feet above. The abundant waters of the glorious fountain spread over the terrace luxuriant fertility and the graceful interchange of copse, lawn, and waving fields" (Robinson, iii. 404).

Panium became part of the territory of Philip, tetrarch of Trachonitis, who enlarged and embellished the town, and called it Caesarea Philippi, partly after his own name, and partly after that of the emperor (*Ant.* xviii. 2, § 1; *B. J.* ii. 9, § 1). Agrippa II. followed in the same course of flattery, and called the place Neronias (*Ant.* xx. 9, § 4). Josephus seems to imply in his life (*Vit.* 13) that many heathens resided here. Titus exhibited gladiatorial shows at Caesarea Philippi after the end of the Jewish war (*B. J.* vii. 2, § 1). The old name was not lost. Coins of *Caesarea Paneas* continued through the reigns of many emperors. Under the simple name of Paneas it was the seat of a Greek bishopric in the period of the great councils and of a Latin bishopric during the Crusades. It is still called *Bánias*, the first name having here, as in other cases, survived the second. A striking monument is the castle above the site of the city, one of the most remarkable fortresses in the Holy Land. [J. S. H.] [W.]

CAGE. The term so rendered by A. V. (marg. *coop*) and R. V. in Jer. v. 27, כֶּלֶוב, is more properly a *trap* (παγίς, *decipula*), in which decoy birds were placed. It is referred to in Ecclus. xi. 30 under the term κάρταλλος, which is elsewhere used of a tapering basket. [FOWLING.] In Rev. xviii. 2 the Greek term is φυλακή, meaning a prison or restricted habitation rather than a cage. [W. L. B.]

CAIAPHAS [3 syll.] (Καϊάφας; Καΐφας, D; *Caiphas*). His true name, Joseph, is given in Josephus, *Ant.* xviii. § 2, 2, where we learn that Caiaphas was a distinguishing name, just as another Joseph was called Joseph Barnabas (Acts iv. 36). Caiaphas has been explained as from כַּיָּפָא, Prov. xvi. 26 (Targum), and Keim does not hesitate to render it "the oppressor." But Delitzsch (*Zeitschrift für Luth. Theol.* 1876, p. 594) shows on the evidence of the Peshitto and the Mishna (*Parah*, iii. 5) that the Greek K here represents ק not כ, and he prints the name קַיָּפָא in Acts iv. 36 (cp. also Derenbourg, *Essai sur l'Histoire de la Palestine*, p. 215, n. 2). The derivation given above must therefore be abandoned, and Delitzsch cautiously refuses to give a substitute.

Joseph Caiaphas was appointed high-priest by Valerius Gratus, probably A.D. 18, and was superseded by Vitellius, A.D. 36, in favour of Jonathan the son of Ananus (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 2, 2, and 4, 3). He thus held the office for a length of time very unusual at that period. For the conjunction of Annas and Caiaphas as high priests at the commencement of the ministry of the Baptist (Luke iii. 2), see ANNAS. The first recorded words of Caiaphas were spoken at the Sanhedrin assembled after the raising of Lazarus. In Caiaphas the Sadducees, to whom he and Annas belong, advance on this occasion to the position henceforth occupied by them as the bitter enemies of Jesus and the real authors of His death. They combine with the Pharisees, but the latter fall into the background (John xi. 47. See Westcott in loco). The unconscious prediction of Caiaphas that "Jesus should die for the nation" (v. 50) has been well said to be the last utterance of Jewish prophecy. St. John's description of Caiaphas as "high-priest that year" (xi. 49, 51, and xviii. 13) has been supposed (Keim) to betray ignorance of his long tenure of the office (but see Westcott in loco on the emphatic use of "that," ἐκεῖνος). The next mention of Caiaphas is at the meeting of the chief priests and rulers in his palace (αὐλή, Matt. xxvi. 3), at which the seizure of Jesus by stratagem was determined on. The bargain with Judas was the result of this decision. After the betrayal and the examination before Annas, Jesus was sent bound to Caiaphas (John xviii. 24). Some doubt may exist as to the parts assigned by St. John to Annas and Caiaphas respectively, but St. Matthew (xxvi. 57) shows plainly that it was Caiaphas who by his adjuration drew from Jesus the confession that He was the Son of God, and asked for the sentence of death (Matt. xxvi. 63 sq.). Indeed the Synoptists do not name Annas in connexion with the trial. The last mention of Caiaphas is as being present at the examination of Peter and John after their arrest in the Temple (Acts iv. 6). Here Annas is described as high-priest, and Caiaphas, who was probably in possession of the office, has no title given him. [See ANNAS.] It follows that it is impossible to assign with any certainty to Caiaphas the action said to have been taken by the high-priest in Acts v. 17 sq. Nothing is known of Caiaphas after his deposition. Westcott observes that "the relationship of Caiaphas to Annas (son-in-law) is not mentioned by any writer except St. John, and yet this relationship alone explains how Caiaphas was able to retain his office by the side of Annas and his sons." [E. R. B.]

CAIN (קַיִן [the meaning is altogether uncertain. The text asserts only an *assonance*, not

an etymology (as in Seth, Noah, and many other cases); Cain being connected with קָנָה not because it is derived from it (which would be against the laws of philology), but because it resembles it in sound. In Arabic قين means "a smith."—S. R. D.]; Κάιν; Joseph. Κάις; *Cain*). The historical facts in the life of Cain, as recorded in Gen. iv., are stated with suddenness and brevity[a]:—He was the eldest son of Adam and Eve; he followed the business of agriculture; in a fit of jealousy, roused by the rejection of his own sacrifice and the acceptance of Abel's, he committed the crime of murder, for which he was expelled from Eden, and led the life of an exile (a punishment assigned for the same crime by Homer and the laws of Menu); married (cp. v. 4; see Delitzsch on Gen. iv. 16 [1887], and Riehm, *HWB.* 'Kain'), he settled in the land of Nod, and built a city which he named after his son Enoch; his descendants are enumerated, together with the inventions for which they were remarkable. Occasional references to Cain are made in the N. T. (Heb. xi. 4; 1 John iii. 12; Jude *v.* 11).

The following points deserve notice in connexion with the Biblical narrative:—1. The position of "the land of Nod." The words do not define a geographical area, but as the name Nod itself implies—a land of *flight* or *exile*, in reference to *v.* 12 where a cognate word is used. The attempt to identify it with India is erroneously far-fetched; the only indication of its position is the indefinite notice that it was "east of Eden" (*v.* 16), which of course throws us back to the previous settlement of the position of Eden itself [EDEN]. It seems vain to attempt the identification of Nod with any special locality; the direction "east of Eden" may have reference to the previous notice in iii. 24, and may indicate that the land was opposite to (κατέναντι, LXX.) the entrance, which was barred against his return. It is not improbable that the *east* was further used to mark the direction which the Cainites took, as distinct from the Sethites, who would, according to Hebrew notions, be settled towards the west.

2. The "mark set upon Cain" has given rise to various speculations, many of which would never have been broached, if the Hebrew text had been consulted: the words are better rendered by the R. V. "the LORD appointed a sign for Cain, lest any finding him should smite him"; *i.e.* Jehovah *gave a sign to* Cain, very much as signs were afterwards given to Noah (Gen. ix. 13), Moses (Ex. iii. 2, 12), Elijah (1 K. xix. 11), and Hezekiah (Is. xxxviii. 7, 8). Whether the sign was perceptible to Cain alone, and given to him once for all, in token that no man should kill him, or whether it was some sign or bodily mark (cp. the Jewish traditions in Hamburger, *RE.* s. n. Kain), perceptible also to others and designed as a precaution to them, is uncertain; the nature of the sign itself is still more uncertain (see *Speaker's Comm.*, Ellicott's *O. T. Comm.*, and Delitzsch in loco).

3. The narrative implies the existence of a considerable population; for Cain fears lest he should be murdered in return for the murder he had committed (*v.* 14). The Talmud and Josephus (*Ant.* i. 2, § 1) explain his fears as arising not from men but from wild beasts; but such an explanation is wholly unnecessary. The family of Adam may have largely increased before the birth of Seth, as is indeed implied in the notice of Cain's wife (*v.* 17), and the mere circumstance that none of the other children are noticed by name may be explained on the ground that their lives furnished nothing worthy of notice.

4. The character of Cain deserves a brief notice (cp. 1 John iii. 12). He is described as a man of a morose, disappointed, and revengeful temper; and that he presented his offering in this state of mind, or without the deeper religious apprehension of Abel, is implied in the rebuke contained in *v.* 7, which is rendered by R. V.: "If thou doest well (or, as the LXX. has it, ἐὰν ὀρθῶς προσενέγκῃς), shalt thou not be accepted? (canst thou not lift it up? Cp. R. V. marg. and *QPB.*[3]) and if thou doest not well, sin coucheth (as a wild beast) at the door: and unto thee shall be his [Abel's] desire, and thou shalt rule over him" (better as marg., shall be its [sin's] desire; but thou shouldest rule over it). The narrative implies therefore that his offering was rejected, not on account of the nature of the gift, but on account of the temper in which it was brought.

5. The descendants of Cain are enumerated to the sixth generation (*v.* 17, &c.). Some commentators (from Buttmann to Kuenen; see Delitzsch and Riehm) have traced an artificial structure in this genealogy, by which it is rendered parallel to that of the Sethites (ch. v.): *e.g.* there is a decade of names in each, commencing with Adam and ending with Jabal and Noah, the deficiency of generations in the Cainites being supplied by the addition of the two younger sons of Lamech to the list; and there is a considerable similarity in the names, each list containing a Lamech and an Enoch; while Cain in the one = Cain-an in the other, Methusael = Methuselah, and Mehujael = Mahalaleel: the inference from this comparison being that the one was framed out of the other. But the genealogy of ch. v. may well have co-existed with that of iv. 17, &c. The differences far exceed the points of similarity; the order of the names, the number of generations, and even the meanings of those which are noticed as similar in sound, are easily to be explained by the tendency of tradition to assimilate what might be ethically distinct, or are sufficiently distinct to remove the impression of artificial construction. [On questions connected with the structure of Gen. iv. cp. Dillmann,[2] pp. 88–90 with the reff., and Delitzsch (1887) on iv. 18. Cp. also both on Cain and on the two lists Lenormant, *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, chs. iv.–v.—S. R. D.]

6. The social condition of the Cainites is prominently brought forward in the history. Cain himself was an agriculturist, Abel a shepherd: the successors of the latter are represented by the Sethites and the progenitors of the Hebrew race in later times, among whom a pastoral life was always held in high honour from the simplicity and devotional habits which it engendered:

[a] The opinion which counts Cain a myth or an elemental deity is examined by Baethgen, *Beiträge zur Semit. Religionsgeschichte*, p. 151; cp. Sayce, *Hibbert Lectt.* p. 236.

the successors of the former are depicted as the reverse in all these respects. Cain founded the first city; Lamech instituted polygamy; Jabal introduced the nomadic life; Jubal invented musical instruments; Tubal-cain was the first *smith*; Lamech's language takes the stately tone of poetry; and even the names of the women—Naamah (*pleasant*), Zillah (*shadow*), Adah (*ornamental*)—seem to bespeak an advanced state of civilisation. But along with this, there was violence and godlessness: Cain and Lamech furnish proof of the former, while the concluding words of Gen. iv. 26 imply the latter.

7. The contrast established between the Cainites and the Sethites appears to have reference solely to the social and religious condition of the two races. On the one side there is pictured a high state of civilisation, unsanctified by religion, and productive of luxury and violence; on the other side, a state of simplicity which afforded no material for history beyond the declaration, "Then began men to call upon the name of the Lord." The historian thus accounts for the progressive degeneration of the religious condition of man, the evil gaining a predominance over the good by its alliance with worldly power and knowledge, and producing the state of things which necessitated the flood (see W. Schultz in Herzog, *RE.*² s. n. Kain).

8. Another motive may be assigned for the introduction of this portion of sacred history. All ancient nations have loved to trace up the invention of the arts to some certain author, and, generally speaking, these authors have been regarded as objects of divine worship. Among the Greeks, Apollo was held to be the inventor of music, Vulcan of the working of metals, Triptolemus of the plough. We may decline to find the name Apollo in Jabal and Jubal, or Vulcan in Tubal-cain, or identify from similarity of meaning Naamah with Venus (Sansc. Vanas); but it is possible that the Hebrew historian has recorded here the names of those to whom the invention of the arts was traditionally assigned, obviating at the same time the dangerous error into which other nations had fallen, and reducing the estimate of their value by the position which their inventors held as descendants not of Abel the accepted but of Cain the "cursed." [W. L. B.] [F.]

CAIN (with the article, הַקַּיִן = "the lance," Ges.; B. Ζακανάειμ, A. Ζανὼ Ἀκείμ [both texts include the name preceding]; *Accain*; R. V. *Kain*); one of the cities in the hill-country of Judah, named in the same list with Carmel, Ziph, and Juttah, and immediately after Zanoah (Josh. xv. 56). It is probably *Kh. Yûkîn*, S.E. of Hebron, near *Kh. Sûnût*, Zanoah, and *Tell ez-Zif*, Ziph (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 312, 371). [G.] [W.]

CAI'NAN (marg. correctly Kenan, so R. V.; קֵינָן; Καινάν; *Cainan; teli faber*, Gesen. *Thes.*, as if = קַיָן, from the Arab. *to forge*, as in Tubal-cain, Gen. iv. 22: see Dr. Mill's *Vindic. of our Lord's Geneal.*, p. 150). **1.** Son of Enos, aged 70 years when he begat Mahalaleel his son. He lived 840 years afterwards, and died aged 910 (Gen. v. 9–14). The rabbinical tradition was that he first introduced idol-worship and astrology — a tradition which the Hellenists transferred to the post-diluvian Cainan (2). Thus Ephraem Syrus asserts that the Chaldees in the time of Terah and Abram worshipped a graven god called Cainan; and Gregory Bar-Hebraeus, another Syriac author, also applies it to the son of Arphaxad (Mill, *ut sup.*). The origin of the tradition is not known; it may be due to the assonance with the Sabaean god Kenan [Baethgen, *Beiträge zur Semit. Religionsgeschichte*, pp. 128, 152], or it may have been suggested by the meaning of the supposed root in the Arabic and Aramean dialects; just as another signification of the same root seems to have suggested the tradition that the daughters of Cain were the first who made and *sang* to musical instruments (Gesen. *s. v.* קין).

2. Καινάμ, son of Arphaxad, and father of Sala, according to Luke iii. 36, 37, and usually called the second Cainan. He is also found in the LXX. in the genealogy of Shem, Gen. x. 24 [A. Καινάμ, E. -άν], xi. 12 [Καινάν], and 1 Ch. i. 18 (A. Καινάν, B. om.), but is nowhere named in the Hebrew codd., nor in any of the Versions made from the Hebrew, as the Samaritan, Chaldee, Syriac, Vulgate, &c. Moreover it can be demonstrated that the intrusion of the name into the Version of the LXX. is comparatively modern, since Augustine is the first writer who mentions it as found in the O. T. at all; and since we have the absolute certainty that it was not contained in any copies of the Alexandrine Bible which either Berosus, Eupolemus, Polyhistor, Josephus, Philo, Theophilus of Antioch, Julius Africanus, Origen, Eusebius, or even Jerome, had access to. It seems certain therefore that his name was introduced into the genealogies of the Greek O. T. in order to bring them into harmony with the genealogy of Christ in St. Luke's Gospel, where Cainan was found in the time of Jerome. The question is thus narrowed into one concerning its introduction into the Gospel. It might have been thought that it had found its way by accident into the genealogy of Joseph, and that St. Luke inserted that genealogy exactly as he found it. But as Beza's very ancient MS. (D) presented to the University of Cambridge does not contain the name of Cainan, and there is strong ground for supposing that Irenaeus's copy of St. Luke did not contain it, it seems on the whole more probable that Cainan was not inserted by St. Luke himself, but was afterwards added in deference to tradition, or by accident, or to make up the number of generations to 17, or from some other cause which cannot now be discovered. For further information, see *Geneal. of our Lord J. C.*, ch. viii.; Heidegger, *Hist. Patriarch.* ii. 8–15; Bochart, *Phaleg*, lib. ii. cap. 13; and for the opposite view, Mill's *Vindic. of our Lord's Geneal.*, p. 143. [A. C. H.]

CAIUS. [JOHN, Second and Third Epistles of.]

CAKES. [BREAD.]

CA'LAH (כָּלַח; Χαλάχ; *Chalc*; Assyr. *Kalḫu*, *Kalḫi*, *Kâlḫa*, *Kalaḫ*), one of the most ancient cities of Assyria, being mentioned (Gen x. 11) with Nineveh, "the city Rehoboth," and Resen, as having been founded by Asshur, the patriarch of the Assyrians, when he emigrated from the land of Shinar. Calah has been thought to be identical with the Halah (חֲלַח) of

the Books of Kings and Chronicles (2 K. xvii. 6, xviii. 11; 1 Ch. v. 26), but the Greek form of this name, Ἀλαέ, is against this, and the Assyrian inscriptions, which give the native name of Calah, settle the question definitely. Calah, the Assyrian *Kalḫu*, is represented by the mounds known under the name of Nimroud, from which a large proportion of the Assyrian sculptures now in the British Museum came. These ruins are situated about 20 miles south of Kouyunjik (Nineveh), on an irregular wedge of land formed by the Tigris and the greater or upper Zab, where the latter flows into the former (see map in art. NINEVEH, *D. B.*[1] ii. 549). According to Aššur-naṣir-âpli, king of Assyria, about 885 B.C. Calah was founded by Shalmaneser I., about 1300 years before Christ,[a] and was rebuilt by Aššur-naṣir-âpli, who raised there a royal palace of considerable extent and great magnificence. The walls were decorated with bas-reliefs of large size and most careful execution, in some cases coloured in the natural tints, as far as was possible upon alabaster. These sculptures represent the religious ceremonies in which the king, as priest, engaged, and the military expeditions which he led. The entrances were adorned by winged lions and bulls, many of them human-headed. This palace built by Aššur-naṣir-âpli is known as the North-west Palace. Others were built by his successors, one being the much ruined Central Palace (where the Black Obelisk was found),

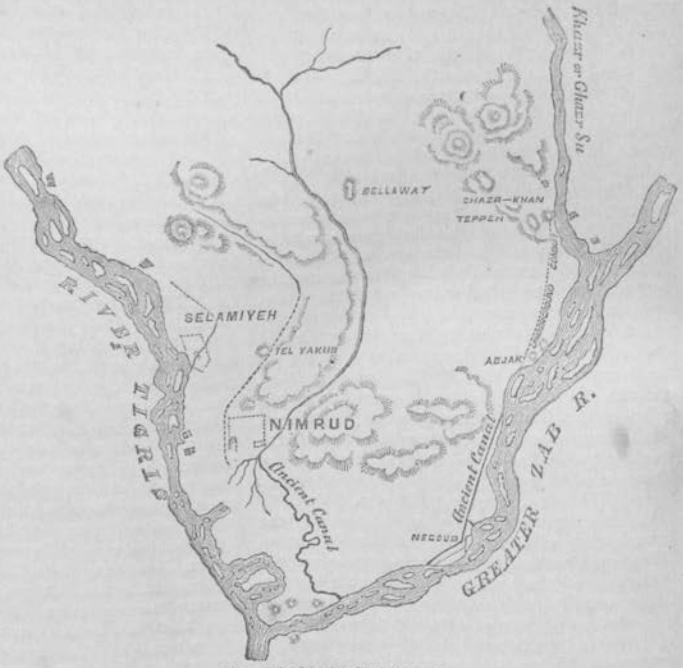
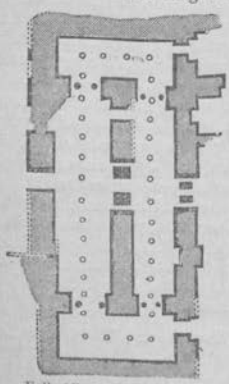


Chart of the District about Nimroud.

erected by Shalmaneser II., son and successor of Aššur-naṣir-âpli, east of the N.W. Palace. This was also the palace of the biblical Tiglath-pileser, but was completely dismantled by Esarhaddon, who used the materials for the construction of his own palace.[b] Sargon, king of Assyria B.C. 722, restored the N.W. Palace, and his grandson, Esarhaddon, B.C. 681, built the South-west Palace, with materials taken from the Central Palace. Lastly, the grandson of Esarhaddon, Aššur-êtil-îlâni, the last king of Assyria but one, built a smaller edifice in the south-eastern corner of the platform of Nimroud. Of the sculptures which adorned the walls of these buildings, those of Tiglath-pileser are probably the most interesting, on account of their being those of a king whose name carries with it biblical associations. The length of the palace-mound of Nimroud is about 600 yards (from N. to S.), and the breadth about 400 yards (from E. to W.). At the north-west corner stands a lofty conical mound 140 feet high. This covers the ruins of the *zikkuratu*, or Tower of Calah, which was excavated by Sir H. Layard, who found it to be square at the base, each side measuring 167 ft. 6 in., and faced with hewn stone to a height of 20 ft. Besides the above-named palaces, there were also two temples on this site, one of them being dedicated to Nebo, and adorned with two colossal statues of that god, as well as four smaller



Hall of Esarhaddon's Palace at Nimroud.

[a] Schrader, in his *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, vol. i. p. 80, says, "Thus the foundation of Kalah took place about 500 years before the time when the passage of Genesis we are now considering was composed by the Jahvistic-prophetic narrator, writing about 800 B.C."

[b] Fortunately a good portion of these most interesting remains have been preserved.

ones.[e] In Assyrian times the Tigris flowed quite close to the western side of the platform on which the palaces stood, but there is now a considerable interval, the river having changed its course. The town was enclosed within walls of considerable extent, the plan of the city being oblong, the northern side showing traces of no less than 58 towers. The palaces and temples above described were situated in the south-west corner of the enclosure. The platform upon which they were built was composed of sun-dried bricks, faced with slabs of stone, and it rises 13 yards above the river-bed. Steps or inclined passages led from the palace-platform to the town.

The successors of Shalmaneser I. seem to have taken but little interest in the city of Calah, and it did not long remain a serious rival of Nineveh and Assur, in which cities most of the Assyrian kings preferred to dwell. Calah owes its principal importance to Aššur-naṣir-âpli (885 B.C.), who completely rebuilt the city, finished the great wall, and settled there the captives which he had brought from the lands that he had conquered. Besides the building of the N.W. Palace, he dug also an irrigation-canal from the upper Zab towards the city, and adorned its banks with orchards and vineyards. Calah remained faithful to Shalmaneser II., son of Aššur-naṣir-âpli, during the revolt of his son, Aššur-danin-âpli, against him, the inhabitants remembering the favours which Shalmaneser and his father had conferred upon them. Shalmaneser's son and grandson, and likewise Tiglath-pileser, resided here, but the city never regained the importance it had in Aššur-naṣir-âpli's reign, and Aššur-êtil-îlâni's efforts to make the city a royal residence resulted in nothing—the end was too near, for under his successor, Sin-šarra-iškun or Saracos, Assyria fell, never to rise again.

To Sir H. Layard the greatest credit is due for his enthusiastic work on this important site, which he was the first to discover. Hormuzd Rassam and George Smith also excavated there. Cp. Sir H. Layard's *Nineveh and its Remains*, *Nineveh and Babylon*, &c.; H. Rassam's articles; G. Smith's *Assyrian Discoveries;* Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies;* Schrader's *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament* (English by the Rev. O. C. Whitehouse); and Fried. Delitzsch's article in the *Calwer Bibellexicon*. [T. G. P.]

CALAMO'LALUS (A. Καλαμωλάλος, B. Καλαμωκάλος; *Cliomus*), 1 Esd. v. 22, a corrupt name, apparently agglomerated of ELAM and LOD (cp. *Speaker's Comm.* in loco). [G.]

CALAMUS, SWEET CANE. The Hebrew words *kĕnēh bôsem*, *kâneh hattôb*, קְנֵה בֹשֶׂם, קָנֶה הַטּוֹב (κάλαμος εὐώδης, κινάμωμον; *calamus*, *fistula;* Arabic قَنَاة, *kenah*), occur five times, and are translated in the A. V. and R. V. of Ex. xxx. 23, Cant. iv. 14, Ezek. xxvii. 19, by "calamus," and in Is. xliii. 24, Jer. vi. 20, by "sweet cane," the same substance being evidently intended in all cases. In Exodus it is named as one of the ingredients of the holy anointing oil; in Canticles, among sweet scents, where it is expressed by *kâneh* alone; in Isaiah and Jeremiah, as a precious offering purchased from a far country (*hattôb* in Jeremiah meaning sweet or good); and by Ezekiel it is enumerated among the commodities brought into the markets of Tyre: "Cassia and calamus (Heb. *kâneh*) were in thy market." The word *kâneh*, "reed"

Andropogon schoenanthus.

without the adjective, has been treated of under BULRUSH, q.v. In these passages no indigenous plant is intended, and we may therefore dismiss the speculations as to any fragrant plant from Lebanon, in which many writers have indulged. No aromatic reed has been found in Syria. From a comparison of the passages where it is mentioned, it is clear that *kĕnēh bôsem* was not a sweet cane like the species of sugar-cane, the sweet sorghum, once extensively cultivated at Jericho and in the Jordan valley; but an exotic aromatic cane, imported by the Phoenicians probably from the East. Bochart reasonably argues from its being mentioned in Exodus that it was probably an Arabian product (*Hieroz.* ii. 687). It was certainly the *κάλαμος ἀρωματικὸς* of the Greeks. But this does not bring us much nearer identification, since all we are told of it is that it came from India (Dioscorides, i. 17). And in this statement the Arabic author Abu 'l Fadli concurs. There are many aromatic reeds in India. Dr. Royle suggests *Andropogon aromaticus* from Central India. There is another species of lemon-grass, *Andropogon schoenanthus*, found both in India and Arabia, and which the writer once procured in Gilead, which affords a delicate aromatic perfume. [H. B. T.]

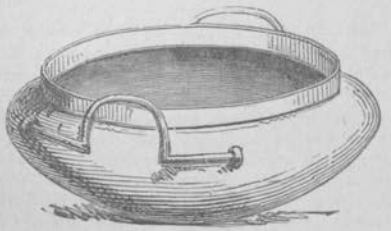
CAL'COL (כַּלְכֹּל; A. Χαλχάλ, in K. and Ch.; B. Χαλκαδ in K. and Χαλκὰ in Ch.; *Chalchal*, *Chalcol*), a man of Judah, son or descendant of Zerah (1 Ch. ii. 6). Probably identical [see DARDA] with CHALCOL (A. V.

[e] Two of the latter are now in the British Museum [see the article ASSYRIA].

only; no difference in the Hebrew), son of Mahol, one of the four wise men whom Solomon excelled in wisdom (1 K. iv. 31, LXX. *v.* 27). [G.] [F.]

CALDE'A, -EANS, -EES. [CHALDEA, &c.]

CALDRON. 1. דּוּד, probably from דּוּד, *boil*, akin to Arab. دال, *to be moved*, as water in boiling; a pot or kettle; also a basket. 2. סִיר, a pot or kettle. 3. אַגְמוֹן, or אַגְמֹן. 4. קַלַּחַת, perhaps from the root קָלַח, in post-biblical Heb. = *to steam forth*; λέβης, χύτρα, ποδιστήρ; *lebes, olla*. A vessel for boiling flesh,



Bronze Caldron from Egyptian Thebes. (Brit. Mus.)

either for ceremonial or domestic use (1 Sam. ii. 14; 2 Ch. xxxv. 13; Job xli. 20; Ps. lviii. 9, A. V. and R. V. *pots*; Mic. iii. 3). [H. W. P.]

Assyrian Caldron. (Kouyunjik.)

CA'LEB (כָּלֵב, of uncertain meaning; Χάλεβ).

1. According to 1 Ch. ii. 9, 18, 19, 42, 50, the son of Hezron, the son of Pharez, the son of Judah, and the father of Hur by Ephrath or Ephratah, and consequently grandfather of Caleb the spy. His brothers, according to the same authority, were Jerahmeel and Ram; his wives Azubah, Jerioth, and Ephratah; and his concubines Ephah and Maachah (*vv.* 9, 42, 46, 48). But from the manifest corruption of the text in many parts of the chapter, from the name being written כְּלוּבַי [R. V. "Chelubai"] in *v.* 9 (which looks like a patronymic, from כְּלוּב, Chelub [1 Ch. iv. 11] the brother of Shuah), from the evident confusion between the two Calebs at *v.* 49, and from the non-appearance of this elder Caleb anywhere except in this genealogy, drawn up in Hezekiah's reign [AZARIAH, No. 13], it is impossible to speak with confidence of his relations, or even of his existence.

2. Son of Jephunneh, by which patronymic the illustrious spy is usually designated (Num. xiii. 6, and ten other places), with the addition of that of "the Kenezite" in Num. xxxii. 12 [R. V. "Kenizzite"], Josh. xiv. 6, 14. Caleb is first mentioned in the list of the rulers or princes (נְשִׂיאִים), called in the next verse רָאשִׁים, "heads," one from each tribe, who were sent to search the land of Canaan in the second year of the Exodus, where it may be noted that these נְשִׂיאִים or רָאשִׁים are all different from those named in Num. i. ii. vii. x. as princes or heads of the tribes of Israel, and consequently that the same title was given to the chiefs of families as to the chiefs of the whole tribe. Caleb was a נָשִׂיא or רֹאשׁ in the tribe of Judah, perhaps as chief of the family of the Hezronites, at the same time that Nahshon the son of Amminadab was prince of the whole tribe. He and Oshea or Joshua the son of Nun were the only two of the whole number who, on their return from Canaan to Kadesh-barnea, encouraged the people to enter in boldly to the land and take possession of it; for which act of faithfulness they narrowly escaped stoning at the hands of the infuriated people. In the plague that ensued, while the other ten spies perished, Caleb and Joshua alone were spared. Moreover, while it was announced to the congregation by Moses that, for this rebellious murmuring, all that had been numbered from twenty years old and upwards, except Joshua and Caleb, should perish in the wilderness, a special promise was made to Caleb the son of Jephunneh that he should survive to enter into the land which he had trodden upon, and that his seed should possess it. Accordingly, forty-five years afterwards, when some progress had been made in the conquest of the land, Caleb came to Joshua and reminded him of what had happened at Kadesh, and of the promise which Moses made to him with an oath. He added that, though he was now eighty-five years old, he was as strong as in the day when Moses sent him to spy out the land, and he claimed possession of the land of the Anakims, Kirjath-arba, or Hebron, and the neighbouring hill-country (Josh. xiv.). This was immediately granted to him, and the following chapter relates how he took possession of Hebron, driving out the three sons of Anak; and how he offered Achsah his daughter in marriage to whosoever would take Kirjath-sepher, *i.e.* Debir; and how when Othniel, his younger brother, had performed the feat, he not only gave him his daughter to wife, but with her the upper and nether springs of water which she asked for. After this we hear no more of Caleb, nor is the time of his death recorded. But we learn from Josh. xxi. 13, that in the distribution of cities out of the different tribes for the priests and Levites to dwell in, Hebron fell to the priests, the children of Aaron, of the family of Kohathites, and was also a city of refuge, while the surrounding territory continued to be the possession of Caleb, at least as late as the time of David (1 Sam. xxv. 3, xxx. 14).

But a very interesting question arises as to the birth and parentage of Caleb. He is, as we have seen, styled "the son of Jephunneh the Kenizzite," and his younger brother Othniel, afterwards the first Judge, is also called "the son of Kenaz" (Josh. xv. 17; Judg. i. 13, iii. 9, 11). On the other hand, the genealogy in 1 Ch. ii. makes no mention whatever of either Jephunneh or Kenaz, but represents Caleb, though obscurely, as being a descendant of Hezron and

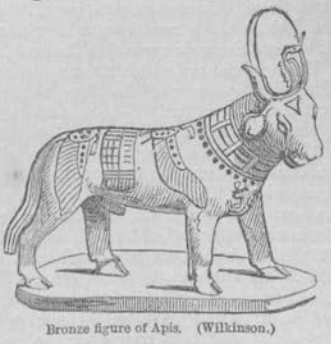
a son of Hur (see, too, ch. iv.). Again in Josh. xv. 13 we have this singular expression, "Unto Caleb the son of Jephunneh he gave a part [R. V. "portion"] *among the children of Judah*;" and in xiv. 14, the no less significant one, "Hebron became the inheritance of Caleb the son of Jephunneh the *Kenizzite*, because that he wholly followed the LORD, the *God of Israel*" [R. V.]. These variations are probably due to the different documents consulted (see Dillmann[2] on Num. xxxii. 12; Josh. xiv. 6): by combining them it becomes nearly certain that Caleb was a foreigner by birth; a proselyte, incorporated into the tribe of Judah, into which perhaps he or his ancestors had married, and one of the first-fruits of that Gentile harvest of which Jethro, Rahab, Ruth, Naaman, and many others were samples and signs. And this conjecture receives a most striking confirmation from the names in Caleb's family. For on turning to Gen. xxxvi. 11, 15, we find that *Kenaz* is an Edomitish name, the son of Eliphaz. Again, in 1 Ch. ii. 50, 52, among the sons of Caleb the son of Hur we find Shobal and half the Manahethites or sons of Manahath. But in Gen. xxxvi. 20–23, we are told that Shobal was the son of Seir the Horite, and that he was the father of Manahath. So, too, *Korah*, *Ithran*, *Elah* (1 Ch. ii., iv.), and perhaps Jephunneh, compared with Pinon, are all Edomitish names (1 Ch. i.; Gen. xxxvi.). We find, too, Temanites, or sons of Teman (1 Ch. i. 36), among the children of Ashur the son of Hezron (1 Ch. iv. 6). The finding thus whole families or tribes, apparently of foreign origin, incorporated into the tribes of Israel, seems further to supply us with an easy and natural solution of the difficulty with regard to the great numbers of the Israelites at the Exodus. The seed of Abraham had been multiplied by the accretion of proselytes, as well as by generation.

3. CALEB-EPHRATAH, according to the present text of 1 Ch. ii. 24, the name of a place where Hezron died. But no such place was ever heard of, and the composition of the name is a most improbable one. Nor could Hezron or his son have given any name to a place in Egypt, the land of their bondage, nor could Hezron have died, or his son have lived, elsewhere than in Egypt. The present text must therefore be corrupt, and the reading which Jerome's Hebrew Bible had, and which is preserved in the LXX. and Vulg., is probably the true one, viz. בָּא כָלֵב אֶפְרָתָה, "Caleb came in unto Ephratah." The whole information given seems to be that Hezron had two wives: the first, whose name is not given, the mother of Jerahmeel, Ram, and Caleb or Chelubai; the second, Abiah, the daughter of Machir, whom he married when sixty years old, and who bare him Segub and Ashur. Also that Caleb had two wives: Azubah, the first, the mother, according to Jerome's version, of Jerioth; and Ephratah, the second, the mother of Hur: and that this second marriage of Caleb did not take place till after Hezron's death. [A. C. H.]

On the other hand, Bertheau and Oettli, in their notes on this passage, fix the place in the neighbourhood of Ephratah or Bethlehem. Further, they query the correctness of the translation of the corrected text, and point out that it introduces a notice not in keeping with the text (see Wordsworth, note in loco). [F.]

CALEB. "The south of Caleb" is the portion of the Negeb (נֶגֶב) or "south country" of Palestine, occupied by Caleb and his descendants (1 Sam. xxx. 14). In the division of Canaan Joshua assigned the city and suburbs of Hebron to the priests, but the "field" of the city, that is the pasture and corn lands, together with the villages, were given to Caleb. The south, or Negeb, of Caleb is probably to be identified with the extensive basin or plain which lies between Hebron and Kurmul, the ancient Carmel of Judah, where Caleb's descendant Nabal had his possessions. [W. A. W.]

CALF (עֵגֶל, פָּר, which some see reproduced in the chief god of Palmyra, Aglibol, though this deity was represented in human form; μόσχος; δάμαλις). In Ex. xxxii. 4, we are told that Aaron, constrained by the people in the absence of Moses, made a molten calf of the golden earrings of the people, to represent the Elohim which brought Israel out of Egypt. (A young "bull" would be a better rendering, since the ancients never worshipped calves.) He is also said to have "fashioned it (the gold) with a graving-tool" (LXX. ἐν γραφίδι), but the word חֶרֶט may mean a *mould* (cp. 2 K. v. 23, A. V. and R. V. "bags;" LXX. θυλάκοις). Bochart (*Hieroz.* lib. ii. cap. xxxiv.), followed by Keil, Ewald, Kalisch, Gesenius, &c., explains it to mean "he placed the earrings in a bag," as Gideon did (Judg. viii. 24). Probably, however, it means that after the calf had been cast, Aaron ornamented it with the sculptured wings, feathers, and other marks, which were similarly represented on the statues of Apis, &c. (Wilkinson, i. 289). It does not seem likely that the earrings would have provided the enormous quantity of gold required for a *solid* figure. More probably (so Diestel and Baudissin) it was a wooden figure laminated with gold, a process which is known to have existed in Egypt. "A *gilded* ox covered with a pall" was an emblem of Osiris (Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* i. 278 [ed. 1878]).



Bronze figure of Apis. (Wilkinson.)

The legends about the calf are numerous. The suggestion is said by the Jews to have originated with certain Egyptian proselytes (Godwin's *Mos. and Aar.* iv. 5); Hur, the "desert's martyr," was killed for opposing it; Abu'lfeda says that all except 12,000 worshipped it; and that, when

made, it was magically animated. "The devil," says Jonathan, "got into the metal and fashioned it into a calf" (Lightfoot, *Works*, v. 398). Hence the Koran (*Sura*, vii. 146) calls it "a corporeal calf, made of their ornaments, *which lowed*." This was effected, not by Aaron (according to the Mohammedans), but by al Sâmeri, a chief Israelite, whose descendants still inhabit an island of the Arabian Gulf. He took a handful of dust from the footsteps of the horse of Gabriel, who rode at the head of the host, and threw it into the mouth of the calf, which immediately began to low (see Koran, *Sura*, vii. 146–148; xx. 81–96). No one is to be punished in hell more than forty days, being the number of days of the calf-worship (Sale's *Koran*, ed. Davenport, p. 7, note; and see Weil's *Legends*, p. 125). It was a Jewish proverb that "no punishment befalleth the Israelites in which there is not an ounce of this calf" (Godwin, *ubi supr.* See Hamburger, *R.E.* s. nn. "Aaron," "Kälberdienst").

To punish the apostasy Moses burnt the calf, and then grinding it to powder scattered it over the water, where, according to some, it produced in the drinkers effects similar to the water of jealousy (Num. v.). He probably adopted this course as the deadliest and most irreparable blow to their superstition (Jerome, *Ep.* 128; Plut. *de Is.* p. 362), or as an allegorical act (Job xv. 16), or with reference to an Egyptian custom (Herod. ii. 41; Pole, *Syn.* ad loc.). It has always been a difficulty to explain the *process* which he used; some account for it by his supposed knowledge of a forgotten art (such as was one of the boasts of alchemy) by which he could reduce gold to dust. Goguet (*Origine des Lois*) invokes the assistance of natron, which would have had the additional advantage of making the draught nauseous. Baumgarten endows the fire employed with miraculous properties. Bochart and Rosenmüller adopt the simpler and more natural view that he cut, ground, and filed the gold to powder, such as was used to sprinkle over the hair (Jos. *Ant.* viii. 7, § 3). There seems little doubt that טָחַן = κατακαίω, LXX. (Hävernick's *Introd. to the Pentat.* p. 292).

It has always been a question respecting this calf and those of Jeroboam, whether, I. the Jews intended them to represent some Egyptian god, or II. a mere cherubic symbol of Jehovah.

I. The arguments for the first supposition are: 1. The ready apostasy of the Jews to Egyptian superstition (Ezek. xx. 6–10; Acts vii. 39, and *passim*; Lactant. *Inst.* iv. 10). 2. The fact that they had been worshippers of Apis (Josh. xxiv. 14), and their extreme familiarity with his cultus (1 K. xi. 40). 3. The resemblance of the feast described in Ex. xxxii. 5, to the festival in honour of Apis (Suid. s. *v.* Ἄπιδες; Herod. iii. 28; Plut. *de Isid.* xx. 29; Rawlinson, *Herod.* ii. 423). Of the various sacred cows of Egypt, that of Isis, of Athor, and of the three kinds of sacred bulls, Apis (Osiris in Memphis), Basis, and Mnevis (see Strabo, xvii. 805; Aelian, *Hist. An.* xi. 10; Macrob. *Saturn.* i. 21), Sir G. Wilkinson fixes on the last as the prototype of the golden calf: "The offerings, dancings, and rejoicings practised on that occasion were doubtless in imitation of a ceremony they had witnessed in honour of Mnevis" (*Anc. Egypt.*, v. 197; cp. ii. 140 [1878]). It is observable that Philo uses the word ταῦρος as well as μόσχος for Aaron's calf, and in Rev. iv. 7 no doubt μόσχος means "a bull;" but Philo was entirely mistaken in supposing that it was a symbol of Typhon. The ox was worshipped from its utility in agriculture (Plut. *de Is.* 74), and was a symbol of the sun, and consecrated to him (Hom. *Od.* i. xii. &c.; Warburton, *Div. Leg.* iv. 3, 5). Thus among the Persians a bull is the symbol of Mithras, and Moloch was sometimes worshipped with an ox's head (Movers, *Phöniz.* i. 377; cp. Lact. *Instt.* iv. 10), and Bacchus is called βουγενής (Pausan. vi. 26). Hence it is almost universally found in Oriental and other mythologies. 4. The expression "an ox that eateth hay," &c. (Ps. cvi. 20, &c.), where some see an allusion to the Egyptian custom of bringing a bottle of hay when they consulted Apis (Godwin's *Mos. and Aar.* iv. 5). Yet these terms of scorn are rather due to the intense hatred of the Jews both to this idolatry and that of Jeroboam. Thus in Tob. i. 5 (see *Speaker's Comm.* note) we have one of Jeroboam's calves called contemptuously ἡ δάμαλις Βάαλ, although the calf-worship was wholly distinct from the Baal-worship introduced by Jezebel. In Jer. xlvi. 15 (A. V. "are thy valiant men [R. V. "strong ones"] swept away?") the LXX. has Ἄπις ὁ μόσχος σου ὁ ἐκλεκτός, and the true reading may be, "Hath Khaph (*i.e.* Apis) thy chosen one fled?" (Bochart, *Hieroz.* ii. 28, 6; Schleusner, *s. v.* Ἄπις; Ewald, Hitzig, &c.)

II. It seems to us more likely that in this calf-worship the Jews merely

> "*Likened their Maker* to the graved ox;"

or, in other words, adopted a well-understood cherubic emblem (1 Kings vii. 25, 29; Ezek. i. 10; x. 14; Rev. iv. 7). Reverence for domestic animals was common among pastoral peoples (W. R. Smith, i. 277, &c.), and calf-worship very common among Semitic races; and though it be matter of dispute whether or not it was common among the ancient Hebrews (see Diestel in Riehm's *HWB.* and Baudissin in Herzog, *RE.*² s. v. "Kalb, goldenes"), yet, 1. it is obvious that they were aware of this symbol, since Moses finds it unnecessary to describe it (Ex. xxv. 18–22). 2. Josephus seems to imply that the calf symbolised God (*Ant.* viii. 8, § 4). 3. Aaron in proclaiming the feast (Ex. xxxii. 5) distinctly calls it a feast to Jehovah, and speaks of the god as the visible representation of Him Who had led them out of Egypt. 4. Independent of the fact that the Egyptians only worshipped *live* animals, and that the images of the calf were probably used in processions only, it was extremely unlikely that they would so soon adopt a deity whom they had so recently seen humiliated by the judgments of Moses (Num. xxxiii. 4). 5. There was only *one* Apis, whereas Jeroboam erected *two* calves (but see Jahn, *Arch. Bibl.* § 464). 6. Jeroboam's well-understood political purpose was, not to introduce a new religion (1 Kings xii. 28, 32, 33; cp. 2 Kings iii. 2, 3), but to provide a different form of the old; and we can thus see the *reason* why *this* was the only form of idolatry into which Judah never fell, since she already possessed the archetypal emblems in the Temple. 7. It appears from 1 K. xxii. 6, &c. that the prophets of Israel, though sanctioning the calf-worship, still

regarded themselves, and were regarded, as "prophets *of Jehovah*." If these views be correct, the sin of Aaron and Jeroboam was a violation of the second commandment (*Bilderdienst*), and not so flagrant an apostasy as would be implied by a violation of the first (*Abgötterei*). The people however were little likely to draw these distinctions, and the sins of Aaron and Jeroboam rapidly culminated in grosser forms of idolatry (Amos v. 25, 26; Jer. ii. 28, xi. 13; 2 Kings xvii. 22, 23).

These arguments, out of many others, are adduced from the interesting treatise of Moncaeus, *Aaron Purgatus, sive de Vitulo Aureo* (*Critici Sacri*, ix.). The work is inhibited by the Church of Rome, and has been answered by Visorinus. A brief resumé of it may be found in Pole, *Syn.* ad Ex. xxxii., and in Watt's *Remnants of Time* (ad finem). For fuller accounts of the controversy, see Moebius, *Moscholatria*; Spencer, *de legg. Hebr.* iii. 4; Bochart, *Hieroz.* p. ii. c. xxxiv.; Selden, *de Diis Syris, Syntagma*, i. 4. [CHERUBIM.]

The Prophet Hosea is full of denunciations against the Northern worship of the calves (Hos. viii. 5, 6; x. 6), and mentions the curious custom of *kissing* them (xiii. 2). His change of Bethel into Bethaven *possibly* rose from contempt of this idolatry (but see BETHAVEN). The calf at Dan was carried away by Tiglath-pileser, and that of Bethel ten years after by his son Shalmaneser (2 K. xv. 29, xvii. 3; Prideaux, *Connexion*, i. 15).

Bochart thinks that the ridiculous story of Celsus about the Christian worship of an ass-headed deity called Θαφαβαὼθ ἢ Ὀνιήλ—a story, at the origin of which Tertullian (Ὀνοκοίτης, *Apol.* 16, *Ad Nat.* i. 14) could only guess—sprang from some misunderstanding of cherubic emblems (Minuc. Fel. *Apol.* ix.). But it is much more probable, as Origen conjectured, that the Christians were confounded with the absurd mystic *Ophiani* or other Gnostic sects which indulged in strange symbols (Tac. *Hist.* v. 4; Merivale, *Hist. of Emp.* vi. 564. See *Dict. of Christ. Ant.*, s. v. *Asinarii*).

In the expression "the calves of our lips" (Hos. xiv. 2; R. V. "*as* bullocks *the offering of* our lips"), the word "calves" is used metaphorically for victims or sacrifices, and the passage may mean "we will render to Thee sacrifices of our lips," that is, "the tribute of thanksgiving and praise" (see Dr. Pusey's note in loc.; utterances of thanksgiving instead of sacrifices of thank-offerings, *Speaker's Comm.* note; what was spiritual and not material, Orelli), or "we will offer to Thee the sacrifices which our lips have vowed." The LXX. render *καρπὸν τῶν χειλέων* (*i.e.* פְּרִי for פָּרִים), and is followed by the Syr. and Arab. Versions; cp. also Heb. xiii. 15: a rendering, inasmuch as the Heb. text is unquestionably harsh, preferred by many moderns (*QPB.*[3]). For allusions to the "fatted calf," see Gen. xviii. 21, Luke xv. 23, &c.: and on the custom of cutting up a calf, and "passing between the parts thereof" to ratify a covenant, see Jer. xxxiv. 18, 19; Gen. xv. 10, 17; Ephrem Syrus, i. 161; Hom. *Il.* iii. 208. [F. W. F.]

CALI'TAS (LXX. om.; *Calitas*), 1 Esd. ix. 48, a Levite who taught and explained the word of the Lord, and is called Kelita in Neh. viii. 7. If he be the same as the Calitas of *v.* 28, he was also one of the Levites who promised to repudiate his "strange wife." Dr. Swete, however, reproducing in the text Κῶνος, οὗτος Καλειταῖς, καὶ Παθαῖος, conjectures the right reading to have been καλεῖται Σκεπαθαῖος. [F.]

CALLIS'THENES (Καλλισθένης), a partisan of Nicanor, who was burnt by the Jews on the defeat of that general in revenge for his guilt in setting fire to "the sacred portals" (2 Macc. viii. 33). [B. F. W.]

CAL'NEH, or CAL'NO (כַּלְנֵה, כַּלְנוֹ; Χαλάννη, Χαλάνη; *Chalanne*), according to Gen. x. 10, one of the cities of Nimrod, mentioned with Babel, Erech, and Akkad, "in the land of Shinar." The identification of Calneh is very uncertain. The Targum of Jerusalem, Eusebius, Jerome, and Ephraim the Syrian make it to be Ctesiphon (Seleucia), beyond the Tigris, towards Elam. Others make it to be Niffer, a city which lay between the Euphrates and the Tigris, the Nipuru of the Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions. Both these identifications, however, are mere guesses, and worthless. The Calneh of Gen. x. 10, and the Calno of Is. x. 9, where, according to the LXX., "the tower was built," remain as yet unidentified. With regard to the Calneh of Amos vi. 2 ("Pass ye to Calneh, and see; and from thence go ye to Hamath the great; then go down to Gath of the Philistines"), this is apparently a Syrian city, and is probably the same as the Kulnia of the Assyrian tribute-lists, where it is mentioned with Arpad, Carchemish, Hadrach, &c. Whether this is the same as the Kullanī of the geographical lists, is uncertain. This last-named is apparently the Kullani which was captured in the year 738 B.C. by Tiglath-pileser III. Prof. Fried. Delitzsch compares the Calneh of Amos with this city, and gives, as a possible identification, the modern Kullanhu, a ruined town about six miles from Arpad. It is therefore possible that the Kullanī or Kulnia of the Assyrian inscriptions, the Calno of Is. x. 9, and the Calneh of Amos vi. 2, are one and the same place. There seems to be a confusion of two names in the Old Testament. [T. G. P.]

CAL'PHI (ℵA. ὁ Χαλφεί; Jos. Χαψαῖος; *Calphi*), father of Judas, one of the two captains (ἄρχοντες) of Jonathan's army who remained firm at the battle of Gennesar (1 Macc. xi. 70). [B. F. W.]

CALVARY (κρανίον; Syr. *Karkaptha; Calvaria*; R. V. *the skull*), a word occurring in the A. V. only in Luke xxiii. 33, and there no proper name (cp. the French word *Chaumont* [Renan, *Vie de Jésus*, p. 269]), but arising from the translators having literally adopted the word *calvaria*, i.e. a bare skull, the Latin word by which the κρανίον of the Evangelists is rendered in the Vulgate; κρανίον again being nothing but the Greek interpretation of the Hebrew GOLGOTHA.

Κρανίον is used by each of the four Evangelists in describing the place of the Crucifixion, and is in every case translated in the Vulg. *calvaria*; and in every case but that in St. Luke the A. V. has "skull." Dean Stanley has not omitted to notice this (*S. & P.* p. 460, note), and

to call attention to the fact that the popular expression "Mount Calvary" is not warranted by any statement in the accounts of the place of our Lord's Crucifixion. There is no mention of a mount in either of the narratives. The association of "mount" with the place of Crucifixion is of early origin; the Bordeaux Pilgrim has (*Itin. Hiero.*) "monticulus Golgotha," and this expression was probably current at an earlier period. [CRUCIFIXION; GOLGOTHA; JERUSALEM.] [G.] [W.]

CAMEL. Under this head we shall consider the Hebrew words *gâmâl, bêcher* or *bichrâh*, and *chirchârôth*. As to the *achashterânim*[a] in Esth. viii. 10, erroneously translated "camels" by the A. V., see MULE (note).

1. *Gâmâl* (גָּמָל; κάμηλος; *camelus*) is the common Hebrew term to express the genus "camel," irrespective of any difference of species, age, or breed: it occurs in numerous passages of the O. T., and is in all probability derived from a root[b] which signifies "to carry." It has been preserved with scarcely any alteration in Arabic, Greek, and all the languages of modern Europe. It gave its name to the third letter of the Hebrew alphabet, which in its original form was a rude outline of the shape of the camel. The first mention of camels occurs in Gen. xii. 16, as among the presents which Pharaoh bestowed upon Abram when he was in Egypt. It is clear from this passage that camels were early known to the Egyptians (see also Ex. ix. 3), though no representation of this animal has yet been discovered on the monuments (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* i. 234 [1878]. In *PSBA.* xii. 81–84, Houghton adduces one or two Egyptian words which denote with much probability the camel). The camel has been from the earliest times the most important beast of burden amongst Oriental nations. The Ethiopians had "camels in abundance" (2 Ch. xiv. 15); the queen of Sheba came to Jerusalem "with camels that bare spices and gold and precious stones" (1 K. x. 2); the men of Kedar and of Hazor possessed camels (Jer. xlix. 29, 32); David took away the camels from the Geshurites and the Amalekites (1 Sam. xxvii. 9, xxx. 17); forty camels' burden of good things were sent to Elisha by Benhadad king of Syria from Damascus (2 K. viii. 9); the Ishmaelites trafficked with Egypt in the precious gums of Gilead, carried on the backs of camels (Gen. xxxvii. 25). It was especially in the regions east and south of Palestine that camels were most numerous, as they are to this day. The Reubenites in their war with the Hagarites, the Arabs of the western Belka, took of their camels 50,000 (1 Ch. v. 21), and the powerful tribe of the Beni Sakk'r, who now inhabit that region, boast of 100,000 camels. The Midianites and the Amalekites possessed camels "as the sand by the sea-side for multitude" (Judg. vii. 12). Job had 3,000 camels before his affliction (Job i. 3), and 6,000 afterwards (xlii. 12). And in the picture given by Isaiah of the universal triumph of Christ's Church in the latter days, the wild sons of the desert are described as coming in with their camels: "The multitude of camels shall cover thee, the dromedaries of Midian and Ephah" (lx. 6).

David had a special officer to take charge of the royal camels, Obil, the Ishmaelite (1 Ch. xxvii. 30), whose charge probably pastured in his own native deserts, then under David's sway. On the return from the Babylonian Captivity, only 435 camels were possessed by the whole congregation (Neh. vii. 69).

The camel was used for riding (Gen. xxiv. 64; 1 Sam. xxx. 17), as a beast of burden generally (Gen. xxxvii. 25; 1 K. x. 2; 2 K. viii. 9, &c.), and for draught purposes (Is. xxi. 7: see also Suetonius, *Neron.* c. 11[c]). From 1 Sam. xxx. 17 we learn that camels were used in war: compare also Pliny (*N. H.* viii. 18), Xenophon (*Cyrop.* vii. 1, 27), Herodotus (i. 80, vii. 86), and Livy (xxxvii. 40). It is to the mixed nature of the forces of the Persian army that Isaiah is probably alluding in his description of the fall of Babylon (Is. xxi. 7).

The employment of the camel for draught is, however, less frequent than as a beast of burden. In Arabia and North Africa, indeed, the camel is still ordinarily yoked to the plough, but in Syria this service is almost exclusively performed by the ox and the ass. Though Isaiah (xxi. 7) speaks of "a chariot [so R. V. marg., but in text "a troop"] of camels," he is probably referring to a Persian, not a Jewish custom, as he is describing the composition of the Median army, whose camels would be the Bactrian two-humped species. The camel is not now attached to carriages on wheels, and its anatomical structure does not adapt it so much for draught as for burdens. "They will carry their treasures upon the *bunches* of camels" (Is. xxx. 6). The great strength of the camel does not lie in the propelling power of the shoulder, but in the sustaining power of the back, especially of the hump, called above "the bunch." To enable the camel to receive its load, by a special provision of nature it is formed to kneel down whenever it desires to rest or to drink (Gen. xxiv. 12), and it also prefers feeding in this posture. This habit of kneeling down is not merely the result of training; it is the natural posture of repose, as is shown also by the callosities on the joints of the legs, and especially by that on the breast, which serves as a pedestal to support the body.

We read of "camel's furniture" (Gen. xxxi. 34) and "ornaments" (Judg. viii. 21; R. V. "crescents"). The former, in which Rachel hid the images stolen from her father, is a huge wooden framework or saddle upon and round the hump, over which carpet and woollen cloth is fastened. On the top of the pile, men sit cross-legged, but women and children are carried in cages or light wooden framework, slung as panniers on either side of the saddle. The riding camels are frequently decorated with bands of bright coloured cloth or leather, on which are stitched cowrie shells, little bells, and sometimes silver crescent-shaped

[a] אַחַשְׁתְּרָנִים. See *QPB.*[3] The R. V. of the latter part of this verse is very different from the A. V.

[b] גָּמַל = Arab. *hamala*, "to carry," according to Gesenius and others. [But cp. Sansk. *kramêla* and Assyr. *gam-mal*. The term appears to be a loan word both in the Aryan and Semitic languages (= hump-backed?).—C. J. B.]

[c] "Commisit etiam camelorum quadrigas."

ornaments ("ornaments like the moon," Judg. viii. 21).[a] To this day these crescent-shaped ornaments are used, so thickly studded as to jingle at every step. The camel is never guided by a bit, but simply by a halter attached to a noose round the nose. Nothing more is needed, for the camels always follow in line, though the halter of the leader is frequently held by a mounted horseman who directs the whole caravan. Cf. Statius, *Thebaid.* ix. 687: "Niveo lunata monilia dente."

The camel is by no means an amiable animal, and its owner never seems to form any attachment to his beast, nor the animal to reciprocate kindness in any degree. I never found one camel valued above his fellow for intelligence or affection. A traveller always makes a friend of his horse, most certainly of his ass, sometimes of his mule, but never of his camel. I have made a journey in Africa for three months with the same camels, but never succeeded in eliciting the slightest token of recognition in one of them, or of a friendly disposition for kindness shown. Dr. Robinson gives the following very faithful account of the camel:—"Admirably adapted to the desert regions which are their home, they yet constitute one of the evils which travelling in the desert brings with it. Their long, slow, rolling or rocking gait, although not at first very unpleasant, becomes exceedingly fatiguing, so that I have often been more exhausted in riding five-and-twenty miles on a camel than in travelling fifty upon horseback. Yet without them, how could such journeys be performed at all? But their home is the desert, and they were made, in the wisdom of the Creator, to be the carriers of the desert. The coarse and prickly shrubs of the waste are to them most delicious food, and even of them they eat but little. So few are the wants of their nature, that their power of going without food, as well as without water, is wonderful. They never appear to tire, but commonly march as freshly at evening as in the morning . . . If they once begin to fail, they soon lie down and die. Thus, two camels of our train died between Suez and Akabah, which a few hours before had been travelling with full loads. In all our journey to Wâdy Musa, the camels fed only upon shrubs, and never tasted grain of any kind, although once we had them loaded for thirty-six hours, during all which time they browsed only for one hour. Their well-known habit of lying down upon the breast to receive their burdens . . . is an admirable adaptation of nature to their destiny as carriers . . . Hardly less wonderful is the adaptation of their broad-cushioned feet to the arid sands and gravelly soil, which it is their lot chiefly to traverse. The camel in very many respects is not unlike the sheep. They are silly timid animals; gregarious, and when alarmed, like sheep, they run and huddle all together. They are commonly represented as patient, but, if so, it is the patience of stupidity. They are rather exceedingly impatient, and utter loud cries of indignation when receiving their loads, and not seldom on being made to kneel down. They are also obstinate, and frequently vicious; and the attempt to urge them forward is often very much like trying to drive sheep the way they do not choose to go. The cry of the camel resembles, in a degree, the hollow bleating of the sheep; sometimes it is like the howling of neat cattle, or the hoarse squeal of the swine. But the Arabs heed not their cries, nor does the poor animal find much mercy at their hands. Heavy and galling loads and meagre fare are his appointed portion, and God has hardened him to them. The camels of the Fellahîn (husbandmen) appear to have an easier lot; they are mostly large, fat, and strong, while those of the Bedouin in the deserts are comparatively thin and slender. The singular power of the camel to go without water seems also to be of the same nature as that of the sheep, at least in its manifestation, though in a far greater degree. The dew and the juice of grass and herbs are sufficient for them in ordinary cases, though, when the pasturage has become dry, the Arabs water their flocks every two days and their camels every three. The longest trial to which we subjected our camels with respect to water was from Cairo to Suez, four days; yet some of them did not drink even then, although they had only the driest fodder. But at all times the camel eats and drinks little; he is a cold-blooded, heavy, sullen animal, having little feeling and little susceptibility for pain. Thistles and briars and thorns he crops and chews with more avidity than the softest green fodder; nor does he seem to feel pain from blows or pricks unless they are very violent.

"There is nothing graceful or sprightly in any camel, old or young; all is misshapen, ungainly, and awkward. The young have nothing frisky or playful, but in all their movements are as staid and sober as their dams. In this respect how unlike the lamb!

"As the carriers of the East, 'the ships of the desert,' another important quality of the camel is his surefootedness. I was surprised to find them travelling with so much ease and safety up and down the most rugged mountain passes. They do not choose their way with the like sagacity as the mule or even as the horses, but they tread much more surely and safely, and never either slip or stumble . . . The sounds by which the Arabs govern their camels are very few and very guttural. The signal for kneeling is not unlike a gentle snore, and is made by throwing the breath strongly against the palate, but not through the nose. That for stopping is a sort of a guttural clucking which I never could master" (*Robinson's Researches*, ii. pp. 208–210).

The provision of nature by which the camel is enabled to subsist so long without a fresh supply of water, consists in the large development of the honeycomb network, or tissue of cells, which lines the first stomach, and which receives and retains the water taken into the stomach after the natural thirst has been allayed. These honeycomb cells become largely dilated to receive the water.

The camel is not a swift animal. On good ground it will keep up a pace, when laden, of three miles an hour; but its average speed, taking into account rough or uneven ground and hills, does not exceed two and a half miles

[a] שַׂהֲרֹנִים. Compare also Is. iii. 18, "Round tires like the moon," A. V.; "crescents," R. V. The LXX. has μηνίσκοι, Vulg. *lunalae*.

an hour, which is the ordinary calculation for travelling in the East. But this pace it will maintain for many consecutive hours. The dromedary, or finely-bred swift camel, will keep up eight or ten miles an hour when lightly mounted.

Camel's flesh was forbidden as food to the Israelites (Lev. xi. 4; Deut. xiv. 7), because, though the camel "cheweth the cud, it divideth not the hoof." As the camel does not *fully divide the hoof*, the anterior parts only being cleft, it was excluded by the very terms of the definition. The flesh of the camel is now eaten by all Moslems without scruple. It is coarse and dry, much inferior to beef, though commonly used by the Bedawee. Among the Syrians, only the very poorest think of cooking it.

The same distinction was observed as regards sacrifice. The Israelites were forbidden to sacrifice the camel; among the Arabs it was a common offering (W. R. Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, i. 201).

The milk is very largely used wherever the camel exists, and is excellent. It is rich and strong, but not very sweet. It was esteemed from the earliest times (Aristot. *Hist. Anim.* vi. 25, § 1; Pliny, *N. H.* xi. 41, xxviii. 9). Among Jacob's gifts to Esau were "thirty milch camels with their colts" (Gen. xxxii. 15), גְּמַלִּים מֵינִיקוֹת, lit. "camels giving suck." The milk which Jael offered Sisera would probably be camel's milk, as in camels consisted the wealth of the Kenites, and the prohibition of the flesh to the Jews did not extend to the milk. The milk is ordinarily at once soured and curdled, in which state it is most nourishing and refreshing. The curds are salted, immediately squeezed into a sort of incipient cheese, and are eaten in this state. Butter is also made from the new milk poured into a leather bottle and beaten with a stick.

John the Baptist had "his raiment of camel's hair" (Matt. iii. 4; Mark i. 6), and it seems probable that Elijah was clad in a similar garment (Calmet, *Dict. Frag.* No. cccxx.; Rosenmüll. *Schol. ad* Is. xx. 2). The hair of the camel, especially the coarse woolly tufts about the hump and back, is sometimes torn off, but more generally, as we have observed, closely shorn in spring, and is woven into a coarse thick fabric by the Arab women. It is with this material that the "black tents of Kedar" are generally covered, as it is much thicker and stouter than woollen stuff. It is very harsh and rough to the touch, and thus the Baptist's dress was in accordance with the austerity of his life. There is also a soft fabric made of the carefully selected under-wool of the camel, but this is a costly luxury, dearer than the finest cloth of sheep's wool (see Aelian, *Nat. Hist.* xvii. 34).

Ezekiel (xxv. 5) declares that Rabbah shall be a "stable for camels, and the children of Ammon a couching place for flocks" (R. V.). The ruins in this country are places of resort for the Bedawee where they pasture their camels and their sheep. See "Illustrations of Scripture," in vol. ii. pt. ix. of *Good Words*.

2. *Bêcer, bicrâh* (בֶּכֶר, בִּכְרָה; LXX. κάμηλος in Is. lx. 6; in Jer. ii. 23, strangely ὀψέ; δρομεὺς in Verss. of Aq., Theod., and Sym.; *dromedarius, cursor*). The Hebrew words occur only in the two passages above named, where the A. V. and R. V. read "dromedary," and no doubt correctly. The dromedary is not a distinct species, but merely a finer race, differing from the camel of the caravan as a race-horse does from a cart-horse. It is taller, more slender, and generally, but not always, of a lighter colour. The hump is smaller and the shoulders broader than in the common camel. It is distinguished in Arabia as the *Heirie*, and a still finer and taller race is possessed by the Touareg of the Sahara, and known as *Mahari*. It is intolerant of cold, and never thrives near the coast. Dromedaries, when pressed, can accomplish eighty miles in a day.

Isaiah, foretelling the conversion of the Gentiles, says, "The multitude of camels shall cover thee, the dromedaries of Midian and Ephah." In Jeremiah God expostulates with Israel for her wickedness, and compares her to a swift *bicrâh* "traversing her ways." Bochart (*Hieroz.* i. 15 sq.) contends that the Hebrew word is indicative only of a difference in age, and adduces the authority of the Arabic *becra* in support of his opinion that a young camel is signified by the term. Gesenius follows Bochart, and (*Comment. ad Jes.* lx. 6) answers the objections of Rosenmüller, who (*Not. ad* Bochart, *Hieroz.* l. c.) argues in favour of the "dromedary." Gesenius's remarks are commented on again by Rosenmüller in his *Bibl. Naturgesch.* ii. 21. The Versions support the rendering dromedary, as does also the epithet "swift," applied to the *bicrâh* in Jeremiah; while on the other hand the term is used in the Arabic[e] to denote "a young camel." Oedmann, commenting on the Hebrew word, makes the following observation:—"'The multitude of *camels* shall cover thee, the *dromedaries* of Midian,' &c.—a weak distinction if *bicrîm* means only young camels in opposition to old ones" (*Verm. Sam.*), but most moderns accept the rendering "young camel" (cp. R. V. marg.).

3. As to the *chirchârôth* (כִּרְכָּרוֹת) of Is. lxvi. 20, which the LXX. interpret σκιάδια, the Vulg. *carrucae*, and the A. V. and R. V. "swift beasts," there is some difference of opinion. The explanation is not satisfactory which is given by Bochart (*Hieroz.* i. 25), following some of the Rabbis, and adopted by Rosenmüller, Gesenius, Lee, and others, that "dromedaries" are meant. According to those who sanction this rendering, the word (which occurs only in Isaiah, *l. c.*) is derived from the root כָּרַר, "to leap," "to gallop;" but the idea involved is surely inapplicable to the jolting trot of a camel. The old Versions moreover are opposed to such an explanation. We prefer, with Michaelis (*Suppl. ad Lex. Heb.* No. 1210) and Parkhurst (*s. v.*), to understand by *chirchârôth* "panniers" or "baskets" carried on the backs of camels or mules, and to refer the word to its unreduplicated form in Gen. xxxi. 34.[f] The *shaded*

[e] بِكْر, "a young camel," up to the age of nine years (Lane, *Arab. Lex.* i. 240).

[f] כַּר, *i.e.* "the camel's saddle," with a kind of canopy over it. See Jahn (*Arch. Bibl.* p. 54, Upham's translation): "Sometimes they travel in a covered vehicle which is secured on the back of a camel, and answers the

vehicles of the LXX. are to be seen to this day in the environs of every Eastern city, where the ladies are carried in light chairs slung on either side of a camel or mule, with a framework over

Assyrians loading a Camel. (Kouyunjik.)

them, covered with very light canvas or white calico.

There is no trace of any wild original of the camels, nor any clue to the period when it was first reduced to servitude by man. The only camels known to exist in the world in a feral state are a few in the Marisma, near the mouth of the Guadalquivir in Spain, and in the Canarian island of Fuerteventura, the descendants of some turned loose there many years ago, like the wild horses of South America.

Arabian Camel.

The camel is probably a native of Central or Southern Asia, as the bones of fossil species have been found in the tertiary remains of the Himalayan region. The camel of Arabia, Africa,

Bactrian or Two-humped Camels on Assyrian monuments. (Layard.)

and Syria is *Camelus dromedarius*. The only other species, *Camelus bactrianus*, which is depicted on the Assyrian monuments, is never used in Western Asia or Africa, and was probably unknown to the Jews before the Babylonian captivity. It extends through Persia, Central Asia, Tartary, and China, and can sustain extreme cold, but has not the powers of endurance of the one-humped camel. The camel belongs to the family *Camelidae*, order *Ruminantia*.

The camel, as may be readily conceived, is the subject amongst Orientals of many proverbial expressions; see many cited by Bochart (*Hieroz.* i. 30), *e.g.* "Men are like camels; not one in a hundred is a dromedary." And from the Talmud, "There are many old camels which carry the skins of young ones to be sold;" "The camel went to seek horns, and lost his ears."

Two proverbs relating to camels are used by our Lord: "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God" (Matt.

Bactrian Camel.

xix. 24); "Ye blind guides, which strain out the gnat and swallow the camel" (Matt. xxiii. 24, R. V.). In both the force of the hyperbole is in its

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purpose of a small house." In this sense the word may be referred to the Arabic كور "sella camelina, *aliis*, cum apparatu suo" (Freytag, *s. v.*). [But the name כרכרות is probably to be explained by Hebrew כרכר, "sallit," or Arabic وكر, "subsultim incessit camela."—C. J. B.]

magnitude, and there is no occasion either to explain away or amend the text, in the former passage, which simply means that the entrance of the rich man into heaven without Divine grace or assistance is impossible. [W. H.] [H. B. T.]

CA'MON (קָמוֹן, Ges. perhaps = *stability*; B. Ῥαμνών, A. Ῥαμμώ; Jos. Καμῶν; *Camon*; R. V. *Kamon*), the place in which JAIR the Judge was buried (Judg. x. 5). The few notices of Jair which we possess have all reference to the country E. of Jordan, and there is therefore no reason against accepting the statement of Josephus (*Ant.* v. 7, § 6) that Camon was a city of Gilead. In support of this is the mention by Polybius (v. 70, § 12) of a Camoun (Καμοῦν) in company with Pella and other trans-Jordanic places (Reland, p. 679). The name has not yet been recovered on the E. of Jordan. Eusebius (*OS.*[2] p. 271, 65) identifies it with Καμμανά, Jerome (*OS.*[2] p. 144, 18) with Cimona, CYAMON, in the plain of Esdraelon. [G.] [W.]

CAMP. [ENCAMPMENTS.]

CAMPHIRE (כֹּפֶר,[a] *côpher*; κύπρος; *cyprus*, *Cyprus*). There can be no doubt that "camphire," A. V., is an incorrect rendering of the Hebrew term, which occurs in the sense of some aromatic substance only in Cant. i. 14, iv. 13: the margin in both passages has "cypress," giving the form but not the signification of the Greek word. The R. V. rightly renders it "henna flowers." *Camphire*, or, as it is now generally written, *camphor*, is a product of a tree

Lawsonia alba.

largely cultivated in the island of Formosa, the *Camphora officinarum*, of the nat. order *Lauraceae*. There is another tree, the *Dryobalanops aromatica* of Sumatra, which also yields camphor; but it is improbable that the substance secreted by either of these trees was known to the ancients.

From the expression "cluster of *côpher* in the vineyards of Engedi," in Cant. i. 14, the Chaldee Version reads "bunches of grapes." Several Versions retain the Hebrew word. The substance really denoted by *côpher* is the κύπρος of Dioscorides, Theophrastus, &c., and the *cypros* of Pliny, *i.e.* the *Lawsonia alba* of botanists, the *henna* of Arabian naturalists. So R. Ben Melek (Cant. i. 14): "The cluster of côpher is that which the Arabs call al-henna" (see Celsius, *Hierob.* i. 223). Although there is some discrepancy in the descriptions given by the Greek and Latin writers of the cypros-plant, yet their accounts are on the whole sufficiently exact to enable us to refer it to the henna-plant. The Arabic authors Avicenna and Serapion also identify their *henna* with the *cypros* of Dioscorides and Galen (Royle in Kitto's *Bibl. Cycl.* art. *Kopher*).

"The κύπρος," says Sprengel (*Comment. on Dioscor.* i. 124), "is the *Lawsonia alba*, Lam., of which *L. inermis* and *spinosa*, Linn., are synonyms; it is the *côpher* of the Hebrews and the *henna* of the Arabs, a plant of great note throughout the East to this day, both on account of its fragrance and of the dye which its leaves yield for the hair." In a note Sprengel adds that the inhabitants of Nubia call the henna-plant *Khofreh*; he refers to Delisle (*Flor. Aegyp.* p. 12). Hasselquist (*Trav.* p. 246, Lond. 1766), speaking of this plant, says, "The leaves are pulverised and made into a paste with water; the Egyptians bind this paste on the nails of their hands and feet, and keep it on all night: this gives them a deep yellow [red?], which is greatly admired by Eastern nations. The stain cannot be removed by soap, and the colour lasts for three or four weeks before there is occasion to renew it. The custom is so ancient in Egypt that I have seen the nails of the mummies dyed in this manner." Sonnini (*Voyage*, i. 297) says that the women are fond of decorating themselves with the flowers of the henna-plant; that they take them in their hand and perfume their bosoms with them. Compare with this Cant. i. 13: see also Mariti (*Trav.* i. 29); Prosper Alpinus (*de Plant. Aegyp.* c. 13); Pliny (*H. N.* xii. 24), who says that a good kind grows near Ascalon; Oedmann (*Verm. Sam.* i. c. 7, and vi. 102), who satisfactorily answers Michaelis's conjecture (*Supp. ad Lex. Heb.* ii. 1205) that "palm-flowers" or "dates" are intended; Rosenmüller (*Bib. Bot.* p. 133) and Wilkinson (*Anc. Egypt.* ii. 345 [1878]).

Some have supposed that the expression rendered by the A. V. and R. V. "pare her nails"[b] (Deut. xxi. 12) has reference to the custom of staining them with henna-dye; but it is very improbable that there is any such allusion, for the captive woman was ordered to shave her head, a mark of mourning: such a meaning therefore as the one proposed is quite out of place (see Rosenmüller, *Schol. ad* Deut. xxi. 12; *Speaker's Comm.*; Dillmann[2] in loco). Not

[a] Perhaps from כָּפַר, *oblevit*: "Quia mulieres in oriente ungues *oblinunt*" (Simon. *Lex.* s. v.). Cf. Arabic كَفَر, *pix*, and the Syriac ܟܦܪ. The Greek κύπρος is the same word as the Hebrew.

[b] וְעָשְׂתָה אֶת־צִפָּרְנֶיהָ; lit. "and she shall do her nails." Onkelos and Saadias understand the expression to denote "letting her nails grow," as a sign of grief. The Hebrew "*do* her nails," however, must surely express more than "letting them alone."

only the nails of the hands and the feet, but the hair and beard, were also dyed with henna, and even sometimes the manes and tails of horses and asses were similarly treated.

The *Lawsonia alba*, or henna-plant, grows in Egypt, Arabia, and Northern India. In Palestine it is found only in the tropical nooks by the Dead Sea, at Engedi on the west side, in the Safieh, and at Zara, near the mouth of the Callirrhoë on the eastern shore. It is probable that the tree was introduced and cultivated in these the only spots where it could flourish, and that the few existing shrubs are a lingering survival from ancient times. The existence of the camphire plant at Engedi is an interesting illustration of reference in Canticles. The flowers are white and grow in clusters and are very fragrant. The whole shrub is from four to six feet high. The fullest description is that given by Sonnini. The *Lawsonia alba*, the only known species, belongs to the natural order *Lythraceae*. [W. H.] [H. B. T.]

CA'NA OF GALILEE, once CANA IN GALILEE (Κανᾶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας; Syriac-Pesh. *Katna*, ܩܢܐ, *Cana Galilaeae*), a village or town memorable as the scene of Christ's first miracle (John ii. 1, 11; iv. 46), as well as of a subsequent one (iv. 46, 54), and also as the native place of the Apostle Nathanael (xxi. 2). The four passages quoted—all, it will be observed, from St. John—are the only ones in which the name occurs. No one of them affords any clue to the situation of Cana. All we can gather is, that it was not far from Capernaum (John ii. 12; iv. 46), and also on higher ground, since our Lord went down (κατέβη) from the one to the other (ii. 12).

A difference of opinion appears to have arisen at a very early period with regard to the site of Cana of Galilee; sometimes it has been placed at *Kefr Kenna*, sometimes at *Kâna el-Jelîl*, or *Kh. Kâna*. The former, which is the site according to modern tradition, is a small village pleasantly situated on the side of a hill, not quite 3½ miles N.E. of Nazareth. It contains a church in which some stone troughs and large earthenware jars are shown as the "waterpots" of the miracle; and there is a fine spring from which the water for the miracle was

Cana of Galilee. (Laborde.)

brought (Mislin, iii. 443–6; *PEF. Mem.* i. 363; Guérin, *Galilée*, i. 168–182). Antoninus (570 A.D.) found two jars; Willibald (721 A.D.) only one.

In the time of the Crusades the six jars were brought to France, where one of them is said still to exist in the Musée d'Angers (see M. Didron's Essays in the *Annales Archéologiques*, xi. 5; xiii. 2). Another is exhibited amongst the famous relics in the Church of St. Miguel at Oviedo (Ford, *Hbk. of Spain*, p. 388). The couch (of the Lord) mentioned by Antoninus (iv.) appears to have been recently found in the ruins of a church on the site of Elateia in Phocis (*Bull. de Corresp. Hellénique*, 1885, pp. 28–42).

The rival site, *Kh. Kâna*, is on a spur of *Jebel Kâna*, which forms part of the range of hills north of the large plain of *el-Buttauf*; it is at the mouth of *W. Jefat*, not far from the site of Jotapata, and about 8 miles N. of Nazareth. The ruins, part ancient, part Arab, cover a small *mamelon* and run some distance up the hill-side; there are many rock-hewn tombs and cisterns, and a small pool; but no spring (Guérin, *Galilée*, i. 474–6; Wilson, *MS. Notes*). The village still bears the name of *Kâna el-Jelîl* (قنا الجليل), a name which is in every respect the exact representative of the Hebrew original—as *Kenna*, كفر كنّا, is widely different from it—and it is in this fact that the chief strength of the argument in favour of the northern Cana seems to reside. The notices of Josephus do not assist us in fixing the site: the Cana of *Vit.* 16 is probably *Kâna el-Jelîl* on the edge of the great plain of *Asochis* (cp. *Vit.* 40) and near Jotapata, but there is nothing to connect it or the Canas of *Vit.* 70, *Ant.* xiii. 15, § 1, and *B. J.* i. 17, § 5, with

the scene of the miracle. Eusebius (*OS.*² p. 271, 50), who is followed by Jerome (*OS.*² p. 144, 3), identifies the Cana of the N. T. with the Kanah of Asher; and from this we may perhaps infer that, in his day, no tradition was attached to the rival sites: if he refers to either, it must be to *Kâna el-Jelîl*, as *Kefr Kenna* could not have been in Asher, and would probably have been described as near Nazareth or Diocaesarea. Cana was visited by St. Paula (xvii.), but its position is not indicated; Theodosius (530 A.D.) makes it 5 miles from Diocaesarea, the exact distance of *Kâna el-Jelîl* from *Seffûrieh*; whilst Antoninus Martyr (*Itin.* 4) says that it was 3 miles from Diocaesarea, and that he bathed in a fountain there, thus clearly placing it at *Kefr Kenna*. Willibald went from Nazareth to Cana, where he spent one day, and thence to Tabor; he indicates neither place nor position, and his words would apply as well to one site as to the other. Of the mediaeval writers, Saewulf, Brocardus, Fetellus, Marinus Sanutus, Breydenbach, Anselm and Adrichomius, place Cana at *Kâna el-Jelîl*; Phocas and John of Würzburg at *Kefr Kenna*. Quaresimus mentions both sites, but decides in favour of the latter, and this tradition was not disturbed until Dr. Robinson brought forward the claims of *Kâna el-Jelîl* (Rob. ii. 346–9; iii. 108, with the note on De Saulcy). Dr. Robinson is followed by Thompson, Ritter, Sepp, Socin, Renan, and Stanley; whilst Tristram, Guérin, De Saulcy, Porter, Hep. Dixon, and Conder are in favour of *Kefr Kenna*. A third possible site of Cana has been indicated by Conder (*PEF. Mem.* i. 288) in *'Ain Kânah*, on the road between *Reineh* and Tabor. The Gospel history is not affected by the different opinions as to the site. [G.] [W.]

CA'NAAN (כְּנַעַן [=C'naan; cp. the Greek name Χνᾶ, as mentioned below]; Χανάαν; Jos. Χανάανος; *Chanaan*). **1.** The fourth son of Ham (Gen. x. 6; 1 Ch. i. 8; cp. Jos. *Ant.* i. 6, § 4), the progenitor of the Phoenicians ("Zidon") and of the various nations who before the Israelite conquest peopled the sea-coast of Palestine, and generally the whole of the country westward of the Jordan (Gen. x. 15; 1 Ch. i. 13). [CANAAN, LAND OF; CANAANITES.] In the ancient narrative of Gen. ix. 20–27, a curse is pronounced on Canaan for the unfilial and irreverential conduct of Ham. In this curse Canaan is simply his father's representative. To the Hebrews the historical representative of Ham was Canaan (cp. Dillmann[5] in loco).

2. The name "Canaan" is sometimes employed for the country itself—more generally styled "the land of C." It is so in Zeph. ii. 5; and we also find "language of C." (Is. xix. 18), "wars of C." (Judg. iii. 1), "inhabitants of C." (Ex. xv. 15), "king of C." (Judg. iv. 2, 23, 24; v. 19), "daughters of C." (Gen. xxviii. 1, 6, 8; xxxvi. 2), "kingdoms of C." (Ps. cxxv. 11). In addition to the above the word occurs in several passages where it is concealed in the A. V. by being translated. These are: Is. xxiii. 8, "traffickers," and xxiii. 11, "the merchant city" (Gesenius, "Jehovah gab Befehl über Canaan"); Hos. xii. 7, "he is a merchant" (Ewald, "Kanáan halt trugerische Wage"); Zeph. i. 11, "merchant-people" (Ewald, "dass alle Canaaniter sind dahin")[a]. [G.] [W.]

CA'NAAN, THE LAND OF (אֶרֶץ כְּנַעַן, from a root כָּנַע, signifying "to be low:" see 2 Ch. xxviii. 19 and Job xl. 12, amongst other passages in which the verb is used), a name denoting the country west of the Jordan and Dead Sea, and between those waters and the Mediterranean; specially opposed to the "land of Gilead,"—that is, the high table-land on the east of the Jordan. Thus: "Our little ones and our wives shall be here in the cities of Gilead. . . . but we will pass over armed into the land of Canaan" (Num. xxxii. 26–32; see xxxiii. 51): "Phinehas . . . returned from the children of Reuben and from the children of Gad, out of the land of Gilead, unto the land of Canaan, to the children of Israel" (Josh. xxii. 32, R. V.: see also Gen. xii. 5, xxiii. 2, 19, xxxi. 18, xxxiii. 18, xxxv. 6, xxxvii. 1, xlviii. 3, 7, xlix. 30; Num. xiii. 2, 17, xxxiii. 40, 51; Josh. xiv. 1, xxi. 2; Judg. xxi. 12). True, the district to which the name of "low land" is thus applied contained many very elevated spots:—Shechem (Gen. xxxiii. 18), Hebron (xxiii. 19), Bethel (xxxv. 6), Bethlehem (xlviii. 7), Shiloh (Josh. xxi. 2; Judg. xxi. 12), which are all stated to be in the "land of Canaan." But high as the level of much of the country west of the Jordan undoubtedly is, there are several things which must always have prevented, as they still prevent, it from leaving an impression of elevation. These are: (1) that remarkable, wide, maritime plain over which the eye ranges for miles from the central hills,—a feature of the country which cannot be overlooked by the most casual observer, and which impresses itself most indelibly on the recollection; (2) the still deeper and still more remarkable and impressive hollow of the Jordan valley, a view into which may be commanded from almost any of the heights of Central Palestine; (3) the almost constant presence of the long high line of the mountains east of the Jordan, which from their distance have the effect more of an enormous cliff than of a mountain range—looking down on the more broken and isolated hills of Canaan; and (4) the "highland" of Lebanon, and Antilebanon, with the snow-clad peak of Hermon, furnishing a constant standard of height before which everything is dwarfed. [See Dillmann[5] and Delitzsch (1887) on Gen. x. 6.—S. R. D.]

The word "Canaanite" was used in the O. T. in two senses, a broader and a narrower, which will be most conveniently examined under that head; but this does not appear to be the case with "Canaan," at least in the older cases of its occurrence. It is only in later notices, such as Is. xxiii. 11 (A. V. "the merchant city;" R. V. "Canaan"), Zeph. ii. 5, and Matt. xv. 22, that we find it applied to the low maritime plains of Philistia and Phoenicia (cp. Mark vii. 26). In the same manner it was by the Greeks that the name Χνᾶ, *C'na*, was used for Phoenicia, *i.e.* the sea-side plain north of the "Tyrian ladder" (see the extract in Reland, p. 7, and Gesenius, *Thes.* p. 696), and by the

[a] The R. V. has "Canaan" in Is. xxiii. 11 and Zeph. i. 11; and "traffickers" in Is. xxiii. 8 and Hos. xii. 7.

later Phoenicians both of Phoenicia proper and of the Punic colonies in Africa (see the coin of Laodicea ad Lib. and the testimony of Augustine, both quoted by Gesenius, *l. c.*). The LXX. translators had learnt to apply this meaning to the word, and in two cases they render the Hebrew words given above by *χώρα τῶν Φοινίκων* (Ex. xvi. 35; Josh. v. 12, cp. v. 1), as they do "Canaanites" by *Φοινίκες*.

It is indeed possible that Canaan was the native name of Phoenicia, and that it was afterwards extended to denote the whole of Palestine, which was inhabited by a kindred population (cp. De Goeje, referred to by Cheyne in *Encycl. Brit.*[9] s. n. "Canaan"). Sidon, the oldest Phoenician city, was the name of the first-born of Canaan (Gen. x. 15), and in Is. xxiii. 11 the word Canaan is used in its primitive sense.

The name Canaan does not appear to have been known to the Assyrians, who called the whole country *mat-martu* or *mat-aḫarri*, the "west-land"; but it occurs in the Egyptian inscriptions as Kanana. [G.] [W.]

CANAAN, LANGUAGE OF, Is. xix. 8; *i.e.* Hebrew.

CA'NAANITE, THE (Rec. T. *ὁ Καναίτης*, A. *Κανανείτης*; Lachm. with B C, *ὁ Κανανᾶιος*, D. in Matt. *Χαναναῖος*; *Chananeus*; R. V. *the Cananaean*; R. V. marg. *the zealot*), the designation of the Apostle SIMON, otherwise known as "Simon Zelotes." It occurs in Matt. x. 4; Mark iii. 18.

The word does not signify a descendant of Canaan, that being in the Greek both of the LXX. and the N. T. *Χαναναῖος* = כְּנַעֲנִי (cp. Matt. xv. 22 with Mark vii. 26). Nor does it signify, as has been suggested, a native of Kana, since that would probably be *Καναίτης*. But it comes from a Chaldee or Syriac word, קַנָּאָן, *Kanneân*, or ܩܢܢܝܐ, *Kenânâyâh*, by which the Jewish sect or faction of "the Zealots"—so prominent in the last days of Jerusalem—was designated (see Buxtorf, *Lex.* s. v.). This Syriac word is the reading of the Peshitto Version. The Greek equivalent of *Kanneân* is *Ζηλωτής*, *Zelotes*, and this St. Luke (vi. 15; Acts i. 13) has correctly preserved. St. Matthew and St. Mark, on the other hand, have literally transferred the Syriac word, as the LXX. translators did frequently before them. There is no necessity to suppose, as Dean Cureton did (*Nitrian Rec.* lxxxvii.), that they mistook the word for ܟܢܥܢܝ = *Χαναναῖος*, a Canaanite or descendant of Canaan. The Evangelists could hardly commit such an error, whatever subsequent transcribers of their works may have done. But that this meaning was afterwards attached to the word is plain from the readings of the Codex Bezae (D) and the Vulgate, as given above, and from the notice quoted from Coteler in the note to Winer's article (*RWB.* p. 463). The spelling of the A. V. has doubtless led many to the same conclusion; and it has wisely been altered in R. V. to "Cananaean." [G.] [W.]

CA'NAANITES, THE (הַכְּנַעֲנִי, *i.e.* accurately according to Hebrew usage—Gesen. *Heb. Gram.* § 107—"the Canaanite;" but in the A. V. with few exceptions rendered as plural, and therefore indistinguishable from כְּנַעֲנִים, which also, but very frequently, occurs: *Χαναναῖος*, *Φοίνιξ*,[a] Ex. vi. 15, cp. Josh. v. 1; *Chananeus*), a word used in two senses:—1, a tribe which inhabited a particular locality of the land west of the Jordan before the conquest (see reff. in Riehm, *HWB.* s. n. "Canaaniter"); and 2, in a wider sense, the people who inhabited generally the whole of that country.

1. The tribe of "the Canaanites" only—the dwellers in the lowland. The whole of the country west of Jordan was a "lowland" as compared with the loftier and more extended tracts on the north and east; but there was a part of this western country which was still more emphatically a "lowland." *a.* These were the plains lying between the shore of the Mediterranean and the foot of the hills of Benjamin, Judah, and Ephraim—the plain of Philistia on the south—that of Sharon between Jaffa and Carmel—the great plain of Esdraelon in the rear of the bay of Akka; and lastly, the plain of Phoenicia, containing Tyre, Sidon, and all the other cities of that nation. *b.* But separated entirely from these was the still lower region of the Jordan Valley or Arabah, the modern *Ghôr*, a region which extended in length from the sea of Cinneroth (Gennesareth) to the south of the Dead Sea about 120 miles, with a width of from 8 to 14. The climate of these sunken regions—especially of the valley of the Jordan—is so peculiar that it is natural to find them the special possession of one tribe. "Amalek"—so runs one of the earliest and most precise statements in the ancient records of Scripture—"Amalek dwelleth in the land of the South; and the Hittite, and the Jebusite, and the Amorite, dwell in the mountains: and the Canaanite dwelleth by the sea, and along by the side of Jordan" (Num. xiii. 29, R. V.). This describes the division of the country a few years only before the conquest. But there had been little or no variation for centuries. In the notice which purports to be the earliest of all, the seats of the Canaanite tribe—as distinguished from the sister tribes of Zidon, the Hittites, Amorites, and the other descendants of Canaan—are given as on the sea-shore from Zidon to Gaza, and in the Jordan valley to Sodom, Gomorrah, and Lasha (afterwards Callirhoë), on the shore of the present Dead Sea (Gen. x. 18–20). In Josh. xi. 3—at a time when the Israelites were actually in the western country—this is expressed more broadly. "The Canaanite on the east and the west" is carefully distinguished from the Amorite who held "the mountain" in the centre of the country. In Josh. xiii. 2, 3, we are told with more detail that "all the 'circles' (גְּלִילוֹת) of the Philistines . . . from Sihor (the *Wady el-'Arish*) unto Ekron northward, is counted to the Canaanite." Later still, the Canaanites are still dwelling in the upper part of the Jordan Valley—Bethshean; in the plain of Esdraelon—Taanach, Ibleam, and Megiddo; in the plain of Sharon—Dor; and also in the plain of Phoenicia—Accho and Zidon. Here were collected the chariots which formed a prominent part of their armies

[a] Eupolemus (Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* ix. 17) calls the people of Sodom, &c., Phoenicians, and in Deut. iii. 9 the LXX. have *Φοίνικες* for Zidonians.

(Judg. i. 19, iv. 3; Josh. xvii. 16), and which could indeed be driven nowhere but in these level lowlands (Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 134).

The plains which thus appear to have been in possession of the Canaanites especially so called, were not only of great extent, but they were also the richest and most important parts of the country; and it is not unlikely that this was one of the reasons for the name of "Canaanite" being

2. Applied as a general name for the non-Israelite inhabitants of the land, as we have already seen was the case with "Canaan."

Instances of this are, Gen. xii. 6; Num. xxi. 3—where the name is applied to dwellers in the south, who in xiii. 29 are called Amalekites; Judg. i. 10—with which cp. Gen. xiv. 13 and xiii. 18, and Josh. x. 5, where Hebron, the highest land in Palestine, is stated to be Amorite; and Gen. xiii. 12, where the "land of Canaan" is distinguished from the Jordan valley itself. See also Gen. xxiv. 3, 37, cp. xxviii. 2, 6; Ex. xiii. 11, cp. *v.* 5. But in many of its occurrences it is difficult to know in which category to place the word. Thus in Gen. l. 11: if the floor of Atad was at Beth-hogla, close to the west side of the Jordan, "the Canaanites" must be intended in the narrower and stricter sense; but the expression "inhabitants of the land" appears as if intended to be more general. Again, in Gen. x. 18, 19, where the present writer believes the tribe to be intended, Gesenius and most moderns take it to apply to the whole of the Canaanite nations. But in these and other similar instances, allowance must surely be made for the different dates at which the various records thus compared were composed. And besides this, it is difficult to imagine what accurate knowledge the Israelites can have possessed of a set of petty nations, from whom they had been entirely removed for four hundred years, and with whom they were now again brought into contact only that they might exterminate them as soon as possible. And before we can solve such questions we also ought to know more than we do of the usages and circumstances of people who differed not only from ourselves, but also possibly in a material degree from the Orientals of the present day. The tribe who possessed the ancient city of Hebron, besides being, as shown above, called interchangeably Canaanites and Amorites, are in a third passage (Gen. xxiii.) called the children of Heth or Hittites (cp. also xxvii. 46 with xxviii. 1, 6). The Canaanites who were dwelling in the land of the south when the Israelites made their attack on it may have been driven to these higher and more barren grounds by some other tribes, possibly by the Philistines who displaced the Avvites, also dwellers in the low country (Deut. ii. 23).

The Canaanites were a settled people in an advanced stage of civilisation. They possessed fortresses with lofty walls, horses trained to war, chariots of iron, treasures of gold and silver, and great agricultural and pastoral wealth. Amongst the spoil taken by Thothmes III. after the battle of Megiddo were an ark of gold, a statue of silver, gold rings, cups, and vases, tables and seats of ivory and cedar inlaid with gold, chariots plated with gold and silver, bronze armour, incense, wine, honey, corn, horses, cattle, goats, &c. (*Records of the Past*, ii. 42–58). If they were, as most moderns think (cp. Kautzsch in Riehm's *HWB.*; Cheyne, *Encycl. Brit.*[9] s. n.; Pietschmann, *Gesch. d. Phönizier*, p. 98, &c.), Phoenicians, they were given to commerce; and thus the name became in later times an occasional synonym for a merchant (Job xli. 6; Prov. xxxi. 24; cp. Is. xxiii. 8, 11; Hos. xii. 7; Zeph. i. 11. See Kenrick, *Phoen.* p. 232).

Of the language of the Canaanites little can be said.[b] On the one hand, being—if the genealogy of Gen. x. be right—Hamites, there must have developed in the course of time a severance between their language and that of the Israelites who were descendants of Shem. On the other hand is the fact that Abram and Jacob shortly after their entrance to the country seem able to hold converse with them, and also that the names of Canaanite persons and places which we possess are Hebrew. Such are Melchizedek, Hamor, Shechem, Sisera . . . Ephrath, and also a great number of the names of places. But we know that the Egyptian and Assyrian names have been materially altered in their adoption into Hebrew records, either by translation into Hebrew equivalents, or from the impossibility of accurately rendering the sounds of one language by those of another. The modern Arabs have adopted the Hebrew names of places as nearly as would admit of their having a meaning in Arabic, though that meaning may be widely different from that of the Hebrew name. Examples of this are *Beit 'Ûr*, *Beit Lahm*, *Bir es-Seba'*, which mean respectively, "house of the eye," "house of flesh," "well of the lion," while the Hebrew names which these have superseded meant "house of caves," "house of bread," "well of the oath." May not a similar process have taken place when the Hebrews took possession of the Canaanite towns, and "called the lands after their own names"? (For an examination of this interesting but obscure subject, see Gesenius, *Hebr. Spr.* 223–25.)

The "Nethinim," or servants of the Temple [hieroduli; see *Babylonian Record*, ii. 67], seem to have originated in the dedication of captives taken in war from the petty states surrounding the Israelites. [NETHINIM.] If this was the case, and if they were maintained in number from similar sources, there must be many non-Israelite names in the lists of their families which we possess in Ezra ii. 43–54; Neh. vii. 46–56. Several of the names in these catalogues—such as Sisera, Mehunim, Nephushim—are the same as those which we know to be foreign, and doubtless others would be found on examination.

This is perhaps the proper place for noticing the various shapes under which the formula for designating the nations to be expelled by the Israelites is given in the various Books.

1. Six nations: the Canaanites, Hittites, Amorites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites. This is the usual form, and, with some variation in the order of the names, it is found in Ex. iii. 8, 17, xxiii. 23, xxxiii. 2, xxxiv. 11; Deut. xx. 17; Josh. ix. 1, xii. 8; Judg. iii. 5. In Ex. xiii. 5,

[b] See reff. in MV.[10] p. xxii.; Socin in *Encyclop. Brit.*[9] s. n. "Phoenicia;" Pietschmann, *Gesch. d. Phönizier*, p. 97, n. 2.

the same names are given with the omission of the Perizzites.

2. With the addition of the Girgashites: making up the mystic number *seven* (Deut. vii. 1; Josh. iii. 10, xxiv. 11). The Girgashites are retained and the Hivites omitted in Neh. ix. 8 (cp. Ezra ix. 1).

3. In Ex. xxiii. 28 we find the Canaanite, the Hittite, and the Hivite.

4. The list of ten nations in Gen. xv. 19–21 includes some on the east of Jordan, and probably some on the south of Palestine.

5. In 1 K. ix. 20 the Canaanites are omitted from the list. [G.] [W.]

[On these lists cp. Budde, *Die Bibl. Urgeschichte*, p. 344 sq.—S. R. D.]

CANDA'CE (Κανδάκη; *Candace*. Kanta-ki is the true spelling according to Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt*, ii. 282), queen of the Ethiopians (Acts viii. 27). The name is common to a series of queens ("quod nomen multis iam annis ad reginas transiit:" Plin. *H. N.* vi. 35). An earlier Candace attacked Upper Egypt, B.C. 22, and was repulsed by C. Petronius with a small Roman force, who took her palace (βασιλεῖον) at Napata (Gebel Barkal). The capital of the kingdom of the Candaces, however, appears at this time to have been Meroe, lying further to the south (Plin. *H. N.* l. c.). This name (Meroe) has caused some confusion. The early designation of Ethiopia proper was Meroe (Miluhhi in the Assyrian Inscriptions. See Rawlinson, *Ancient Egypt*, xxv.). But this name seems to have been applied at different times to (1) Napata (modern Merawi, under Gebel Barkal), its original capital; (2) the whole land between the Atbara and the Blue Nile, known as the island of Meroe; (3) the town of Meroe, situated in the so-called island of the same name, some distance above the confluence of the Atbara. This site, near Assur, was first identified by Cailliaud (see his *Voyage à Méroé*, c. xxx., and plates of the Pyramids. See also Duncker's *Hist. Antiq.* ch. i. note).

Strabo describes the Candace of his time as a masculine woman who had lost an eye. There were also kings of Ethiopia, but they were cloistered and deified like former Mikados of Japan. Compare the kings of the Sabaeans described by Agatharchides (Müller, *Geog. Gr.* i. 189). Strabo seems to imply that the regal power was exercised by the queens (Strab. xvii. i. 54). Eusebius (*H. E.* ii. 1) says that the government of Ethiopia by queens continued to his time. Bion of Soli, in his *Ethiopica*, says, "The Ethiopians do not make known (ἐκφαίνουσι) the fathers of their kings, but keep a tradition (παραδιδόασι) that they are sons of the Sun, and the mother of each king they call Candace" (Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* iv. p. 351). This testimony to succession in the female line agrees with a vast mass of evidence, ancient and modern, as to that and the adjacent parts of Africa from the Nile to the Red Sea. For the custom in Arabia, see W. R. Smith's *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*. [E. R. B.]

CANDLESTICK (מְנוֹרָה; λυχνία τοῦ φωτός, 1 Macc. i. 21; ὁ ἀθάνατος—λεγόμενος λύχνος καὶ καιόμενος ἀδιαλείπτως ἐν τῷ ναῷ, Diod. Sic. *ap.* Schleusn. *Thes. s. v.*), which Moses was commanded to make for the Tabernacle, is described in Ex. xxv. 31–37, xxxvii. 17–24. It is called in Lev. xxiv. 4, "the pure," and in Ecclus. xxvi. 19, "the holy candlestick." With its various appurtenances (mentioned below) it required a talent of "pure gold," and it was not *moulded*, but "of beaten work" (τορευτή). Josephus, however, says (*Ant.* iii. 6, § 7) that it was of *cast* gold (κεχωνευμένη), and hollow. From its golden base (יָרֵךְ, βάσις, Joseph.), which, according to the Jews, was three feet high (Winer, *Leuchter*), sprang a main shaft or reed (קָנֶה); "and spread itself into as many branches as there are planets, including the sun. It terminated in seven heads all in one row, all standing parallel to one another, one by one, in imitation of the number of the planets" (Whiston's *Joseph.* ubi supra). As the description given in Ex. is not very clear, we abbreviate Lightfoot's explanation of it:—"The foot of it was gold, from which went up a shaft straight, which was the middle light. Near the foot was a golden dish wrought almondwise; and a little above that a golden knop, and above that a golden flower. Then two branches, one on each side, bowed, and coming up as high as the middle shaft. On each of them were three golden cups placed almondwise on sharp, scollop-shell fashion; above which was a golden knop, a golden flower, and the socket. Above the branches on the middle shaft was a golden boss, above which rose two shafts more; above the coming out of these was another boss, and two more shafts, and then on the shaft upwards were three golden scollop-cups, a knop, and a flower: so that the heads of the branches stood on equal height" (*Works*, ii. 399, ed. Pitman). Calmet remarks that "the number seven might remind them of the sabbath:" we have seen that Josephus gives it a somewhat Egyptian reference to the number of the planets, but elsewhere (*B. J.* vii. 5, § 5) he assigns to the seven branches a merely general reference, as τῆς παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἑβδομάδος τὴν τιμὴν ἐμφανίζοντες. The whole weight of the candlestick was 100 minae; its height was, according to the Rabbis, 5 feet, and the breadth or distance between the exterior branches 3½ feet (Jahn, *Arch. Bibl.* § 329; cp. Hamburger, *RE.* s. v. "Leuchter"). It has been calculated to have been worth 5076*l.* exclusive of workmanship.

According to Josephus, the ornaments on the shaft and branches were seventy in number, and this was a notion in which the Jews with their peculiar reverence for that number would readily coincide; but it seems difficult from the description in Exodus to confirm the statement. On the main shaft (called "the candlestick," in Ex. xxv. 34) there are said to be "four cups made like almond blossoms, the knops thereof and the flowers thereof," which would make twelve of these ornaments in all; and as on each of the six branches there were (see R. V. of *v.* 33) three bowls, three knops, and three flowers, the entire number of such figures on the candlestick would be sixty-six. The word translated "bowl" in the A. V., "cup" in the R. V., is גָּבִיעַ, κρατήρ, for which Josephus (*l. c.*) has κρατηρίδια καὶ ῥοίσκοι. It is said to have been almond-shaped (מְשֻׁקָּד, ἐκτετυπωμένοι καρυίσκοις), by which the blossom of the almond is probably intended. The word כַּפְתּוֹר is variously rendered "knop"

(A. V. and R. V.), "pommel" (Geddes), *σφαιρωτήρ* (LXX.), *spherula* (Vulg.), "apple" (Arabic and other Versions); and to this some apply the *βολσκοι*, and not (as is more natural) the *σφαίρια* of Josephus. The third term is פֶּרַח, "a bud," *κρίνα* (LXX. and Joseph.), which from an old gloss seems to be put for any *ἄνθος εὐωδιάζον, κρίνοις ὅμοιον*. From the fact that it was expressly made "after the pattern shown in the mount," many have endeavoured to find a symbolical meaning in these ornaments, especially Meyer and Bähr (*Symbol.* i. 416 sq.). Generally it was "a type of preaching" (Godwyn's *Moses and Aaron*, ii. 1) or of "the light of the law" (Lightfoot, *l. c.*; Hamburger). Similarly candlesticks are made types of the Spirit, of the Church, of witnesses, &c. (cp. Zech. iv.; Rev. ii. 5, xi. 4, &c.; Wemyss, *Clav. Symbol.* s. v.)

The candlestick was placed on the south side [symbolical of the light or sunny region of heaven; cp. דָּרוֹם] of the first apartment of the Tabernacle, opposite the table of shewbread, which it was intended to illumine, in an oblique position (*γοξῶς*), so that the lamps looked to the east and south (Jos. *Ant.* ii. 6, § 7; Ex. xxv. 37); hence the central was called "the western" lamp, according to some, though others render it "the evening lamp," and say that *it* alone burned perpetually (Ex. xxvii. 20, 21), the others not being lit during the day, although the Holy Place was dark (Ex. xxx. 8; 1 Macc. iv. 50). In 1 Sam. iii. 2 we have the expression "ere the lamp of God went out in the temple of the Lord;" and this, taken in connexion with 1 Ch. xiii. 11 and Lev. xxiv. 2, 3, would seem to imply that "always" and "continually" merely mean *tempore constituto*, i.e. by night; especially as Aaron is said to have dressed the lamps every morning and lighted them every evening. Rabbi Kimchi (in loco) says that the other lamps often went out at night, but "they always found the *western* lamp burning." They were each supplied with cotton, and half a log of the purest olive-oil (about two wine-glasses), which was sufficient to keep them burning during a long night (Winer).

The priest in the morning trimmed the lamps with golden snuffers (מַלְקָחַיִם; *ἐπαρυστῆρες*; *forcipes*; "tongs"), and carried away the snuff in golden dishes (מַחְתּוֹת; *ὑποθέματα*; *acerrae*, Ex. xxv. 38). When carried about, the candlestick was covered with "a cloth of blue," and put with its appendages in badger-skin bags, which were supported on a bar (Num. iv. 9).

In Solomon's Temple, instead of this candlestick (or besides it, as the Rabbis say, for what became of it we do not know), there were ten golden candlesticks similarly embossed, five on the right and five on the left (1 K. vii. 49; 2 Ch. iv 7). These are said to have formed a sort of railing before the vail, and to have been connected by golden chains, *under* which, on the Day of Atonement, the high-priest crept. They were taken to Babylon (Jer. lii. 19).

In the Temple of Zerubbabel there was again a single candlestick (1 Macc. i. 23, iv. 49). It was taken from the Herodian Temple by Titus, and carried in triumph immediately before the conqueror (Joseph. *B. J.* vii. 5, § 5). The description given of its *κίονι* and *λεπτοὶ καυλίσκοι* by Josephus, agrees only tolerably with the deeply interesting sculpture on the Arch of Titus; but he drops a hint that it was not

Candlestick. (From Arch of Titus.)

identical with the one used in the Temple, saying (possibly in allusion to the fantastic griffins, &c., sculptured on the pediment, which are so much worn that it is difficult to make them out), *τὸ ἔργον ἐξήλλακτο τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν χρῆσιν συνηθείας*: where see Whiston's note. Hence Jahn (*Hebr. Com.* § clix.) says that the candlestick carried in the triumph was "*somewhat different from the golden candlestick of the Temple.*" These questions are examined in Reland's treatise *De Spoliis Templi Hierosol. in Arcu Titiano conspicuis.* The *general* accuracy of the sculpture is undoubted (Prideaux, *Con.* i. 166).

After the triumph the candlestick was deposited in the temple of Peace, and according to one story fell into the Tiber from the Milvian bridge during the flight of Maxentius from Constantine, Oct. 28, 312 A.D.; but it probably was among the spoils transferred, at the end of 400 years, from Rome to Carthage by Genseric, A.D. 455 (Gibbon, iii. 291). It was recovered by Belisarius, once more carried in triumph to Constantinople, "and then respectfully deposited in the Christian church of Jerusalem" (Id. iv. 24), A.D. 533. It has never been heard of since.

When our Lord cried, "I am the Light of the World" (John viii. 12), the allusion was probably suggested by the two large golden chandeliers, lighted in the court of the women during the Feast of Tabernacles, which illuminated all Jerusalem (Wetstein, *ad loc.*), or perhaps to the lighting of this colossal candlestick, "the more remarkable in the profound darkness of an Oriental town" (Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 420). These lamps were, moreover, images of the pillar of light which had guided the people in the wilderness; and to this do the words of our Lord finally refer. "Light" was also one of the titles of the Messiah (cp. Isa. xlii. 6, xlix. 6; Luke i. 78, 79. See *Speaker's Comm.* on John viii. 12). [F. W. F.]

CANE. [CALAMUS.]

CANKERWORM (יֶלֶק; βροῦχος; *bruchus*). The Heb. term *yelek* signifies "the licker," that which licks up the grass of the field; and from its position in the Prophet Joel's description of the locust, it probably is not any particular species, but the larva or caterpillar stage, in which the locust is even more destructive than in its mature or winged state. After the winged locusts have passed on, the young larvae appear and consume all that has escaped the former. Then they in turn assume their wings, in the words of Nahum (iii. 16), "*The cankerworm throweth off* (*spoileth*, A. V. and R. V.) its scales and *fleeth away*." The term is translated by the A. V. *caterpiller* [R. V. "cankerworm"] in Ps. cv. 34, and Jer. li. 14, 27; *cankerworm* in Joel i. 4, ii. 25; Nah. iii. 15, 16. [LOCUST.] [H. B. T.]

CAN'NEH (כַּנֵּה, one Cod. כַּלְנֵה; Τ'. Χαναά, A. -αν; *Chene*), Ezek. xxvii. 23. [CALNEH.]

CANON OF SCRIPTURE, THE, may be generally described as "the collection of Books which forms the original and authoritative written rule of the faith and practice of the Christian Church." Starting from this definition, it will be the object of the present article to examine shortly: I. The original meaning of the term; II. The Jewish Canon of the Old Testament Scriptures as to (α) its formation, and (β) contents; III. The Christian Canon of the Old; and IV. of the New Testament.

I. *The use of the word Canon.*—The word Canon (Κανών, akin to קָנֶה [cp. Gesen. *Thes.* s. v.], κάνη, κάννα, *cana* [*canalis*, *channel*], *cane*, *cannon*) in classical Greek is (1) properly a *straight rod*, as the rod of a shield, or that used in weaving (*liciatorium*), or a carpenter's rule. (2) The last usage offers an easy transition to the metaphorical use of the word for a *testing rule* in ethics (cp. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* iii. 4, 5; v. 10, 7), or in art (the *Canon* of Polycletus; Luc. *de Salt.* p. 946 B.), or in language (the *Canons* of Grammar). The varied gift of tongues, according to the ancient interpretation of Acts ii. 7, was regarded as the "canon" or test which determined the direction of the labours of the several Apostles (Severian. *ap.* Cram. *Cat. in Act.* ii. 7, δίδοται ἑκάστῳ γλῶσσα καθάπερ κανών). Chronological tables were called κανόνες χρονικοί (Plut. *Sol.* 27), and the summary of a book was called κανών, as giving the "rule," as it were, of its composition. The Alexandrine grammarians applied the word in this sense to the great "classical" writers, who were styled "the rule" (ὁ Κανών), or the perfect model of style and language. (3) But in addition to these active meanings the word was also used passively for a measured space (at Olympia), and, in later times, for a fixed tax (Du Cange, s. v. *Canon*).

The ecclesiastical usage of the word offers a complete parallel to the classical. It occurs in the LXX. in its literal sense (Judith xiii. 6, and apparently also in the obscure rendering of Mic. vii. 4), and again as a translation of קָו in Aquila (Job xxxviii. 5 and Ps. xix. 5).[a] In the N. T. it is found in two places in St. Paul's Epistles (Gal. vi. 16; 2 Cor. x. 13–16), and in the second place the transition from an active to a passive sense is worthy of notice. In patristic writings the word is commonly used both as a rule in the widest sense, and especially in the phrases "the rule of the Church," "the rule of faith," "the rule of truth" (ὁ κανὼν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὁ κανὼν τῆς ἀληθείας, ὁ κανὼν τῆς πίστεως; and so also κανὼν ἐκκλησιαστικός, and ὁ κανὼν simply). This rule was regarded either as the abstract, ideal standard, embodied only in the life and action of the Church; or, again, as the concrete, definite creed, which set forth the facts from which that life sprang (*regula*: Tertull. *de Virg. vel.* 1). In the fourth century, when the practice of the Church was further systematised, the decisions of synods were styled "Canons," and the discipline by which ministers were bound was technically "the Rule," and those who were thus bound were styled *Canonici* ("Canons"). In the phrase "the canon (*i.e.* fixed part) of the mass," from which the popular sense of "canonize" is derived, the passive sense again prevailed.

As applied to Scripture the derivatives of κανὼν are used long before the simple word. The Latin translation of Origen speaks of *Scripturae Canonicae* (*de Princ.* iv. 33), *libri regulares* (*Comm. in Matt.* § 117), *canonizatae Scripturae* and *libri canonizati* (id. § 28). In another place the phrase *haberi in Canone* (*Prol. in Cant.* sub fine) occurs, but probably only as a translation of κανονίζεσθαι, which is used in this and cognate senses in Athanasius (*Ep. Fest.*), the Laodicene Canons (ἀκανόνιστα, *Can.* lix.), and later writers. This circumstance seems to show that the title "Canonical" was first given to writings in the sense of "admitted by the rule," and not as "*forming part of* and *giving* the rule." It is true that an ambiguity thus attaches to the word, which may mean only "publicly used in the Church;" but such an ambiguity may find many parallels, and usage tended to remove it.[b] The spirit of Christendom recognised the Books which truly expressed its essence; and in lapse of time, when that spirit was deadened by later overgrowths of superstition, the written "Rule" occupied the place and received the name of that vital "Rule" by which it was first stamped with authority (ὁ κανὼν τῆς ἀληθείας αἱ θεῖαι γραφαί, Isid. Pelus. *Ep.* cxiv.; cp. Aug. *de doctr. Chr.* ii. 12 [viii.]; and as a contrast *Anon.* ap. Euseb. *H. E.* v. 28, 13).

[a] The metaphorical sense appears in 4 Maccabees, a late work of Alexandrian origin (vii. 21, ὁ τῆς φιλοσοφίας κανών). An instance of this usage appears also in Josephus (*Antiq. Jud.* x. 49).

[b] Credner accepts the popular interpretation, as if canonical were equivalent to "having the force of law," and supposes that *scripturae legis*, a phrase occurring in the time of the persecution of Diocletian, represents γραφαὶ κανόνος, which however does not, so far as I know, occur anywhere (*Zur Gesch. d. Kan.* p. 67). The terms *canonical* and *canonize* are probably of Alexandrine origin; but there is not the slightest evidence for connecting the "canon" of classical authors with the "canon" of Scripture, notwithstanding the tempting analogy. If it could be shown that ὁ κανὼν was used at an early period for the *list* of sacred Books, then it would be the simplest interpretation to take κανονίζεσθαι in the sense of "being entered on the list." [On the meaning of κανών, cp. F. C. Baur, *Die Bedeutung des Wortes* Κανών, in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.* 1858, i. 141–150, and Westcott *On the Canon of the N. T.*, Appendix A.]

The first direct application of the term κανὼν to the Scriptures seems to be in the verses of Amphilochius (c. 380 A.D.), who concludes his well-known Catalogue of the Scriptures with the words οὗτος ἀψευδέστατος κανὼν ἂν εἴη τῶν θεοπνεύστων γραφῶν, where the word indicates the rule by which the contents of the Bible must be determined, and thus secondarily an index of the constituent Books. Among Latin writers the word is commonly found from the time of Jerome (*Prol. Gal. in libr. Reg.*: "Tobias et Judith *non sunt in Canone*") and Augustine (*de Civ.* xvii. 24: "perpauci ea scripserunt quae *auctoritatem Canonis* obtinerent;" id. xviii. 38, "*inveniuntur in Canone*"), and their usage of the word, which is wider than that of Greek writers, is the source of its modern acceptation.

The uncanonical books were described simply as "those without," or "those uncanonized" (ἀκανόνιστα, *Conc. Laod.* lix.). The Apocryphal books, which were supposed to occupy an intermediate position, were called "books read" (ἀναγιγνωσκόμενα, Athan. *Ep. Fest.*), or "ecclesiastical" (*ecclesiastici*, Rufin. *in Symb. Apost.* § 38), though the latter title was also applied to the canonical Scriptures (Leont. *l. c. infr.*). The canonical Books (Leont. *de Sect.* ii. τὰ κανονιζόμενα βιβλία) were also called "Books of the Testament" (ἐνδιάθηκα βιβλία), and Jerome styled the whole collection by the striking name of "the holy library" (*Bibliotheca sancta*), which happily expresses the unity and variety of the Bible (Credner, *Zur Gesch. d. Kan.* § 1; *Hist. of Canon of N. T.* App. D).

II. (*a*) *The formation of the Jewish Canon.*[c]—The history of the Jewish Canon in the earliest times is beset with the greatest difficulties. Before the period of the Exile only faint traces occur of the solemn preservation and use of sacred Books. According to the command of Moses, the "Book of the Law" was "put in (R. V. *by*) the side of the ark" (Deut. xxxi. 25 ff.), but not *in* it (1 K. viii. 9; cp. Joseph. *Ant.* iii. 1, § 7, v. 1, § 17); and thus in the reign of Josiah, Hilkiah is said to have "found the Book of the Law in the house of the Lord" (2 K. xxii. 8; cp. 2 Ch. xxxiv. 14). This "Book of the Law," which, in addition to the direct precepts (Ex. xxiv. 7), contained general exhortations (Deut. xxviii. 61) and historical narratives (Ex. xvii. 14), was further increased by the records of Joshua (*Josh.* xxiv. 26), and probably by other writings (1 Sam. x. 25), though it is impossible to determine their contents.[d] At a subsequent time collections of proverbs were made (Prov. xxv. 1), and the later Prophets (especially Jeremiah; cp. Kueper, *Jerem. Libror. ss. interp. et vindex*, Berol. 1837) were familiar with the writings of their predecessors, a circumstance which may naturally be connected with the training of "the prophetic schools." It perhaps marks a further step in the formation of the Canon when "the Book of the Lord" is mentioned by Isaiah as a general collection of sacred teaching (xxxiv. 16; cp. xxix. 18), at once familiar and authoritative; but it is unlikely that any definite collection either of "the Psalms" or of "the Prophets" existed before the Captivity. At that time Zechariah speaks of "the Law" and "the former Prophets" as in some measure co-ordinate (Zech. vii. 12); and Daniel refers to "*the Books*" (Dan. ix. 2, הַסְּפָרִים) in a manner which seems to mark the prophetic writings as already collected into a whole. Even after the Captivity the history of the Canon, like all Jewish history up to the date of the Maccabees, is wrapt in great obscurity. Faint traditions alone remain to interpret results which are found realised when the darkness is first cleared away. Popular belief assigned to Ezra and "the great synagogue" the task of collecting and promulgating the Scriptures as part of their work in organising the Jewish Church. Doubts have been thrown upon this belief (Rau, *De Synag. magnâ*, 1726; Kuenen, *Over de Mannen der Groote Synagoge*, Amst. 1876; Wellhausen-Bleek, *Einleitung in d. A. T.* § 246, 1886; cp. Ewald, *Hist. of Isr.* [Eng. tr.] v. pp. 168–170), and it is difficult to answer them, from the scantiness of the evidence which can be adduced; but the belief is in every way consistent with the history of Judaism and with the internal evidence of the Books themselves [see Wright (C. H. H.), *The Book of Koheleth*, Excursus iii. p. 475, "The Men of the great Synagogue"]. The later embellishments of the tradition, which represent Ezra as the second author of all the Books [2 ESDRAS], or define more exactly the nature of his work, can only be accepted as signs of the universal belief in his labours, and ought not to cast discredit upon the simple fact that the foundation of the present Canon is due to him. Nor can it be supposed that the work was completed at once; so that the account (2 Macc. ii. 13) which assigns a collection of Books to Nehemiah is in itself a confirmation of the general truth of the gradual formation of the Canon during the Persian period. The work of Nehemiah is not described as initiatory or final. The tradition omits all mention of the Law, which may be supposed to have assumed its final shape under Ezra, but says that Nehemiah "gathered together the [writings] concerning the kings and Prophets, and the [writings] of David, and letters of kings concerning offerings," while "founding a library" (καταβαλλόμενος βιβλιοθήκην ἐπισυνήγαγε τὰ περὶ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ προφητῶν καὶ τὰ τοῦ Δαυὶδ καὶ ἐπιστολὰς βασιλέων περὶ ἀναθεμάτων: 2 Macc. *l. c.*). The various classes of Books were thus completed in succession; and

[c] [So far as the history of the formation of the Jewish Canon is affected by the results of recent criticism upon the structure of the Books of the O. T., the reader will find the views of the more advanced school represented in Robertson Smith's *The O. T. in the Jewish Church*, Edinb. 1881; Wellhausen's *Hist. of Israel*, Edinb. 1886; Wellhausen-Bleek's *Einleitung in d. A. T.* Berl. 1886; Kuenen's *Hexateuch*, transl. Lond. 1886; Stade, *Gesch. d. V. Israels*, 1888. For a more moderate statement of the probable issue of the controversy, see Dillmann, *Hexateuch* (*Kurzgef. exeget. Hdb.*), Bd. iii. 591–690, Leipz. 1886; Baudissin, *Heutige Stand. d. A. Tlicher Wissensch.* Giessen, 1885; Delitzsch, *Genesis*, transl. Edinb. vol. i. Introd. 1888; Kittel, *Gesch. d. Israels*, Bd. i. Gotha, 1888; Driver, *Critical Study of O. T.* (*Cont. Rev.* Feb. 1890).]

[d] According to some (Fabric. *Cod. Pseudep. V. T.* i. 1113), this collection of sacred Books was preserved by Jeremiah at the destruction of the Temple (cp. 2 Macc. ii. 4 f.); according to others, it was consumed together with the ark (Epiph. *de Mens. et Pond.* cap. iv. p. 162). In 2 K. xxii. 8 sq., 2 Ch. xxxiv. 14 sq., mention is made only of *the Law*.

this view harmonises with what must have been the natural development of the Jewish faith after the Return. The constitution of the Church and the formation of the Canon were both from their nature gradually and mutually dependent. The construction of an ecclesiastical polity involved the practical determination of the divine rule of truth, though, as in the parallel case of the Christian Scriptures, open persecution first gave a clear and distinct expression to the implicit faith.

The persecution of Antiochus (B.C. 168) was for the Old Testament what the persecution of Diocletian was for the New, the final crisis which stamped the sacred writings with their peculiar character. The king sought out "the Books of the Law" (*τὰ βιβλία τοῦ νόμου*, 1 Macc. i. 56) and burnt them; and the possession of a "book of the covenant" (*βιβλίον διαθήκης*) was a capital crime (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5, § 4, *ἠφανίζετο εἴπου βίβλος εὑρεθείη ἱερὰ καὶ νόμος*). According to the common tradition, this proscription of "the Law" led to the public use of the writings of the Prophets; and without discussing the accuracy of this belief, it is evident that the general effect of such a persecution would be to direct the attention of the people more closely to the Books which they connected with the original foundation of their faith. And this was in fact the result of the great trial. After the Maccabaean persecution the history of the formation of the Canon is merged in the history of its contents.[e] The Bible appears from that time as a whole, though it was natural that the several parts were not yet placed on an equal footing, nor regarded universally and in every respect with equal reverence[f] (cp. Zunz, *D. Gottesd. Vortr. d. Jud.* pp. 14, 25, &c.).

But while the combined evidence of tradition and of the general course of Jewish history leads to the conclusion that the Canon in its present shape was formed gradually during a lengthened interval, beginning with Ezra and extending through the whole (Neh. xii. 11, 22) of the Persian period (B.C. 458–332) and even beyond it, when the cessation of the prophetic gift[g] pointed out the necessity and defined the limits of the collection, it is of the utmost importance to notice that the collection was peculiar in character and circumscribed in contents. All the evidence which can be obtained, though it is confessedly scanty, tends to show that it is false, both in theory and fact, to describe the O. T. as "all the relics of the Hebraeo-Chaldaic literature up to a certain epoch" (De Wette, *Einl.* § 8), if the phrase is intended to refer to the time when the Canon was completed. The epilogue of Ecclesiastes (xii. 11 sq.) speaks of an extensive literature, with which the teaching of Wisdom is contrasted, and "weariness of the flesh" is described as the result of the study bestowed upon it. It is impossible that these "many writings" can have perished in the interval between the composition of Ecclesiastes and the time of the conclusion of the Jewish Canon. The Apocrypha includes several fragments which must be referred to the Persian period, or to the yet later generation which saw the last writings added to the sacred collection (Buxtorf, *Tiberias*, 10 f.; Hottinger, *Thes. Phil.*; Hengstenberg, *Beiträge*, i.; Hävernick, *Einl.* i.; Oehler, art. *Kanon d. A. T.* in Herzog's *Encyklop.*).

(*β*) *The contents of the Jewish Canon.*—The first notice of the O. T. as consisting of distinct and definite parts occurs in the prologue to the Greek translation of the Wisdom of Sirach (Ecclesiasticus). The date of this is disputed [ECCLESIASTICUS; JESUS SON OF SIRACH]; but if we admit the later date (*c.* B.C. 131), it falls in with what has been said on the effect of the Antiochian persecution. After that event "the Law, the Prophecies, and the remainder of the Books" are mentioned as integral sections of a completed whole (*ὁ νόμος, καὶ αἱ προφητεῖαι, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν βιβλίων*), and the phrase which designates the last class suggests no reason for supposing that that was still indefinite and open to additions. A like threefold classification is used for describing the entire O. T. in the Gospel of St. Luke (xxiv. 44, *ἐν τῷ νόμῳ Μωϋσέως καὶ προφήταις καὶ ψαλμοῖς*; cp. Acts xxviii. 23), and appears again in a passage of Philo, where the Therapeutae are said to find their true food in "laws and oracles uttered by prophets, and hymns and (*τὰ ἄλλα*) the other [books?] by which knowledge and piety are increased and perfected" (Philo, *de vita cont.* 3).[h] [BIBLE.]

The triple division of the O. T. is itself not a mere accidental or arbitrary arrangement, but a reflexion of the different stages of religious development through which the Jewish nation passed. The Law is the foundation of the whole revelation, the special discipline by which a chosen race was trained from a savage wilfulness to the accomplishment of its divine work. The Prophets portray the struggles of the same people when they came into closer connexion with the kingdoms of the world, and were led to look for the inward antitypes of the outward precepts. The Hagiographa carry the divine lesson yet further, and show its working in the various phases of individual life, and in relation to the great problems of thought and feeling, which present themselves by a necessary law in the later stages of civilisation (cp. Oehler, art. *Kanon*, in Herzog's *Encyklop.* p. 253; *Theol. of O. T.* vol. i. p. 17 [Clark, Edinb.]).

The general contents of these three classes still, however, remain to be determined. JOSEPHUS,

[e] The reference to the work of Judas Maccabaeus in 2 Macc. ii. 14, *ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Ἰούδας τὰ διαπεπτωκότα διὰ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν γεγονότα ἡμῖν ἐπισυνήγαγε πάντα καὶ ἔστι παρ' ἡμῖν*, appears from the connexion to refer in particular to his care with regard to the restitution of the copies of the sacred writings which were "lost" (*διαπεπτωκότα*). It is of importance to notice that the work was a *restoration*, and not a *new collection*.

[f] Yet the distinction between the three degrees of inspiration which were applied by Abarbanel (Keil, *Einl.* § 158, 6) to the three classes of writings is unknown to the early Rabbis.

[g] After Malachi, according to the Jewish tradition (Vitringa, *Obs. Sacr.* vi. 6; *ap.* Keil, *l.* c.).

[h] [The genuineness of this treatise, commonly known as "De vita contemplativa" (*περὶ βίου θεωρητικοῦ*), is much disputed. It is found among the writings ascribed to Philo, but recent criticism assigns it to the 3rd cent. A.D. The arguments are fully stated by Lucius (*Die Therapeuten und ihre Stellung in der Geschichte der Askese, eine kritische Untersuchung der Schrift "de vita contemplativa,"* Strassburg, 1879). Cp. Schürer, *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes,*[2] ii. 863.]

the earliest direct witness on the subject, enumerates twenty Books "which are justly believed to be divine" (*τὰ δικαίως θεῖα πεπιστευμένα*): five Books of Moses, thirteen of the Prophets, extending to the reign of Artaxerxes (i.e. *Esther*, according to Josephus),[i] and four which contain hymns and directions for life (Joseph. *c. Apion.* i. 8). Still there is some ambiguity in this enumeration, for in order to make up the numbers it is necessary either to rank Job among the Prophets, or to exclude one Book, and in that case probably Ecclesiastes, from the Hagiographa. The former alternative is the more probable, for it is worthy of special notice that Josephus regards primarily the historic character of the Prophets (*τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς πραχθέντα συνέγραψαν*), a circumstance which explains his deviation from the common arrangement in regard to the later annals (1 and 2 Ch., Ezra, Neh.), and Daniel and Job, though he is silent as to the latter in his narrative (cp. Orig. *ap.* Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 25). The later history, he adds, has also been written in detail, but the records have not been esteemed worthy of the same credit, "because the accurate succession of the Prophets was not preserved in their case" (*διὰ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι τὴν τῶν προφητῶν ἀκριβῆ διαδοχήν*). "But what faith we place in our own Scriptures (*γράμμασιν*) is seen in our conduct. They have suffered no addition, diminution, or change. From our infancy we learn to regard them as decrees of God (*Θεοῦ δόγματα*); we observe them, and if need be we gladly die for them" (*c. Apion.* i. 8; cp. Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 10).

In these words Josephus clearly expresses not his own private opinion, nor the opinion of his sect, the Pharisees, but the general opinion of his countrymen. The popular belief that the Sadducees received only the Books of Moses (Pseudo-Tertull. *Adversus omn. haer.* cap. 1, and in almost the same words Hieron. *Adv. Luciferianos*, c. 23 [Vallarsi, ii. 197], *in Matth.* xxii. 31 [Vallarsi, vii. 181]; Origen, *c. Cels.* i. 49, *in Matth.* tom. xvii. 35 [ed. Lommatzsch, iv. 166, 169]) rests on no sufficient authority; and if they had done so, Josephus could not have failed to notice the fact in his account of the different sects [SADDUCEES].[j] In the traditions of the Talmud, on the other hand, Gamaliel is represented as using passages from the Prophets and the Hagiographa in his controversies with them, and they reply with quotations from the same sources without scruple or objection (cp. Eichhorn, *Einl.* § 35; Lightfoot, *Horae Hebr. et Talm.* ii. 616; C. F. Schmid, *Enarr. Sent. Fl. Josephi de Libris V. T.* 1777; G. Güldenapfel, *Dissert. Josephi de Sadd. Can. Sent. exhibens*, 1804).

The casual quotations of Josephus agree with his express Canon. With the exception of Prov., Eccles., and Cant., which furnished no materials for his work, and Job, which, even if historical, offered no point of contact with other history, he uses all the other Books either as divinely inspired writings (5 Moses, Is., Jer., Ezek., Dan., xii. Proph.), or as authoritative sources of truth.

The writings of the N. T. completely confirm the testimony of Josephus. Coincidences of language show that the Apostles were familiar with several of the Apocryphal books (Bleek, *Ueber d. Stellung d. Apokr. u. s. w.* in *Stud. u. Krit.* 1853, pp. 267 ff.);[k] but they do not contain one authoritative or direct quotation from them, while, with the exception of Judges, Eccles., Cant., Esther, Ezra, and Nehemiah, every other Book in the Hebrew Canon is used either for illustration or proof.[l]

Several of the early Fathers describe the contents of the Hebrew Canon in terms which generally agree with the results already obtained. MELITO of Sardis (*c.* 179 A.D.) in a journey to the East made the question of the exact number and order of "the Books of the *Old* Testament" a subject of special inquiry, to satisfy the wishes of a friend (Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 26). He gives the result in the following form: the Books are, 5 Moses ... Jos., Jud., Ruth, 4 K., 2 Ch., Ps., Prov. (*Σαλομῶνος Παροιμίαι ἡ καὶ Σοφία*), Eccles., Cant., Job, Is., Jer., xii. Proph., Dan., Ezek., Esd. The arrangement is peculiar, and the Books of Nehemiah and Esther are wanting. The former is without doubt included in the general title "Esdras," and it has been conjectured (Eichhorn, *Einl.* § 52; cp. Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* i. 136) that Esther may have formed part of the same collection of records of the history after the Exile.[m] The testimony of ORIGEN labours under a similar difficulty. According to the present Greek text (*ap.* Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 25; *in Ps.* i. *Philoc.* 3; cp. *Selecta*). in enumerating the twenty-two Books "which the *Hebrews* hand down as included in the Testament (*ἐνδιαθήκους*)," he omits the Book of the twelve minor Prophets,

[i] The limit fixed by Josephus marks the period to which the prophetic history extended, and not, as is commonly said, the date at which the O. T. Canon was itself finally closed.

[j] In *Ant.* xiii. 10, § 6, Josephus simply says that the Sadducees rejected the *precepts* which were not contained in the laws of Moses (*ἅπερ οὐκ ἀναγέγραπται ἐν τοῖς Μωϋσέως νόμοις*), but derived only from tradition (*τὰ ἐκ παραδόσεως*, opposed to *τὰ γεγραμμένα*). The statement has no connexion whatever with the other *writings* of the Canon.

The Canon of the SAMARITANS was confined to the Pentateuch, not so much from their hostility to the Jews, as from their undue exaltation of the Law (Keil, *Einl.* § 218).

[k] The chief passages which Bleek quotes, after Stier and Nitzsch, are James i. 19 || Sirach v. 11; 1 Pet. i. 6, 7 || Wisd. iii. 3–7; Heb. xi. 34, 35 || 2 Macc. vi. 18—vii. 42; Heb. i. 3 || Wisd. vii. 26, &c.; Rom. i. 20–32 || Wisd. xiii.–xv.; Rom. ix. 21 || Wisd. xv. 7; Eph. vi. 13–17 || Wisd. v. 18–20. But it is obvious that if these passages prove satisfactorily that the Apostolic writers were *acquainted* with the Apocryphal books, they indicate with equal clearness that their *silence* with regard to them cannot have been purely accidental. An earlier criticism of the alleged coincidences is given in Cosin's *Canon of Scripture*, §§ 35 sq.

[l] Some passages are quoted in the N. T. which are not found in the canonical Books. The most important of these is that from the prophecies of Enoch [ENOCH, BOOK OF] (Jude 17). Others have been found in Luke xi. 49–51; John vii. 38; James iv. 5, 6; 1 Cor. ii. 9; but these are more or less questionable.

[m] Hody (*de Bibl. text.* p. 646) quotes a singular note, falsely attributed to Athanasius, who likewise omits Esther. "Sunt etiam ex antiquis Hebraeis qui Esther admittant, atque ut numerus idem (22) servetur, cum *Judicibus* copularunt." The book is wanting also in the *Synops. S. Script.*, *Gregor. Naz.*, *Amphilochius*, *Nicephorus Callistus*, &c.

and adds "the *letter*" to the Book of Jeremiah and Lamentations (Ἱερεμίας σὺν Θρήνοις καὶ τῇ ἐπιστολῇ ἐν ἑνί). The number is thus imperfect, and the Latin Version of Rufinus has rightly preserved the Book of the twelve Prophets in the catalogue, placing it after Canticles and before the greater Prophets, a strange position which can hardly have been due to an arbitrary insertion (cf. Hil. *Prol. in Ps.* 15).[a] The addition of "the *letter*" to Jeremiah is inexplicable except on the assumption that it was an error springing naturally from the habitual use of the LXX., in which the Books are united, for there is not the slightest trace that this late apocryphal fragment [BARUCH, BOOK OF] ever formed part of the Jewish Canon. The statement of JEROME is clear and complete. After noticing the coincidence of the twenty-two Books of the Hebrew Bible with the number of the Hebrew letters, and of the five double letters with the five "double Books" (*i.e.* 1–2 Sam., 1–2 Kings, 1–2 Chronicles, Ezra–Nehemiah, Jeremiah–Lamentation), he gives the contents of the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa, in exact accordance with the Hebrew authorities, placing Daniel in the last class; and adding that whatever is without the number of these must be placed among the Apocrypha:—"Hic prologus Script. quasi galeatum principium omnibus libris quos de Hebraeo vertimus in Latinum, convenire potest, ut scire valeamus, quidquid extra hos est, inter Apocrypha esse ponendum" (Hieron. *Prol. Gal.*). The statement of the *Talmud* is in many respects so remarkable that it must be transcribed entire. "But who wrote [the Books of the Bible]? Moses wrote his own Book, ? the Pentateuch, *the section about Baluam* and Job. Joshua wrote his own Book and the eight [last] verses of the Pentateuch. Samuel wrote his own Book, the Book of Judges and Ruth. David wrote the Book of Psalms [of which however some were composed] by the ten venerable elders: Adam, the first man, Melchizedek, Abraham, Moses, Haman, Jeduthun, Asaph, and the three sons of Korah. Jeremiah wrote his own Book, the Books of Kings and Lamentations. Hezekiah and his friends [reduced to writing] the Books contained in the Memorial word IaMSCHaK, *i.e.* Isaiah, Proverbs, Canticles, Ecclesiastes. The men of the Great Synagogue [reduced to writing] the Books contained in the memorial letter KaNDaG, *i.e.* Ezekiel, the twelve lesser Prophets, Daniel, and Esther. Ezra wrote his own Book, and brought down the genealogies of the Books of Chronicles to his own times .... Who brought the remainder of the Books [of Chronicles] to a close? Nehemiah the son of Hachalijah" (*Baba Bathra*, f. 14 b. Cp. G. H. Marx, *Traditio rabbinorum veterrima*, Lips. 1884).

In spite of the comparatively late date (*c.* A.D. 500), from which this tradition is derived, it is evidently in essence the earliest description of the work of Ezra and the Great Synagogue which has been preserved. The details must be tested by other evidence, but the general description of the growth of the Jewish Canon bears every mark of probability. The early fables as to the work of Ezra [2 ESDRAS; see above] are a natural corruption of this original belief, and after a time entirely supplanted it; but as it stands in the great collection of the teaching of the Hebrew Schools, it bears witness to the authority of the complete Canon, and at the same time recognises its gradual formation in accordance with the independent results of internal evidence.

The later Jewish Catalogues threw little light upon the Canon. They generally reckon twenty-two Books, equal in number to the letters of the Hebrew alphabet, five of the Law, eight of the Prophets (Josh., Judg., and Ruth, 1–2 Sam., 1–2 K., Is., Jer. and Lam., Ezek., 12 Proph.), and nine of the Hagiographa (Hieron. *Prol. in Reg.*). The last number was more commonly increased to eleven by the distinct enumeration of the Books of Ruth and Lamentation ("the 24 Books," עשרים ואַרבעה), and in that case it was supposed that the *Yod* was thrice repeated in reverence for the sacred name (Hody, *de Bibl. text.* p. 644; Eichhorn, *Einl.* § 6). In Hebrew MSS., and in the early editions of the O. T., the arrangement of the later Books offers great variations (Hody, *l. c.*, gives a large collection), but they generally agree in reckoning all separately except the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah [c] (Buxtorf, Hottinger, Heng-

[a] Origen expressly excludes 1 Macc. from the Canon (ἔξω δὲ τούτων ἐστὶ τὰ Μακκ.), although written in Hebrew. Bertholdt's statement to the contrary is incorrect (*Einl.* § 31), although Keil (*de Auct. Can. Libb. Macc.* 67) maintains the same opinion.

[c] Notwithstanding the unanimous judgment of later writers, there are traces of the existence of doubts among the first Jewish doctors as to some Books. Thus in the Mishna (*Jad.* 3, 5) a discussion is recorded as to Cant. and Eccles. whether they "soil the hands"; and a difference as to the latter Book existed between the great schools of Hillel and Shammai. ["To soil the hands" is an expression that has often been misinterpreted. The Jewish doctors, in order to protect the sacred Books from irreverent usage, appear to have laid down a special rule, by which ceremonial uncleanness was contracted in the contact of hands or food with the Jewish Scriptures. It thus became necessary to determine which writings "soiled" or defiled the hands. To say of a Jewish book that it soiled the hands, so far from being depreciatory, was equivalent to recognising its place in the Jewish Canon. See Ginsburg's *Song of Songs*, p. 3, note, 1857, and *Coheleth*, pp. 13–15, 1861.] The same doubts as to Eccles. are repeated in another form in the Talmud (*Sabb.* f. 30, 2), where it is said that the book would have been concealed (גְּנָזָן) but for the quotations at the beginning and the end. Cp. Hieron. *Comm. in Eccles.* s. f.: "Aiunt Hebraei cum inter caetera scripta Salomonis quae antiquata sunt nec in memoria duraverunt, et hic liber obliterandus videretur, eo quod vanas Dei assereret creaturas ... ex hoc uno capitulo (xii.) meruisse auctoritatem ...." Parallel passages are quoted in the notes on the passage, and by Bleek, *Stud. u. Krit.* 1853, pp. 322 sq. The doubts as to Esther have been already noticed. The gravity of these doubts may fairly be measured by the vigour of assertion with which the Jews defended its canonicity. Cp. Jer. Talm. *Megilla*, i. 7 (p. 70[d]). Rabbi Jochanan said, "The Prophets and the Hagiographa will become obsolete, but the five Books of the Law will never become obsolete." Rabbi Simeon, the son of Lakish, said, "Nay; the Megillah (roll) of Esther and the Halacoth will never become obsolete." So also Maimon. *Hilchoth Megilla*, ii. 18, "All the Books of the Prophets and all the Hagiographa will become obsolete in the days of the Messiah, save only the Megillah (roll) of Esther. Lo! that shall stand like the five-fifths of the Law." (Quoted in Herzog-Plitt, *Encyk.* art. KANON.) The Jewish objections to the canonicity of such Books as Esth., Eccles., Cant. do not seem to have been founded

stenberg, Hävernick, *ll. cc.*; Zunz, *Gottesd. Vorträge d. Juden*).

So far, then, it has been shown that the Hebrew Canon was uniform and coincident with our own;[p] but while the Palestinian Jews combined to preserve the strict limits of the old prophetic writings, the Alexandrine Jews allowed themselves greater freedom. Their ecclesiastical constitution was less definite, and the same influences which created among them an independent literature disinclined them to regard with marked veneration more than the Law itself. The idea of a Canon was foreign to their habits; and the fact that they possessed the sacred Books not merely in a translation, but in a translation made at different times, without any unity of plan and without any uniformity of execution, necessarily weakened that traditional feeling of their real connexion which existed in Palestine. Translations of later books were made (1 Macc., Ecclus., Baruch, &c.), and new ones were written (2 Macc., Wisd.), which were reckoned in the sum of their religious literature, and probably placed on an equal footing with the Hagiographa in common esteem. But this was not the result of any express judgment on their worth, but a natural consequence of the popular belief in the doctrine of a living Word which deprived the prophetic writings of part of their distinctive value. So far as an authoritative Canon existed in Egypt, it is probable that it was the same as that of Palestine. In the absence of distinct evidence to the contrary this is most likely, and positive indications of the fact are not wanting. The translator of the Wisdom of Sirach uses the same phrase (ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται καὶ τὰ ἄλλα βιβλία) in speaking of his grandfather's biblical studies in Palestine, and of his own in Egypt (cp. Eichhorn, *Einl.* § 22), and he could hardly have done so had the Bible been different in the two places. The evidence of PHILO, if less direct, is still more conclusive. His language shows that he was acquainted with the Apocryphal books, and yet he does not make a single quotation from them (Hornemann, *Observ. ad illustr. doctr. de Can. V. T. ex Philone*, pp. 28, 29, *ap.* Eichhorn, *Einl.* § 26), though they offered much that was favourable to his views. On the other hand, in addition to the Law, he quotes all the Books of "the Prophets," and the Psalms and Proverbs, from the Hagiographa, and several of them (Is., Jer., Hos., Zech., Ps., Prov.) with clear assertions of their "prophetic" or inspired character. Of the remaining Hagiographa (Neh., Ruth, Lam., 1–2 Ch., Dan., Eccles., Cant.) he makes no mention, but the first three may have been attached, as often in Hebrew usage, to other Books (Ezra, Judg., Jer.), so that four writings alone are entirely unattested by him (cp. Hornemann, *l. c.*). A further trace of the identity of the Alexandrine Canon with the Palestinian is found in the Apocalypse of Esdras [2 ESDRAS], where "twenty-four open books" are specially distinguished from the mass of esoteric writings which were dictated to Ezra by inspiration (2 Esd. xiv. 44 sq.). [APOCRYPHA.]

From the combination of this evidence there can be no reasonable doubt that at the beginning of the Christian era the Jews had only one Canon of the Sacred writings, defined distinctly in Palestine, and admitted, though with a less definite apprehension of its peculiar characteristics, by the Hellenizing Jews of the Dispersion, and that this Canon was recognised, as far as can be determined, by our Lord and His Apostles. But, on the other hand, the connexion of other religious books with the Greek translation of the O. T., and their common use in Egypt, was already opening the way for an extension of the original Canon, and assigning an authority to later writings which they did not derive from ecclesiastical sanction.

III. *The History of the Christian Canon of the Old Testament.*—The history of the Old Testament Canon among Christian writers exhibits the natural issue of the currency of the LXX., enlarged as it had been by apocryphal additions. In proportion as the Fathers were more or less absolutely dependent on that Version for their knowledge of the Old Testament Scriptures, they gradually lost in common practice the sense of the difference between the Books of the Hebrew Canon and the Apocrypha. The custom of individuals grew into the custom of the Church; and the public use of the Apocryphal books obliterated in popular regard the characteristic marks of their origin and value, which could only be discovered by the scholar. But the custom of the Church was not fixed in an absolute judgment. It might seem as if the great leaders of the Christian Body shrank by a wise forethought from a work for which they were unfitted; for by acquirements and constitution they were little capable of solving a problem which must at last depend on historical data. And this remark must be applied to the details of patristic evidence on the contents of the Canon. Their habit must be distinguished from their judgment. The want of critical tact which allowed them to use the most obviously pseudonymous works (2 Esdras, Enoch) as genuine productions of their supposed authors, or as "divine Scripture," greatly diminishes the value of casual and isolated testimonies to single Books. In such cases the form as well as the fact of the attestation requires to be examined, and after this the combined witness of different Churches can alone suffice to stamp a Book with ecclesiastical authority.

The confusion which was necessarily introduced by the use of the LXX. was further increased when the Western Church rose in importance. The LXX. itself was the original

upon any historical basis, but upon the character and contents of the Books, and the possibility of their variance with the traditional interpretation of the Law (see Fuerst, *Kanon des A. T.* 148 sq.; Zahn, *Gesch. d. N. T. Kan.* 123 sq.).

A series of references to the Apocryphal books from Jewish writers has been made by Hottinger (*Thes. Philol.* 1659), and collected and reprinted by Wordsworth (*On the Canon of the Scriptures*, App. C). Cp. also the valuable notices in Zunz, *D. Gottesd. Vortr. d. Jud.* pp. 126 sq.

[p] The dream of a second and third revision of the Jewish canon in the times of Eleazer and Hillel, by which the Apocryphal books were ratified (Genebrard), rests on no basis whatever. The supposition that the Jews rejected the Apocrypha after our Lord's coming (Card. Perron) is equally unfounded. Cosin, *Canon of Scripture*, §§ 23, 25.

of the Old Latin, and the recollection of the original distinction between the constituent Books of the Bible became more and more difficult in the Version of a Version; and at the same time the Hebrew Church dwindled down to an obscure sect, and the intercourse between the Churches of the East and West grew less intimate. The impulse which instigated Melito in the second century to seek in "the East" an "accurate" account of "the Books of the Old Testament," gradually lost its force as the Jewish nation and literature were further withdrawn from the circle of Christian knowledge. The Old Latin Version converted use popularly into belief, and the investigations of Jerome were unable to counteract the feeling which had gained strength silently, without any distinct and authoritative sanction. Yet one important, though obscure, protest was made against the growing error. The Nazarenes, the relics of the Hebrew Church, in addition to the New Testament "made use of the Old Testament, as the Jews" (Epiph. *Haer* xxix. 7). They had "the whole Law, and the Prophets, and the Hagiographa so called; that is, the poetical Books, and the Kings, and Chronicles and Esther, and all the other Books in Hebrew" (Epiph. *l. c.*: παρ' αὐτοῖς γὰρ πᾶς ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται καὶ τὰ γραφεῖα λεγόμενα, φημὶ δὲ τὰ στιχήρη, καὶ αἱ Βασιλεῖαι καὶ Παραλειπόμενα, καὶ Αἴσθηρ καὶ τἄλλα πάντα Ἑβραϊκῶς ἀναγινώσκεται). And in connexion with this fact, it is worthy of remark that JUSTIN MARTYR, who drew his knowledge of Christianity from Palestine, makes no use of the Apocryphal writings in any of his works.

From what has been said, it is evident that the history of the Christian Canon is to be sought in the first instance from definite catalogues and not from isolated quotations. But even this evidence is incomplete and unsatisfactory. A comparison of the table (No. I., p. 506) of the chief extant Catalogues will show how few of them are really independent; and the later transcriptions are commonly of no value, as they do not appear to have been made with any critical appreciation of their distinctive worth.

These Catalogues evidently fall into two great classes, Hebrew and Latin; and the former, again, exhibits three distinct varieties, which are to be traced to the three original sources from which the Catalogues were derived. The first may be called the pure Hebrew Canon, which is that of the Church of England (the *Talmud, Jerome, Joan. Damasc.*). The second differs from this by the *omission* of the Book of Esther (*Melito* [*Athan.*], *Syn. S. Script., Greg. Naz., Amphiloch., Leont., Niceph., Callist.*). The third differs by the *addition* of Baruch, or "the Letter" (*Origen, Athanas., Cyr. Hieros.* [*Concil. Laod.*], *Hil. Pictav.*). The omission of Esther may mark a real variation in the opinion of the Jewish Church [ESTHER], but the addition of Baruch is probably due to the place which it occupied in direct connexion with Jeremiah, not only in the Greek and Latin translations, but perhaps also in some copies of the Hebrew text [BARUCH, BOOK OF]. This is rendered more likely by the converse fact that the Lamentations and Baruch are not distinctly enumerated by many writers who certainly received both Books. During the first four centuries this Hebrew Canon is the only one which is distinctly recognised, and it is supported by the combined authority of those Fathers whose critical judgment is entitled to the greatest weight. In the meantime, however, as has been already noticed, the common usage of the early Fathers was influenced by the position which the Apocryphal books occupied in the current Versions, and they quoted them frequently as Scripture, when they were not led to refer to the judgment of antiquity. The table (No. II., p. 508) will show the extent and character of this partial testimony to the disputed books.

These casual testimonies are, however, of comparatively slight value, and are, in many cases, opposed to the deliberate judgment of the authors from whom they are quoted. The real divergence as to the contents of the Old Testament Canon is to be traced to AUGUSTINE, whose wavering and uncertain language on the point furnishes abundant materials for controversy. By education and character he occupied a position more than usually unfavourable for historical criticism, and yet his overpowering influence, when it fell in with ordinary usage, gave consistency and strength to the opinion which he appeared to advocate, for it may be reasonably doubted whether he differed intentionally from Jerome except in language. In a famous passage (*de Doctr. Christ.* ii. 8 [13]) he enumerates the Books which are contained in "the whole Canon of Scripture," and includes among them the Apocryphal books without any clear mark of distinction. This general statement is further confirmed by two other passages, in which it is argued that he draws a distinction between the Jewish and Christian Canons, and refers the authority of the Apocryphal books to the judgment of the Christian Church. In the first passage he speaks of the Maccabaean history as not "found in the Sacred Scriptures which are called canonical, but in others, among which are also the books of the Maccabees, which the Church, and not the Jews, holds for canonical, on account of the marvellous sufferings of the martyrs [recorded in them]" ("quorum supputatio temporum non in Scripturis Sanctis, quae Canonicae appellantur, sed in aliis invenitur, in *quibus* sunt et Machabaeorum libri, quos non Judaei, sed ecclesia pro Canonicis habet," *de Civ.* xviii. 36). In the other passage he speaks of the books of the Maccabees as "received (*recepta*) by the Church, not without profit, if they be read with sobriety" (*c. Gaud.* i. 38). But it will be noticed that in each case a distinction is drawn between the "Ecclesiastical" and properly "Canonical" books. In the second case he expressly lowers the authority of the books of the Maccabees by remarking that "the Jews have them not like the Law, the Psalms, and the Prophets to which the Lord gives His witness" (Aug. *l. c.*). And the original catalogue is equally qualified by an introduction which distinguishes between the authority of Books which are received by all and by some of the Churches; and, again, between those which are received by Churches of great or of small weight (*de Doctr. Chr.* ii. 8 [12]), so that the list which immediately follows must be interpreted by

No. I.—CHRISTIAN CATALOGUES OF THE BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

The list extends only to such books as are disputed. Of the signs, * indicates that the book is expressly reckoned as *Holy Scripture*: † that it is placed expressly in a *second* rank: ? that it is mentioned with *doubt*. A blank marks the silence of the author as to the book in question.

	Lamentations.	Baruch.	Esther.	Ecclesiasticus.	Wisdom.	Tobit.	Judith.	1-2 Maccabees.	
I. Conciliar Catalogues:									
[Laodicene] . . A.D. 363	*	*	*						Conc. Laod. *Can.* lix.[1]
Carthaginian . . 397 (?)			*	*	*	*	*	*	Conc. Carthag. iii. *Can.* xxxix. (alii xlvii.).[2]
Apostolic Canons . . .			*	†			*?	*	Can. Apost. lxxxvi. (alii lxxxv.).[3]
II. Private Catalogues:									
(*a*) *Greek writers.*									
Melito . . . A.D. c. 160								†	*Ap.* Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 26.
Origen . . . c. 183–253	*	?	*						*Ap.* Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 25.[4]
Athanasius . . 296–373	*	*	†	†	†	†	†		*Ep. Fest.* xxxix. t. i. 767, *Ed. Ben.*[5]
Cyril of Jerus. . 315–386	*	*	*						*Catech.* iv. 33.
Synopsis S. Script. . . .			†	†	†	†	†		*Ap.* Chrys.; Migne, *Patr. Graec.* lvi. 313 sq.[6]
[Nicephori] Stichometria .		*	†	†	†	†	†	†	Credner, *Zur Gesch. d. Kan.* § 119 sq.[7]
Gregory of Naz. . 370–391									*Carm. Sect.* i. xii. 5; Migne, *Patr. Gr.* xxvii. 472 sq.[8]
Amphilochius . . c. 380			?						*Iambi ad Seleucum*, ap. Gregor. Naz. *Carm. Sect.* ii. xvii.; Migne, *Patr. Gr.* xxxvii. 1593 sq.; cp. Amphiloch. ed. Combef. p. 130 sq.[9]
Epiphanius. . c. 367–403			*	†	†				*De Mens. et Pond.* 4, Dind. iv. 7.[10]
Leontius . . . c. 590									*De Sectis*, Act. ii. (Gallandi, xii. 625 sq.)[11]
Joannes Damasc. . †750			*	†	†				*De fide orthod.* iv. 17.[12]
Nicephorus Callist. c. 1330			?			?	?		Hody, p. 648.[13]
Cod. Gr. *Saec.* X. . . .			†	†	†	†	†	†	Montfaucon, *Bibl. Coislin.* p. 193 sq.
(*b*) *Latin writers.*									
Hilarius Pictav. A.D. †c. 370	*	?	*			?	?		*Prol. in Ps.* 15.[14]
Hieronymus . . . †420	*		*	†	†	†	†	†	*Prol. Galeat. in libros Samuel et Malachim*, ix. pp. 542 sq., ed. Migne.[15]
Ruffinus . . . c. 380			*	†	†	†	†	†	*Expos. Symb.* 37 sq.[16]
Augustinus . . 393–430			*	*	*	*	*	*	*De doctr. Christ.* ii. 8.[17]
[Innocentius]			*	*	*	*	*	*	*Ep. ad Exsup.* (Gallandi, viii. 561 sq.).
Cassiodorus . . . †570			*	*	*	*	*	*	*De Instit. Div. Litt.* xiv.[18]
Isidorus Hispal. . . †696	*		*	*	*	*	*	*	*De Ordine Libr. S. Script.* init.; Migne, *Patr. L.* lxxxiii. 155 sq.[19]
Sacram. Gallic. "*ante annos* 1000"			*			*	*	*	Hody, p. 654.

NOTES ON TABLE No. I.

[1] The evidence against the authenticity of this Canon, as an original part of the collection, is decisive, in spite of the defence of Bickell (*Stud. u. Krit.* iii. 611 sq.), as the present writer has shown at length in another place (*Hist. of N. T. Canon*, iv. 498 sq.). The Canon recurs in the *Capitular. Aquisgran.* c. xx., with the omission of *Baruch* and *Lamentations*.

[2] The same Canon appears in Conc. Hipp. *Can.* xxxvi. The Greek version of the Canon omits the books of Maccabees; and the history of the Council itself is very obscure. Cp. Cosin. § 82.

[3] This Canon mentions *three* books of the Maccabees. *Judith* is not found in some MSS.; and generally it may be observed that the published text of the Conciliar Canons needs a thorough revision. Ecclesiasticus is thus mentioned: ἔξωθεν δὲ προσιστορείσθω ὑμῖν μανθάνειν ὑμῶν τοὺς νέους τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ πολυμαθοῦς Σειράχ. Cp. *Constit. Apost.* ii. 57.

The Canons of Laodicea, Carthage, and the Apostolic Canons, were all ratified in the Quini-Sextine Council, *Can.* 2.

[4] Ἱερεμίας σὺν Θρήνοις καὶ ἐπιστολῇ ἐν ἑνί. Origen expressly says that this catalogue is ὡς Ἑβραῖοι παραδιδόασι, and begins with the words: εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ εἴκοσι δύο βίβλοι κατ' Ἑβραίους αἵδε. He quotes several of the Apocryphal books as Scripture, as will be seen below; and in his Letter to Africanus defends the interpolated Greek text of Daniel and the other O. T. Books, on the ground of their public use (*Ep. ad Afric.* § 3 sq.). The whole of this last passage is of the deepest interest, and places in the clearest light the influence which the LXX. exercised on common opinion.

this rule. In confirmation of this view of Augustine's special regard for the Hebrew Canon, it may be further urged that he appeals to the Jews, "the librarians of the Christians," as possessing "all the writings in which Christ was prophesied of" (*in* Ps. xl., Ps. lvi.), and to "the Law, the Psalms, and the Prophets," which were supported by the witness of the Jews (*c. Gaud.* l. c.), as including "all the canonical authorities of the Sacred Books" (*de unit. Eccles.* 16), which, as he says in another place (*de Civ.* xv. 23, 4), "were preserved in the Temple of the Hebrew people by the care of the successive priests." But on the other hand Augustine frequently uses passages from the Apocryphal books as co-ordinate with Scripture, and practically disregards the rules of distinction between the various classes of Sacred writings which he had himself laid down. He stood on the extreme verge of the age of independent learning, and follows at one time the conclusions of criticism, at another the prescriptions of habit, which from his date grew more and more powerful.

The enlarged Canon of Augustine, which was, as it will be seen, wholly unsupported by any Greek authority, was adopted at the Council of CARTHAGE (A.C. 397?), though with a reservation (Can. 47, *De confirmando isto Canone transmarina ecclesia consulatur*), and afterwards published in the decretals which bear the name of INNOCENT, DAMASUS, and GELASIUS (cp. Credner, *Zur Gesch. d. Kan.* 151 sq.); and it recurs in many later writers. But nevertheless a continuous succession of the more learned Fathers in the West maintained the distinctive authority of the Hebrew Canon up to the period of the Reformation. In the 6th century PRIMASIUS (*Comm. in Apoc.* iv. Cosin, § 92?), in the 7th GREGORY THE GREAT (*Moral.* xix. 21, p. 622), in the 8th BEDE (*in Apoc.* iv.?), in the 9th ALCUIN (*ap.* Hody, 654; yet see *Carm.* vi. vii.), in the 10th RADULPHUS FLAV. (*in Levit.* xiv.; Hody, 655), in the 12th PETER OF CLUNY (*Ep. c. Petr.*; Hody, *l. c.*), HUGO DE S. VICTOIRE (*de Script.* 6), and JOHN OF SALISBURY (Hody, 656; Cosin, § 130), in the 13th HUGO CARDINALIS (Hody, 656), in the 14th NICHOLAS LIRANUS (Hody, p. 657; Cosin, § 146), WICLIF (? cp. Hody, 658), and OCCAM (Hody, p. 657; Cosin, § 147), in the 15th THOMAS ANGLICUS (Cosin, § 150), and THOMAS DE WALDEN (Id. § 151), in the 16th Card. XIMENES (*Ed. Compl. Pref.*), SIXTUS SENENSIS (*Biblioth.* i. 1), and Card. CAJETAN (Hody, p. 662; Cosin, § 173), repeat with approval the decision of Jerome, and draw a clear line between the Canonical and Apocryphal books (Cosin, *Scholastical History of the Canon*; Reuss, *Die Gesch. d. heiligen Schriften d. N. T.*, ed. 2, § 328).

NOTES ON TABLE No. I.—*continued.*

[5] Athanasius closes his whole catalogue with the words: ταῦτα πηγαί τοῦ σωτηρίου...ἐν τούτοις μόνοις τὸ τῆς εὐσεβίας διδασκαλεῖον εὐαγγελίζεται. μηδεὶς τούτοις ἐπιβαλλέτω· μηδὲ τούτων ἀφαιρείσθω τι ..... ἐστὶν καὶ ἕτερα βιβλία τούτων ἔξωθεν, οὐ κανονιζόμενα μὲν τετυπώμενα δὲ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἀναγινώσκεσθαι τοῖς ἄρτι προσερχομένοις καὶ βουλομένοις κατηχεῖσθαι τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας λόγον.

[6] The list of the Apocryphal books is prefaced by a clause nearly identical with that in Athanasius. In a second enumeration (Credner, *Gesch. d. Kanon*, p. 144), *three* books of the *Maccabees* and *Susanna* are enumerated among the ἀντιλεγόμενα.

[7] The Apocryphal books are headed: καὶ ὅσαι ἀντιλέγονται τῆς παλαιᾶς αὗταί εἰσιν. *Susanna* (i.e. Add. to Daniel) is reckoned among them.

[8] The catalogue ends with the words: πάσας ἔχεις. εἴ τις δὲ τούτων ἐκτὸς οὐκ ἐν γνησίοις.

[9] The verses occur under the name of Gregory of Nazianzus, but are generally referred to Amphilochius. Of Esther he says: τούτοις προσεγκρίνουσι τὴν Ἐσθήρ τινες. He concludes: οὗτος ἀψευδέστατος Κανὼν ἂν εἴη τῶν θεοπνεύστων γραφῶν.

[10] Epiphanius adds of Wisdom and Ecclus.: χρήσιμοι μὲν εἰσὶ καὶ ὠφέλιμοι, ἀλλ' εἰς ἀριθμὸν ῥητῶν οὐκ ἀναφέρονται, διὸ οὐδε ... ἐν τῇ τῆς διαθήκης κιβωτῷ [ἀνετέθησαν]. The same catalogue is repeated *de Mens.* p. 186. In another place (*adv. Haer.* lxxvi. p. 941), he speaks of the teaching contained in "the xxii. Books" of the Old Test. in the New Test., and then ἐν ταῖς Σοφίαις, Σολομῶντός τε φημὶ καὶ υἱοῦ Σιρὰχ καὶ πάσαις ἁπλῶς θείαις γραφαῖς. In a third catalogue (*adv. Haer.* v. p. 19) he adds the letters of *Baruch* and Jeremiah (which he elsewhere specially notices as wanting in the Hebrew, *de Mens.* p. 163), and speaks of Wisdom and Ecclus. as ἐν ἀμφιλέκτῳ (among the Jews), χωρὶς ἄλλων τινῶν βιβλίων ἐναποκρύφων. Cp. *adv. Haer.* xxix. p. 122.

[11] Leont. *l. c.*: ταῦτά ἐστι τὰ κανονιζόμενα βιβλία ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ παλαιὰ καὶ νέα, ὧν τὰ παλαιὰ πάντα δέχονται οἱ Ἑβραῖοι.

[12] Joan. Damasc. *l. c.* ἡ σοφία τοῦ Σολομῶντος καὶ ἡ Σοφία τοῦ Ἰησοῦ .... ἐνάρετοι μὲν καὶ καλαὶ ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀριθμοῦνται, οὐδὲ ἔκειντο ἐν τῇ κιβωτῷ.

[13] "Quibus nonnulli adjiciunt Esther, Judith, et Tobit. ἐκτὸς δὲ τούτων τῆς γραφῆς ἅπαν νόθον" (Hody, *l. c.*).

[14] Hilar. *l. c.*: "Quibusdam autem visum est additis Tobia et Judith xxiv. libros secundum numerum graecarum litterarum connumerare ...."

[15] Hieron. *l. c.*: "Quicquid extra hos [the Books of the Hebrew Canon] est, inter apocrypha ponendum. Igitur *Sapientia*, quae vulgo Salomonis inscribitur, et *Jesu filii Sirach* liber, et *Judith* et *Tobias* et *Pastor* non sunt in canone. *Macchabaeorum* primum librum Hebraicum reperi: secundus Graecus est .... Cp. *Prol. in Libros Salom. ad Chrom. et Heliod.* Fertur et Πανάρετος, *Jesu filii Sirach* liber, et alius ψευδεπίγραφος, qui *Sapientia Salomonis* inscribitur .... Sicut ergo *Judith* et *Tobit*, et *Macchabaeorum* libros legit quidem ecclesia, sed inter canonicos non recipit, sic et haec duo volumina legit ad aedificationem plebis, non ad auctoritatem ecclesiasticorum dogmatum confirmandam. Cp. Prologos in *Dan., Hierem., Tobit, Judith, Jonam*; *Ep. ad Paulinum*, liii." Hence at the close of Esther one very ancient MS., quoted by Martianay on the place, adds: "Hucusque completum est Vet. Test. id est, omnes canonicae Scripturae ... quas transtulit Hieronymus .... de Hebraicâ veritate .... caeterae vero Scripturae, quae non sunt canonicae, sed dicuntur ecclesiasticae, istae sunt, id est ...." giving the list contained in *Prol. Galat.*

[16] After giving the Hebrew Canon and the received Canon of N. T., Rufinus says: "Sciendum tamen est, quod et alii libri sunt, qui non canonici sed *ecclesiastici* a majoribus appellati sunt, id est, *Sapientia*, quae dicitur *Solomonis*, et alia *Sapientia* quae dicitur *filii Sirach* .... ejusdem vero ordinis libellus est *Tobiae* et *Judith* et *Machabaeorum* libri .... Quae omnia legi quidem in ecclesiis voluerunt, non tamen proferri ad auctoritatem ex his fidei confirmandam. Caeteras vero Scripturas *apocryphas* nominarunt, quas in ecclesiis legi noluerunt."

[17] See below.

[18] Cassiodorus gives also, however, with marks of high respect, the catalogue of Jerome. Cp. Cosin, § 89.

[19] Isidorus, like Cassiodorus, gives the catalogue of Jerome, as well as that of Augustine. Cp. Cosin, § 103.

	1-2 Macc.	Baruch.	Ecclesiasticus.	Wisdom.	Tobit.	Judith.	Additions to Esther.	Additions to Daniel.
I. *Greek writers.*								
Clemens Rom.	..	..	..	[*Ep. ad Cor.* 27.]	..	[*Ep. ad Cor.* 55.]		
Polycarp	..	..	..	..	[*Ep. ad Phil.* 10.]			
Barnabas	..	..	[*Ep.* 19, 9.]	[*Ep.* c. 6.]				
Irenæus	..	*Adv. haer.* v. 35, 1.	..	[*Adv. haer.* iv. 38, 3.]	[*Adv. haer.* i. 30, 11.]	..	..	*Adv. haer.* iv. 5, 2; 26, 3.
Clem. Alex.	[*Strom.* v. 14.]	*Paed.* i. 10; ii. 3.	*Strom.* ii. 5, &c.	*Strom.* iv. 16; vi. 11, 14, 15, &c.	*Strom.* ii. 23; vi. 12.	*Strom.* ii. 7.	..	[*Eclog. ex Script. Proph.* 1.]
Origenes	*De Princ.* ii. 1, 5.	*Sel. in Ps.* cxxv.; *Sel. in Jer.* xxxi.	*Comm. in Joan.* xxxii. 14.	*c. Cels.* iii. 72; v. 29; *Hom.* saepe.	*Ep. ad Afric.* 13; *De Orat.* 11.	[*Hom.* ix. *in Jud.* 1.]	*Ep. ad Afric.*; *De Orat.* 14.	*Ep. ad Afric.* &c.
Hippolytus	[*De Antichr.* 49.]	*Adv. d. Noet.* 5.	..	*In Cant.* Prol.	[*In Dan.* p. 697, ed. Migne.]	*Sel. in Jer.* 23.	..	*Comm. in Dan.* pp. 639 sq., ed. Migne.
Methodius	..	*Conv.* viii. 3.	*Conv.* i. 3, &c.	*Conv.* i. 3, &c.	..	[*Conv.* xi. 2.]	..	[*Conv.* xi. 2.]
Athanasius	..	*c. Arian.* i. 13, p. 329.	*c. Arian.* ii. 4, p. 372.	*c. Arian.* ii. 33, p. 395.	*c. Arian.* i. p. 133.	*c. Arian.* ii. 34, p. 397.	..	*c. Arian.* i. 13, p. 329; iii. p. 580.
Eusebius	..	*Dem. Ev.* vi. 19.	..	*Praep. Ev.* i. 9.	*Apol. ad Const.* c. 17, § 242.	..	..	..
Cyril. Hieros.	..	*Cat.* xi. 15.	[*Cat.* xxiii. 17.]	*Cat.* ix. 2.	..	..	..	*Cat.* ii. 16, &c.
Gregor. Naz.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	*Orat.* xxxvi. 3.
Basil	..	*Adv. Eun.* iv. 16.	..	*Adv. Eunom.* v. 2.	..	..	..	*Hom. xii. in Prov.* 13.
Epiphanius	..	*Haer.* lvii. 2, &c.	*Haer.* xxiv. 6, &c.	*Haer.* xxvi. (Gnost.) 15, &c.	..	..	..	*Ancor.* 23, 24.
Chrysostom	..	*In Ps.* xlix. 3.	*De Laz.* ii. 4.	*In Ps.* cix. 7.				
II. *Latin writers.*								
Tertullian	..	*Scorp.* 8.	..	[*De praes. haer.* 7.]	..	..	..	*Adv. Hermog.* 44.
Cyprian	*Ep.* 59 (55), 4.	*Testim.* ii. 6.	*Testim.* ii. 1; *De Mortal.* 9.	*Testim.* ii. 14; *De Mortal.* 23.	*De Orat. Dom.* 32.	..	..	*De Orat. Dom.* 8.
Hilarius Pictav.	..	*In Ps.* lxviii. 19; *De Trin.* iv. 142.	*In Ps.* lxvi. 9, &c.	*In Ps.* cxviii. 2, 8.	*In Ps.* cxxix. 7.	*In Ps.* cxxv. 6.	..	*In Ps.* lii. 19, &c.
Ambrosius	..	*In Ps.* cxviii. 18, 2.	*De bono mortis*, 8.	*De Sp. S.* iii. 18, 135, &c.	*Lib. de Tobia*, 1.	..	..	*De Sp. S.* iii. 6, 39.
Hieronymus	..	..	[*Dial. c. Pelag.* i. 33.]	[*Dial. c. Pelag.* i. 33.]	..	..	..	..
Lucifer	*De non parc.* pp. 958 sq.	..	..	*Pro Athan.* i. p. 860, ed. Migne.	*Pro Athan.* i. p. 871.	*De non parc.* p. 955.	..	*Pro Athan.* ii. pp. 894 sq.
Optatus	..	..	*De Sch. Don.* iii. 3.	*De Sch. Don.* ii. 25.				
Augustinus	..	*De Civ.* xviii. 34.	*In Ps.* lxvii. 8, &c.	*In Ps.* lvii. 1.	..	..	..	*Serm.* cccxliii.

[1] The quotations in brackets are doubtful either as to the reference, or as to the character assigned to the book quoted.

Up to the date of the COUNCIL OF TRENT, the Romanists allow that the question of the Canon was open, but one of the first labours of that assembly was to circumscribe a freedom which the growth of literature seemed to render perilous.[q] The decree of the Council "on the Canonical Scriptures," which was made at the fourth session (April 8th, 1546), at which about fifty-three representatives were present, pronounced the enlarged Canon, including the Apocryphal books, to be deserving in all its parts of "equal veneration" (*pari pietatis affectu*), and added a list of books "to prevent the possibility of doubt" (*ne cui dubitatio suboriri possit*). This hasty and peremptory decree, unlike in its form to any catalogue before published, was closed by a solemn anathema against all who should "not receive the entire books with all their parts as sacred and canonical" ("Si quis autem libros ipsos integros cum omnibus suis partibus, prout in ecclesia catholica legi consueverunt et in veteri vulgata Latina editione habentur, pro sacris et canonicis non susceperit . . . anathema esto," *Conc. Trid. Sess.* iv.). This decree was not, however, passed without opposition (Sarpi, 139 sq., ed. 1655, though Pallavacino denies this); and in spite of the absolute terms in which it is expressed, later Romanists have sought to find a method of escaping from the definite equalisation of the two classes of Sacred writings by a forced interpretation of the subsidiary clauses. Du Pin (*Dissert. prelim.* i. 1), Lamy (*App. Bibl.* ii. 5), and Jahn (*Einl. in d. Göttl. Bücher d. A. T.*, i. 140–143) endeavoured to establish two classes of proto-Canonical, and deutero-Canonical books, attributing to the first a dogmatic, and to the second only an ethical authority. But such a classification, however true it may be, is obviously at variance with the terms of the Tridentine decision, and has found comparatively little favour among Romish writers (cp. [Herbst] Welte, *Einl.* ii. 1 sq.; Kaulen,[2] *Einl. in d. heilige Schrift.* i. 14, &c.).

The Reformed Churches unanimously agreed in confirming the Hebrew Canon of Jerome, and refused to allow any dogmatic authority to the Apocryphal books, but the form in which this judgment was expressed varied considerably in the different confessions. The Lutheran formularies contain no definite article on the subject, but the note which Luther placed in the front of his German translation of the Apocrypha (ed. 1534) is an adequate declaration of the later judgment of the Communion: "Apocrypha, that is books which are not placed on an equal footing (*nicht gleich gehalten*) with Holy Scripture, and yet are profitable and good for reading." This general view was further expanded in the special prefaces to the separate books in which Luther freely criticised their individual worth, and wholly rejected 3 and 4 Esdras as unworthy of translation. At an earlier period Carlstadt (1520) published a critical essay, *De canonicis scripturis libellus* (reprinted in Credner, *Zur Gesch. d. Kan.* pp. 291 sq.), in which he followed the Hebrew division of the Canonical Books into three ranks, and added Wisd., Ecclus., Judith, Tobit, 1 and 2 Macc., as Hagiographa, though not included in the Hebrew collection, while he rejected the remainder of the Apocrypha with considerable parts of Daniel as "utterly apocryphal" (*plane apocryphi*; Credn. pp. 389, 410 sq.).

The Calvinistic Churches generally treated the question with more precision, and introduced into their symbolic documents a distinction between the "Canonical" and "Apocryphal," or "Ecclesiastical" books. The Gallican Confession (1561), after an enumeration of the Hieronymian Canon (*Art.* 3), adds (*Art.* 4) "that the other ecclesiastical books are useful, yet not such that any article of faith could be established out of them" (*quo* [sc. *Spiritu Sancto*] *suggerente docemur, illos* [sc. *libros Canonicos*] *ab aliis libris ecclesiasticis discernere, qui, ut sint utiles, non sunt tamen ejusmodi, ut ex iis constituti possit aliquis fidei articulus*). The Belgic Confession (1561?) contains a similar enumeration of the Canonical Books (*Art.* 4), and allows their public use by the Church, but denies to them all independent authority in matters of faith (*Art.* 6). The later Helvetic Confession (1562, Bullinger) notices the distinction between the Canonical and Apocryphal books without pronouncing any judgment on the question (Niemeyer, *Libr. Symb. Eccles. Ref.* p. 468). The Westminster Confession (*Art.* 3) places the Apocryphal books on a level with other human writings, and concedes to them no other authority in the Church.

The English Church (*Art.* 6) appeals directly to the opinion of St. Jerome, and concedes to the Apocryphal books (including [1571] 4 Esdras and The Prayer of Manasses)[r] a use "for example of life and instruction of manners," but not for the establishment of doctrine; and a similar decision is given in the Irish Articles of 1615 (Hardwick, *l. c.*, 341 sq.). The original English Articles of 1552 contained no catalogue (*Art.* 5) of the contents of "Holy Scripture," and no mention of the Apocrypha, although the Tridentine decree (1546) might seem to have rendered this necessary. The example of foreign Churches may have led to the addition upon the later revision.

The expressed opinion of the later Greek Church on the Canon of Scripture has been modified in some cases by the circumstances under which the declaration was made. The "Confession" of Cyril Lucar, who was most favourably disposed towards the Protestant Churches, confirms the Laodicene Catalogue, and marks the Apocryphal books as not possessing the same divine authority as those whose canonicity is unquestioned (Kimmel, *Libri Symbolici Eccles. Or.* i. p. 42, *τὸ κῦρος παρὰ τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος οὐκ ἔχουσιν ὡς τὰ κυρίως καὶ ἀναμφιβόλως κανονικὰ βιβλία*). In this judgment Cyril Lucar was followed by his friend Metrophanes Critopulus, in whose confession a complete list of the Books of the Hebrew Canon is given (Kimmel, ii. pp. 105 sq.), while some value is assigned to the Apocryphal books (*ἀποβλήτους οὐχ ἡγούμεθα*) in consideration of their

[q] The history of the Catalogue published at the Council of Florence (1441) is obscure (Cosin, §§ 159 f.), and it was probably limited to the determination of books for *Ecclesiastical* use (Reuss, § 325).

[r] The Latin copy of 1562 includes only 2-3 Esd., Wisd., Ecclus., Tobit, Jud., 1-2 Macc. (Hardwick, *Hist. of Art.* p. 275).

ethical value; and the detailed decision of Metrophanes is quoted with approval in the "Orthodox Teaching" of Platon. Metropolitan of Moscow (ed. Athens, 1836, p. 59). The "Orthodox Confession" simply refers the subject of Scripture to the Church (Kimmel, p. 159, ἡ ἐκκλησία ἔχει τὴν ἐξουσίαν . . . νὰ δοκιμάζῃ τὰς γραφάς; cp. p. 123). On the other hand, the Synod at Jerusalem, held in 1672, "against the Calvinists," which is commonly said to have been led by Romish influence (yet cp. Kimmel, p. lxxxviii.), pronounced that the books which Cyril Lucar "ignorantly or maliciously called apocryphal," are "canonical and Holy Scripture," on the authority of the testimony of the ancient Church ([Kimmel,] Weissenborn, *Dosith. Confess.* pp. 467 sq.). The Constantinopolitan Synod, which was held in the same year, notices the difference existing between the Apostolic, Laodicene, and Carthaginian Catalogues, and appears to distinguish the Apocryphal books as not wholly to be rejected (ὅσα μέντοι τῶν τῆς παλαίας διαθήκης βιβλίων τῇ ἀναριθμήσει τῶν ἁγιογράφων οὐ συμπεριλαμβάνεται . . . οὐκ ἀπόβλητα τυγχάνουσι διόλου). The authorised Russian Catechism (*The Doctrine of the Russian Church*, &c., by Rev. W. Blackmore, Aberd., 1845, pp. 37 sq.) distinctly quotes and defends the Hebrew Canon on the authority of the Greek Fathers, and repeats the judgment of Athanasius on the usefulness of the Apocryphal books as a preparatory study in the Bible; and there can be no doubt but that the current of Greek opinion, in accordance with the unanimous agreement of the ancient Greek Catalogues, coincides with this judgment. [The officially-printed Russian Bibles contain the Apocryphal books, with a note to the effect that they are taken from the Greek Version or are not found in the Hebrew text.]

The history of the Syrian Canon of the O. T. is involved in great obscurity from the scantiness of the evidence which can be brought to bear upon it. The Peshitto was made, in the first instance, directly from the Hebrew, and consequently adhered to the Hebrew Canon;[a] but as the LXX. was used afterwards in revising the Version, so many of the Apocryphal books were translated from the Greek at an early period, and added to the original collection (Assem. *Bibl. Orient.* i. 71). Yet this change was only made gradually. In the time of Ephrem (*c.* A.D. 370) the Apocryphal additions to Daniel were yet wanting, and his commentaries were confined to the Books of the Hebrew Canon, though he was acquainted with the Apocrypha (Lardner, *Credibility*, &c., iv. pp. 427 sq.; see Lengerke, *Daniel*, p. cxii.). The later Syrian writers do not throw much light upon the question. Gregory Bar-Hebraeus, in his short commentary on Scripture, treats of the Books in the following order (Assem. *Bibl. Orient.* ii. 282): the Pentateuch, Josh., Judg., 1 & 2 Sam., Ps., 1 & 2 K., Prov., *Eccles.*, Eccles., Cant., *Wisd.*, Ruth, *Hist. Sus.*, Job, Is., 12 Proph., Jer., Lam., Ezek., Dan., *Bel*, 4 Gosp., Acts . . . 14 Epist. of St. Paul, omitting 1 & 2 Ch., Ezra, Neh., Esther, *Tobit*, 1 & 2 *Macc.*, *Judith*, (*Baruch*?), *Apocalypse*, Epist. *James*, 1 Pet., 1 John.

In the Scriptural Vocabulary of Jacob of Edessa (Assem. *l. c.* p. 499), the order and number of the books commented upon is somewhat different: Pent., Jos., Jud., Job, 1 & 2 Sam., David (i.e. Ps.), 1 & 2 K., Is., 12 Proph., Jer., Lam., *Baruch*, Ezek., Dan., Prov., *Wisd.*, Cant., Ruth, Esth., *Judith*, *Ecclus.*, Acts, Epist. *James*, 1 Pet., 1 John, 14 Epist. of St. Paul, 4 Gosp., omitting 1 & 2 Ch., Ezra, Neh., Eccles., *Tobit*, 1 & 2 *Macc.*, *Apoc.* (comp. Assem. *Bibl. Orient.* iii. 4 *not.*).

The Catalogue of Ebed-Jesu (Assem. *Bibl. Orient.*, iii. 5 sq.) is rather a general survey of all the Hebrew and Christian literature with which he was acquainted (Catalogus librorum omnium Ecclesiasticorum) than a Canon of Scripture. After enumerating the Books of the Hebrew Canon, together with *Ecclus.*, *Wisd.*, *Judith*, *Add. to Dan.*, and *Baruch*, he adds, without any break, "the traditions of the Elders" (Mishnah), the works of Josephus, including the Fables of Aesop which were popularly ascribed to him, and at the end mentions the "book of *Tobias and Tobit*." In the like manner, after enumerating the 4 Gosp., Acts., 3 Cath. Epist. and 14 Epist. of St. Paul, he passes at once to the Diatessaron of Tatian, and the writings of "the disciples of the Apostles." Little dependence, however, can be placed on these lists, as they rest on no critical foundation, and it is known from other sources that varieties of opinion on the subject of the Canon existed in the Syrian Church (Assem. *Bibl. Orient.* iii. 6 *not.*).

One testimony, however, which derives its origin from the Syrian Church, is specially worthy of notice. Junilius, an African Bishop of the 6th century, has preserved a full and interesting account of the teaching of Paulus, a Persian, on Holy Scripture, who was educated at Nisibis, where "the Divine Law was regularly explained by public masters," as a branch of common education (Junil. *De part. leg. Praef.*). He divides the Books of the Bible into two classes, those of "perfect," and those of "mean" authority. The first class includes all the Books of the Hebrew Canon with the exception of 1 & 2 Ch., Job, Canticles, and Esther, and with the addition of *Ecclesiasticus*. The second class consists of Chronicles (2), Job, Esdras (2), *Judith*, Esther, and *Maccabees* (2), which are added by "very many" (*plurimi*) to the Canonical Books. The remaining books are pronounced to be of no authority, and of these Canticles and Wisdom are said to be added by "some" (*quidam*) to the Canon. The classification as it stands is not without difficulties, but it deserves more attention than it has received (cp. Hody, p. 653; Gallandi, *Biblioth.* xii. 79 sq. [Westcott's *Canon of the N. T.*, App. D., v.]).

The Armenian Canon, so far as it can be ascertained from editions, follows that of the LXX., but it is of no critical authority; and a similar remark applies to the Aethiopian Canon, though it is more easy in this case to trace the changes through which it has passed (Dillmann,

[a] [A doubt has been raised whether the Books of Chronicles were originally included in the O. T. Canon of this Version. The peculiarities of the translation seem to place these Books in a separate class from the others; and it has been pointed out that the Nestorians and some of the Monophysites did not include the Books of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther in their Canon. See Nöldeke, *Die alttest. Literatur*, p. 263.]

Ueber d. Aeth. Kan., in Ewald's *Jahrbuch*, 1853, pp. 144 sq.).

In addition to the books already quoted under the heads for which they are specially valuable, some still remain to be noticed. C. F. Schmid, *Hist. ant. et vindic. Can. S. Vet. et Nov. Test.*, Lips. 1775. [H. Corrodi], *Versuch einer Beleuchtung . . . d. Bibl. Kanons*, Halle, 1792; Movers, *Loci quidam Hist. Can. V. T. illustrati*, Breslau, 1842. The great work of Hody (*De biblior. text.*, Oxon. 1735) contains a rich store of materials, though even this is not free from minor errors. Stuart's *Critical History and Defence of the Old Test. Canon*, London, 1849, is rather an apology than a history. Zöckler, *Hdb. d. theol. Wissensch.* Nordl. 1885; Herzog, *RE.*[2] art. *Kanon* (O. T. by Strack); cp. also De Wette-Schrader's *Einleit.* Berlin, 1869; Nöldeke, *Die alttest. Literatur*, Leipz. 1868; Diestel, *Gesch. d. A. T. in d. christl. Kirche*, Jena, 1869; Keil's *Einleit.* Frank. a. M. 1873; S. Davidson's *The Canon of the Bible*, London, 1877; Bleek-Wellhausen's *Einleit.* Berlin, 1886; W. Robertson Smith, *The O. T. in the Jewish Church*, Edinb. 1881; Reuss, *Gesch. d. A. T.*[2], Braunschw. 1890; Kaulen, *Einleit. in d. A. T.*, Freiburg, 1881; Fuerst's *Kanon des A. T.*, 1868; Bloch, *Alt-Hebraische Literatur*, 1876; Westcott's *Bible in the Church*, 1885; Schürer, *Gesch. d. Jüd. Volkes*, ii. Leipz. 1886; Buhl, *Kanon u. Text d. A. T.*, Leipz. 1891.

IV. *The History of the Canon of the New Testament.*—The history of the Canon of the N. T. presents a remarkable analogy to that of the Canon of the O. T. The beginnings of both Canons are obscure from the circumstances under which they arose: both grew silently under the guidance of an inward instinct rather than by the force of an external authority; both were connected with other religious literature by a series of books which claimed a partial and questionable authority; both gained definiteness in times of persecution. The chief difference lies in the general consent with which all the Churches of the West have joined in ratifying one Canon of the N. T., while they are divided as to the position of the O. T. Apocrypha.

The history of the N. T. Canon may be conveniently divided into three periods. The first extends to the time of Hegesippus (*c.* A.D. 170), and includes the era of the separate circulation and gradual collection of the Apostolic writings. The second is closed by the persecution of Diocletian (A.D. 303), and marks the separation of the sacred writings from the remaining Ecclesiastical literature. The third may be defined by the third Council of Carthage (A.D. 397), in which a catalogue of the Books of Scripture was formally ratified by conciliar authority. The first is characteristically a period of tradition, the second of speculation, the third of authority; and it is not difficult to trace the features of the successive ages in the course of the history of the Canon.

1. *The History of the Canon of the New Testament to* 170 A.D.—The writings of the N. T. themselves contain little more than faint, and perhaps unconscious, intimations of the position which they were destined to occupy. The mission of the Apostles was essentially one of preaching and not of writing: of founding a present Church and not of legislating for a future one. The "word" is essentially one of "hearing," "received," and "handed down," a "message," a "proclamation." Written instruction was in each particular case only occasional and fragmentary; and the completeness of the entire collection of the incidental records thus formed is one of the most striking proofs of the Providential power which guided the natural development of the Church. The prevailing method of interpreting the O. T., and the peculiar position which the first Christians occupied, as standing upon the verge of "the coming age" (*αἰών*), seemed to preclude the necessity and even the use of a "New Testament." Yet even thus, though there is nothing to indicate that the Apostles regarded their written remains as likely to preserve a perfect exhibition of the sum of Christian truth, coordinate with the Law and the Prophets, they claim for their writings a public use (1 Thess. v. 27; Col. iv. 16; Rev. xii. 18) and an authoritative power (1 Tim. iv. 1 ff.; 2 Thess. iii. 6, 14; Rev. xxii. 19); and at the time when 2 Peter was written, which on any supposition is an extremely early writing, the Epistles of St. Paul were placed in significant connexion with "the other Scriptures"[1] (*τὰς λοιπὰς γραφάς*, not *τὰς ἄλλας γραφάς*).

The transition from the Apostolic to the sub-Apostolic age is essentially abrupt and striking. An age of conservatism succeeds an age of creation; but in feeling and general character the period which followed the working of the Apostles seems to have been a faithful reflection of that which they moulded. The remains of the literature to which it gave birth, which are wholly Greek, are singularly scanty and limited in range, merely a few Letters and "Apologies." As yet writing among Christians was, as a general rule, the result of a pressing necessity and not of choice; and under such circumstances it is vain to expect either a distinct consciousness of the necessity of a written Canon, or any clear testimony as to its limits.

The writings of the Apostolic Fathers (*c.* 70–120 A.D.) are all occasional. They sprang out of peculiar circumstances, and offered little scope for quotation. At the same time, the Apostolic tradition was still fresh in the memories of men, and the need of written Gospels was not yet made evident by the corruption of the oral narrative. As a consequence of this, the testimony of the Apostolic Fathers is chiefly important as proving the general currency of such outlines of history and types of doctrine as are preserved in our Canon. They show in this way that the Canonical Books offer an adequate explanation of the belief of the next age, and must therefore represent completely the earlier teaching on which that was based. In three places, however, in which it was natural to look for a more distinct reference, Clement (*Ep.* 47), Ignatius (*ad Eph.* 12), and Polycarp (*Ep.* 3) refer to Apostolic Epistles written to those whom they were themselves addressing. The casual coincidences of the writings of the Apo-

[1] The late tradition commonly quoted from Photius *Biblioth.* 254) to show that St. John completed the Canon refers only to the Gospels: *τοὺς τόμους οἱ ἀνέγραφον διαφόροις γλώσσαις τὰ σωτήρια τοῦ δεσπότου πάθη τε καὶ θαύματα καὶ διδάγματα . . . . διέταξε τε καὶ συνδιήρθρωσε . . . .*

stolic Fathers with the language of the Epistles are much more extensive. With the exception of the Epistles of *Jude*, 2 *Peter*, and 2–3 *John*,[w] with which no coincidences occur, and 1–2 Thessalonians, [Colossians,] Titus, and Philemon, with which the coincidences are very questionable,[x] all the other Epistles were clearly known, and used by them; but still they are not quoted with the formulas which preface citations from the O. T. (*ἡ γραφὴ λέγει, γέγραπται*, &c.),[y] nor is the famous phrase of Ignatius (*ad Philad.* 5, *προσφυγὼν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ ὡς σαρκὶ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ὡς πρεσβυτερίῳ ἐκκλησίας*) sufficient to prove the existence of a collection of Apostolic records as distinct from the sum of Apostolic teaching. The coincidences with the Gospels on the other hand both in fact and substance are numerous and interesting, but such as cannot be referred to the exclusive use of our present written Gospels. Such a use would have been alien from the character of the age and inconsistent with the influence of a historical tradition. The details of the life of Christ were still too fresh to be sought for only in fixed records; and even where memory was less active, long habit interposed a barrier to the recognition of new Scriptures. The sense of the infinite depth and paramount authority of the O. T. was too powerful even among Gentile converts to require or to admit of the immediate addition of supplementary books. But the sense of the peculiar position which the Apostles occupied, as the original inspired teachers of the Christian Church, was already making itself felt in the sub-Apostolic age; and by a remarkable agreement Clement (*ad Cor.* i. 7, 47), Polycarp (*ad Phil.* iii.), Ignatius (*ad Rom.* iv.), and Barnabas (c. i.) draw a clear line between themselves and their predecessors, from whom they were not separated by any lengthened intervals of time. As the need for a definite standard of Christian truth became more pressing, so was the character of those in whose writings it was to be sought more distinctly apprehended. ['The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles' (*Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων*), which possibly belongs to the Apostolic or sub-Apostolic age, borrows freely from St. Matthew's Gospel, and contains language which suggests the composer's acquaintance with St. Luke and St. John. Coincidences of diction with 1 Cor., 1 Pet., and *Jude* seem very probable; those that have been claimed with Eph., 2 *Pet.*, *Apoc.*, though possible, are less likely. The phrases (c. viii. 2) *ὡς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ αὐτοῦ*, (c. xi. 3) *κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου*, (c. xv. 3, 4) *ὡς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ*, deserve comparison with the words of Ignatius (*ad Phil.* 5) quoted above, and clearly presuppose acquaintance with a recognised body of Evangelic tradition. For fuller information upon this document, which was first published by Bryennius in 1883, see Harnack (*Text u. Untersuch.* 1884), and C. Taylor's *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, Camb. 1889; cp. Zahn, *Gesch. d. Ntl. Kanons*, pp. 363 sq.; Salmon, *Introd. to N. T.*, pp. 601–618.]

The next period (120–170 A.D.), which may be fitly termed the age of the Apologists, carries the history of the formation of the Canon one step further. The facts of the life of Christ acquired a fresh importance in controversy with Jew and Gentile. The oral tradition, which still remained in the former age, was dying away, and a variety of written documents claimed to occupy its place. Then it was that the Canonical Gospels were definitely separated from the mass of similar narratives in virtue of their outward claims, which had remained, as it were, in abeyance during the period of tradition. The need did not create but recognised them. Without doubt and without controversy, they occupied at once the position which they have always retained as the fourfold Apostolic record of the Saviour's ministry. Other narratives remained current for some time, which were either interpolated forms of the Canonical Books (*The Gospel according to the Hebrews*, &c.), or independent traditions (*The Gospel according to the Egyptians*, &c.), and exercised more or less influence upon the form of popular quotations, and perhaps in some cases upon the text of the Canonical Gospels; but where the question of authority was raised, the four Gospels were ratified by universal consent. The testimony of JUSTIN MARTYR († c. 148 A.D.) is in this respect most important. An impartial examination of his Evangelic references, if conducted with due reference to his general manner of quotation, to possible variations of reading, and to the nature of his subject, which excluded express citations from Christian books, shows that they were derived certainly in the main, probably exclusively, from our Synoptic Gospels, and that each Gospel is distinctly recognised by him (*Dial. c. Tryph.* § 103, p. 331 D, *ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν ἃ φημὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων* [SS. Matthew, John] *αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκείνοις παρακολουθησάντων* [SS. Mark, Luke] *συντετάχθαι* .... Cp. *Dial.* c. 49 with Matt. xvii. 13; *Dial.* c. 106 with Mark iii. 16, 17; *Dial.* c. 105 with Luke xxiii. 46). The references of Justin to St. John are less decided (cp. *Apol.* i. 61; *Dial.* 63, 123, 56, &c.; Otto, in Illgen's *Zeitschrift*, u. s. w. 1841, pp. 77 sq., 1843, pp. 34 sq.); and of the other Books of the N. T. he mentions the *Apocalypse* only by name (*Dial.* c. 81), and offers some coincidences of language with the Pauline Epistles.

The evidence of PAPIAS (*c.* 140–150 A.D.) is nearly contemporary with that of Justin, but goes back to a still earlier generation (*ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἔλεγε*). In spite of the various questions which have been raised as to the interpretation of the fragments of his 'Exposition of the Oracles of the Lord' (*Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξή-*

[w] The titles of the disputed books of the N. T. are italicised throughout, for convenience of reference.

[x] [But see Lightfoot, 1 *Ep.* Clem. Rom. xi. (cp. 2 Pet. ii. 6–9), *Ep.* Polyc. iii. (cp. 2 Pet. iii. 15), xi. (cp. 2 Thess. i. 4, iii. 15), *Ep.* Ignat. *Eph.* x. (cp. Col. i. 23).]

[y] An exception to this statement occurs in the Ep. of Barnabas (c. iv.), where the reading of Cod. Sinaiticus, *ὡς γέγραπται*, confirming the Latin translation, "sicut scriptum est," offers the earliest example of a quotation made from the N. T. with the formula of citation from Scripture. In the Greek text of Polycarp there are no marks of direct quotation. The Latin translation, which reads (where the Greek MS. is wanting) in chap. xi. "sicut Paulus docet," and in chap. xii. "ut his scripturis dictum est," probably represents a less accurate text (cp. Westcott, *Canon of the N. T.* p. 52, 1881).

γησις) preserved by Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 39), it seems on every account most reasonable to conclude that Papias was acquainted with our present Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, the former of which he connected with an earlier Hebrew original (ἡρμήνευσε). It seems probable, though the evidence is not conclusive, that he was acquainted with the Gospel of St. John. No adverse conclusion can be drawn from Eusebius' silence as to express testimonies of Papias to the Gospel of St. John (Westcott, *Can. N. T.* p. 76 n.). One prefatory note to a 9th cent. MS. of St. John (Vatican) preserves a tradition that Papias was both "the beloved disciple of St. John" and acted as his amanuensis. The testimony, though not otherwise of much value, seems to connect Papias with the Apostle St. John. Papias was acquainted with the former Epistles of St. John and St. Peter (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 24), and the *Apocalypse* (*Frag.* viii.).[a] [See art. PAPIAS by Salmon in *Dict. Chr. Biog.*; Bp. Lightfoot, *Essays on Sup. Relig.* chs. v. vi.]

Meanwhile the Apostolic writings were taken by various mystical teachers as the foundation of strange schemes of speculation, which are popularly confounded together under the general title of Gnosticism, whether Gentile or Jewish in their origin. In the earliest fragments of Gnostic writers which remain there are traces of the use of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John, and of 1 Corinthians (Ἀπόφασις μεγάλη [Simon M.] *ap.* Hippol. *adv. Haer.* vi. 16; 9, 13); and the Apocalypse was attributed by a confusion not difficult of explanation to Cerinthus (Epiph. *Haer.* li. 3). In other Gnostic (Ophite) writings a little later there are references to St. Matthew, St. Luke, St. John, Romans, 1–2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, *Hebrews*, *Apocalypse* (*Hist. of N. T. Canon*, p. 283); and the Clementine Homilies contain clear coincidences with all the Gospels (*Hom.* xix. 20, St. Mark; *Hom.* xix. 22, St. John). It is, indeed, in the fragments of a Gnostic writer, Basilides (*c.* 125 A.D.), that the writings of the N. T. are found quoted for the first time in the same manner as those of the O. T. (Basil. *ap.* Hipp. *adv. Haer.* pp. 238, γέγραπται; 240, ἡ γραφή, &c.). A Gnostic, Heracleon, was the first known commentator on the Christian Scriptures. And the history of another Gnostic, Marcion, furnishes the first distinct evidence of a Canon of the N. T. (*Hist. of N. T. Canon*, pp. 312–319). [The Diatessaron of Tatian (see *Dict. of Christ. Biog.* s. n.), the pupil of Justin Martyr, is the earliest express testimony to the existence of "a fourfold Gospel." Tatian's object (cp. the Armenian version of Ephraem the Syrian's Exposition of Tatian's Harmony, with Latin translation by Moesinger, 1876) was to produce a single connected life of our Lord drawn from the Four Gospels, and opening with John i. 1. Such an abridgment could only imply the recognised authority of the Four Gospels at a considerably earlier date.]

The need of a definite Canon must have made itself felt during the course of the Gnostic controversy. The common records of the life of Christ may be supposed to have been first fixed in the discussions with external adversaries. The standard of apostolic teaching was determined when the Church itself was rent with internal divisions. The Canon of MARCION (*c.* 140 A.D.) contained both elements, a Gospel ("The Gospel of Christ") which was a mutilated recension of St. Luke, and an "Apostle" or Apostolicon, which contained ten Epistles of St. Paul—the only true Apostle in Marcion's judgment—excluding the Pastoral Epistles, and that to the *Hebrews* (Tert. *adv. Marc.* v.; Epiph. *adv. Haer.* xlii.). The narrow limits of this Canon were a necessary consequence of Marcion's belief and position, but it offers a clear witness to the fact that apostolic *writings* were thus early regarded as a complete original rule of doctrine. Nor is there any evidence to show that he regarded the Books which he rejected as unauthentic. The conduct of other heretical teachers who professed to admit the authority of all the Apostles proves the converse; for they generally defended their tenets by forced interpretations, and not by denying the authority of the common records. And while the first traces of the recognition of the divine inspiration and collective unity of the Canon come from them, it cannot be supposed, without inverting the whole history of Christianity, that they gave a model to the Catholic Church, and did not themselves simply perpetuate the belief and custom which had grown up within it.

The close of this period of the history of the N. T. Canon is marked by the existence of two important testimonies to the N. T. as a whole. Hitherto the evidence has been in the main fragmentary and occasional; but the MURATORIAN CANON in the West, and the PESHITTO in the East, deal with the collection of Christian Scriptures as such. The first is a fragment, apparently translated from the Greek, and yet of Roman origin, mutilated both at the beginning and the end, and written, from internal evidence, about 170 A.D. It commences with a clear reference to St. Mark's Gospel, and then passes on to St. Luke as the *third*, St. John, the Acts, *thirteen* Epistles of St. Paul. The First Epistle of St. John is quoted in the text; and then afterwards it is said that "the Epistle of *Jude* and *two Epistles* of the *John* mentioned above (*superscripti:* or "which bear the name of John" *superscriptae*) are reckoned among the Catholic [Epistles] (MS. *Catholica*, i.e. Ecclesia?)." "We receive moreover the *Apocalypses* of John and Peter only, which [latter] some of our body will not have read in the Church"[a] Thus the catalogue omits of the Books received at present the *Epistle of James*, the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, and 2 *Peter*, while it notices the partial reception of the *Revelation of Peter*. The Canon of the Peshitto forms a remarkable complement to this catalogue. It includes the four Gospels and the Acts, *fourteen*

[a] A fragment of Papias' Commentary on the *Apocalypse* is preserved in the Commentary published by Cramer, *Cat. in Apoc.* p. 360, which is not noticed by Routh. [It is to be observed that Fragment xi. of Routh, which has been sometimes quoted to show Papias' acquaintance with the Gospel of St. John, proves to be the work of a Papias who lived in the 11th century. See Lightfoot's *Gal.* 1866, p. 265, note.]

[a] We have given what appears to be the meaning of the corrupt text of the passage. It would be out of place to discuss all the disputed points here; cp. *Hist. of N. T. Canon*, pp. 242 sq., and the references there given.

Epistles of St. Paul, 1 John, 1 Peter, and *James*, omitting *Jude*, 2 *Peter*, 2–3 *John*, and the *Apocalypse;* and this Canon was preserved in the Syrian Churches as long as they had an independent literature (Ebed Jesu † 1318 A.D. *ap.* Assem. *Bibl. Or.* iii. pp. 3 sq.). Up to this point, therefore, 2 *Peter* is the only Book of the N. T. which is not recognised as an apostolic and authoritative writing; and in this result the evidence from casual quotations coincides exactly with the enumeration in the two express catalogues.

2. *The History of the Canon of the N. T. from* 170 A.D. *to* 303 A.D.—The second period of the history of the Canon is marked by an entire change in the literary character of the Church. From the close of the second century Christian writers take the foremost place intellectually as well as morally; and the powerful influence of the Alexandrine Church widened the range of Catholic thought, and checked the spread of speculative heresies. From the first the common elements of the Roman and Syrian Canons, noticed in the last section, form a Canon of acknowledged Books, regarded as a whole, authoritative and inspired, and coordinate with the O. T. Each of these points is proved by the testimony of contemporary Fathers who represent the Churches of Asia Minor, Alexandria, and North Africa. IRENAEUS, who was connected by direct succession with St. John (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 20), speaks of the Scriptures as a whole, without distinction of the Old or New Testament, as "perfect, inasmuch as they were uttered by the Word of God and His Spirit" (*adv. Haer.* ii. 28, 2). "There could not be," he elsewhere argues, "more than four Gospels or fewer" (*adv. Haer.* iii. 11, 8 sq.). CLEMENT of ALEXANDRIA, again, marks "the Apostle" (ὁ ἀπόστολος, *Strom.* vii. 3, § 14; sometimes ἀπόστολοι) as a collection definite as "the Gospel," and combines them "as Scriptures of the Lord" with the Law and the Prophets (*Strom.* vi. 11, § 88) as "ratified by the authority of one Almighty power" (*Strom.* iv. 1, § 2). TERTULLIAN notices particularly the introduction of the word *Testament* for the earlier word *Instrument*, as applied to the dispensation and the record (*adv. Marc.* iv. 1), and appeals to the *New Testament*, as made up of the "Gospels" and "Apostles" (*adv. Prax.* 15). This comprehensive testimony extends to the four Gospels, the Acts, 1 Peter, 1 John, thirteen Epistles of St. Paul, and the *Apocalypse;* and, with the exception of the Apocalypse, no one of these Books was ever afterwards rejected or questioned till modern times.[b]

But this important agreement as to the principal contents of the Canon left several points still undecided. The East and West, as was seen in the last section, severally received some Books which were not universally accepted. So far the error lay in defect; but in other cases apocryphal or unapostolic books obtained a partial sanction or a popular use, before they finally passed into oblivion. Both these phenomena, however, were limited in time and range, and admit of explanation from the internal character of the Books in question. The examination of the claims of the separate writings belongs to special introductions; but the subjoined table (No. III.) will give a general idea of the extent and nature of the historic evidence which bears upon them.

This table might be much extended by the insertion of isolated testimonies of less considerable writers. Generally, however, it may be said that of the "disputed" Books of the N. T. the *Apocalypse* was received by all the writers of the period, with the single exception of Dionysius of Alexandria [and in his case it is to be observed that the *apostolic* authorship, rather than the *canonicity* of the book, is the subject of his criticism (Dion. *ap.* Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 25)]; and the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, by the Churches of Alexandria, Asia (?) and Syria, but not by those of Africa and Rome. The Epistles of *St. James* and *St. Jude*, on the other hand, were little used, and the *Second Ep. of St. Peter* was barely known.

But while the evidence for the formation of the Canon is much more copious during this period than during that which preceded, it is essentially of the same kind. It is the evidence of use and not of inquiry. The Canon was fixed in ordinary practice, and doubts were resolved by custom and not by criticism. Old feelings and beliefs were perpetuated by a living tradition; and if this habit of mind was unfavourable to the permanent solution of difficulties, it gives fresh force to the claims of the acknowledged Books, which are attested by the witness of every division of the Church (ORIGEN, CYPRIAN, METHODIUS), for it is difficult to conceive how such unanimity could have arisen except from the original weight of apostolical authority. For it will be observed that the evidence in favour of the acknowledged Books as a whole is at once clear and concordant from all sides as soon as the Christian literature is independent and considerable. The Canon preceded the literature, and was not determined by it.

3. *The History of the N. T. Canon from* A.D. 303–397.—The persecution of Diocletian was directed in a great measure against the Christian writings (Lact. *Instit.* v. 2; *de mort. persec.* 16). The influence of the Scriptures was already so great and so notorious, that the surest method of destroying the faith seemed to be the destruction of the records on which it was supported. The plan of the emperor was in part successful. Some were found who obtained protection by the surrender of the Sacred Books, and at a later time the question of the re-admission of these "traitors" (*traditores*), as they were emphatically called, created a schism in the Church. The Donatists, who maintained the sterner judgment on their crime, may be regarded as maintaining in its strictest integrity the popular judgment in Africa on the contents of the Canon of Scripture which was the occasion of the dissension; and St. Augustine allows that they held in common with the Catholics the same "Canonical Scriptures," and were alike "bound by the authority of both Testaments" (August. *c. Cresc.* i. 31, 57; *Ep.* 129, 3). The only doubt which can be raised as to the integrity of the Donatist Canon arises from the uncertain language which St. Augustine himself uses as to the Epistle to the Hebrews, which the Donatists

[b] The Manichees offer no real exception to the truth of this remark. Cp. Beausobre, *Hist. de Manich.* i. sq., 297 sq.

No. III.—REFERENCES TO THE ANTILEGOMENA UP TO THE BEGINNING OF THE THIRD CENTURY.[1]

	Epistle to the Hebrews.	Jude.	James.	2–3 John.	2 Peter.	Apocalypse.	Epistle of Barnabas.	Shepherd of Hermas.	Epistle of Clement.	Apocalypse of Peter.
CLEMENS ROM. . . .	‖ *Ep.* 36, &c. Cp. Hieron. *De vir. ill.* 15.	..	‖ *Ep.* 10, 17, 21, &c.	..	(‖ *Ep.* 11.)					
POLYCARP	..	..	..	..	(‖ *Ep.* 3.)					
HERMAS	..	..	‖ *Vis.* iii. 9; *Mand.* ii. ix. xi.	..	..	‖ *Vis.* ii. 4, iv. 2.				
JUSTIN MARTYR . .	(‖ *Apol.* i. 12, 63.)	..	..	..	..	* *Dial.* 81.				
IRENAEUS	(Euseb. *H. E.* v. 26.)	..	(*Adv. haer.* iv. 16, 2.)	* *Adv. haer.* i. 16, 3. 2 John.	..	* *Adv. haer.* v. 30, 1–3. Cf. Euseb. *H. E.* v. 8.	..	* *Adv. haer.* iv. 20, 2. Cp. Euseb. *H. E.* v. 8.	[*Adv. haer.* iii. 3, 3.]	
CLEMENS ALEX. . . .	* *Strom.* vi. 8, p. 771. Cp. Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 14.	* *Paed.* iii. 8, p. 280; *Strom.* iii. 2, p. 515. Cp. Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 13.	[Cp. Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 14.]	Cp. *Strom.* ii. 15, § 66.	[Cp. Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 14.]	* *Paed.* ii. 10, p. 235, § 108; *Strom.* vi. 13, § 107.	* *Strom.* ii. 6, § 31, &c. Cp. Euseb *H. E.* vi. 13.	* *Strom.* i. 29, § 181.	* *Strom.* iv. 17, § 107, &c. Cp. Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 13.	Cp. Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 13.
TERTULLIAN . . .	† *De pudicit.* 20 (Barnabas).	*De cult. fem.* 3.	..	..	..	* *Adv. Marc.* iii. 14.	..	† *De pudic.* 10, 20. ? *De Orat.* 12.		
ORIGEN	* *Ap.* Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 25, &c.	* *Comm. in Matt.* t. x. § 17, ? Id. t. xvii. 30.	? *Comm. in Joann.* xix. 6, * *Sel. in Ps.* xxx.	[*Hom. in Jos.* vii. 1.]	[* *Hom. in Jos.* vii. 1; *in Lev.* iv. 4.] Cp. *Sel. in Ps.* iii.	* *Ap.* Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 25. *Comm. in Joann.* i. 14.	* *c. Cels.* i. 63.	* *De princ.* ii. 1. *Comm. in Rom.* xvi. 14.	* *Sel. in Ezek.* viii.	
DIONYSIUS ALEX. . .	* *Ap.* Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 41.	*Hom. in Gen.* xiii. 2.	‖ *Comm. in Luc.* xxii. 46.	? *Ap.* Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 25.	..	Cp. Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 10. ? *H. E.* vii. 24, 25.				
CYPRIAN	(† *De exh. mart.* 11.)	..	..	..	..	* *De op. et eleem.* 14; *Ep.* lxiii.				
HIPPOLYTUS	(† Phot. 121.)	..	..	..	? *Philosoph.* ix. 7	* *De Antichr.* 36.				
METHODIUS	‖ *De Resurr.* 5, p. 286 D. (ed. Migne), *Conv.* v. 7.	..	..	..	..	* *De Resurr.* 9, p. 315. *Conv.* viii. 4, p. 143.				
EUSEBIUS	* *Ecl. Proph.* i. 20, &c. Cp. ? *H. E.* iii. 38.	? *H. E.* iii. 25.	? *H. E.* iii. 25.	? *H. E.* iii. 25.	? *H. E.* iii. 25.	? *H. E.* iii. 39.	† *H. E.* iii. 25.	† *H. E.* iii. 25.	[*H. E.* vi. 13. Cp. iii. 25.]	† *H. E.* iii. 25.

[1] The sign ‖ marks a verbal coincidence: * a direct quotation: ? an expression of doubt: ( ) an uncertain reference: † a clear rejection: [ ] that the evidence is suspicious, or inconclusive as to the authority assigned to the book.

may also have countenanced. But, however this may have been, the complete Canon of the N. T., as commonly received at present, was ratified at the third COUNCIL OF CARTHAGE (A.D. 397),[c] and from that time was accepted throughout the Latin Church (JEROME, INNOCENT, RUFINUS, PHILASTRIUS), though occasional doubts as to the Epistle to the Hebrews still remained[d] (Isid. Hisp. *Proem.* §§ 85–109).

Meanwhile the Syrian Churches, faithful to the conservative spirit of the East, still retained the Canon of the Peshitto. CHRYSOSTOM († 407 A.D.), THEODORE of MOPSUESTIA († 429 A.D.), and THEODORET, who represent the Church of Antioch, furnish no evidence in support of the Epistles of *Jude*, 2 *Peter*, 2–3 *John*, or the *Apocalypse*. JUNILIUS, in his account of the public teaching at Nisibis, places the Epistles of *James*, *Jude*, 2–3 *John*, 2 *Peter* in a second class, and mentions the doubts which existed in the East as to the *Apocalypse*. And though EPHREM SYRUS was acquainted with the *Apocalypse* (*Opp. Syr.* ii. p. 332 C.), yet his genuine Syrian works exhibit no habitual use of the Books which were not contained in the Syrian Canon; a fact which must throw some discredit upon the frequent quotations from them, which occur in those writings which are only preserved in a Greek translation. [The Greek writings bearing the name of Ephrem are of very doubtful origin. Many of them are clearly spurious: others have been interpolated (see Herzog, *RE.*[2] iv. 257).]

The Churches of Asia Minor seem to have occupied a mean position as to the Canon between the East and West. With the exception of the *Apocalypse*, they received generally all the Books of the N. T. as contained in the African Canon, but this is definitely excluded from the Catalogue of GREGORY of NAZIANZUS († *c.* 389 A.D.), and pronounced "spurious" (*νόθον*) on the authority of "the majority" (*οἱ πλείους*), in that of AMPHILOCHIUS (*c.* 380 A.D.), while it is passed over in silence in the Laodicene Catalogue, which, even if it has no right to its canonical position, yet belongs to the period and country with which it is commonly connected. The same Canon, with the same omission of the *Apocalypse*, is given by CYRIL of JERUSALEM († 386 A.D.); though EPIPHANIUS, who was his fellow-countryman and contemporary, confirms the Western Canon, while he notices the doubts which were entertained as to the *Apocalypse*. These doubts prevailed in the Church of Constantinople, and the *Apocalypse* does not seem to have been recognised there down to a late period, though in other respects the Constantinopolitan Canon was complete and pure (NICEPHORUS, PHOTIUS, OECUMENIUS, THEOPHYLACT, † *c.* 1077 A.D.).

The well-known Festal Letter of ATHANASIUS († 373 A.D.) bears witness to the Alexandrine Canon. This contains a clear and positive list of the Books of the N. T. as they are received at present; and the judgment of Athanasius is confirmed by the practice of his successor CYRIL.

One important Catalogue yet remains to be mentioned. After noticing in separate places the origin and use of the Gospels and Epistles, EUSEBIUS sums up in a famous passage the results of his inquiry into the evidence on the apostolic Books furnished by the writings of the three first centuries (*H. E.* iii. 25). His testimony is by no means free from difficulties, nor in all points obviously consistent, but his last statement must be used to fix the interpretation of the former and more cursory notices. In the first class of *acknowledged* Books (*ὁμολογούμενα*) he places the four Gospels, the Epistles of St. Paul (i.e. *fourteen*, *H. E.* iii. 3), 1 John, 1 Peter, and (*εἴ γε φανείη*), in case its *authenticity* is admitted (such seems to be his meaning), the *Apocalypse*. The second class of *disputed* Books (*ἀντιλεγόμενα*) he subdivides into two parts, the first consisting of such as were generally known and recognised (*γνώριμα τοῖς πολλοῖς*), including the Epistles of *James*, *Jude*, 2 *Peter*, 2–3 *John*; and the second of those which he pronounces spurious (*νόθα*), that is, which were either unauthentic or unapostolic, as the Acts of Paul, the Shepherd, the Apocalypse of Peter, the *Apocalypse* of John (if not a work of the Apostle), and according to some the Gospel according to the Hebrews. These two great classes contain all the Books which had received ecclesiastical sanction, and were in common distinguished from a third class of *heretical forgeries* (*e.g.* the Gospels of Thomas, Peter, Matthias, &c.).

One point in the testimony of Eusebius is particularly deserving of notice. The evidence in favour of the apostolic authority of 2 *Peter* which can be derived from the existing writings of the first three centuries is extremely slender; but Eusebius, who possessed more copious materials, describes it as "generally well known;" and this circumstance alone suggests the necessity of remembering that the early Catalogues rest on evidence no longer available for us. In other respects the classification of Eusebius is a fair summary of the results which follow from the examination of the extant ante-Nicene literature (see Wace and Schaff's ed. of Eus. *H. E.* [1890] in loco).

The evidence of later writers is little more than the repetition or combination of the testimonies already quoted. An examination of Table No. IV., which includes the most important *Catalogues* of the writings of the N. T., will convey a clear summary of much that has been said, and supply the most important omissions.

At the era of the Reformation the question of the N. T. Canon became again a subject of great though partial interest. The hasty decree of the Council of Trent, which affirmed the authority of all the Books commonly received, called out

[c] The enumeration of the Pauline Epistles marks the doubt which had existed as to the Hebrews: "Epistolae Pauli Apostoli xiii.; ejusdem ad Hebraeos una." In the Council of Hippo (*Can.* 36) the phrase is simply "xiv Epistles of St. Paul." Generally it may be observed that the doubt was in many, if not in most, cases as to the *authorship*, and not as to the *canonicity* of the letter. Cp. Hieron. *Ep. ad Dard.* 129, § 3.

[d] The MSS. of the Vulgate from the 6th century downwards very frequently contain the apocryphal Epistle to the Laodiceans among the Pauline Epistles, generally after the Epistle to the Colossians, but also in other places, without any mark of suspicion. See this Epistle, with apparatus criticus, printed in Bp. Lightfoot's *Colossians*, pp. 287 sq., and Westcott's *Canon of the N. T.*, Appendix E. Cp. Anger, *Der Laodicenerbrief*, Leips. 1843, pp. 142 sq. The Greek title in G (not F), προς Λαοδικησας αρχεται επιστολη, is apparently only a reproduction of the Latin title given in the Latin (*g*) of the same (Graeco-Latin) MS. *ad laudicenses incipit Epistola.*

No. IV.—THE CHIEF CATALOGUES OF THE BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

Only "disputed" books are noticed, or such as were in some degree recognised as authoritative. The symbols are used as before.

	Epistle to Hebrews.	Jude.	James.	2-3 John.	2 Peter.	Apocalypse.	Epistle of Barnabas.	Shepherd of Hermas.	Epistle of Clement.	Apocalypse of Peter.	
I. Conciliar Catalogues.											
[Laodicea]	*	*	*	*	*						L. c. *supr.*[1]
Carthage	*	*	*	*	*	*					L. c. *supr.*
Apostolic (Concil. Quinisext.)	*	*	*	*	*				*		L. c. *supr.*[2]
II. Oriental Catalogues:											
(a) Syria.											
The Peshitto Version	*		*								
Junilius	*	?	?	?	?	?					L. c. *supr.*
Joann. Damasc.	*	*	*	*	*	*					L. c. *supr.*[3]
Ebed Jesu	*		*								L. c. *supr.*
(b) Palestine.											
Eusebius	*	?	?	?	?	?	†	†		†	*H. E.* iii. 25.[4]
Cyril of Jerus.	*	*	*	*	*						L. c. *supr.*[5]
Epiphanius	*	*	*	*	*	*					*Adv. haer.* lxxxi. 5.
(c) Alexandria.											
Origen	*	?	?	?	?	*					*Ap.* Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 25.
Athanasius	*	*	*	*	*	*		†			L. c. *supr.*[6]
(d) Asia Minor.											
Gregor. Naz.	*	*	*	*	*						L. c. *supr.*
Amphilochius	*	?	?	?	?	?					L. c. *supr.*[7]
(e) Constantinople.											
[*Pseudo-Chrysostom*]	*		*								*Synopsis S. Script.* tom. vi. p. 314.[8]
Leontius	*	*	*	*	*	*					L. c. *supr.*
Nicephorus	*	*	*	*	*	?	?	†	†	?	L. c. *supr.*[9]
III. Occidental Catalogues:											
(a) Africa.											
Cod. Clarom.	( )	*	*	*	*	*	*	*		*	Tischdf. *Cod. Clarom.* pp. 468 sq.
Augustine	*	*	*	*	*	*					L. c. *supr.*
(b) Italy.											
Can. Murat.		*		( )		*		†		*	*Canon of N. T.*, Append. C. pp. 521-538.
Philastrius		*	*	*	*						*Haer.* 88 (All. 60).[10]
Jerome	*	*	*	*	*	*					*Ad Paul.* Ep. 53, § 8 (I. p. 548, ed. Migne).
Rufinus	*	*	*	*	*	*		†			L. c. *supr.*
Innocent	*	*	*	*	*	*				†	L. c. *supr.*
[Gelasius]	*	*	*	*	*	*		†			L. c. *supr.*
Cassiodorus (*Vet. Trans.*)	*		*			*					*De inst. div. Litt.* 14.[11]
(c) Spain.											
Isidore of Sev.	*	*	*	*	*	*					*De Ord. Libr. S. Script. init.*[12]
Cod. Baroc. 206	*	*	*	*	*	*	†			†	Hody, p. 649.

[1] The omission of the *Apocalypse* is frequently explained by the expressed object of the Catalogue, as a list of books for public ecclesiastical use: ὅσα δεῖ βιβλία ἀναγινώσκεσθαι, compared with the former canon: ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἰδιωτικοὺς ψαλμοὺς λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, κ.τ.λ. Yet cp. the Catalogue of Cyril.

[2] The Catalogue adds likewise the apostolical Constitutions (διαταγαὶ . . . ἐν ὀκτω βιβλίοις) for esoteric use. When the Catalogue was confirmed in the Quinisextine Council (Can. 2), the Constitutions were excluded on the ground of corruptions; but no notice was taken of the Epistles of Clement, both of which, as is well known, are found at the end of the Cod. Alex., and are mentioned in the index before the general summary of books; which again is followed by the titles of the Apocryphal Psalms of Solomon.

[3] He adds also "the apostolic Canons," and, according to one MS., the two Epistles of Clement.

[4] The other chief passages in Eusebius are, *H. E.* iii. 3, 24; ii. 23. His object in the passage quoted is ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰς δηλωθείσας τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης γραφάς.

[5] The list concludes with the words, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πάντα ἔξω κείσθω ἐν δευτέρῳ· καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ μὴ ἀναγινώσκεται, ταῦτα μηδὲ κατὰ σαυτὸν ἀναγίνωσκε καθὼς ἤκουσας . . . .

[6] At the end of the list Athanasius says (cp. above), μηδεὶς τούτοις ἐπιβαλλέτω, μηδὲ τούτων ἀφαιρείσθω τι.

[7] Amphiloch. *l. c.*:—

τινὲς δὲ φασι τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους νόθον,
οὐκ εὖ λέγοντες· γνησία γὰρ ἡ χάρις.
εἶεν· τί λοιπόν; καθολικῶν ἐπιστολῶν
τινὲς μὲν ἕπτα φασίν, οἱ δὲ τρεῖς μόνον
χρῆναι δέχεσθαι, τὴν Ἰακώβου μίαν
μίαν δὲ Πέτρου, τὴν τ' Ἰωάννου μίαν.
τὴν δ' Ἀποκάλυψιν τὴν Ἰωάννου πάλιν
τινὲς μὲν ἐγκρίνουσιν, οἱ πλείους δέ γε
νόθον λέγουσιν. Οὗτος ἀψευδέστατος
Κανὼν ἂν εἴη τῶν θεοπνεύστων γραφῶν.

[8] This Canon, which agrees with that of the Peshitto, is fully supported by the casual evidence of the quotations which occur in Chrysostom's works. The quotation from 2 Peter, which is found in *Hom. in Joann.* 34 (33), tom. viii. p. 230 (ed. Par.), stands alone. Suidas' assertion (s. v. Ἰωάννης) that he received "the *Apocalypse* and *three Epistles of St. John*" is not supported by any other evidence.

[9] Nicephorus adds to the disputed books "the Gospel according to the Hebrews." In one MS. the *Apocalypse* of St. John is placed also among the Apocryphal books (Credner, *ut supr.* p. 122).

the opposition of controversialists, who quoted and enforced the early doubts. ERASMUS with characteristic moderation denied the apostolic origin of the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, 2 *Peter*, and the *Apocalypse*, but left their canonical authority unquestioned (*Praef. ad Antilegom.*). LUTHER, on the other hand, with bold self-reliance, created a purely subjective standard for the canonicity of the Scriptures in the character of their "teaching of Christ;" and while he placed the Gospel and First Epistle of St. John, the Epistles of St. Paul to the Romans, Galatians, Ephesians, and the First Epistle of St. Peter, in the first rank as containing the "kernel of Christianity," he set aside the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, *St. Jude*, *St. James*, and the *Apocalypse*, at the end of his Version, and spoke of them and the remaining Antilegomena with varying degrees of disrespect, though he did not separate 2 *Peter* and 2–3 *John* from the other Epistles (cp. Landerer, art. *Kanon* in Herzog, *RE.*[1] pp. 295 sq., and Romberg, *Die Lehre Luther's von der hl. Schrift*, 1867). The doubts which Luther rested mainly on internal evidence were variously extended by some of his followers (MELANCHTHON, *Centur. Magdeb.*, FLACIUS, GERHARD: cp. Reuss, § 334); and especially with a polemical aim against the Romish Church by CHEMNITZ (*Exam. Conc. Trid.* i. 73). But while the tendency of the Lutheran writers was to place the Antilegomena on a lower stage of authority, their views received no direct sanction in any of the Lutheran symbolic books which admit the "prophetic and apostolic writings of the Old and New Testaments," as a whole, without further classification or detail. The doubts as to the Antilegomena of the N. T. were not confined to the Lutherans. CARLSTADT, who was originally a friend of Luther and afterwards professor at Zürich, endeavoured to bring back the question to a critical discussion of evidence, and placed the Antilegomena in a third class "on account of the controversy as to the books, or rather (*ut certius loquar*) as to their authors" (*De Con. Script.* pp. 410–12, ed. Credn.). CALVIN, while he denied the Pauline authorship of the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, and at least questioned the authenticity of 2 *Peter*, did not set aside their canonicity (*Praef. ad Hebr.*; *ad* 2 *Petr.*); and he notices the doubts as to *St. James* and *St. Jude* only to dismiss them.

The language of the Articles of the Church of England with regard to the N. T. is remarkable. In the Articles of 1552 no list of the Books of Scripture is given; but in the Elizabethan Articles (1562, 1571) a definition of Holy Scripture is given as "the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, *of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church*" (Art. vi.) This definition is followed by an enumeration of the Books of the O. T. and of the Apocrypha; and then it is said summarily, without a detailed catalogue, "all the Books of the N. T., as they are commonly received, we do receive and account them for Canonical (*pro Canonicis habemus*)." A distinction thus remains between the "Canonical" Books and such "Canonical Books as have never been doubted in the Church;" and it seems impossible to avoid the conclusion that the framers of the Articles intended to leave a freedom of judgment on a point on which the greatest of the continental Reformers, and even of Romish scholars (Sixtus Sen. *Biblioth. S.* ii. 1; Cajetan, *Praef. ad Epp. ad Hebr.*, *Jac.*, 2–3 *John*, *Jud.*), were divided. The omission cannot have arisen solely from the fact that the Article in question was framed with reference to the Church of Rome, with which the Church of England was agreed on the N. T. Canon; for all the other Protestant confessions which contain any list of Books, give a list of the Books of the New as well as of the Old Testament (*Conf. Belg.* 4; *Conf. Gall.* 3; *Conf. Fid.* 1). But if this licence is rightly conceded by the Anglican Articles, the great writers of the Church of England have not availed themselves of it. The early commentators on the Articles take little (Burnet) or no notice (Beveridge) of the doubts as to the Antilegomena; and the chief controversialists of the Reformation accepted the full Canon with emphatic avowal (Whitaker, *Disp. on Scripture*, cxiv. p. 105; Fulke's *Defence of Eng. Trans.*, p. 8; Jewel, *Defence of Apol.* ii. 9, 1).

The judgment of the Greek Church in the case of the O. T. was seen to be little more than a reflection of the opinion of the West. The difference between the Roman and Reformed Churches on the N. T. was less marked; and the two conflicting Greek confessions confirm in general terms, without any distinct enumeration of Books, the popular Canon of the N. T. (*Cyr. Luc. Conf.* i. p. 42; *Dosith. Confess.* i. p. 467). The confession of METROPHANES gives a complete list of the Books; and compares their number—thirty-three—with the years of the Saviour's life, that "not even the number of the Sacred Books might be devoid of a divine mystery" (Metroph. *Critop. Conf.* ii. 105, ed. Kimm. et Weissenb.). At present, as was already the case at the close of the 17th cent. (Leo Allatius, *ap.* Fabric. *Bibl. Graec.* v. App. p. 38), the Antilegomena are reckoned by the Greek Church as equal in Canonical authority in all respects with the remaining Books (*Catechism, l. c.* supr.).

The assaults which have been made, especially

NOTES TO TABLE No. IV.—*continued.*

[10] This catalogue, which excludes the *Epistle to the Hebrews* and the *Apocalypse* ("statutum est nihil aliud legi in ecclesia debere catholica nisi . . . . et Pauli *tredecim* epistolas et septem alias . . . ."), is followed by a section in which Philastrius speaks of "other [heretics] who assert that the *Epistle to the Hebrews* is not Paul's" (*Haer.* 89). And in another place (*Haer.* 60) he reckons it as heresy to deny the authenticity of the Gospel and *Apocalypse* of St. John. The different statements seem to be the result of careless compilation.

[11] This catalogue is described as "secundum antiquam translationem," and stands parallel with those of Jerome and Augustine. The enumeration of the Catholic Epistles is somewhat ambiguous, but I believe that it includes only three Epistles: Epistolae Petri ad gentes, *Jacobi*, Johannis ad Parthos. The insertion of *Judae* after *gentes* seems to have been a typographical error, for the present writer has not found the reading in any one of four MSS. which he has examined.

[12] In another place (*De eccles. Offic.* i. 12) Isidore mentions without condemning the doubts which existed as to the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, *James*, 2–3 *John*, 2 *Peter*, but not as to *Jude*.

during the present century, upon the authenticity of the separate Books of the Old and New Testaments belong to the special articles. The general course which they have taken is simple and natural. Semler (*Untersuch. d. Kan.* 1771–5) first led the way towards the later subjective criticism, though he rightly connected the formation of the Canon with the formation of the Catholic Church, but without any clear recognition of the providential power which wrought in both. Next followed a series of special essays in which the several Books were discussed individually with little regard to the place which they occupy in the whole collection (Schleiermacher, Bretschneider, De Wette, &c.). At last an ideal view of the early history of Christianity was used as the standard by which the Books were to be tried, and the Books were regarded as results of typical forms of doctrine and not the sources of them (F. C. Baur, Schwegler, Zeller). All true sense of historic evidence was thus lost. The growth of the Church was left without explanation, and the original relations and organic unity of the N. T. were disregarded.

For the later period of the history of the N. T. Canon, from the close of the 2nd century, the great work of Lardner (*Credibility of the Gospel History*, Works i.—vi., ed. Kippis, 1788) furnishes ample and trustworthy materials. For the earlier period his criticism is necessarily imperfect, and requires to be combined with the results of later inquiries. Kirchhofer's collection of the original passages which bear on the history of the Canon (*Quellensammlung, u. s. w.*, Zürich, 1844) is useful and fairly complete, but frequently inaccurate. The writings of F. C. Baur and his followers often contain very valuable hints as to the characteristics of the several Books in relation to later teaching, however perverse their conclusions may be. In opposition to them Thiersch has vindicated, perhaps with an excess of zeal, but yet in the main rightly, the position of the apostolic writings in relation to the first age (*Versuch zur Herstellung, u. s. w.*, Erlangen, 1845; and *Erwiederung, u. s. w.*, Erlang., 1846). The section of Reuss on the subject (*Die Gesch. d. heil. Schriften N. T.*, 2te Aufl., Braunschw. 1853), the articles on "the Canon" by Landerer (Herzog, *RE.*[1] s. v.), Holtzmann (Schenkel's *Bib. Lex.* 1871), Wold-Schmidt (Herzog, *RE.*[2] 1880), contain valuable summaries of the evidence. Other references and a fuller discussion of the chief points are given by the author of this article in *On the Canon of the N. T.*, 5th ed., London, 1881.

To the above authorities should be added Credner, *Gesch. d. Ntl. Kanons*, ed. G. Volkmar, Berlin, 1860; Hilgenfeld, *Der Kanon u. d. Kritik d. N. T.*, Halle, 1863; S. Davidson's *Canon of the Bible*, Lond. 1877; Sanday, *Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*, Lond. 1872, and *Gospels in the Second Cent.* Lond. 1876; Charteris, *Canonicity*, Edinburgh, 1880; Ed. Reuss, *Hist. of the Canon of the Holy Scriptures in the Christian Church*, translated, Edinburgh, 1884; Salmon's *Introd. to the N. T.*, Lond. 1886; Bp. Lightfoot's *Essays on Supernat. Religion*, Lond. 1889; Zahn, *Gesch. d. Ntl. Kanons*, Leipzig, 1ter Bnd., 1te Hälfte, 1888, 2ter Bnd. 1889. [B. F. W.] [R.]

CANOPY (κωνωπεῖον; *conopeum*; Judith x. 21, xiii. 9, xvi. 19). The canopy of Holofernes is the only one mentioned, although, perhaps, from the "pillars" of the litter [BED] described in Cant: iii. 10, it may be argued that its equipage would include a canopy. It probably retained the mosquito nets or curtains in which the name originated, although its description (Judith x. 21) betrays luxury and display rather than such simple usefulness. Varro (*R. R.* ii. 10, 8) uses *quae in conopeis jacent* of languid women very much as ἀναπανόμενος . . . ἐν τῷ κωνωπείῳ (*l. c.*) describes the position of a luxurious general (for further classical illustration, see *Dict. of Gk. and Rom. Ant.*, art. CONOPEUM). It might possibly be asked, Why Judith, whose business was to escape without delay, should have taken the trouble to pull down the canopy on the body of Holofernes? Probably it was an instance of the Hebrew notion that blood should be instantly covered (cp. 2 Sam. xx. 12; Lev. xvii. 13) [BLOOD]; and for this purpose the light bedding of Syria was inadequate. [BED.] Tent furniture also is naturally lighter, even when most luxurious, than that of a palace; and thus a woman's hand might unfix it from the pillars without much difficulty. Another view which takes the κωνωπεῖον to mean strictly the mosquito-net itself (see *Speaker's Comm.* on Judith xi. 21) would make the act a simple and easy one. She simply took the gorgeous (x. 21) mosquito-net from the pillars as a trophy. This bed with its canopy is represented as assigned specially from among the spoil to Judith, and by her dedicated (Judith xvi. 19). [H. H.]

CANTICLES (or THE SONG OF SOLOMON).

1. *Title.*—In the Hebrew this remarkable work is described as שיר השירים אשר לשלמה, that is, "the most lovely song of Solomon." Whether the title implies that the song was written by Solomon, or that it only refers to him, is a matter of small importance, for the most superficial acquaintance with the history of the titles of the Psalms and other Books of the Old Testament is sufficient to indicate the lateness of the tradition which they contain. In the three principal Versions of the Canticles —namely, the Septuagint, Vulgate, and Syriac— the titles are respectively Ἆσμα ἀσμάτων ὅ ἐστι Σαλωμών, Canticum Canticorum Salamonis, ܫܝܪܬܐ ܕܫܝܪܝܢ ܕܠܫܠܡܘܢ, that is, "The Wisdom of Wisdoms of Solomon, the book which is called in Hebrew Song of Songs, or the Hymn of Hymns." This last title is written as it appears in the printed copies of the Syriac Old Testament, but the manuscripts present certain variations, among which may be specially noticed that which is found in the facsimile of the Ambrosian Codex recently published by M. Ceriani, where it stands ܫܝܪܬܐ ܕܫܝܪܝܢ ܕܗܝ ܫܒܚܬܐ ܕܫܠܡܘܢ, that is, "The Hymns

of Hymns of Solomon, son of David, the king of Israel; that is, the Songs of Songs which is called in Hebrew 'Sharath Sharin.'" From the arbitrary character of the variations in the Syriac texts we may infer that the first verse as it stands in the Hebrew and the Septuagint was regarded by the venerable Syrian translator as a title (as it is by the Vulgate), and that the translators and copyists allowed themselves considerable latitude in expressing their own theories about the origin of the Book, as they did with regard to the titles of the Psalms. The Targum on Canticles being a very diffuse allegorical paraphrase, and of late authorship, is not of the same critical value here as it is in the Pentateuch and Prophets. The title however, as usually printed, is as follows: שירין ותושבחון די אמר שלמה נביא מלכא דישראל ברוח נבואה קדם ריבון כל עלמא יהוה. From these passages it appears that the principal Versions regarded the first verse to imply that Solomon himself was the author of the work.

2. *Language and Diction.*—A careful analysis of the language and diction of the work is most disappointing. However, the following results may be obtained:—A large number of words occur in Canticles which are ἅπαξ λεγόμενα. As many of these will be required for another purpose in § 38 below, those only are here given which are not cited there. The total number of these words is between fifty and sixty, so that the first phenomenon that we have to deal with is the remarkable fact that in a work consisting of 117 short verses, no less than fifty or sixty ἅπαξ λεγόμενα occur, or, in other words, that in every third verse at least we may expect to find a word that does not occur elsewhere in the whole range of Biblical Hebrew. Perhaps this may be accounted for by the fact that Canticles is the only specimen of dramatic or idyllic Hebrew poetry that remains to us, and perhaps the peculiarity of the circumstances and persons who form the subject of the book may give some reason for the singular language which is employed. But let it be remembered that the mere presence of the ἅπαξ λεγόμενα proves nothing whatever as to the date of the Book.

3. We might expect considerable assistance in explaining this phenomenon by comparing the words used in Canticles with those which are employed by Hebrew writers whose age has been ascertained, or is at least regarded by many as well known. But here we are startled at the frequency with which words occur, that are generally supposed to be characteristic either of the earliest or of the latest period of the Hebrew language. Of the rare words (not ἅπαξ λεγόμενα) which occur in it, some are to be found elsewhere only in the Book of Job, as, for instance, קפץ, רפד, שוף, לבב (in sense of leaping), אבים, עשת, or in Proverbs as, ערב, נשיקות, or in Proverbs and Psalms as, נאוה, or in Psalms and Isaiah as, חמה, ארה, נפת (perhaps Job also). השׂגיח. Then the rare words עלף and דודאים are elsewhere found in Genesis only, while such words as, רקה, צמה, תימרות remind us of Joel, Isaiah, and Judges respectively. Meanwhile such words as שׁשׁ (marble), מדרנה, מנעול, ערוגות, פרדס occur only in late Hebrew (that is, if Ecclesiastes, like Ezekiel, Nehemiah, and Esther is late). Turn where we will, we have to face the fact that for every late word that we can allege, another can be adduced on the other side which is early. The absence of ו consecutive except in vi. 9 may perhaps be taken as a mark of late date; or the universal presence of ש shortened from אשר may be adduced as indicating late authorship; but the latter is now generally acknowledged to be a dialectic peculiarity. May not the peculiar dialect of the work perhaps account for the absence of ו consecutive?

4. Dr. Graetz produces certain Greek words which in his opinion bring the composition of the Book down to the Macedonian period. The instances that he takes are מזג, כפר, תלפיות, אפריון, which he identifies with *μισγεῖν*, *κύπρος*, *τηλῶπις*, *φορεῖον*. The well-known preposition עם he identifies with *ἅμα*, while in iv. 13, 14 he alters the second נרדים into ורדים, so as to obtain another Greek word, which he assumes to be *ῥόδον*.* Dismissing this as purely conjectural, and remembering the speakers who use the words אפריון and מזג (see § 38), we may observe that D. Kimchi (*Sepḥ. Shor.* p. 596) found no difficulty in explaining אפריון; and מזג, though ἅπαξ λεγόμενον in Hebrew, is known to us in the forms סאון and מזיג, and is perhaps only a dialectic variation of מסך. In the case of *κύπρος* it should be noticed that the article itself was foreign, and that the name may have travelled with it, so that the presence of כפר as a Hebrew word need not astonish us any more than the English use of Otto, Elixir, Dragoman, and others. Dr. Graetz's seventh word דנול is certainly "without analogy" in Hebrew, but it is a bold step to infer at once that it is a Graecism, and = *σημειωτός*, founded on the basis of דגל = *σημεῖον*.

5. But it might be expected that if language alone does not enable us to decide the age of the Book, the ideas contained in it will help us to some considerable extent. Let it be remembered, however, that we know very little of the ideas and habits of the Hebrew people which would characterise them at one period more than another. How could we do so, when the records of them from the earliest times till perhaps the century before Christ are so very sparse, and even these were not written with a view of giving a chronicle, still less a history, of Israel? In all cases when we construct our histories of Israel a vast amount of the matter must be purely conjectural. The simplest proof of this is to be found in the variations that may be noticed in all the principal modern histories of Israel that have been written.

6. Dr. Graetz, however, in his instructive Commentary, discovers various signs of Greek modes of life to which he finds references in the Canticles. Such are (1) the use of the litter (אפריון), and he cites passages from Athenaeus

* The word ורך, it is true, is common in Syriac, Chaldee, and Arabic, but does not occur in Biblical Hebrew.

and Polybius to prove that the φορεῖον was used at Athens in the time of the tyrant Aristion or Athenion, and by Antiochus Epiphanes at Alexandria (Polyb. xxxi. 3). But luxurious habits crept in among the Jewish people during their periods of greatest prosperity, such as the reigns of Solomon or Uzziah (see Is. i.–ix.). (2) Whether the early Jewish court was in the habit of sitting or lying down at meals is almost as difficult a problem to solve as the meaning of the word מסב (i. 12), upon which Dr. Graetz bases his argument that here we have a reference to the Triclinium. (3) The point about the bride and bridegroom, which of them wore the crown, is very obscure. The word for crown here is עטרה, and in the only other passage where the word occurs it refers to the royal and not the bridal crown. Nor does the more frequent word עטרת ever mean the bridal crown, unless Ezek. xxiii. 42 be pressed, and here the prophet refers to Sabean and not to Israelite customs. The verb עטר is used in all other passages where it occurs in a metaphorical sense. It is doubtful how far any references to Jer. ii. 2 or Is. lxi. 10 are really of any value with regard to the point raised on this passage. (4) The institution of police (iii. 3, v. 7, השמרים הסובבים בעיר) is considered by Dr. Graetz as indicating the Macedonian times, because then the περίπολοι were introduced into Greece. But the early history of police both in Greece and Rome is a very obscure point. Perhaps they may have existed at an early period. And, after all, does what took place in Greece bear very much upon what occurred in Palestine? If men like Solomon, Ahaz, and Hezekiah were advanced enough in civilization to make arrangements with regard to the water supply of Jerusalem (a subject which is not yet perfectly understood even in our own country), may it be beyond the region of possibility to suppose that some precautions were taken by them and their successors for preserving the public peace? (5) Marble pillars are first mentioned in Esth. i. 6 and 1 Ch. xxix. 2. (6) The תפוחים (ii. 3, 5) are the Symbolic Greek μῆλα. (7) The βέλη ἔρωτος are to be found in רשפיה רשפי אש (viii. 6). It may be questioned whether anything definite would be proved even if the assumptions in the last three numbers were correct. It is true that cedar was the favourite ornamental material employed by the Hebrews, but marble may have been used without difficulty in a period when commerce was extended. The references to the Symbolic apples and the darts of love appear to us to be far-fetched and irrelevant. We shall presently return to this subject, and point out certain ideas which appear to us to exhibit the only period which indicates the historic background of the work.

7. *Form of the Book.*—As we have observed above (§ 2), the form of this work is unique in the Holy Scriptures. Even to an English reader it is apparent that we are here brought face to face with a short work written in an idyllic and dramatic form. We are far from suggesting that the composition was actually intended for stage representation. Probably M. Renan is correct (p. 80) when he states that in all the Jewish history till the time of Herod, there is no trace of a theatre at Jerusalem, not even at the times when the habits of the city were most profane. When we say that the form is dramatic, we mean that the same form is to be noticed here which is met with in Psalm xxiv. and Isaiah lxiii. The style is idyllic as well as dramatic, because it deals with the subjects of rural life. It is more highly dramatic than Psalm xxiv. and Isaiah lxiii. because more characters are introduced, and the dialogue is carried out to a greater extent. This, in fact, gives to Canticles the unique position which it occupies in the Canonical Books.

8. The dramatic character, we noticed, is obvious to any English reader who observes that (1) certain phrases constantly recur, e.g. "I charge you . . . that ye stir not up . . . love till she pleases," ii. 7, iii. 5 (cp. v. 8), viii. 4; or again the questions "Who is this," &c., repeated iii. 6, vi. 10, viii. 5, which seem to mark certain leading divisions in the Book, where a chorus or a choragus is brought before the reader's notice, indicating to him the exact position of affairs at the peculiar juncture. (2) A dialogue is carried on sometimes between two individuals, as i. 9–ii. 7, where it is obvious from ii. 2, 3, that the two principal characters are male and female. See also iv. 1–v. 1, where again it is obvious that the hero and heroine of the drama are brought before us (cp. vii. 6–viii. 3). (3) Sometimes again the dialogue is between a chorus and one of the principal characters. Such is the case in i. 1–8, and more distinctly so in v. 9–vi. 3, vi. 10–vii. 5.

9. To anyone, however, who is slightly acquainted with Hebrew, this is quite apparent from the prefixes and suffixes of the verbs and nouns which indicate the gender of the speaker or the person addressed. Thus it is obvious that i. 9, 15 is spoken to a female and i. 16 to a male. These passages will enable the reader to discover which character is speaking at almost any time. For it will be noticed that the words "my love," "my beloved," which constantly recur throughout the work, indicate the language of the hero and the heroine respectively. Thus "my love" (רעיתי) occurs ii. 2, iv. 1, 7, vi. 4, in the mouth of the male, and in ii. 10, 13, v. 2, where, with marvellous knowledge of human nature, the author makes the heroine quote her lover's language and the favourite epithets by which he designates her. On the other hand, she always speaks of the hero as her beloved (דוד), *e.g.* ii. 3 and nearly twenty other places, or else as "he whom my soul loveth" (שאהבה נפשי), as i. 7, iii. 1–4.

10. But while the heroine has two epithets which she applies to her beloved, it appears that he has a term of endearment which in one peculiar section of the Book, and there only, he applies to her who has become his bride. This is the phrase "My sister, my bride" (אחותי כלה), iv. 9–12, v. 1, or "bride," iv. 8, 11, while on one occasion the bride puts into his mouth the word my "sister" when she imagines him to be addressing her. These facts are sufficient to bring with some clearness the general outlines of the dialogue before the English reader.

11. There are passages, however, where it is not so easy to distinguish the *dramatis personae* of the dialogue. These are iii. 1–5, v. 1–7,

viii. 5–14. The best sense is given by ascribing the first two passages to a Chorus of Virgins (who are called Daughters of Jerusalem), who are constantly in the background while the heroine is narrating her dream, and by supposing that at the end of her narrative she addresses the chorus who, in v. 9, reply to her and join with her in the search for the beloved. In viii. 5–14, especially in *v.* 9, one or more new characters are introduced who have been generally identified with the brother or brothers of the bride.

12. We are now in a position at which we can discover the names of the principal characters. The hero is Solomon, though the bride only once addresses him by name, *i.e.* viii. 12. Others mention him as a character in the drama, as iii. 7, 9, 11; viii. 11. The heroine is not known to us by name: she is once indeed mentioned as "The Shulamite," vi. 13; but it will not be inconvenient to call her Sulamith, a name to which she may be entitled after the labours of Delitzsch, Noack, and many others.

13. The following is a brief outline of the plot of the drama. The scene opens at the royal palace in Jerusalem (iv. 8 is no obstacle to this view). All that art can lend to promote luxury and magnificence is presented to us. "The three score queens" (vi. 8) are present, singing the praises of king Solomon, and the æstheticism of his court. Meanwhile there was standing among them a girl of dark complexion (i. 5, 6), plainly dressed (i. 11), who is looked upon with considerable contempt by the queens (i. 6), and can only obtain a sneering answer (i. 8) to a simple question (i. 7) which the love and imagination of a simple rustic heart dictated. This is Sulamith, a native of Northern Palestine, as her language and ideas lead us to infer. Her father is dead, it appears, for she only mentions her mother (i. 6, viii. 2), a little sister (viii. 8), and her brothers (to whom probably the language in viii. 9 is ascribed), of whom she complains that they had not been quite kind in their treatment of her (i. 6) during her youth.

14. While the poor girl is in tears at the rebuff which her simplicity has received, Solomon is supposed to enter (i. 9). It will be readily seen that the dialogue between him and Sulamith is continued up to ii. 5, where she appears to be so carried away by the intensity of her feelings, as to faint with emotion, and to be able only to murmur a few words (ii. 6) as Solomon gently lays her down in a place of rest. The Chorus of Virgins (ii. 7) addressing the Queens, and charging them not to disturb Sulamith's repose, brings the first scene to a close.

15. The second scene (ii. 8–iii. 5) is most easily understood by supposing Sulamith to continue in the state of trance to which she had been brought in the former scene. None but the Chorus of Virgins are present, and they move in the background as far as possible. Sulamith fancies herself at home, and though surrounded, as she is, by all the pomp and glory of Solomon, yet imagines herself to be with him at her country home. It is to be noted (as we observed above, § 9) that she puts Solomon's favourite expressions into his mouth—"my love," "my fair one," "my dove." These, and the words "in our land" (ii. 12), are sufficient to show that she fancied that imagination only had carried her into Jerusalem. The language of the chorus (iii. 5) is in itself sufficient to show that the actual scene is not laid in North Palestine. But as to Sulamith, so convinced is she of the reality of her old home being present to her, that she actually breaks out into one of the local vintagers' songs (ii. 15), which she had sung when placed as a child by her brothers to watch (i. 6) the vineyards. It must be observed that the Beloved is never absent from her thoughts. The tune and words of her charming Spring-song (ii. 15) bring back the thoughts of him, and half awake half asleep she fancies at one time that he is lost (iii. 1), at another that he is found again (iii. 4). But in her *fancy* it is to her mother's cottage that she brings him (iii. 4).

16. The third scene represents to us the first arrival of Sulamith at Jerusalem, an event which of course had preceded what was narrated in the two previous scenes. Such a dislocation of the action might be considered sufficient to upset the dramatical hypothesis which we adopt, but it must be remembered that this is the only piece of Hebrew poetry which we have of the sort, and that it is unscientific to apply to it the principles of dramatic criticism which we have derived from studying ancient and modern European plays. All that we have a right to infer is that the order of events was as much neglected in the Hebrew drama as it was in Hebrew history. In the latter, the chronological order of events gives way to the importance of them as seen from the writer's point of view. The order is one of subject-matter, or of magnitude, rather than of time. Similarly in this drama. The starting-point of it is that Sulamith is at Jerusalem. How she was brought to Jerusalem was a point of minor importance reserved for the third scene.

17. In iii. 6–v. 1 we are first introduced to a large crowd in Jerusalem, standing at some point whence they could observe the approach of the royal palanquin as it drew near by the road that came from the north. One speaker from the crowd (iii. 6) observes the clouds of incense which thickened the air around the king and his bride. A second (vv. 7, 8) notices the palanquin and the guard of mighty men which moved alongside of it. A third (vv. 9, 10) remarks upon the beauty of the carriage itself, and the presents that had been made by the Daughters of Jerusalem. Suddenly a fourth voice — probably that of a herald — announces the near approach of the royal train, and calls upon the daughters of Zion to go forth and meet their king. At iv. 1 we must suppose that Solomon and Sulamith have entered the palace. In iv. 1–5, 7–15, he speaks of her praises, while in *vv.* 6, 16 she appears to deprecate his flattery, and to confess her unworthiness of being honoured with such particular marks of the favour of one who was so great and so noble. This is the only way in which the two verses spoken by Sulamith can be explained, when read in their connexion with the words of Solomon which immediately follow. And by this time we must suppose that the marriage procession has entered into the banqueting hall. The king enters with his bride, and calls upon the guests (v. 1) to partake of the marriage feast. It is in this scene only that Solomon addresses Sulamith

as his "sister bride," or "his bride." Nor should it be forgotten that in this scene alone we read of Solomon's invitation to her to exchange her residence in the north for one at Jerusalem.

18. The fourth scene extends from v. 2 to vi. 9. It appears that Sulamith is represented here, as in scene 2, to be in a state of trance (*v.* 2), and in her half-conscious condition to have imagined that she had rejected her Beloved's proffered love for the sake of avoiding a slight personal inconvenience (*v.* 3). She soon regretted what she had done: she sought her Beloved, and called for him, but it was all in vain. She found him not; he gave no answer. She describes the troubles which she endured as she went in search of him, and calls upon the queens, who stood around her, to aid her in her search for the Beloved. She describes him to them (*vv.* 10–16) in language so vivid and so plaintive, that the queens promise "to seek him with her." She has almost relapsed into her former state of unconsciousness (vi. 2, 3) when (*vv.* 4–9) the Beloved is found. These are the last words in the poem that are ascribed to Solomon (except vii. 6–9 a, and the very ambiguous passage, viii. 5 b, viii. 13), and in them must be noted the solemn manner (*vv.* 8, 9) in which the king renounces the splendour and sensuality of his court, and professes himself to be contented for the future with the love of the one whom he addresses as "his dove, the undefiled one, the only one of her mother."

19. If the scene which we have just considered is of great importance in its bearing upon the interpretation of the work, the fifth scene is certainly of equal weight. The conversion of Solomon has been hitherto represented as being effected by the means of Sulamith. We now find that the queens who in i. 6 had treated her with scorn, and in i. 8 had ironically called her the "fairest among women," היפה בנשים, are gradually becoming lost in their admiration of her. In v. 9, vi. 1, they use in earnest the same title which they had applied to her with bitter sarcasm in the first scene: while in vi. 10, 13 a, 13 c–vii. 5, they hardly know how to find words to express their admiration of her: and, finally (vii. 1), they address her as the "prince's daughter," בת נדיב. They appear to be included in Sulamith's invitation (vii. 11), and give up their court life for the sake of the joys of the country. Thus the great curse of Solomon's court (1 K. xi. 1–8) has been removed through the simplicity and deep spirituality of the rustic Sulamith, which has won over the king and his great ladies. As the scene approaches to a conclusion Sulamith is once again introduced, expressing her burning love for Solomon, and begging him to return with her to her own home (vii. 9 b–viii. 3). The end of the scene is marked by the address of the Chorus of Virgins to the Daughters of Jerusalem, which has already been noticed.

20. The last scene opens in North Palestine. The Chorus and Daughters of Jerusalem are within the courtyard of the residence of Sulamith's mother at Shunem (the place described ii. 9), and they see the Bride and her Beloved approaching (viii. 5 a). Solomon points out the places which he could associate with different facts in Sulamith's history, — the apple-tree where he first told her of his love, and the cottage where she was born.[b] She replies to him (*vv.* 6, 7) in language which shows the intense depth of her spiritual perceptions. In *v.* 8 she mentions her sister, trusting that something will be done for her, and is answered with rustic rudeness by her brothers (*v.* 9), that they will take sufficient care of her. Sulamith replies (*v.* 10) enigmatically, and gently reproves her brothers for their former neglect of herself, implying that she had always been her own protectress. In *vv.* 11, 12, she recommends her brothers to Solomon for some mark of his favour, and apparently desires that they may be appointed keepers of his vineyards. The words (viii. 13) are probably the language of Solomon asking her to sing. She complies with the request, and in the last verse of the Book expresses a hope that he will spend his life upon the mountains. Thus the end of the story appears to be that Solomon and all his court retire to the country, and that they are perfectly happy in the enjoyment of the sweet air, and in the contemplation of the objects of nature.

21. *Interpretation.*—A key to the interpretation of the Book is to be found, we believe, in what has been said respecting the form of it. It appears that the object of the Song of Solomon is to depict the conversion of that monarch and his corrupt court through the influence of the simple-minded but profound Sulamith. The prophetic author desired to divert the mind of Solomon from sensual and anti-theocratic opinions, by leading him to rustic pursuits, in which his gigantic intellect would find ample scope for self-development.

22. This view is rendered more probable by an examination of the progress which may be discovered in the different *dramatis personae*. We have already noticed the change which takes place in the "Daughters of Jerusalem." At the commencement of the drama their language was sensuous. They were perfectly ignorant of the fact that the king was the shepherd of his people, and mocked Sulamith (i. 8) for her simplicity in supposing that there was no other profession in life except that of a shepherd. At last, however (vi. 11, &c.), we observe that they had a real admiration for Sulamith, and offered their assistance to her as she started in pursuit of her lost Beloved.

23. In Solomon himself we can notice a great development of character. We can observe this even in the language which he uses when addressing Sulamith. At first he calls her simply "my love" (רעיתי; cp. Revised Version); and this appellation is used by him during the addresses which are put in his mouth from i. 9 to iv. 5. The word, however, means no more than "friend" (LXX. ἡ πλησίον μου, Vulg. *proxima mea*, Syr. ܩܪܝܒܬܝ), and conveys no such impression as the colloquial English phrase "my love." However, suddenly, at iv. 9, she becomes "the Sister, the Spouse," and Solomon becomes conscious of the higher relation in which Sulamith stands to him; and though,

[b] It must be remarked that the Masoretic vowels suppose a man to be addressed, but how the words can be understood if uttered by Sulamith has never been explained. We have read עזרתיך, &c., with the Syriac Version and Delitzsch.

once again, vi. 4, she becomes "his love," yet in vii. 6 he is forced to find a new name for her, "O love for delights" (אהבה בתענוגים), so completely does he fail to find any words to express the marvellous influence which she had acquired over him.

24. Nor is it merely in the names which he applies to Sulamith that we discover this remarkably artistic change in the description of Solomon's feelings; the very language which he uses towards her exhibits the change of his views, and his gradual appreciation of her charms. For it will be observed that the language which he uses when first he begins to sing her praises is almost, if not decidedly, sensuous (see especially i. 9–11, 15; iv. 1–5). The change is to be noticed in the scene which extends from iii. 6 to v. 1. Here, and especially in iv. 7–15, the intellectual qualities of Sulamith appear to be the special objects of his praise. The king is gradually catching her spirit, and we find, as the story progresses, that he is simply overcome, he can say nothing, he is utterly bewildered at his bride's glowing character. Accordingly, in his subsequent speech (vii. 7–10 a) he is unable to find words to express his wonder at her charms. This indeed is a point which has been too much overlooked, but yet it appears to have a very important position in enabling us to understand the meaning of the work.

25. It appears that there is a development in the character of Sulamith as well. The girl is evidently aware of her humble position when she makes her first appearance (see i. 5, 7, 12). Though surrounded with the glory of Solomon's court, she appears to be uninfluenced by what she sees around her. She is quite content to remain as she was brought up, amidst all the beauties of nature (i. 16, 17). But it is amazing to see how conscious she is of the greatness of Solomon. She is simply stricken to the earth; she faints and withers before his majesty. There can be no doubt that this is the result of design on the part of the author, and that some key to the interpretation of the work is to be found in that sense of unworthiness which Sulamith so frequently professes.

26. During the second scene Sulamith and the Chorus are alone brought before the reader, and it would be unreasonable to expect in it any special signs of development of character. But we cannot fail to notice the remarkable way in which she cites the words and the language of the Beloved (ii. 10 b–14), to notice her thoughts of home (ii. 12), and to see how she recurs to the happy home which she hopes to enjoy with him, as she sings the Spring-song (ii. 15); and in ii. 16 reverts to her old idea that everybody who has anything to do must be a shepherd, because she knows no higher occupation in life than that.

27. In the next scene we notice nothing but increased love for the Beloved, and a reference to the "mother," which points again to Sulamith's longing for home. This scene is very interesting, indicating, as it does, the humble attitude which Sulamith always bears to Solomon. She is introduced to our notice only for a short while; and it appears that the words iv. 6, 16 are in each case references to her own unworthiness to receive the Beloved, or to the preparation which her "garden" requires before it can be fit to receive a visit from him.

28. The same progress in Sulamith's character is to be noticed in the two following scenes. The Beloved had come to the garden (vi. 2) which she had prepared for him (iv. 16). He had come at a time when it was inconvenient for her to receive him. The consequences of this are manifested in her increased love for him. She dares not face him at first, but becomes the second time a suppliant of the "Daughters of Jerusalem," and begs them to convey her message to him. Subsequently (vii. 10–viii. 2) she invites him to leave the court, and to retire into the country, concluding with language (viii. 6, 7) which shows the depth of character which the author ascribes to her. The love which she feels towards her Beloved is indissoluble; neither death nor the grave can destroy it.

29. This development in the characters of the three principal *dramatis personæ* brought before us,—namely, Sulamith, Solomon, and the Daughters of Jerusalem,—make our supposition highly probable that the Book was written (for what Book of Holy Scripture was written without some immediate object?) with the intention of the conversion of Solomon. Some prophet who was charged with the reform of Solomon's corrupt court, conveyed the warning to him in this marvellous Book. In other words, this semi-pastoral yet dramatic poem was one of the means by which Jehovah sought to recall the apostate Jedidiah (2 Sam. xii. 25) to a true sense of his position.

30. But that this view rests upon something more than conjecture is borne out by two simple considerations. (1) The Song of Solomon, like the Book of Esther, has no mention of the name of God.[c] To what purpose was the name of God omitted, unless that the omission of the sacred name might appeal to the person to whom the work is addressed? Could a stronger ground be alleged for inducing the king to forsake false gods and idolatrous rites, than the picture which has just been set before us? He is delicately reminded of his own sins. He is refuted by his own arguments. The way of repentance is pointed out to him. Accordingly we find no reference whatever to Jehovah, to religion, to sacrifices, or to anything of the kind. (2) The same intention on the part of the writer may be noticed in the language of Solomon himself. We have already dwelt upon the importance of the third scene in its relation to the exegesis of the work. We may remark that after this scene neither Solomon nor Sulamith speak of anything except the simplest objects of nature. They have both risen to a conception of what real love is. In this they are lost, and henceforth art and luxury cease to hold any charm over them. Their satisfaction lies in each other, and they spend their lives in the contemplation of the works of God in nature.

31. But is there no further meaning in the Book? Here we are brought to face the most difficult question that can be raised in connexion

[c] The obscure word שלהבתיה is the only possible instance to the contrary, but observe the Syriac ܫܠܗܒܬܝܗ.

with the Canticles. We may ask the question in a slightly different form. Is the interpretation of Canticles literal or allegorical? Roughly speaking, this question deals with the whole history of the interpretation of the Book. The interpretation which we have given is literal; that is, we have attempted to find circumstances in the life of Solomon which are the *raison d'être* of the Book. But we believe that there is a deeper meaning in it. We find a distinct Messianic element, but before stating it we must make two general observations. (1) It does not follow that because a certain portion of a prophecy is Messianic, the whole is such. For instance, in Psalm xxii. there are many things which are applicable to the sufferings of David, many which are not. These last, which to save inconvenience we will call "the collateral matter" of the prophecy, apply distinctly to the Messiah. Or, if we may take another illustration, there can be no doubt, from Isaiah vii.–ix., that a child named Immanuel actually lived in the days of the prophet, who in fact was his father, and that a certain portion of the prophecy was fulfilled in the person of this child. But there remains the collateral matter, which cannot be explained as applying in any sense to Isaiah's son, but does apply definitely to the Messiah. (2) What we have stated with regard to prophecy applies with equal force to typology. For instance, because a certain character in Holy Scripture is a type or picture of the Messiah, it does not follow that he is such in all the lineaments of the picture. Take the cases of Joseph and David, which are most probably admitted as typical of Christ by all those who recognise the Messianic element in Psalm xxii. or Isaiah vii.–ix. It does not follow that because Joseph and David were figures of Christ in one particular sense, they must have been so in every respect. It would be as irreverent to explain Gen. xli. 41–43 of the Messiah, as to suppose that certain acts of David are Messianic types.

32. Applying these principles to the Canticles, it is not necessary to suppose that Solomon is a type of Jehovah or Christ in all respects, or that in Sulamith we are to look for never-failing traces of the Synagogue, of the Christian Church, or of the Christian soul. Some of the language which is ascribed to Solomon is inconsistent with any such hypothesis. But we maintain that there are at least two Messianic pictures in the Canticles. There is (1) the conversion of Solomon and the ladies of his court through the instrumentality of Sulamith. Could we have a more distinct representation of the final triumph of the Church of Christ over the powers and principles of this world? Sulamith was the humble instrument in the hands of God through whom the apostate Solomon was converted; in the greatness of the task which she performed and in the divine character of her mission she is the type of greater things to come. (2) So with regard to Solomon, it would be irreverent to explain every word ascribed to him in this Book as though it were the utterance of Jehovah or of the Christ. However, in that burning love which existed between him and Sulamith, a love which we must remember was mutual, we cannot fail to notice a figure of that love which each individual soul, and the Church collectively, possesses towards the Author and Finisher of her faith. Further than this we dare not allegorise; but in this we see enough to excite our wonder and our longings for further search. Those who would see what has been discovered in the Canticles by men who spent their time in prayer and meditation, should read the eighty-six sermons of St. Bernard on the Book, and the forty-eight sermons by Gillebert, which were commenced with the object of completing what St. Bernard left unfinished at his death. The Commentary on Canticles, by the late Dr. Littledale, 1869, places the allegorical interpretation within a short compass. See also Gietmann in Cornely's *Cursus*, &c. 1891.

33. We must not forget, however, that the interpretation of the Book must depend in a great measure upon the number of *dramatis personæ* which are introduced. The explanation which we have ventured to give is based entirely upon the hypothesis that there are only two principal characters in the drama. But are we sure that there is not a third, or even a fourth? Some expositors discover not only the features of king Solomon, but also those of a rival, a shepherd, a man of Sulamith's own position in life, to whom her heart had been given before she was forced into attendance at the king's court. This has been rightly called the "Shepherd hypothesis" by Mr. Kingsbury (the careful and learned writer of the *Speaker's Commentary* on the Canticles, 1873), and we must briefly examine what arguments are introduced in favour of it. This hypothesis is thus enunciated by Dr. Ginsburg: "This song records the real history of a humble but virtuous woman, who, after being espoused to a man of like humble circumstances, had been tempted in a most alluring manner to abandon him, and to transfer her affections to one of the wisest and richest of men, but who successfully resisted all temptations, remained faithful to her espousals, and was ultimately rewarded for her virtue." [a]

34. It will be noticed that, according to the scheme of arrangement which we gave above, thirty verses and two half-verses were assigned to Solomon. Of these the "Shepherd" claims one half-verse, *i.e.* viii. 5 b, and fifteen whole verses. He is also credited with the thrice-repeated refrain, ii. 7, iii. 5, viii. 4. Of the verses ascribed to him, one only has any importance in its bearing upon the hypothesis, namely viii. 5 b. It may reasonably be asked, how could Solomon have known various circumstances connected with Sulamith's home? And to us the answer seems very unsatisfactory which assumes that the king had wandered to that spot during one of his hunting expeditions in the North of Palestine. We have followed Dr. Delitzsch (*Hohelied*, 1875, p. 126), reading ילדתך, חבלתך, אמך, עוררתיך on the ground of the great difficulty that there is in putting such a word as עוררתיך into the mouth of Sulamith.

35. But if we examine the whole Song with the Shepherd hypothesis to guide us, we shall find that in the dialogue with Solomon (for such it is allowed to be) Sulamith replies to him in language which is really intended for

[a] *The Song of Songs, with a Commentary*, &c., 1857, p. 11. Similarly M. Renan in *La Cantique des Cantiques*, 4th ed., 1879, p. 100; and with some modifications Dr. S. Oettli, *Das Hohelied*, 1889, and others.

the Shepherd. For instance, is the "Well-beloved" (i. 13) different from the "King" who was mentioned in the preceding verse? Is it not strange that the Shepherd (ii. 2) should apply the same rare word to Sulamith (רעיתי) which is always employed by Solomon? Passing over the three refrains, which we have ventured to ascribe to a Chorus of Virgins, we come to the long passage iv. 8–v. 1. There is considerable difficulty in explaining this upon the Shepherd hypothesis. It is admitted that iv. 7 is spoken by Solomon, and that the scene is laid in his palace. It is somewhat odd to find the king permitting a rival to ask his wife (for such she is supposed to be) to make what in plain English would be called an elopement with him. Still less do we see how the Shepherd (v. 1) could invite his friends to eat and drink with him in Solomon's palace. It may be urged that the appearance of the words כלה and אחותי כלה in this scene alone support the idea that another than Solomon is speaking; but then we must remember that Solomon had just entered publicly into Jerusalem as the husband of Sulamith: why then should he not publicly call her his wife? Or if we take vi. 8, 9; here the Shepherd is standing outside the palace, and makes this sarcastic reference to what is going on within, so as to "destroy the effect" of Solomon's remarks (vi. 4–7). But we think it highly probable that, if the Shepherd had ventured into such close proximity to the King, one of the sixty mighty men (iii. 7) would not have allowed him to live long enough to make his last request (viii. 13). Again the passage i. 7 is declared to put the hypothesis on a sure footing; but, as we observed above (§ 22), we have no reason to believe that Sulamith knew that Solomon had any other profession except that of a shepherd; or, as Mr. Kingsbury well puts it, "she speaks figuratively of the 'Son of David,' as David called the Holy One of Israel 'my Shepherd.'" And a conclusive argument against the literal interpretation of the passage is the spiritual character of much of the language of Sulamith, *e.g.* i. 12, 13, ii. 17, iv. 6, v. 5, &c., where a literal explanation is impossible. After a careful analysis of the work we cannot help differing from those who have supported the Shepherd hypothesis in any form whatever.

36. The Fragmentary hypothesis, in accordance with which the Book is supposed to be a collection of various unconnected poems, may be said to be obsolete. It was maintained with great learning by E. J. Magnus, *Krit. Bearbeitung*, &c., *des Hohen Liedes Salomo's*, Halle, 1842.

37. *Further Considerations respecting the Language and Style.*—According to our scheme of arrangement, seventy verses and three half-verses are ascribed to Sulamith, thirty whole and two half-verses to Solomon, while the remaining thirteen and a half verses are distributed among the Daughters of Jerusalem, the Chorus of Virgins, the crowd at Jerusalem, and Sulamith's brothers. It will be observed that a large preponderance of the remarkable words, forms, and constructions is used by Sulamith. Not only is she acquainted with various objects of nature not mentioned by the others (those which are peculiar to Canticles are marked with an asterisk), such as כפר*, ברותים*, חבצלת, פנים*, תאנה, תור, אילות, צבאות, אישישות, מרקחים*, עורב, פז, מור עבר, ישעלים*, סמדר*, דודאים*, אנוז, שן, ספירים*, תרשיש (the objects mentioned by Solomon and the others are more common except ברכם* and עפרים), but the localities with which she is familiar are comparatively few. Besides Lebanon, which is known to Solomon and the Daughters of Jerusalem also, she speaks only of Engedi, Sharon, Bether, and Baal-Hamon, the last three of which were in the North of Palestine. Solomon mentions Gilead, Amana, Shenir, Hermon, Tirzah; and the Daughters of Jerusalem refer to Heshbon, Damascus, and Bath-Rabbim, betraying an acquaintance with Eastern Palestine, and reminding us of 1 K. xi. 1, 5, 7.

38. Of the words peculiar to Canticles Solomon uses the following: רעיה (used by Sulamith ii. 10, 13, when citing Solomon's language), תור (a necklace), מתאמים, רחצים, גליץ, חרוצים, מדבר (in this sense), תלפיות, לבב, צַוָּארון, גל, שלחים, סנסן, נדנל. The Daughters of Jerusalem also have a peculiar vocabulary, *e.g.* מתרפק, דלה, מזג, אמן, חמוק, אימה נדגלות. The crowd, as we should expect, introduce some curious words, such as אבקה, רצוף, רפידה, אחזי, אפריון, חרב. But the diction of Sulamith is overwhelmed with anomalies. We take a sample from the first nineteen verses which are allotted to her: נטר, שחרחרת (a provincialism for נצר, which is the form used by her brothers, viii. 9), איכה for איה, חרך, כתל, נצנים, סתו, זמיר and חנט (in this sense). To this may be added a pleonastic construction, כרמי שלי, i. 6, viii. 12 (cp. מטתו שלשלמה, iii. 7); the pronoun after the finite verb, קמתי אני, v. 5, פתחתי אני, v. 6; and the forms שְׁוּקים, iii. 2, קְוּצות, v. 2, 11 (reminding us of יְשׁוּרים, Hos. xii. 12). The above lists might be considerably augmented, but a sufficient number of words has been given to show that there are forms of speech ascribed by the author to Sulamith, which, like the places that she knows best, are to be looked for in the North of Palestine. In some respects her diction resembles Syriac rather than pure Hebrew.

39. *Age and Date of Composition.*—We have endeavoured to show above (§ 3, &c.) that the age of the Canticles cannot be determined from the language and diction; though Gesenius,* it is true, maintained that on account of "Chaldaisms" the Book must have been written shortly after the return from the Exile. Again, such words as פרדס and אפריון have been claimed as indicating a Persian or even a Greek period of authorship. But as our knowledge of the different Semitic dialects prevalent in Palestine from the 10th century B.C. onwards is very slight, we prefer to discover what indications of date are betrayed by the author himself apart from the language.

* *Gesch. d. Heb. Spr.* p. 27.

40. We believe that very distinct traces of the period of Solomon are to be found. For instance i. 9 refers distinctly to the horse trade between Egypt and Palestine of which we read in 1 K. x. 28, 29; 2 Ch. i. 16, 17. At no other time (not even at the date of Is. xxx. xxxi.) are we aware of any such trade in Israel. We have already noticed the familiarity with Eastern Palestine which is exhibited by the Daughters of Jerusalem. This again points to the date of Solomon. There is no reference to a divided kingdom, but Israel is looked upon as one entire power (iii. 7). It is true that Jerusalem and Tirzah are mentioned together in vi. 4, but this does not prove, as M. Renan thinks it does (pp. 95, 96), that at the time of the composition of the Book the author had the northern and southern capitals before him. The references to Gilead (iv. 1), Heshbon, and Bath Rabbim (vii. 5), all point to a time when Eastern and Western Palestine formed one empire. Now we have every reason to believe that the trans-Jordanic possessions of Israel revolted at the time of the great schism. Consequently we are led to infer that the Song was written previously to the times of Rehoboam. But another indication of the date is given to us in some of the ideas of the Book. We know that Solomon's was an encyclopaedic age (1 K. iv. 29–34), and assuredly in no portion of Scripture consisting of 117 consecutive verses do we find so many names of animals and plants as we do here. It appears that Sulamith mentions no less than forty objects of nature or art, of which Solomon or others mention fourteen. Solomon himself, in his small number of verses, mentions twenty. So that we must admit that upon the average we may expect to find in every other verse the mention of something which was known to be an object of research in Solomon's time. In fact the references to gardens, parks, fruit, trees, fish-ponds, within the compass of so few verses, can only be accounted for on the hypothesis that one was living who "spake of trees, . . . of beasts, of fowls, of creeping things, and of fishes" (1 K. iv. 33). In other words, we are led to place the composition of the Book in the most prosperous days of Solomon, and consider that this is highly probable, notwithstanding the difference in numbers that has been noticed between Cant. vi. 8 and 1 K. xi. 3.

41. The name of the author, however, must remain a secret. The Solomonic authorship, as we observed (§ 1), cannot be proved from the title. We have not a sufficient amount of Solomon's writings to enable us to form an idea of his style. There are, without doubt, many coincidences in thought and language between the Canticles and the Proverbs (see Keil's *Introduction to the O. T.* § 124, 4), but, unfortunately, all are not agreed as to which proverbs are due to Solomon and which are not. Again, it is true that Solomon is recorded to have written 1005 songs, but there is an unwarrantable assumption in maintaining that this was one of them. We do not venture to speculate upon the name of the author; but an intellectual age such as Solomon's, which possessed a Nathan, or an Ahijah of Shiloh, was surely capable of giving birth to an author who could have produced this striking work.

42. *Canonicity.*—Little can be added on this subject to what was stated in the first edition. The Canticles have been rejected by private individuals on subjective not on external grounds. The fact that it exists in the Greek Versions, and that it is cited in the Talmud Babli (*Bab. Bathr.* 14 b) as canonical, is sufficient to establish the canonicity of it. The well-known passage in the Mishna (ידים, iii. 5) is sufficient to show the uniformity of Jewish tradition. See further Delitzsch, *Comm.* pp. 14, 15; Dr. Ginsburg, § ii.

43. *Versions of the Canticles.* — We have already stated that the three principal Versions are the Septuagint, the Syriac, and the Latin. (For an account of the Targum on Canticles, see TARGUM.) Of these the Syriac is by far the best translation.

44. (1.) The Greek Version is, upon the whole, a careful and faithful rendering. At times the translator goes out of his way for the sake of preserving a literal version. See i. 8, 14; ii. 11; iii. 6, 11; iv. 7; v. 5, 6, 16; vi. 8, 9; vii. 5; viii. 12. There are occasions where he has made a few additions: i. 4, *εἰς ὀσμὴν μύρων σου*; ii. 10, *περιστερά μου* (as in *v.* 13); ii. 14, *σου* before *περιστερά*; iii. 2, *καὶ* before *ζητήσω*; v. 2, *ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν* after *κρούει*; v. 8, after 'Ιερουσαλὴμ he adds *ἐν ταῖς δυνάμεσι καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἰσχύσεσι τοῦ ἀγροῦ*, as he does in viii. 4, so as to agree with ii. 7. In vi. 11 [10], after *ῥοαὶ* he adds *ἐκεῖ δώσω τοὺς μαστούς μου σοί* (from vii. 13). In vii. 11, *ἡ ἐρχομένη* is inserted before *ὡς χόροι*; vii. 5 [4], *ὡς* before *λίμναι*.

45. The omissions are very few, being chiefly confined to particles. Exceptions must be noticed in עבר, v. 6, and לכי לך, ii. 10, which he translates by *περιστερά*, having already rendered לך by *ἐλθέ*, which he read לכי as in ii. 13.

46. There are certain variations which must be regarded either as errors or as the result of misapprehension. Such are *μαστοὶ* for דודים, i. 2, 4, &c.; *εἵλκυσάν σε*, i. 4; *μύροις*, ii. 5; *ἱματίων*, iv. 10 (where the source of error is discoverable from *v.* 11); *ἀρώματά μου*, iv. 16; *ὡμοιώθης*, vii. 7; *καὶ εἰς ταμεῖον τῆς συλλαβούσης με*, viii. 2 (where the equivalent תלמדני points out how the error arose); *λελευκανθισμένη*, viii. 5; *ὁ καθήμενος*, viii. 13.

47. That the translator intended to be honest appears from the transliterations which he employs, *e.g.* *θαλπιώθ*, iv. 4; *ἀλώθ* (some copies have *ἀλωή*), iv. 14; *κεφάζ*, v. 11 (should we read *καὶ φάζ*? see Hippol. *Fragm.* xxv. on Daniel, and cp. v. 15); *θαρσίς*, v. 14; *Ναδάβ*, vii. 2. Apparently being uncertain of the meaning of the Hebrew words, he preferred to leave his translation ambiguous.

48. Perhaps indications of a different Hebrew text are given in the following passages: i. 3, הביאני . . . דגלו; ii. 4, וריח שמניך מכל שמנים; iv. 1, שגנבלו, 4, תלו, 8, אתי; vii. 9, . . . שפתי ישנים; viii. 2, רמוני, 6, שלהבותיה. The division of chapters and verses is different from what we find in the received Hebrew text. Thus i. 4 the difficult word משכני is put into *v.* 3 and translated *εἵλκυσάν σε*; so again chapter v. begins with the middle of iv. 16, and v. 17 with vi. 1. In vi. 11 there is a different division

of the verse, and it is not plain what the translator meant; and finally vii. 1 *a* is transferred to the end of vi. 11.

49. The following passages deserve special study: i. 7, 8, 11, 12, 16 (obscure); ii. 1 (he avoids the proper name as ii. 17, iv. 8, vi. 3), 8, 9, 12, 14; iii. 6, 10; iv. 1 (*σιώπησις*, Syr. ܣܠܘܬܐ, used metaphorically for veil as in v. 3), 9, 12, 13, 15; v. 1, 5, 11, 12, 14; vi. 8 (*νεανίδες* = עלמות), 12; vii. 9; viii. 1, 4 (*ἐὰν* = מה, but cp. ii. 7, iii. 5), 7, 9. These will present to the reader the most important passages; and probably after having studied this Version he will not assent to Dr. Noack's conjecture (*Hohelied*, pp. 37, 38), that it was undertaken on the occasion of the marriage of Alexander Balas with Cleopatra; still less will he approve of the arbitrary, and (if we understand it correctly) faulty Hebrew-Roman text which he prints.

50. (2.) The main difficulty with regard to the Syriac Version is the text itself. A careful collation of Lee's text with the facsimile of the Ambrosian MS. lately edited by Dr. Ceriani, and the Bodleian MSS. Pocock 391, Bod. Or. 141, will exhibit a large number of variants, certainly not less than sixty. In fact, till the various Syriac codices have been collated, one of the most precious *subsidia critica* to the Old Testament text will be comparatively valueless. The omissions in this Version of the Canticles are very slight, and for the most part confined to particles; but in some MSS. even these do not exist. The additions are of the same nature, except perhaps in vii. 4, ܕܢܟܝ ܕܚܫܒܘܢ, which is repeated from iv. 5, as LXX. It is hard to distinguish accurately between the occasional paraphrases which the translator gives, and indications of a different Hebrew text lying before him. The following, however, appears to us to be approximately correct.

51. *Paraphrases*:—i. 2, ܡܛܥܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܦܘܡܗ ܓܝܪ ܛܒܝܢ ܡܠܟ ܡܚܒܝܟ, 6; ܐܠ ܬܬܚܙܝ ܕܫܚܝܪܐ ܐܢܐ ܕܫܠܡܐ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ ܕܫܠܡ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ, 16, ܕܫܠܡ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ ii. 12, ܙܡܝܪ = ܙܡܝܪܐ; 13, ܕܡܫܟܢ ܫܟܝܢܬܗ ܒܝܢ ܐܝܠܢܐ ܘܒܝܢ ܐܝܠܢܐ; 17, ܕܡܫܟܢ = בתר: iii. 6, ܕܡܫܟܢ ܠܗ (for אבקת רוכל); 9, ܕܡܢ ܐܦܪܝܢ = אפריון: iv. 4, ܕܡܢ ܕܠܦܟ = תלפיות; 10, ܕܕܕ *bis* for דודיך (but only here and vii. 13): v. 12, ܕܡܫ ܕܢܬܒ for כתם פז; ܡܟܫܠܗ = תלתלים; 13 (some MSS. ܕܢܢܝ), ܡܟܢ ܕܢܢܝ; 15, ܕܡܠ ܕܡܠܐ = ממלאים בתרשיש; 16, ܡܪܐܗ = מראהו: vi. 3, ܕܨ ܕܨ = תרצה; ܕܓܠ = נדגלות, but the same word is rendered ܕܓܠ (some MSS. ܕܓܠ) in *v.* 9: viii. 1, ܐܡܐ ܐܡܟ ܕܝ = יונק; 6, ܫܕܝ ܐܡܝ ܘܟܡܨ ܕܡܟܡܨ = ריטפיה ריטפי איט וישלהביתה.

52. Different readings are suggested in the following passages:—i. 3, הדרך: ii. 1, כחבצלת (unless ܐܢ was corrupted into ܐܡܝ, which is most unlikely); 4, דגלו and הביאני (that is, if the point is to be trusted): iv. 4, the order is inverted which the translator is usually most careful to preserve, and he seems to have read צוארך מבצר צמתן במגדל דויד In iv. 6 he reads ܐܠܟ (or ܥܠ), *i.e.* לכי לך instead of אלך לי. Verse 11, after the first three words, probably was written כל דביש וחלב תחת שפתיך. It is not easy to account for vii. 1, ܒܢܫܐ ܐܡܝ ܡܝ:ܠܐ ܐܡܝ ܡܝ ܠܐ ܕܡܟܥܡ, probably the words are a paraphrase of the very hard passage: vii. 7 indicates that in the copy before him the translator did not find the words separated from each other. He read בַּת תַּעֲנוּגִים instead of בַּתְּעֲנוּגִים: viii. 11 we find ܕܡܟ ܫܥܝ for ܐܠܟ ܒܥܠܡ, and lastly v. 13 ܐܠܟ ܒܥܠܡ ܕܡܟ ܕܡܟ, *i.e.* היושבים בגנים ומקשיבים לקולך.

53. (3.) The Latin Version of St. Jerome is an important witness to the condition of the Hebrew text in the 4th century. It is entirely independent of the LXX., and suggests one or two important readings. The additions (such as ii. 10, v. 2, vi. 4, viii. 2, 6), like the omissions (ii. 11, 12, v. 6, vii. 6, 13), are very slight, and consist almost entirely of particles. We find one double translation (viii. 6), where "deliciis affluens, innixa," corresponds to the one Hebrew word מתרפקת. Proper names are translated as iv. 6, "collem thuris" for גבעת הלבנון; vii. 5, "quae sunt in porta filiae multitudinis," על שער בת רבים; viii. 11, "in ea quae habet populos," בבעל המון. Various readings of small importance are suggested: iii. 9, אחזו; iv. 8, אתי, *bis*; v. 12, רחוצת, and possibly מאז, viii. 10. The following passages are worthy of notice: i. 7, 14; iii. 10; iv. 1 (comp. iv. 3, vi. 7), 8; v. 5 (note the important alteration in the division of the verse); vi. 12; vii. 6; viii. 6 (obscure).

It is an interesting fact to mention that the Canticles have been translated into various English dialects,—Cornish, Cumberland, Dorset, Durham, Lancashire, and Westmoreland. A very few copies were printed in 1859 by Mr. George Barclay, 28 Castle Street, Leicester Square.

54. Metrical Versions of the Canticles have been frequently made, and amongst others may be mentioned one by Rev. William Moore, M.A. of Magdalen College, Oxford, published in

a volume of poems entitled *Lost Chords*, Messrs. Parker & Co., Oxford, 1889.

55. *Literature bearing upon the Canticles.*— To the exhaustive lists which will be found in the Introduction to Dr. Ginsburg's *Commentary*, and in Kuenen, *Hist. Crit. Onderzoek*, vol. iii. pp. 377–399, may be added the following:— (1.) *The Conversion of Solomon*, by John Dove, D.D., London, 1613. The writer proves to his own satisfaction that the soul of Solomon was finally saved, that the earlier verses in the Canticles are the King's prayers for reconciliation with God through Christ. He considers the rest of the Book to consist of dialogues between the Church and Christ. (2.) Dr. O. Zöckler, *Das H. Lied*, Bielefeld und Leipzig, 1868. He considers Solomon to be the author, whose love towards Sulamith is typical of the communion between Christ and His Church. This work has been translated into English by Dr. W. H. Green, with additions by the editor, and is published in a useful form by Messrs. T. and T. Clark of Edinburgh. (3.) Ludwig Noack, *Tharraquah und Sunamith*, Leipzig, 1869. He considers the reference to be to Samaria and Tirhakah. (4.) Dr. H. Graetz, *Schir ha-Schirim übersetzt*, Wien, 1871. We have already referred at length to this highly valuable work. (5.) The late Dr. Franz Delitzsch, *Das Lied der Lieder*, Leipzig, 1875. This is by far the most valuable modern book on the Canticles, and has been translated into English in Clark's Foreign Theological Library. (6.) *Le Cantique des Cantiques*, par E. Renan, 4me éd., Paris, 1879. M. Renan adopts the "Shepherd hypothesis." (7.) E. Reuss, *Le Cantique des Cantiques*, Paris, 1879. We find a striking sentence, p. 88, "Embarras sans fin! Plus le texte est clair, plus on y trouve d'énigmes." The introduction contains a valuable synopsis of criticisms, pp. 24–41, and the work, like all that comes from the pen of the learned scholar, is of a highly interesting character. (8.) A. Raabe, *Das Buch Ruth und das Hohelied*, Leipzig, 1879. This work contains a Glossary of the words contained in the two Books given in the title, followed by a brief notice of some peculiar grammatical forms, and a transliteration of the Hebrew text into what the author conceives to be the original language. The vehicle of transliteration is, unfortunately, the italic character. A few notes are added, which are not void of interest. (9.) Dr. C. Kossowicz, Petersburg, 1879. Latin notes, containing some interesting matter, followed by an "Archetypum" in unpointed Hebrew characters. The treatment of the Book, especially chap. iv. 8–v. 8, is erroneous in our judgment, and the learned writer is evidently sceptical as to the correctness of his view. See p. 17, note 48. (10.) Special mention must be made of the useful work by Dr. Salfeld, *Das H. L. Salomo's bei den Jüdischen Erklären des Mittelalters*, Berlin, 1879. In this are classified the different Jewish interpretations, haggadistic, philosophical, mystical, &c. These are followed by an appendix consisting of fourteen extracts from MSS. of various writers illustrative of the different interpretations. A list of the Jewish commentators on the Canticles from the 9th to the 16th century concludes the work. (11.) Commentary and Translation by Dr. J. G. Stickel, Berlin, 1888. According to him, there is a twofold drama, the loves of Sulamith and Solomon, to which the loves of a shepherd and shepherdess are parallel. He maintains the antiquity of the Book, and his discussions pp. 107–147 are very suggestive. (12.) Prof. S. Oettli, *Das Hohelied* (in the *Kurzgefasster Kommentar*, now being edited by Dr. Strack and Dr. Zöckler, 1889); is a very useful work, developing the hypothesis of Dr. Stickel. He divides the work into fifteen different scenes, consisting of dialogues between Sulamith, the court-ladies, Solomon, and Sulamith's friend. He considers the Book to have been written (p. 170) in the first half of the 10th century B.C. The whole locality of the action is ascribed by him to North Palestine. The notes contain a vast amount of information within a small compass. We are unable to agree with him so far as to reject the "King-hypothesis" (p. 157). Of English commentaries we have already referred to (13) Mr. Kingsbury's, in the *Speaker's Comm.* (14.) To this may be added a short and popular Commentary in the SPCK. series by the Rev. E. P. Eddrup, of a very unpretending but instructive kind. The articles on *Hohelied* by Diestel in Schenkel's *Bibellexicon*, and by Orelli in Herzog's *RE.*[2] are worthy of study. There is also an article on *Canticles* in the new edition (9th) of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, by Prof. W. R. Smith. To those who are interested in the Arabic versions of the Bible we recommend a paper on Saadiah's version of Canticles by Dr. Adalb. Merx, Heidelberg, 1882. [H. D.]

CAPERNAUM (Rec. T. Καπερναούμ; Lachm. Tisch., Treg., Westcott and Hort, and Gebhardt, with BNDZ., &c. Καφαρναούμ, as if כפר נחום, "village of Nachum;" Syriac Nitr. ܟܦܪ ܢܚܘܡ, Pesh. ܟܦܪ ܢܚܘܡ; *Capharnaum*), a name with which all are familiar as that of the scene of many acts and incidents in the life of Christ. There is no mention of Capernaum in the O. T. or Apocrypha, but the passage Is. ix. 1 (in Heb., viii. 23) is applied to it by St. Matthew. The word *Caphar* in the name perhaps indicates that the place was of late foundation. [CAPHAR.]

The few notices of its situation in the N. T. are not sufficient to enable us to determine its exact position. It was on the western shore of the Sea of Galilee (*τὴν παραθαλασσίαν*, Matt. iv. 13; cp. John vi. 24), and, if recent discoveries are to be trusted (Cureton's *Nitrian Rec.* John vi. 17), was of sufficient importance to give to that sea, in whole or in part, the name of the "lake of Capernaum." This was the case also with Tiberias, at the other extremity of the lake (cp. John vi. 1, "the sea of Galilee which is the sea of Tiberias"). It was in, or near, the "land of Gennesaret" (Matt. xiv. 34, compared with John vi. 17, 21, 24); that is, the rich, busy plain on the west shore of the lake, which we know from the descriptions of Josephus and from other sources to have been at that time one of the most prosperous and crowded districts in all Palestine. [GENNESARETH.] Being on the shore, Capernaum was lower than Nazareth and Cana of Galilee, from which the road to it was one of descent (John ii. 12; Luke iv. 31), a mode of speech which would apply to the general level of the spot even if our Lord's expression "exalted

unto heaven" (ὑψωθήσῃ, Matt. xi. 23) had any reference to height of position in the town itself. It was of sufficient size to be always called a "city" (πόλις, Matt. ix. 1; Mark i. 33); had its own synagogue, in which our Lord frequently taught (John vi. 59; Mark i. 21; Luke iv. 33, 38)—a synagogue built by the centurion of the detachment of Roman soldiers which appears to have been quartered in the place[a] (Luke vii. 1, cp. v. 8; Matt. viii. 8). But, besides the garrison, there was also a customs-station, where the dues were gathered both by stationary (Matt. ix. 9; Mark ii. 14; Luke v. 27) and by itinerant (Matt. xvii. 24) officers. If the "way of the sea" was the great road from Damascus to the south (Ritter, *Jordan*, p. 271), the duties may have been levied not only on the fish and other commerce of the lake, but on the caravans of merchandise passing to Galilee and Judaea. On the other hand, the duties may have been city tolls, of the nature of *octroi*, which would naturally be collected at the city gate; or custom dues on merchandise passing from Galilee to Ituraea by way of Bethsaida-Julias.

The only interest attaching to Capernaum is as the residence of our Lord and His Apostles, the scene of so many miracles and "gracious words." At Nazareth He was "brought up," but Capernaum was emphatically His "own city" (Matt. ix. 1, cp. with Mark ii. 1). It was when He returned thither that He is said to have been "at home" (Mark ii. 1; such is the force of ἐν οἴκῳ—A. V. "in the house"). Here He chose the Evangelist St. Matthew or Levi (Matt. ix. 9). The brothers Simon-Peter and Andrew belonged to Capernaum (Mark i. 29), and it is perhaps allowable to imagine that it

Capernaum. *Tell Hûm.* (From a photograph.)

was on the sea-beach below the town (for, doubtless, like true Orientals, these two fishermen kept close to home), while Jesus was "walking" there, before "great multitudes" had learned to "gather together unto Him," that they heard the quiet call which was to make them forsake all and follow Him (Mark i. 16, 17; cp. v. 28). It was here that Christ worked the miracle on the centurion's servant (Matt. viii. 5; Luke vii. 1), on Simon's wife's mother (Matt. viii. 14; Mark i. 30; Luke iv. 38), on the paralytic (Matt. ix. 1; Mark ii. 1; Luke v. 18), and on the man afflicted with an unclean spirit (Mark i. 23; Luke iv. 33). The son of the nobleman (John iv. 46) was, though resident at Capernaum, healed by words which appear to have been spoken in Cana of Galilee. At Capernaum occurred the incident of the child (Mark ix. 33; Matt. xviii. 1; cp. xvii. 24); and in the synagogue there was spoken the wonderful discourse of John vi. (see v. 59).

The doom which our Lord pronounced against Capernaum has been remarkably fulfilled. In the present day no ecclesiastical tradition even ventures to fix its site; and the contest between the rival claims of the two most probable spots is one of the hottest in sacred topography. Fortunately nothing hangs on the decision. The spots in dispute are: 1. *Khurbet Minyeh*, a series of mounds, covering no very large extent of ground, and containing the remains of no important building. The ruins take their name from an old *khân*, a short distance to the north, and are situated close upon the sea-shore at the

[a] The fact of a Roman having built the synagogue has been thought by some an argument against the prosperity of the town.

north-eastern extremity of the plain of Gennesareth (now *el-Ghuweir*). Not far from the mounds, and close to the water-line of the lake, is a large spring surrounded by vegetation and overshadowed by a fig-tree which gives it its name—*'Ain et-Tin* (the spring of the fig-tree). About 2¼ miles S.W. of *Khân Minyeh* is another large spring, called the "Round Fountain," which is rather more than half a mile from the lake, to which it sends a considerable stream with fish.

2. The other claimant, *Tell Hûm*, is 2¼ miles N.E. of *Khân Minyeh*. The ruins of the ancient town are situated on the shore of the lake, and cover a space half a mile long and a quarter wide; the most important are those of a synagogue, and of a remarkable tomb to the north of it. In striking contrast to the black basalt walls of the surrounding houses, the synagogue was built of white limestone (*Recovery of Jerusalem*, pp. 343–6). About 2½ miles further is the point at which the Jordan enters the north of the lake.

The arguments in favour of *Khân Minyeh* will be found in Robinson (ii. 403–4; iii. 344–358). They are chiefly founded on Josephus's account of his visit to Capharnome, which Dr. R. would identify with the mounds near the khan, and on the testimonies of successive travellers from Arculfus to Quaresimus, whose notices Dr. R. interprets — often, it must be confessed, not without difficulty—in reference to *Khân Minyeh*. The fountain Capharnaum, which Josephus elsewhere mentions (*B. J.* iii. 10, § 8) in a very emphatic manner as a chief source of the water of the plain of Gennesareth and as abounding with fish, Dr. R. believes to be the *Ain et-Tin*. But the large fountain of *'Ain et-Tûbigah*, from which water was carried into the plain by an aqueduct constructed with great skill, certainly answers better to Josephus's account than a spring so close to the shore, and possessing such a slight head of water as *'Ain et-Tin*. The claim of *Khân Minyeh* is also supported by Conder (*Tent Work in Palestine*, ii. 182–190), Macgregor, Merrill, and Sepp.

The arguments in favour of *Tell Hûm* are: the statements of Jerome that Capernaum was 2 miles from Chorazin, a distance agreeing exactly with that between *Tell Hûm* and *Kerâzeh*, now generally accepted as Chorazin; and of Theodosius (p. 28), who gives the distance of Capernaum from Magdala as twice that of Tiberias from the same place, which corresponds with the relative positions of *Tubariyeh*, *Mejdel*, and *Tell Hûm;* the extent and character of the ruins; the statements of Josephus; and the name, which is maintained to be a relic of the Hebrew original — Caphar having given place to *Tell*. The arguments are fully given by Sir C. Wilson (*Recovery of Jerusalem*, pp. 375–387); Dr. Wilson (*Lands of the Bible*, ii. 139–149); Thomson (*Land and the Book*, pp. 352–6); Bonar (pp. 437–41); Ritter (*Jordan*, pp. 335–43); Furrer (Schenkel's *Bib. Lex.* iii. 495); and Guérin (*Galilée*, i. 226–39). Renan, Socin, Schaff, Tristram, and Hepworth Dixon, are also in favour of *Tell Hûm*. For a good general description of the district, see Stanley, *S. & P.* ch. x.

The Talmuds (*Shir-ha-Shirim*, iii. 18; and Tal. Jer. *Thrumoth*, xi. 7) mention a *Caphar Tanhûm*, *Tanhûmin*, or *Tchûmin*, which are probably variations of *Caphar Nahûm*, and to be identified with *Tell Hûm*, a name that may itself have been derived, by the change of a letter, from *Tanhûm*. The *Caphar Ahim* mentioned with Chorazin (Tal. Bab. *Menakhoth*, 85*a*) as famous for its corn is also possibly the same place (Neubauer, *Géog. du Talmud*, pp. 220–1). [G.] [W.]

CA'PHAR (כָּפַר, from a root signifying "to cover," Ges. p. 707), one of the numerous words employed in the Bible to denote a village or collection of dwellings smaller than a city (*Ir*). Dean Stanley proposed to render it by "hamlet" (*S. and P.*, App. § 85), to distinguish it from Chavvah, Chatzer, Benoteh, and other similar words. As an appellative it is found only three times: 1 Ch. xxvii. 25; Cant. vii. 11, and 1 Sam. vi. 18 (in the last pointed *Copher*, כֹּפֶר); but in neither is there anything to enable us to attach any special force to the word.

In names of places it occurs in CHEPHAR-AMMONAI, CHEPHIRAH, CAPHAR-SALAMA. But the number of places compounded therewith mentioned in the Talmuds shows that the name became a much commoner one at a time subsequent to the Biblical history. In later Latin Caphar is frequently corrupted to Para, as Para-Dagon, &c. (Reland, *Pal.* p. 356). In Arabic *Kefr* is in frequent use (see the Index to Robinson, ii., iii.). To us its chief interest arises from its forming a part of the name of CAPERNAUM, *i.e.* Caphar-nahum. [G.] [W.]

CA'PHAR-SA'LAMA (Χαφαρσαλαμά; A. Χαρφαρσαραμά; *Capharsalama*), a place (κώμη, Jos. *Ant.* xii. 10, § 4) at which a battle was fought between Judas Maccabaeus and Nicanor (1 Macc. vii. 31). From the fugitives having taken refuge in the "city of David," it would appear to have been near Jerusalem. Is it not possible that it was Siloam, the Arabic name of which is *Kefr Selwân*? Ewald places it north of Ramla on the Samaritan boundary (*Gesch.* iv. 368, note), but no certain traces of it seem to have been yet found. [G.] [W.]

CAPHEN'ATHA (Χαφεναθά; *Caphetetha*), a place apparently close to and on the east side of Jerusalem, which was repaired by Jonathan Maccabaeus (1 Macc. xii. 37). The name is derived by Lightfoot from *Caphnioth*, the Talmudic word for unripe figs. If this be correct, there is a remarkable correspondence between the name Caphenatha and those of Bethany (house of dates), Bethphage (house of figs), and of the Mount of Olives itself, on which the three were situated — all testifying to the ancient fruitfulness of the place. [G.] [W.]

CAPHI'RA (A. Καφιρά, B. Πειρά; Vulg. [3 Esd.] has nothing corresponding to it), 1 Esd. v. 19. [CEPHIRAH.]

CAPHTHO'RIM (כַּפְתֹרִים; B. omits, A. Χαφοριείμ; *Caphtorim*). 1 Ch. i. 12. [CAPHTOR.]

CAPH'TOR (כַּפְתּוֹר; Καππαδοκία; *Cappadocia*), *gent.* CAPHTO'RIM (כַּפְתֹרִים; Γαφτοριείμ, X- or Καφτοριείμ; *Caphtorim*, *Cappadoces*), a country (אִי כַּפְתּוֹר) whence the Philistines

migrated to Palestine (Deut. ii. 23; Jer. xlvii. 4; Amos ix. 7), the term Caphtorim being once used (Deut. *l. c.*) to designate the Philistines. In the Noachian list, the list of the Mizraites closes with "Casluhim (out of whom came Philistim [R.V. "whence went forth the Philistines"]), and Caphtorim" (Gen. x. 14; 1 Ch. i. 12). It has been conjectured that a transposition has here occurred, and that the mention of the Philistine migration should follow the word Caphtorim (see *QPB.*[3]), but there is no ancient evidence in favour of the conjecture. The LXX. of Gen. x. 14 follows the sequence of the Hebrew, limiting the Philistines to the Casluhim as source. [R. S. P.]

The Egyptian records mention a race which can only be the people of Caphtor. The name of *Kefa*, *Kefth*, *Keft* occurs frequently in the Egyptian inscriptions, but not before the reign of Thothmes III. (18th dyn., 1600 B.C.). It remained uncertain what nation was meant by that name until the discovery of the trilingual inscription of Canopus, where *Keft* is mentioned (*l. g.*) between Syria and Cyprus, and translated by *Φοινική*, Phoenicia.

In the famous picture of the tribute of four races to Thothmes III. which is found in the tomb of Rekhmara at Thebes, the second line is described as the offerings *of the chiefs of Kefa and of the islands of the sea*. The men are like the Egyptians in type and colour; they have not all their hair dressed alike; they all wear ornamented kilts and high boots; but we cannot say with certainty whether they are the men of Kefa or from the islands. Their tribute consists of beautiful vases of gold, electrum, silver, bronze and glass, some adorned with inlaid work in glass and precious stones. They also bring short swords and an elephant's tusk (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* 2nd ed. Pl. II. a).

In the annals of Thothmes III. mention is made of the ships of *Keft*, which carry timber for the palaces of the king, and also of a silver jug of the fabric of the *Kefa*. In the great tablet, which is an eulogy on the reign of Thothmes III., *Kefa* appears in connexion with *Asebi* (Cyprus) in the following line: *I come and I give thee to conquer the western land. Kefa and Asebi fear thee.* It is only two lines further that we find the inhabitants of the islands of the sea who are distinct from the people of Kefa (Birch, *On a historical Tablet of the reign of Thothmes III.*). It is remarkable that here as well as in the inscription of the tomb of Rekhmara, the king citing the Asiatic nations has adopted the Assyrian orientation, and speaks of the Kefa as being in the *west*. As *Kefa*, *Keft*, means in Egyptian the *back part*, Brugsch considers this word as being the translation of the Semitic אחר (*i.e.* אחרון, western), the Assyrian *aḫarru*, the Egyptian transcription of which is *Kharu*. Thus Kefa and Kharu would be the Egyptian and the Semitic word meaning *those from behind, the Western, the Phoenicians* (Brugsch, *Altaeg. Volkestafel*, pp. 32, 38). It may be objected that in the picture of the tomb of Rekhmara the type of the Kefa is different from that of the *Kharu* (Wilk. *Anc. Egypt.* i. 391); but apart from what has been said before, that we are not at all sure that the men represented are not the people of the islands, in two other instances where the Kefa occur, in the reign of Amenophis III., their type is that of the Asiatics of Syria (Leps. *Denkm.* iii. 63 a, 88). Besides, the site of the land of *Khar* corresponds exactly to Kefa; it is said in a papyrus to extend from the Egyptian city of Zar (Kantarah) to the north of the Syrian coast; and the ships of Khar brought to Egypt chariots, harness, and timber of different kinds (Chabas, *Études sur l'Antiquité historique*, p. 128).

Although in the inscription of Canopus *Keft* is translated by Phoenicia, it is not probable that it had such a definite sense in the time of Thothmes III. *The western* is a vague name, which applies at first to the population of the Phoenician coast, but which may have extended further west. Phoenicia proper in the time of Thothmes III. is called *Zahi*. Kefa may refer also to some of the maritime settlements of the Phoenicians: that is why it is often connected either with Cyprus or with the islands of the Mediterranean.

Ebers, insisting on the connexion which existed between the Eastern Delta and the nations of Palestine, thinks that, in the 10th chapter of Genesis, Caphtor must be considered as a part of Egypt, which was inhabited by Phoenicians. It is certain that even under the last Pharaohs the eastern part of the Delta was occupied by a foreign population; but as far as we can trace the Kefa in the inscriptions, they are always mentioned as inhabiting a foreign country. [E. N.]

At first sight it seems as if the Biblical references to Caphtor and the Caphtorim were irreconcilable with the Egyptian information as to Kefa and Keft. In both sources the people appear to occupy the western Mediterranean: in both, they have a Palestinian settlement; in the Bible this is Philistia, with the Egyptians it is ultimately defined as Phoenicia, for which, be it however remembered, there is no Hebrew name. In the Bible the maritime country of Caphtor, inland or coastland, is far away enough to make the Philistine migration a wonder: in the Egyptian records the link originally seems unbroken between Phoenicia and the insular settlements. Added to this is the difficulty of supposing the Philistines and Phoenicians to have been of the same stock, the warlike landsmen, and the maritime merchants whose ships were carriers for the Egyptians.

It must be remembered that the Biblical geography rests on that archaic document the tenth chapter of Genesis, and may well be older than the Egyptian nomenclature of the 18th dynasty. Names may have moved with migrations. Witness the examples in Greek history, as the Locri and Cumae, the colony of Asiatic Cyme, or, in later times, the Littus Saxonicum and primitive Saxony. The Hebrews spoke of the older settlement: the latest Egyptians transferred its name to the Phoenician coastland, perhaps including the Hebrew settlement of the Philistines. It is noteworthy that the name of that settlement in Hebrew was extended in the Greek period so as to include Canaan; Philistia becoming Palestine.

The cognate origin of the Philistines and Phoenicians seems at first contrary to our notions of the two nations. Markedly dissimilar, they show common qualities of a not less marked kind. The alliances of cities, the government by kings and magistrates or senates, the love of

gain shown in Phoenician commerce and Philistine mercenary service, roughness of character, and skill as smiths, are typical of political, moral, and artistic characteristics rarely found in absolutely distinct races. Differences in pursuits, the warlike tendency of the Philistines and the dislike of war among the Phoenicians, except for distinct commercial gain, the pastoral life as contrasted with that of maritime trade, may be due in part to mixture with different races, in part to the effect of territorial conditions.

If then we may look for the Biblical Caphtor in the Mediterranean, what evidence is there for its situation? Some have found this in the name כְּרֵתִי, Cherethites, used of the southern Philistines (1 Sam. xxx. 14; cp. Ezek. xxv. 16; Zeph. ii. 5), where the LXX. and Syr. read Cretans. The Cherethites formed part of David's bodyguard, with the Pelethites, probably another Philistine tribe. [CHERETHITES AND PELETHITES.] If both are Gentile names, Pelethites must be cognate to Philistines. The similarity of Cherethites to Crete has induced critics to accept the LXX. rendering and conjecture Crete to be Caphtor. If Caphtor was an island, as Cyprus can scarcely be Caphtor, owing to the Egyptian names being different, Crete is a probable identification. It may at least be considered as having been a primitive settlement of the Caphtorim. The character of the Cretans presents curious links with both Phoenicians and Philistines. They stand apart from Greek history and politics, with their separate states uniting by "syncretism" against a common foe, like Phoenicians and Philistines. Their ancient renown for artistic skill, commemorated by the name of Daedalus, their later imitative power, shown in the coins of the 5th century B.C., their early seafaring activity, are strikingly Phoenician. And the discoveries in the Cave of Zeus on Mount Ida show that there must have been Phoenician settlements in the island in the 10th cent. B.C. Yet the Cretan love of war and readiness for mercenary service recall the Philistines. In religion the myth of Europa and the sacrifices to the Minotaur connect the Cretans with Phoenicia, the cultus of a fish-god at Itanus with the Philistine worship of Dagon.

We may therefore infer that the Philistines and Phoenicians were cognate and of that Ethiopian race which extended from Southern Arabia through Ethiopia to Egypt and the Mediterranean south coast and islands, more and more modified by mixture with other races as it stretched north and west; that one of its earliest settlements was in Crete, perhaps the biblical Caphtor; and that the Philistine migration was a subsequent eastward movement of the race. Whether the Pelesatu were the Philistines, and whether their southern movement in the time of Ramses III. in B.C. 1200 was the Philistine migration, must be discussed later. [PHILISTINES.] [R. S. P.]

CAPHTO'RIMS (כַּפְתֹרִים; *οἱ Καππάδοκες*; *Cappadoces*). Deut. ii. 23. [W. A. W.]

CAPPADO'CIA (*Καππαδοκία*). This eastern district of Asia Minor is interesting in reference to New Testament history only from the mention of its Jewish residents among the hearers of St. Peter's first sermon (Acts ii. 9), and its Christian residents among the readers of St. Peter's first Epistle (1 Pet. i. 1). The Jewish community in this region, doubtless, formed the nucleus of the Christian: and the former may probably be traced to the first introduction of Jewish colonists into Asia Minor by Seleucus (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 3, § 4). The Roman period, through the growth of large cities and the construction of roads, would afford increased facilities for the spread both of Judaism and Christianity. It should be observed that Cappadocia was easily approached from the direction of Palestine and Syria, by means of the pass called the Cilician Gates, which led up through the Taurus from the low coast of Cilicia, and that it was connected, at least under the later Emperors, by good roads with the district beyond the Euphrates.

The range of Mount Taurus and the upper course of the Euphrates may safely be mentioned in general terms as natural boundaries of Cappadocia on the south and east. Its geographical limits on the west and north were variable. In early times the name reached as far northwards as the Euxine Sea. The region of Cappadocia, viewed in this extent, constituted two satrapies under the Persians, and afterwards two independent monarchies. One was Cappadocia on the Pontus, the other Cappadocia near the Taurus. Here we have the germ of the two Roman provinces of Pontus and Cappadocia. [PONTUS.] Several of the monarchs who reigned in Cappadocia Proper bore the name of Ariarathes. One of them is mentioned in 1 Macc. xv. 22. The last of these monarchs was called Archelaus (see Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 4, § 6). He was treacherously treated by the Emperor Tiberius, who reduced his kingdom to a province A.D. 17. This is the position in which the country stood during the time of St. Peter's apostolic work.

Cappadocia is an elevated table-land intersected by mountain-chains. It seems always to have been deficient in wood; but it was a good grain country, and it was particularly famous for grazing. Its Roman metropolis, afterwards both the birthplace and episcopal see of St. Basil, was Caesarea (now *Kaisariyeh*), formerly Mazaca, situated near Mount Argaeus, the highest mountain in Asia Minor. Some of its other cities were equally celebrated in ecclesiastical history, especially Nyssa, Nazianzus, Samosata, and Tyana. The native Cappadocians seem originally to have belonged to the Syrian, or, more probably, to the Hittite stock: and since Ptolemy (v. 6) places the cities of Iconium and Derbe within the limits of this region, we may possibly obtain from this circumstance some light on "the speech of Lycaonia," Acts xiv. 11 [LYCAONIA]. See Hamilton's *Researches*, and Texier's *Asie Mineure;* also *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geog.*, art. CAPPADOCIA. [J. S. H.] [W.]

CAPTAIN. As a purely military title captain answers to שַׁר in the Hebrew army, and *χιλίαρχος* (*tribunus*) in the Roman. [ARMY.] The "captain of the guard" [a] (*στρατοπεδάρχης*) in Acts xxviii.

[a] The word is absent from all the principal MSS., is not recognised by the Syriac and Vulgate Versions, and is omitted by critical editors. Discussion as to the identification of this "captain of the guard" with Burrus Afranius is therefore, however interesting in

16 corresponds to the *tribunus legionis*. (2.) קָצִין, which is occasionally rendered *captain*, applies sometimes to a military (Josh. x. 24; Judg. xi. 6, 11; Is. xxii. 3; Dan. xi. 18), sometimes to a civil command (*e.g.* Is. i. 10, iii. 6): its radical sense is *division*, and hence *decision* without reference to the means employed: the term illustrates the double office of the שֹׁפֵט. (3.) The "captain of the Temple" (στρατηγὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ) mentioned by St. Luke (xxii. 4; Acts iv. 1, v. 24) in connexion with the priests, was not a military officer, but one who superintended the guard of priests and Levites who kept watch by night in the Temple. The office appears to have existed from an early date; the "priests that kept the door" (2 K. xii. 9, xxv. 18) are described by Josephus (*Ant.* x. 8, § 5) as τοὺς φυλάσσοντας τὸ ἱερὸν ἡγεμόνας: a notice occurs in 2 Macc. iii. 4 of a προστάτης τοῦ ἱεροῦ; this officer is styled στρατηγὸς by Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 6, § 2; *B. J.* vi. 5, § 3), and in the Mishna (*Middoth*, i. § 2) אִישׁ הַר הַבַּיִת, "the captain of the mountain of the Temple;" his duty, as described in the place last quoted, was to visit the posts during the night, and see that the sentries were doing their duty. (4.) The term ἄρχηγος, rendered "*captain*" (Heb. ii. 10), has no reference whatever to a military office. [W. L. B.] [F.]

CAPTIVITIES OF THE JEWS. The bondage of Israel in Egypt, and their subjugation at different times by the Philistines and other nations, are sometimes included under the above title; and the Jews themselves, perhaps with reference to Daniel's vision (ch. vii.), reckon their national captivities as four—the Babylonian, Median, Grecian, and Roman (Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, i. 748). But the present article is confined to the forcible deportation of the Jews from their native land, and their forcible detention, under the Assyrian or Babylonian kings.

The kingdom of Israel was invaded by three or four successive kings of Assyria. Pul (generally identified with Tiglath-pileser III., *Records of the Past*, N. S. i. 17; Schrader, *Keilinschr. Bibliothek*, ii. 2, n. 1) imposed a tribute in B.C. 771 (*al.* 738) upon Menahem (1 Ch. v. 26 and 2 K. xv. 19); and carried away in B.C. 740 (*al.* 734) the trans-Jordanic tribes (1 Ch. v. 26) and the inhabitants of Galilee (2 K. xv. 29, cp. Is. ix. 1), to Assyria (Schrader, *KB.* ii. 25, &c.). Shalmaneser invaded (2 K. xvii. 3) the kingdom which remained to Hoshea; and his successor, Sargon (cp. Is. xx. 1), after the siege of Samaria had lasted two years, took the city (B.C. 722), and carried Israel away into Assyria (cp. Schrader, *KB.* ii. 43). The cities of Samaria were gradually occupied by people sent from Babylon, Cuthah, Ava, Hamath, and Sepharvaim, who brought with them the worship of their own native deities; and Halah, Habor, Hara, and the river of Gozan became the seats of the exiled Israelites.

Sennacherib B.C. 701 is stated (see the Taylor-cylinder, *Records of the Past*, O. S. i. pp. 38–9; Schrader, *KAT.*² pp. 292–3, *KB.* ii. 81, &c.) to have carried into Assyria 200,150 captives from the Jewish cities which he took (cp. 2 K. xviii. 13). Nebuchadnezzar, in the first half of his reign, B.C. 606–562, repeatedly invaded Judaea, besieged Jerusalem, carried away the inhabitants to Babylon, and destroyed the city and Temple. Two distinct deportations are mentioned in 2 K. xxiv. 14 (including 10,000 persons) and xxv. 11; one in 2 Ch. xxxvi. 20; three in Jer. lii. 28, 29, including 4,600 persons, and one in Dan. i. 3. The two principal deportations were, (1) that which took place B.C. 597, when Jehoiachin with all the nobles, soldiers, and artificers were carried away; and (2) that which followed the destruction of the Temple and the capture of Zedekiah B.C. 586. The three which Jeremiah mentions may have been the contributions of a particular class or district to the general captivity; or they may have taken place, under the orders of Nebuchadnezzar, before or after the two principal deportations. The captivity of certain selected children B.C. 607, mentioned by Daniel, who was one of them, occurred when Nebuchadnezzar was colleague of his father Nabopolassar, a year before he reigned alone. The captivity of Ezekiel dates from B.C. 598, when that prophet, like Mordecai the uncle of Esther (ii. 6), accompanied Jehoiachin.

We know nothing, except by inference from the Book of Tobit, of the religious or social state of the Israelitish exiles in Assyria. Doubtless the constant policy of seventeen successive kings had effectually estranged the people from that religion which centered in the Temple, and had reduced the number of faithful men below the 7000 who were revealed for the consolation of Elijah. Some priests at least were among them (2 K. xvii. 28; cp. Edersheim, *Bible Hist.* iv. 117), though it is not certain that these were of the tribe of Levi (1 K. xii. 31). The people had been nurtured for 250 years in idolatry in their own land, where they departed not (2 K. xvii. 22) from the sins of Jeroboam, notwithstanding the proximity of the Temple, and the succession of inspired prophets (2 K. xvii. 13) among them. Deprived of these checks on their natural inclinations (2 K. xvii. 15), torn from their native soil, destitute of a hereditary king, they probably became more and more closely assimilated to their heathen neighbours in Media. And when, after the lapse of more than a century, they were joined B.C. 598 by the first exiles from Jerusalem, very few families probably retained sufficient faith in the God of their fathers to appreciate and follow the instruction of Ezekiel. But whether they were many or few, their genealogies were probably lost, a fusion of them with the Jews took place, Israel ceasing to envy Judah (Is. xi. 13); and Ezekiel may have seen his own symbolical prophecy (xxxvii. 15–19) partly fulfilled.

The captive Jews were probably prostrated at first by their great calamity, till the glorious vision of Ezekiel in the 5th year of the Captivity revived and reunited them. The wishes of their conqueror were satisfied when he had displayed his power by transporting them into another land, and gratified his pride by inscribing on the walls of the royal palace his victorious progress and the number of his captives. He could not have designed to increase the population of Babylon, for he sent Baby-

itself, unnecessary (see note in *Speaker's Comm.*, and Abbot in *D. B.* Amer. ed.). [F.]

lonian colonists into Samaria. One political end certainly was attained—the more easy government of a people separated from local traditions and associations (see Gesenius on Is. xxxvi. 16, and cp. Gen. xlvii. 21). It was also a great advantage to the Assyrian king to remove from the Egyptian border of his empire a people who were notoriously well-affected towards Egypt. The captives were treated not as slaves but as colonists. There was nothing to hinder a Jew from rising to the highest eminence in the state (Dan. ii. 48), or holding the most confidential office near the person of the king (Neh. i. 11; Tob. i. 13, 22). The advice of Jeremiah (xxix. 5, &c.) was generally followed. The exiles increased in numbers and in wealth. They observed the Mosaic law (Esth. iii. 8; Tob. xiv. 9). They kept up distinctions of rank among themselves (Ezek. xx. 1). And though the assertion in the Talmud is unsupported by proof that they assigned thus early to one of their countrymen the title of Head of the Captivity (or, captain of the people, 2 Esd. v. 16), it is certain that they at least preserved their genealogical tables, and were at no loss to tell who was the rightful heir to David's throne. They had neither place nor time of national gathering, no Temple; and they offered no sacrifice. But the rite of circumcision and their laws respecting food, &c. were observed; their priests were with them (Jer. xxix. 1); and possibly the practice of erecting synagogues in every city (Acts xv. 21) was begun by the Jews in the Babylonian Captivity.

The Captivity is not without contemporaneous literature. In the apocryphal Book of Tobit, which is generally believed to be a mixture of poetical fiction with historical facts recorded by a contemporary, we have a picture of the inner life of a family of the tribe of Naphtali, among the captives whom Shalmaneser brought to Nineveh. The apocryphal Book of Baruch seems, in Sir A.H. Layard's opinion, to have been written by one whose eyes, like those of Ezekiel, were familiar with the gigantic forms of Assyrian sculpture. Several of the Psalms appear to express the sentiments of Jews who were either partakers or witnesses of the Assyrian captivity. Ewald assigns to this period Pss. xlii., xliii., lxxxiv., xvii., xvi., xlix., xxii., xxv., xxxviii., lxxxviii., xl., lxix., cix., li., lxxi., xxv., xxxiv., lxxxii., xiv., cxx., cxxi., cxxiii., cxxx., cxxxi. And in Ps. lxxx. we seem to have the words of an Israelite, dwelling perhaps in Judaea (2 Ch. xv. 9, xxxi. 6), who had seen the departure of his countrymen to Assyria: and in Ps. cxxxvii. an outpouring of the first intense feelings of a Jewish exile in Babylon. But it is from the three great Prophets, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel, that we learn most of the condition of the children of the Captivity. The distant warnings of Jeremiah, advising and cheering them, followed them into Assyria. There, for a few years, they had no prophet guide; till suddenly the vision of Ezekiel at CHEBAR assured them that the glory which filled the Temple at Jerusalem was not hopelessly withdrawn from the outcast people of God. As Jeremiah warned them of coming woe, so Ezekiel taught them how to bear that which was come upon them. And when he died, after passing at least 27 years (Ezek. xxix. 17) in captivity, Daniel survived, it is thought, even beyond the Return; and though his high station and ascetic life probably secluded him from frequent familiar intercourse with his people, he filled the place of chief interpreter of God's will to Israel, and gave the most conspicuous example of devotion and obedience to His laws.

The Babylonian Captivity was brought to a close by the decree (Ezra i. 2) of Cyrus B.C. 536, and the return of a portion of the nation under Sheshbazzar or Zerubbabel B.C. 535, Ezra B.C. 458, and Nehemiah B.C. 445. The number who returned upon the decree of B.C. 536 was 42,360, besides servants. Among them about 30,000 are specified (cp. Ezra ii. and Neh. vii.) as belonging to the tribes of Judah, Benjamin, and Levi. It has been inferred (Prideaux, *anno* 536) that the remaining 12,000 belonged to the tribes of Israel (cp. Ezra vi. 17). And from the fact that out of the 24 courses of priests only 4 returned (Ezra ii. 36), it has been inferred that the whole number of exiles who chose to continue in Assyria was about six times the number of those who returned. Those who remained (Esth. viii. 9, 11), and kept up their national distinctions, were known as The Dispersion (John vii. 35; 1 Pet. i. 1; James i. 1): and they served a great purpose in diffusing a knowledge of the true God, and in affording a point for the commencement of the efforts of the Evangelists of the Christian faith (cp. Edersheim, *Life, &c. of Jesus*, i., chs. i. ii.).

Many attempts have been made to discover the ten tribes existing as a distinct community. Josephus (*Ant.* xi. 5, § 2) believed that in his day they dwelt in large multitudes, somewhere beyond the Euphrates, in Arsareth, according to the author of 2 Esd. xiii. 45. Rabbinical traditions and fables, committed to writing in the Middle Ages, assert the same fact (Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.* in 1 Cor. xiv. Appendix), with many marvellous amplifications (Eisenmenger, *Ent. Jud.* vol. ii., ch. x.; Jahn, *Hebrew Commonwealth*, App. bk. vi.). The imagination of Christian writers has sought them in the neighbourhood of their last recorded habitation: Jewish features have been traced in the Affghan tribes: rumours are heard to this day of a Jewish colony at the foot of the Himalayas: the Black Jews of Malabar claim affinity with them: elaborate attempts have been made to identify them recently with the Nestorians, and in the 17th century with the Indians of North America. But though history bears no witness of their present distinct existence, it enables us to track the footsteps of the departing race in four directions after the time of the Captivity. (1.) Some returned and mixed with the Jews (Luke ii. 36; Phil. iii. 5, &c.). (2.) Some were left in Samaria, mingled with the Samaritans (Ezra vi. 21; John iv. 12), and became bitter enemies of the Jews. (3.) Many remained in Assyria, and mixing with the Jews formed colonies throughout the East, and were recognised as an integral part of the Dispersion (see Acts ii. 9, xxvi. 7; Buchanan's *Christian Researches*, p. 212), for whom, probably ever since the days of Ezra, that plaintive prayer, the tenth of the Shemoneh Esre, has been daily offered, "Sound the great trumpet for our deliverance, lift up a banner for the gathering of our exiles, and unite us all together from the

four ends of the earth." (4.) Most, probably, apostatized in Assyria, as Prideaux (*anno* 677) supposes, and adopted the usages and idolatry of the nations among whom they were planted, and became wholly swallowed up in them. Dissertations on the Ten Tribes have been written by Calmet, *Commentaire Littéral*, vols. iii. and vi.; by Witsius, *Aegyptiaca;* by J. D. Michaelis, and by Neubauer, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, i. [1888–9].

The Captivity was a period of change in the vernacular language of the Jews (see Neh. viii. 8) and in the national character. The Jews who returned were remarkably free from the old sin of idolatry: a great spiritual renovation, in accordance with the divine promise (Ezek. xxxvi. 24–28), was wrought in them. A new and deep feeling of reverence for the letter of the Law and for the person of Moses was probably a result of the religious service which was performed in the synagogues. A new impulse of commercial enterprise and activity was implanted in them, and developed in the days of the Dispersion (see James iv. 13). [W. T. B.] [F.]

CARABA'SION (B. Καραβασειών, A. -ιων; *Marimoth*), a corrupt name (1 Esd. ix. 34) to which it is difficult to find anything corresponding in the Hebrew text of Erza x. 33, &c. The conjecture that it may be a rendering of the Vat. text καὶ Ῥαβασιὼν is not supported by the true reading of that text. [F.]

CARBUNCLE. The representative in the A. V. of the Hebrew words *'ekdâch* and *bâr'kath* or *bâreketh.*

1. *'Ekdâch* (אֶקְדָּח; λίθος κρύσταλλου; λίθος γλυφῆς, Sym., Theod.; λ. τρηπτανισμοῦ, Aq.; *lapides sculpti*) occurs only in Is. liv. 12 in the description of the beauties of the new Jerusalem: "I will make thy windows of agates [R. V. "thy pinnacles of rubies"] and thy gates of carbuncles" (cp. Tob. xiii. 16, 17, and Rev. xxi. 18–21)—"general images," as Lowth (*Notes on Is.* l. c.) has remarked, "to express beauty, magnificence, purity, strength, and solidity, agreeably to the ideas of the Eastern nations." The translators of the A. V., having in mind the etymology of the Hebrew word,[a] render it "carbuncle;" but as many precious stones have the quality of "shining like fire," it is obvious that such an interpretation is very doubtful. Symmachus, referring the word to a Chaldee signification of the root, viz. "to bore," understands "sculptured stones," whence the Vulg. *lapides sculpti* (see Rosenmüller, *Schol. ad Jes.* liv. 13). Perhaps the term may be a general one to denote any *bright sparkling gem;* but as it occurs only once, without any collateral evidence to aid us, it is impossible to determine the real meaning of the word.

2. *Bâr'kath, bâreketh* (בָּרְקַת, בָּרֶקֶת;[b] σμάραγδος, κεραύνιος, Sym.; *smaragdus*), the third stone in the first row of the sacerdotal breastplate (Ex. xxviii. 17; xxxix. 10), also one of the mineral treasures of the king of Tyre (Ezek. xxviii. 13). Braun (*de Vestit. Sacerd. Heb.* p. 652, Amst. 1680) supposes with much probability that the smaragdus or emerald is the precious stone signified. This view is supported by the LXX. (which always gives σμάραγδος as the representative of the *bâr'kath*), the Vulgate, and Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 7, § 5). Pliny (xxxvii. 5) speaks in terms of the warmest admiration of the smaragdus, and enumerates twelve kinds, but it is probable that some of them are malachites or glass. It is certain that the smaragdus which, according to Theophrastus (*Fr.* ii. 24, ed. Schneider), was sent as a present from the king of Babylon into Egypt, and which, as Egyptian chronicles relate, was four cubits long by three wide, must have been made of some other material than emerald; but σμάραγδος is used by Theophrastus to denote the emerald. "This gem," he says, "is very rare and of a small size . . . It has some peculiar properties, for it renders water of the same colour with itself. . . . It soothes the eyes, and people wear seals of this stone in order that they may look at them."[c] Mr. King (*Antique Gems*, p. 30) is of opinion that the smaragdi of Pliny may be confined to the green ruby and the true emerald. Braun believes that the Greek σμάραγδος, μάραγδος is etymologically allied to the Hebrew term, and Kalisch (on Ex. xxviii. 17) is inclined to this opinion: see also Gesenius, *Heb. et Ch. Lex.* s. v. בָּרְקַת. Some, however, believe the Greek word to be a corruption of the Sanskrit *smarakata*, and that both the gem and its name were imported from Bactria into Europe, while others hold that the Sanskrit term came from the West. See Mr. King's valuable remarks on the Smaragdus, *Antique Gems*, pp. 30–37. [W. H.] [H. B. T.]

CAR'CAS (כַּרְכַּס; *Charchas.* In the place of this name T.[7] reads Θαραβᾶ, ℵ.* Θαβάζ), the seventh of the seven "chamberlains" (*i.e.* eunuchs, סָרִיסִים) of king Ahasuerus (Esth. i. 10). The name has been compared with the Pers. *Kargas* or Zend *Kahrkâça* = *severe* (Ges. *Thes.* p. 713) or *vulture* (MV.[11] s. n.); but its etymology is quite a matter of conjecture. [G.] [F.]

CAR'CHAMIS, 1 Esd. i. 25, A. V. ed. 1611 (B. Χαρκαμύς, A. Καλχαμύς; *Charcamis*), a city on the Euphrates. [CARCHEMISH.] [F.]

CARCHEMISH (כַּרְכְּמִישׁ; *Charcamis*). The site of Carchemish, the ancient capital of the Hittites, has been placed sometimes at Circesium, sometimes at Mabug or Membij, and by Nöldeke near Kal'at Nejm. By the help of the Assyrian inscriptions, however, Messrs. Skene and George Smith were enabled to identify it with the ruins of Jerablûs or Hierapolis (called Jerabîs by Pococke and Sachau, and identified with Europus or Oropus by Hoffmann), which lie on the western bank of the Euphrates, between Birejik or Bir—the Birtu, "fortress," of the Assyrian monuments—and the junction of the Sajur and Euphrates. Excavations on

[a] From קָדַח, "to burn." Cp. the Arabic قَدَحَ, "extundere instituit ignem ex igniario" (Freytag, *Lex. Arab.* s. v.).

[b] From בָּרַק, "to send forth lightning," "to flash."

[c] The smaragdus of Cyprus, however, of which Theophrastus speaks, is the copper emerald, *Chrysocolla;* which he seems himself to have suspected.

the site have brought to light Hittite sculptures and inscriptions, some of which are now in the British Museum. Carchemish was called Gargamis by the Assyrians, Karkamesh by the Egyptians, while Stephanus Byzantinus states that Oropus (Ὥρωπος) was originally named Telmessus. It commanded the most important ford across the Euphrates on the high-road from Mesopotamia into Syria, and was therefore strongly fortified by the Hittite tribes when they descended from the highlands of Cappadocia and occupied part of the territory of the Semitic Arameans. Like Kadesh on the Orontes, the southern Hittite capital, Carchemish also took part in the wars with Egypt in the time of the 18th and 19th dynasties. In B.C. 1130 the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser I. wasted the country up to the walls of Carchemish, and killed the *reem* or wild ox in the district facing it on the eastern bank of the Euphrates. Assur-natsir-pal received tribute from Sangara, the king of Carchemish, who, after unsuccessfully contending with Shalmaneser II. in B.C. 858, purchased peace by the offer of one-third of a gold talent, one and a sixth talent of silver, 30 talents of bronze, 100 talents of iron, 20 talents of white and purple cloth, 5 thrones, 500 oxen, 5000 sheep, and the daughters of himself and 100 of his nobles. The Assyrian king further imposed a yearly tribute of a maneh of gold, a talent of silver and 2 talents of white and purple cloth, and occupied Pethor, a few miles south of Carchemish, on the eastern bank of the Sajur, where it falls into the Euphrates. Carchemish was taken by Sargon in B.C. 717, and its last king, Pisiris, put to death. Henceforth it became the seat of an Assyrian satrap, and its position on the great caravan road gave it so important a commercial influence as to cause "the maneh of Carchemish" to become a standard weight. Like Kadesh, Carchemish was regarded as a sacred city on account of the temple of the Asiatic goddess [see ATARGATIS] which stood in it. In the Greek period both the temple and the traditions connected with it were transferred to Bambykê or Mabog, now *Membij*, which henceforth was known as Hierapolis. Membij, however, had no existence in the Assyrian epoch. After the Roman age the site of Carchemish was deserted. The meaning of the name is unknown. Carchemish is only twice mentioned in the Bible (2 Ch. xxxv. 20 [LXX. om.]; Jer. xlvi. 2 [T. Χαρμεὶς]), on the occasion of the battle which took place under its walls between Nebuchadnezzar and Pharaoh Necho (B.C. 605) and which decided the fate of Western Asia. [A. H. S.]

CARE'AH (קָרֵחַ = *bald-head;* BA. Καρήθ; *Caree*), father of Johanan (2 K. xxv. 23), elsewhere in the A.V. spelt KAREAH. [G.]

CA'RIA (Καρία), the southern part of the region which in the N. T. is called ASIA, and the south-western part of the peninsula of Asia Minor. In the Roman times the name of Caria was probably less used than previously. At an earlier period we find it mentioned as a separate district (1 Macc. xv. 23). At that time (B.C. 139) it was in the enjoyment of the privilege of freedom, granted by the Romans. A little before it had been assigned by them to Rhodes, and a little later it was incorporated in the province of Asia. From the context it appears that many Jews were resident in Caria. The cities where they lived were probably Halicarnassus (*ib.*), Cnidus (*ib.*; cp. Acts xxvii. 7), and Miletus (Acts xx. 15–38). Off the coast of Caria were the islands PATMOS, COS, RHODES (*Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geog.*, art. CARIA). [J. S. H.]

CARMA'NIANS (*Carmonii*). The inhabitants of Carmania [*Kirman*], a province of Asia on the north side of the Persian Gulf, to the west of Gedrosia (2 Esd. xv. 30). They are described by Strabo (xv. p. 727) as a warlike race, worshipping Ares alone of all the gods, to whom they sacrifice an ass. None of them married till he had cut off the head of an enemy and presented it to the king, who placed it on his palace, having first cut out the tongue, which was chopped up into small pieces and mixed with meal; and in this condition, after being tasted by the king, was given to the warrior who brought it and to his family to eat. Nearchus says that most of the customs of the Carmanians, and their language, were Persian and Median. Arrian gives the same testimony (*Ind.* 38), adding that they used the same order of battle as the Persians. The events obscurely shadowed forth in 2 Esd. are thought to have been the conquests of the Sassanidae and their conflicts with the Roman generals (see *Speaker's Comm.* in loco). [G.] [F.]

CAR'ME (B. Χαρμή; *Caree*), 1 Esd. v. 25. [HARIM.] [G.]

CAR'MEL. Nearly always with the definite article, הַכַּרְמֶל, *i.e.* "the park," or "the well-wooded place." **1.** (ὁ Καρμήλος; *Carmel, Carmelus, Charmel.* In Kings, generally "Mount C." הַר הַכַּרְמֶל; ὄρος τὸ Καρμήλιον: in the Prophets, "Carmel.") A mountain which forms one of the most striking and characteristic features of the country of Palestine. As if to accentuate more distinctly the bay which forms the one indentation in the coast, this noble ridge, the only headland of lower and central Palestine, forms its southern boundary running out with a bold bluff promontory all but into the very waves of the Mediterranean. From this point it stretches in a nearly straight line, bearing about S.E., for a little more than twelve miles, when it terminates suddenly by a bluff somewhat corresponding to its western end, breaking down abruptly into the hills of *Jenin* and Samaria which form at that part the central mass of the country.

Carmel thus stands as a wall between the maritime plain of Sharon on the south-west, and the more inland expanse of Esdraelon on the north-east. Towards the former the slopes or spurs, by which the central ridge descends, are gradual; but on the north side the gradients are more sudden, in many places descending almost by precipices to the Kishon, which runs at the foot of the mountain in a direction generally parallel to the central axis.

The mountain is formed of hard grey limestone, belonging to the chalk series, with nodules and veins of flint. As usual in limestone formations it abounds in caves ("more than 2000," Mislin, ii. 46), often of great length and extremely tortuous. At the west end are found chalk and

tertiary breccia formed of fragments of chalk and flint (Russegger, in Ritter, *Pal.* p. 712; there are also beds of nummulitic limestone). On the north-east of the mount, beyond the *Nahr el-Mukutt'a*, plutonic rocks appear, breaking through the deposited strata and forming the beginning of the basalt formation which runs through the Plain of Esdraelon to Tabor and the Sea of Galilee (Ritter, pp. 712–13). The round stones, known by the names of "Lapides Judaici" and "Elijah's melons," are the bodies known to geologists as "geodes." Their exterior is chert or flint of a lightish brown colour; the interior hollow, and lined with crystals of quartz or chalcedony. They are of the form, and often the size, of the large water-melons of the East. Formerly they were easily obtained, but are now very rarely found (Seetzen, ii. 131–4; Parkinson's *Organic Remains*, i. 322, 451). The "olives" are commoner. They are the fossil spines of a kind of echinus (*Cidaris glandifera*) frequent in these strata, and in size and shape are exactly like the fruit (Parkinson, iii. 45). The "apples" are probably the shells of the *cidaris* itself. For the legend of the origin of these "fruits," and the position of the "field" or "garden" of Elijah in which they are found, see Mislin, ii. 64–5.[a]

In form Carmel is a tolerably continuous ridge, at the W. end about 470[b] feet and the E. about 1600 feet above the sea. The highest part is some four miles from the east end, at the village of *'Esfia*, which is 1742 feet above the sea. In appearance Carmel still maintains the character which there is no reason to doubt was the origin of its name. It is still clothed with the same "excellency" of "wood," which supplied the prophets of Israel and Judah alike

Mount Carmel. (From a photograph.)

with one of their most favourite illustrations (Is. xxxiii. 9; Mic. vii. 14). Modern travellers delight to describe its "rocky dells with deep jungles of copse"—its "shrubberies thicker than any others in central Palestine" (Stanley, MS.)—its "impenetrable brushwood of oaks and other evergreens, tenanted in the wilder parts by a profusion of game and wild animals" (Porter, *Handb.*), but in other places bright with "hollyhocks, jasmine, and various flowering creepers" (Van de Velde). "There is not a flower," says the last-named traveller, "that I have seen in Galilee, or on the plains along the coast, that I do not find here on Carmel . . . still the fragrant, lovely mountain that it was of old" (i. 317–8). "The whole mountain side was dressed with blossoms and flowering shrubs and fragrant herbs" (Martineau, p. 539). See also Schubert (*Reise i. d. Md.* iii. 212), and Conder (*Tent Work in Pal.* i. ch. 6, especially pp. 172, 179). The roebuck is mentioned (p. 173) amongst the animals found on Carmel.

Carmel fell within the lot of the tribe of Asher (Josh. xix. 26), which was extended as far south as Dor (*Tantûra*), probably to give the Asherites a share of the rich corn-growing plain of Sharon. The king of "Jokneam of Carmel" was one of the Canaanite chiefs who fell before the arms of Joshua (xii. 22). These are the earliest notices which we possess of the name. There is not in them a hint of any sanctity as attaching to the mount. But

[a] The legend is sometimes told of Lazarus (Seetzen, *Reisen*, 1854, ii. 134).

[b] The cupola of the convent is 556 ft. above the sea. For the general form of the ridge, see *PEF.* Map of Western Palestine, sheet V.

taking into account the known propensity of the early inhabitants of Palestine to convert "high places" into sanctuaries—the prominence of Carmel—the fact that an altar of Jehovah did exist there before the introduction of Baal worship into the kingdom (1 K. xviii. 30)—Elijah's choice of the place for the assembly of the people, such assemblies being commonly held at holy places—and the custom, which appears to have been prevalent, of resorting thither on new-moon and sabbath (2 K. iv. 23)—taking these into account, there seem to be grounds for believing that from very early times it was considered as a sacred spot. In later times we know that its reputation was not confined to Palestine. Pythagoras was led to it by that reputation; such is the express statement of his biographer Iamblichus, who himself visited the mountain; Vespasian too came thither to consult—so we are told by Tacitus with that mixture of fact and fable which marks all the heathen notices of Palestine—the oracle of the god whose name was the same as that of the mountain itself; an oracle without image or temple—"ara tantum et reverentia" (*Dict. of Anc. Geogr.*, "Carmelus").

But that which has made the name of Carmel most familiar to the modern world is its intimate connexion with the history of the two great prophets of Israel—Elijah and Elisha. The fiery zeal of the one, the healing tenderness of the other, are both inseparably connected in our minds with this mountain. Here Elijah brought back Israel to allegiance to Jehovah, and slew the prophets of the foreign and false god; here at his entreaty were consumed the successive "fifties" of the royal guard; but here, on the other hand, Elisha received the visit of the bereaved mother whose son he was soon to restore to her arms (2 K. iv. 25, &c.).

The first of these three events, without doubt, took place at the eastern end of the ridge. In fact it is difficult to find another site, the actual name of which has not been preserved, in which every particular is so minutely fulfilled as in this. The tradition preserved in the convent, and among the Druses of the neighbouring villages—the names of the places—the distance from Jezreel—the nature of the locality—the presence of the never-failing spring—all are in its favour. The identification was made by two travellers almost at the same time—Van de Velde in 1852, and Dean Stanley in 1853. This interesting site cannot be better described than in the words of the latter traveller:—

"The tradition is unusually trustworthy: it is perhaps the only case in Palestine in which the recollection of an alleged event has been actually retained in the native Arabic nomenclature. Many names of towns have been so preserved, but here is no town, only a shapeless ruin, yet the spot has a name—*El-Maharrakah*—'the burning,' or 'the sacrifice.' The Druses come here from a distance to perform a yearly sacrifice; and, though it is possible that this practice may have originated the name, it is more probable that the practice itself arose from an earlier tradition. . . . But be the tradition good or bad, the localities adapt themselves to the event in almost every particular. The summit thus marked out is the extreme eastern point of the range, commanding the last view of the sea behind, and the first view of the great plain in front. . . . There on the highest ridge of the mountain may well have stood on its sacred 'high-place' the altar of Jehovah which Jezebel had cast down. Close beneath, on a wide upland sweep, under the shade of ancient olives and round a well[c] of water, said to be perennial, and which may therefore have escaped the general drought, and have been able to furnish water for the trenches round the altar, must have been ranged on one side the king and people with the 850 prophets of Baal and Astarte, and on the other the solitary and commanding figure of the prophet of Jehovah. Full before them opened the whole plain of Esdraelon: the city of Jezreel, with Ahab's palace and Jezebel's temple, distinctly visible: in the nearer foreground, immediately under the base of the mountain, was clearly seen the winding bed of the Kishon." To this may be added that a knoll is pointed out between the ridge and the plain, bearing the name of *Tell Kasis*,[d] "the hill of the Priests," and that the modern name of the Kishon is *Nahr el-Mukutta'*, "the river of slaughter." "The closing scene still remains. From the slaughter by the side of the Kishon the king went up to the glades of Carmel to join in the sacrificial feast. And Elijah too ascended to the 'top of the mountain,' and there with his face on the earth remained rapt in prayer, while his servant mounted to the highest point of all, whence there is a wide view of the blue reach of the Mediterranean, over the western shoulder of the ridge. . . . Seven times the servant climbed and looked, and seven times there was nothing. . . . At last out of the far horizon there rose a little cloud,[e] and it grew in the deepening shades of evening till the whole sky was overcast, and the forests of Carmel shook in the welcome sound of the mighty winds, which in eastern regions precede a coming tempest" (*Sinai and Palestine*, pp. 353–6. See also Conder, *Tent Work in Pal.* i. 169–71).

There is good reason to believe that a later incident in the life of the same great prophet took place on Carmel. This was when he "caused fire to come down from heaven" and consume the two "fifties" of the guard which Ahaziah had despatched to take him prisoner, for having stopped his messengers to Baalzebub the god of Ekron (2 K. i. 9–15). [See ELIJAH.] In this narrative our Version, as is too frequently the case, conceals the force of the original by imperfect translation. "A hill" (*v.* 9, R. V.) should be "the hill" (הַכַּרְמֶל), the word always used for Carmel, and, in connexion with Elijah, for Carmel only, with the exception of Sinai, which of course cannot be intended here. Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 2, § 1), with equal force, has ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ ὄρους.

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[c] Josephus distinctly says that the water was obtained from the neighbouring well: ἀπὸ τῆς κρήνης (*Ant.* viii. 13, § 5).

[d] But this knoll appears to be too far off (*PEF.* Map of Western Pal., sheet v.).

[e] This cloud is treated in the formularies of the Roman Catholic Church as a type of the Virgin Mary (see Mislin, ii. p. 45, and *Breviarium Rom.* July 16).

The tradition in the present convent is, that Elijah and Elisha both resided on the mountain, and a cave is actually shown under the high altar of the church as that of Elijah. There is nothing in the Scripture to sanction such a statement with regard to Elijah; but in the case of Elisha, the tradition may rest on better grounds. After the ascent of Elijah, Elisha went to Mount Carmel (2 K. ii. 25), though only for a time; but he was again there at the Shunammite's visit (iv. 25), and that at a time when no festival, no "new moon or sabbath" (*v.* 23), required his presence.

This is the last mention of Carmel as the scene of any event in the sacred history. Its sanctity no doubt remained, but it is its richness and its prominence—"Tabor among the mountains; Carmel by the sea"—which appear to have taken hold of the poets of the nation, both of Israel and Judah, and their references to it are frequent and characteristic (Cant. vii. 5; Is. xxxv. 2, xxxvii. 24; Jer. xlvi. 18, l. 19; Amos i. 2, ix. 3; Mic. vii. 14; Nah. i. 4).[1]

Carmel has derived its modern name from the great prophet; *Mâr Elyâs* is the common designation, *Kŭrmul* being occasionally, but only seldom, heard. It is also the usual name of the convent, though dedicated "in honorem BB. Virginis Mariae."

Dean Stanley has pointed out (*S. and P.* p. 352) that it is not any connexion with Elijah that gives the convent its interest to the western world, but the celebrated order of the Barefooted Carmelite Friars, that has sprung from it, and carried its name into Europe. The order is said in the traditions of the Latin Church to have originated with Elijah himself (St. John of Jerus. quoted in Mislin, ii. 49), but the convent was founded by St. Louis, and its French origin is still shown by the practice of unfurling the French flag on various occasions. Edward I. of England was a brother of the order, and one of its most famous generals was Simon Stocks of Kent (see the extracts in Wilson's *Lands*, &c., ii. 246. For the convent and the singular legends connecting Mount Carmel with the Virgin Mary and our Lord, see Mislin, ii. 47–50). By Napoleon it was used as a hospital during the siege of Acre, and after his retreat was destroyed by the Arabs. At the time of the visit of Irby and Mangles (1817) only one friar remained there (Irby, p. 60), in 1883 there were 18 (Wetzer u. Welte, *Kirch. Lex.*[2] s. n.).

2. Χερμέλ in Josh.; τὸ Κάρμηλον in Sam.; *Charmel, Carmelus.* A town in the mountainous country of Judah (Josh. xv. 55), familiar to us as the residence of Nabal (1 Sam. xxv. 2, 5, 7, 40), and the native place of David's favourite wife, "Abigail the Carmelitess" (1 Sam. xxvii. 3; 1 Ch. iii. 1). This was doubtless the Carmel at which Saul set up a "place" (יָד, *i.e.* a monument or trophy, literally a "hand;" cp. 2 Sam. xviii. 18, where the same word is used) after his victory over Amalek (1 Sam. xv. 12). And this Carmel, and not the northern mount, must have been the spot at which king Uzziah had his vineyards (2 Ch. xxvi. 10). In the time of Eusebius and Jerome it was the seat of a Roman garrison (*OS.*[2] pp. 144, 31; 271, 76). The place appears in the wars of the Crusades, having been held by king Amalrich against Saladin in 1172. The ruins of the town, now *Kurmul*, still remain at ten miles below Hebron in a slightly S.E. direction, close to those of *Main* (Maon), *Zif* (Ziph), and other places named with Carmel in Josh. xv. 55. They are described both by Robinson (i. 494–8) and by Van de Velde (ii. 77–79), and appear to be of great extent. Conspicuous among them is a castle of great strength, in the walls of which is still to be seen massive masonry of ancient date. There is also a very fine and large reservoir. This is mentioned in the account of king Amalrich's occupation of the place, and now gives the castle its name of *Kasr el-Birkeh* (Van de Velde, ii. 78; *PEF. Mem.* iii. 312, 372). [G.] [W.]

CAR'MELITE (הַכַּרְמְלִי: B. Καρμήλιος [in 1 Sam. xxx. 5, 2 Sam. ii. 2, xxiii. 35; Χαρμαδαί in 1 Ch. xi. 37]; A. Καρμηλίτης in 2 Sam. ii. 2, Καρμηλί in 1 Ch. xi. 37, -ιος in 1 Sam. xxx. 5, 2 Sam. xxiii. 35: *Carmeli, de Carmelo, Carmelites*). A native of Carmel in the mountains of Judah. The term is applied to Nabal (1 Sam. xxx. 5; 2 Sam. ii. 2, iii. 3) and to Hezrai, or Hezro, one of David's guard (2 Sam. xxiii. 35; 1 Ch. xi. 37). In 2 Sam. iii. 3 the LXX. must have read הַכַּרְמְלִית, "Carmelitess." [W. A. W.]

CAR'MELITESS (הַכַּרְמְלִית; Καρμήλιος, Καρμήλια; *Carmeli, Carmelitis*). A woman of Carmel in Judah: used only of Abigail, the favourite wife of David (1 Sam. xxvii. 3; 1 Ch. iii. 1). In the former passage both LXX. and Vulg. appear to have read הַכַּרְמְלִי, "Carmelite." [W. A. W.]

CAR'MI (כַּרְמִי, Ges. = *a vine-dresser*; A. Χαρμί, B. -μει; *Charmi*). **1.** A man of the tribe of Judah, father of Achan, the "troubler of Israel" (Josh. vii. 1, 18 [BA. om.]; 1 Ch. ii. 7), according to the first two passages the son of Zabdi or Zimri. [ZABDI.] In 1 Ch. iv. 1 the name is given as that of a "son of Judah;" but the same person is probably intended; because (1) no son of Judah of that name is elsewhere mentioned; and (2) because, out of the five names who in this passage are said to be "sons" of Judah, none but Pharez are strictly in that relation to him. Hezron is the second generation, Hur the fourth, and Shobal the sixth.

2. B. Χαρμεί, A. -μι; *Charmi.* The fourth son of Reuben, progenitor of the family of THE CARMITES (הַכַּרְמִי: Gen. xlvi. 9; Ex. vi. 14; Num. xxvi. 6; 1 Ch. v. 3). [G.] [W.]

CAR'MITES, THE (הַכַּרְמִי; A. ὁ Χαρμί, B. ὁ Χαρμεί; *Charmitae*). A branch of the tribe of Reuben, descended from CARMI 2 (Num. xxvi. 6). [W. A. W.]

CARNA'IM (T.[7] Καρναίν, A. Καρνείν; א. in 1 Macc. v. 26, Καρναιδ; *Carnaïm*), a large and fortified city in the country east of Jordan —"the land of Galaad;" containing a "temple"

[1] In Is. xvi. 10, the word rightly rendered in the A. V. as an appellative, "plentiful (R. V. "fruitful") field," is in the Vulgate *de Carmelo*; see Jerome, *Com. ad loc.*

(τὸ τέμενος ἐν Κ.). It was besieged and taken by Judas Maccabaeus (1 Macc. v. 26, 43, 44). The place is called CARNION (τὸ Καρνίον) in 2 Macc. xii. 21, 26, and the temple the ATARGATEION (τὸ Ἀταργατεῖον). It is identified with ASHTEROTH-KARNAIM. [G.] [W.]

CARNI'ON. [CARNAIM.]

CARPENTER. [HANDICRAFT.]

CAR'PUS (Κάρπος), a Christian at Troas, with whom St. Paul states that he left a cloak, books, and parchments (2 Tim. iv. 13); on which of his journeys it is uncertain, but probably in passing through Asia Minor after his first captivity, for the last time before his martyrdom at Rome. Nothing certain is known of him. According to Hippolytus, Carpus was bishop of Berytus in Thrace, called *Berrhoea* in the *Synopsis de Vita et Morte Prophetarum*, which passes under the name of Dorotheus of Tyre. [E. R. B.]

CARRIAGE. This word occurs eleven times, twice in the margin and the remainder in the text of the A. V., and it may be useful to remind the reader that in none of these does it bear its modern sense, but signifies what we now call "baggage." The Hebrew words so rendered are three. 1. כְּלִי, *c'li*, generally translated "stuff" or "vessels." It is like the Greek word σκεῦος; and in its numerous applications perhaps answers most nearly to the English word "things." This word, rendered "carriage" (R. V. "baggage"), occurs in 1 Sam. xvii. 22—"David left his 'baggage' in the hands of the keeper of the 'baggage;'" also Is. x. 28—"At Michmash he hath left his 'baggage.'"

2. כְּבוּדָה, *Cebudah*, "heavy matters" (R. V. "goods"), Judg. xviii. 21 only, though perhaps the word may bear a signification of "preciousness," which is sometimes attached to the root, and may allude to the newly acquired treasures of the Danites (LXX. A. τὴν κτῆσιν τὴν ἔνδοξον).

3. The word rendered "carriages" in Is. xlvi. 1 should, it would appear (Ges. *Thes.* 917 *b*; *Jesaia*, ii. 101), be "your burdens" (R. V. "the things that ye carried about").

4. In the N. T., Acts xxi. 15, "we took up our carriages" is the rendering of ἐπισκευασάμενοι, and here also the meaning is simply, as in R. V., "baggage" (Jer. *praeparati*).

5. But in the margin of 1 Sam. xvii. 20, and xxvi. 5, 7—and there only—"carriage" is employed in the sense of a wagon or cart; the "place of the carriage" answering to "trench" in the text. The R. V. translates "place of the wagons," and in marg. *barricade*. The Hebrew word is מַעְגָּל, from עֲגָלָה, a wagon, and the allusion is to the circle of wagons which surrounded the encampment (Ges. *Thes.* 989).

6. In Judith ii. 17 and iii. 10, the original word is ἀπαρτία, *i.e.* the effects or baggage of the army.

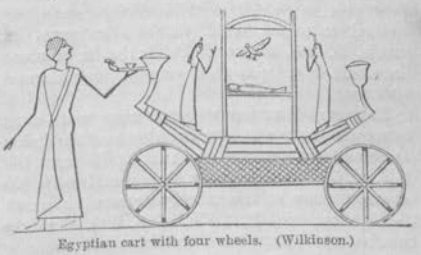
7. In 1 Macc. ix. 35, 39, it is ἀποσκευή, elsewhere rendered "stuff" and "baggage."

For carriages in the modern sense, see CART; CHARIOT. [G.] [W.]

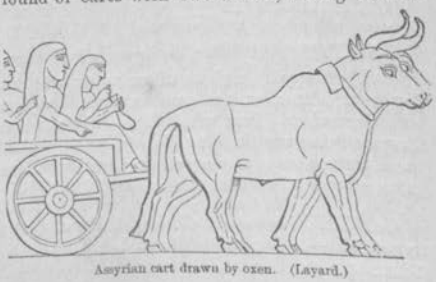
CART (עֲגָלָה; ἅμαξα; *plaustrum*; also rendered "wagon," Gen. xlv. 19, 27; Num. vii. 3, 7, 8: from עָגַל, *to roll*, Ges.), a vehicle drawn by cattle (2 Sam. vi. 6), to be distinguished from the chariot drawn by horses. [CHARIOT.] Carts and wagons were either open or covered (Num. vii. 3), and were used for conveyance of persons (Gen. xlv. 19), burdens (1 Sam. vi. 7, 8), or produce (Amos ii. 13). At the present time very few roads exist in Syria and Palestine and the neighbouring countries, and wheel-carriages for any purpose except conveyance of agricultural produce are all but unknown; and though modern usage has introduced European carriages drawn by horses into Egypt, they were unknown there also in times comparatively recent (Stanley, *S. and P.* p. 135; Porter, *Damascus*, i. 339; Lynch, *Narrative*, pp. 75, 84; Niebuhr, *Voyage*, i. 123; Layard, *Nin.* ii. 75; Mrs. Poole, *Englishwoman in Egypt*, 2nd series, p. 77). The only cart used in Western Asia has two wheels of solid wood (Olearius, *Travels*, 418; Sir R. Porter, *Travels*, ii. 533).

Egyptian cart with two wheels. (Wilkinson.)

For the machine used for threshing in Egypt and Syria, see THRESHING. But in the monuments of ancient Egypt representations are found of carts with two wheels, having four or six spokes, used for carrying produce, and of one used for religious purposes having four wheels



Egyptian cart with four wheels. (Wilkinson.)



Assyrian cart drawn by oxen. (Layard.)

with eight spokes. A bas-relief at Nineveh represents a cart having two wheels with eight spokes, drawn by oxen, conveying female captives; and others represent carts captured from enemies with captives, and also some used in carrying timber and other articles (Layard, *Nin.* ii. 396; *Nin. & Bab.* pp. 134, 447, 583; *Mon. of Bab.* pt. ii. pll. 12, 17). Four-wheeled carriages are said by Pliny (*N. H.* vii. 56) to have been invented by the Phrygians (Wilkinson *Anc. Egypt.* i. 384, 385; ii. 39, 47 [1878]) The cart used in India for conveying goods,

Modern Indian cart.

called Suggar or Hackeri, has two wheels, in the former case of solid wood, in the latter with spokes. They are drawn by oxen harnessed to a pole (Capper, *India*, pp. 346, 352). [H. W. P.]

CARVING. 1. מְקֻלַּעַת, *carved work in relief*, from קָלַע, *to carve;* in pl. מְקֻלָּעוֹת, *carved figures.* 2. חֲרֹשֶׁת, from חָרַשׁ, *to carve* = χαράσσω. 3. מְחֻקָּה, participle in Pual of (חָקָה not used) חָקַק, *to cut, delineate: engraved*, or *carved* (*work*), 1 K. vi. 35. 4. פִּתּוּחַ, *carved work*, from פָּתַח, *to open*, applied to metal, 1 K. vii. 36; to gems, Ex. xxviii. 9, 36; to wood, Ps. lxxiv. 6; to stone, Zech. iii. 9; γλυφή, γλύμμα, ἐγκολαπτόν; *caelatura.*

The arts of carving and engraving were much in request in the construction both of the Tabernacle and the Temple (Ex. xxxi. 2, 5, xxxv. 33; 1 K. vi. 18, 35; Ps. lxxiv. 6), as well as in the ornamentation of the priestly dresses (Ex. xxviii. 9–36; Zech. iii. 9; 2 Ch. ii. 6, 14). In Solomon's time Huram the Phoenician had the chief care of this as of the larger architectural works. [H. W. P.]

CASEMENT. [LATTICE.]

CASIPH'IA (כַּסְפְּיָא; ἐν ἀργυρίῳ τοῦ τόπου [2 Esd.]; *Chaspia*), a place of unknown site not far from Ahava, on the road between Babylon and Jerusalem (Ezra viii. 17). Neither the Caspiae Pylae nor the city *Kaswîn*, with which some writers have attempted to identify it, are situated upon this route (Ges. *Thes.* 703). [F.]

CAS'LEU (Χασελεῦ; *Casleu*), 1 Macc. i. 54; iv. 52, 59;—2 Macc. i. 9, 18; x. 5. [CHISLEU; MONTHS.]

CAS'LUHIM (כַּסְלֻחִים; A. Χασμωνιείμ, E. Χαλοείμ; *Chasluim*), Gen. x. 14, a Mizraite tribe mentioned as the source geographically of the Philistines, who are elsewhere called emigrants from Caphtor. No satisfactory identification has yet been found for this name, which has not been discovered in the hieroglyphic inscriptions. The names of *Casius Mons* and *Casiotis* may have preserved the first syllable of the word. The Casluhim would then have been settled along the coast of Lake Serbonis, between Pelusium and Rhinocorura (El Areesh). The meaning of the name of Casluhim seems to have been quite forgotten at the time of the LXX. The word Χασμωνιείμ has been compared by Ebers (*Aegypten und die Bücher Moses*, p. 120 sq.) to the Egyptian *hesmen*, which means "salt," or rather "nitre," and would thus indicate a population dealing in salt and living on salt fish. But it is hardly possible to admit this explanation, which is not in accordance with the geographical character of the Noachian list. [E. N.]

CAS'PHON (T.[7] Χασφών, A. Χασφώθ; *Casbon*), 1 Macc. v. 36. [CASPHOR.]

CAS'PHOR (T.[7] Χασφώρ, A. Κασφώρ, א. Κασφώ; *Casphor*), one of the fortified cities in the "land of Galaad" (1 Macc. v. 26), in which the Jews took refuge from the Ammonites under Timotheus (cp. *v.* 6), and which with other cities was taken by Judas Maccabaeus (v. 36). In the latter passage the name is given as CASPHON, and in 2 Macc. xii. 13 as CASPIS, if indeed the same place is referred to, which is not quite clear (see Ewald, iv. 359 note). Josephus gives the name of this place as Casphoma, Χάσφωμα (*Ant.* xii. 8, § 3). [G.] [W.]

CAS'PIS (T.[7] Κάσπιν, A. Κασπείν; *Casphin*), a strongly fortified city—whether east or west of Jordan is not plain—having near it a lake (λίμνη) two stadia in breadth. It was taken by Judas Maccabaeus with great slaughter (2 Macc. xii. 13, 16). The parallel history of the First Book of Maccabees mentions a city named CASPHOR or CASPHON, with which Caspis may be identical (see *Speaker's Comm.* in loco)—but the narratives differ materially. [G.] [W.]

CAS'SIA. The representative in the A. V. of the Hebrew words *kiddâh* and *ketzîôth*.

1. *Kiddâh* (קִדָּה;[a] λίρις; *casia*, *stacte*) occurs in Ex. xxx. 24, as one of the ingredients in the composition of the "oil of holy ointment;" and in Ezek. xxvii. 19, where "bright iron, cassia, and calamus" are mentioned as articles of merchandise brought by Dan and Javan to the market of Tyre. There can be no doubt that the A. V. is correct in the translation of the Hebrew word, though there is considerable variety of reading in the old Versions.

The cassia-tree is a native of Southern India, and especially of Ceylon, where it is still largely cultivated for its bark. It is known to botanists as *Cinnamomum cassium*, belonging to the family *Lauraceae*, of which our Sweet Bay (*Laurus nobilis*) is an European representative. It is nearly related to the true cinnamon (*Cinna-*

[a] From קָדַד; Arab. قَدَّ, "to cleave," "to tear lengthwise;" so called from the splitting of the bark.

momum zeylonicum), and is a small shrubby tree, distinguished from the cinnamon by having obtuse, oblong lanceolate leaves, instead of terminating in an acute point, like the other. The leaf of the cassia, when bitten, has a cinnamon flavour; that of the cinnamon has a clove flavour. The cassia of commerce is obtained by making longitudinal incisions in the branches, when the bark peels off, and in drying rolls up in the form of a pipe. Cassia is cultivated in India and many of the Eastern islands, Java, and others, but is never found in Arabia or Egypt, whither it must always have been imported from the far East. The mention of cassia in Exodus is perhaps the earliest direct evidence extant of commerce between India and Egypt. But it seems to have been procured through Southern Arabia, and hence was sometimes supposed to be a native of that country. The LXX. and Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 8, § 3) have *iris*, i.e. some species of *flag*, perhaps the *Iris florentina*, which has an aromatic root-stock. Symmachus and the Vulg. (in Ezek. *l. c.*) read *stacte*, "liquid myrrh." The Arabic Versions of Saadias and Erpenius conjecture *costus* [so R. V. marg. of Ex. *l. c.*], which Dr. Royle (Kitto's *Cyc.*, art. "Ketzioth") identifies with *Aucklandia costus*, to which he refers not the *kiddâh*, but the *ketzîôth* of the Hebrew Scriptures (see below). The Chaldee and Syriac, with most of the European Versions, understand *cassia* by *kiddâh:* they are followed by Gesenius, Simon, Fürst, Lee, and all the lexicographers. The Greek word, which is first used by Herodotus (ii. 86), who says (iii. 110) that the Arabians procured it from a shallow lake in their country, is limited to the Eastern product. Dioscorides mentions several kinds of cassia, and says that they are produced in Spicy Arabia (i. ch. xii.). One kind is known by the name of *mosyletis*, or, according to Galen (*de Theriac. ad Pis.* p. 108), of *mosyllos*, from the ancient city and promontory Mosyllon, on the coast of Africa and the sea of Babel Mandeb, not far from the modern Cape Guardafui (Sprengel, *Annot. ad Dioscor.* i. ch. xii.). Will not this throw some light on Ezek. xxvii. 19, where it will be observed that, instead of the rendering "going to and fro" in the text of the A. V., the margin has *Meuzal*? "Dan and Javan (and) Meuzal traded in thy markets with cassia, calamus," &c. The cassia would be brought from India to Meuzal, and from thence exported to Tyre and other countries under the name of *Meuzalitis*, or Meuzal cassia.[b]

2. *Ketzîôth* (קְצִיעֹת;[c] κασία; *casia*), only in Ps. xlv. 8, "All thy garments smell of myrrh, aloes, and cassia." This word is generally supposed to be another term for cassia: the old Versions are in favour of this interpretation, as well as the etymology of the Hebrew word. The Arabic reads *Salicha*,[d] which, from its description by Abu'l Fadli and Avicenna (Celsius, *Hierob.* ii. 364–5), evidently denotes some cassia-yielding tree. Dr. Royle suggests (see above) that *ketzîôth* is identical in meaning and in form with the Arab *cust*, *kust*, *cusht*, *kusht*,[e] whence is probably derived the *costus* of the Greeks and Romans. Dioscorides (i. 15) enumerates three kinds of *costus*,—an Arabian, Indian, and Syrian sort. The *koost* of India, called by Europeans *Indian orris*, is the root of *Aucklandia costus*, a plant of the composite order, family *Cynarocephalae*, or Artichoke section, grown chiefly in Cashmere, but well known throughout India, the root of which has a pungent aromatic odour, and is largely used in the composition of incense. There is no reason, however, why we should abandon the explanation of the old Versions, and depart from the satisfactory etymological evidence afforded by the Hebrew term to the doubtful question of identity between it and the Arabic *koost*. The confusion among ancient writers as to the different kinds of cassia and cinnamon is not to be wondered at; they were known only as the imported products of distant countries, and the trees themselves were as little known as the tea-plant, until recently, among ourselves. [W. H.] [H. B. T.]

CASTLE. [FORTIFICATIONS.]

CAS'TOR AND POL'LUX, the Dioscuri (Διοσκοῦροι, Acts xxviii. 11). For the mythology of these two heroes, the twin-sons of Jupiter and Leda, we must refer to the *Dict. of Biog. and Mythol.* We have here to do with them only so far as they were connected with seafaring life. They were regarded as the tutelary divinities (θεοὶ σωτῆρες) of sailors. They appeared in heaven as the constellation of *Gemini*. Immediately on shipboard they were recognised in the phosphoric lights, called by modern Italian sailors *the fires of St. Elmo*, which play about the masts and the sails ("In magna tempestate apparent quasi stellae velo insidentes: adjuvari se tunc periclitantes existimant Pollucis et Castoris numine," Senec. *Nat. Quaest.* i. 1; cp. Plin. ii. 37). Hence the frequent allusions of Roman poets to these divinities in connexion with navigation (see especially Hor. *Carm.* i. 3, 2, "fratres Helenae, lucida sidera," and iv. 8, 31). As the ship mentioned here by St. Luke was from Alexandria, it may be worth while to notice that Castor and Pollux were specially honoured in the neighbouring district of Cyrenaica (*Schol.* Pind. *Pyth.* v. 6). In Catull. iv. 27, we have distinct mention of a boat dedicated to them. See also lxviii. 65. In art these divinities were sometimes represented simply as stars hovering over a ship, but more

[b] The country of the Mosylii was in the Cinnamomophora regio, and not far from Aromata Emporium, and the author of the Periplus particularises cassia amongst the exports of the same coast (Tennent, *Ceylon*, i. 600, note). As to מְאוּזָל, see Bochart, *Geog. Sac.* pp. i. ch. ii. 21, Rosenmüller, *Schol. ad Ezek.* l. c., and M.V.[11] who identify it with Sanaa, in Arabia. [The R. V. does not favour the conjecture in the text. It renders Ezek. xxvii. 19, "Vedan and Javan traded with yarn for thy wares," and in the marg. mentions the rendering of some ancient Versions *from Uzal* instead of "with yarn," a rendering adopted by most moderns, *QPB*[3].—F.]

[c] From the root קָצַע, Arab. قطع, "to lop off," "to scrape," "to peel."

[d] سليخة, from the root سلخ, *detraxit*, quasi cortex detractus.

[e] قسط, *costus*, i. e. radicis aromaticae Indicae et Arabicae species, Kam. Dj. See Freytag.

frequently as young men on horseback, with conical caps, and stars above them (see the coins of Rhegium, a city of Bruttii, at which St.

Silver coin of Bruttii. Obv.: Heads of Castor and Pollux to right. Rev.: Castor and Pollux mounted, advancing to right. In the exergue BPETTIΩN.

Paul touched on the voyage in question, *v.* 13). Such figures were probably painted or sculptured at the bow of the ship (hence *παράσημον*; see *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq.* art. INSIGNE). This custom was very frequent in ancient shipbuilding. Herodotus says (iii. 37) that the Phoenicians used to place the figures of deities at the bow of their vessels. Virgil (*Aen.* x. 209) and Ovid (*Trist.* i. 10, 2) supply us with illustrations of the practice; and Cyril of Alexandria (Cramer's *Catena, ad* l. c.) says that such was always the Alexandrian method of ornamenting each side of the prow. [SHIP.] [J. S. H.]

CATS (*οἱ αἴλουροι*; *cattae*[a]). This word occurs only in Baruch vi. 22, in the passage which sets forth the vanity of the Babylonish idols: "Upon their bodies and heads sit bats, swallows, and birds, and the cats also." The Greek *αἴλουρος*, as used by Aristotle, has more particular reference to the wild cat (*Felis catus*, &c.). Herodotus, in the well-known passage (ii. 66) which treats of the cats of Egypt, uses *αἴλουρος* to denote the domestic animal; similarly Cicero (*Tusc.* v. 27, 78) employs *felis;* but both Greek and Latin words are used to denote other animals, apparently some kinds of marten (*Martes*). The Israelites, from their intimate connexion with Egypt, must have been familiar with the cat, but we have no evidence that they ever domesticated it, and the passage in Baruch seems to point to wild cats. Nor, except in connexion with Egypt, do we find in classic writers any allusion to the domestic cat, now as world-wide in its distribution as the dog, and as common in Palestine as elsewhere.

The domestic cat of the ancient Egyptians is generally admitted to be identical with the *Felis maniculata* (Rüppell) of Nubia, and with our own domestic animal. *Felis maniculata* is also the wild cat of Syria, and is especially common among ruins in Eastern Palestine. *Felis chaus* is also common among woods and thickets, especially by the Jordan, but it resembles a small lynx rather than a cat.

The Egyptians, it is well known, paid an absurd reverence to the cat; it was deemed a capital offence to kill one; when a cat died it was embalmed and buried at Bubastis, the city sacred to the moon, of which divinity the cat was reckoned a symbol (Herod. ii. 66; Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* i. 246 [1878]; Jablonski, *Pant. Aegypt.* ii. 66, &c.; Diod. Sic. i. 83). The cat was allowed to accompany the Egyptian fowler, but it was doubtless for the sake of a share in the booty, and not for the benefit of the fowler. Without laying much stress on the want of sufficient sagacity for retrieving purposes, we cannot believe that the cat could ever have been trained to go into the water, to which it has a very strong aversion.[b] See the woodcuts in Wilkinson (*Anc. Egypt*, i. pp. 236, 237 [1878]), where the fowler is in a boat accompanied by his cat. As to צִיִּים, which Bochart takes to mean *wild cats*, see BEAST, WILD. The cat belongs to the family *Felidae*, order *Carnivora*. [W. H.] [H. B. T.]

CATERPILLAR. [LOCUST.]

CATERPILLER. The representative in the A. V. of the Hebrew words *châsîl* and *yelek*.

1. *Châsîl* (חָסִיל; *ἀκρίς*, *βροῦχος*, *ἐρυσίβη*; *rubigo, bruchus, aerugo*). The Hebrew word occurs in 1 K. viii. 37; 2 Ch. vi. 28; Ps. lxxviii. 46; Is. xxxiii. 4; Joel i. 4: it is evident from the inconsistency of the two most important old Versions in their renderings of this word, that nothing is to be learnt from them. The word denotes the "consumer;" and from its signification, and from its being always mentioned along with the locust, it may probably denote that noxious insect in its proper or larva stages, at which period of its existence it is more destructive than at any other time. [See LOCUST.]

2. *Yelek*, יֶלֶק (Ps. cv. 34; Jer. li. 14, 27); *i.e.* "the licker." In other passages the word is rendered "cankerworm." From the signification of its name, and from the position in the passage from Joel (ch. i.) immediately after the locust, it may represent not any particular species, but the larva or caterpiller state of the insect in which it is more destructive than when fully developed. The larvae appear after the winged locusts have left, and lick up everything that has escaped the former. [H. B. T.]

CATHU'A (B. Κουά, A. Καθουά; *Canna*), 1 Esd. v. 30; one of the heads of the servants of the Temple who returned with Zerubbabel from the Captivity. The name apparently answering to it in the Hebrew text of Ezra ii. 43 is GIDDEL. [F.]

CATTLE. The various words which express cattle are as numerous in Hebrew as in English, though not always exactly synonymous. For the etymology and exact signification of these names, see BULL. In this article we may consider the subject of horned cattle generally. Cattle were more important in the agricultural economy of the Jews than even among ourselves, among whom the horse has for many purposes been substituted. They ploughed the land, they trod out the corn, they carried in the crops, they drew carts and waggons. Their

[a] The word *Catta* occurs once only in classical Latin, viz. in Martial, *Epig.* xiii. 69; but that some *bird* is intended is beyond a doubt. Greeks and Romans do not appear to have kept domestic cats.

[b] Even to a proverb:—

"Catus amat pisces, sed non vult tingere plantam."

"Letting, I dare not wait upon I would,
Like the poor cat i' the adage."—*Macbeth*, i. 7.

See Trench's *Lessons in Proverbs*, p. 149.

employment in these various ways is constantly referred to in Scripture, and it is needless to quote passages. Equally important was the produce of the herds. Excepting for sacrifices or on very special occasions, horned cattle were not ordinarily used as food; for, as is still the case in Eastern countries, flesh meat, especially beef, was not eaten save at religious festivals, or at special feasts, to do honour to a guest, or to celebrate a public or private anniversary (cp. W. R. Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, i. 277 sq.). On such occasions a bull calf was generally selected. "Abraham ran unto the herd, and fetched a calf tender and good" (Gen. xvii. 7). "Thou hast killed for him the fatted calf" (Luke xv. 30). Naturally the value of oxen for draught restricted their use as food. But the produce of the herd—milk, butter, and cheese—formed as important articles of diet then as now. "They brought ... butter, and sheep, and cheese of kine for David and for the people that were with him to eat" (2 Sam. xvii. 29). During the journeyings in the wilderness, the people were forbidden to slay their cattle except for sacrifices, and these only before the Tabernacle. This was not only to prevent idolatrous sacrifices, as explained in Lev. xvii. 7, but also (see *Speaker's Comm.* i. *l.*) to bear witness to the sanctity of life, acknowledging that the animal belonged to Jehovah, and that its flesh was received back as His gift. The injunction had the further effect of securing the preservation of the flocks and herds for future use when they had entered the Land of Promise. But especially important was the use of cattle in sacrifice, where they were offered from the earliest times by the richer worshippers, as by Abraham (Gen. xv. 9). At the dedication of the Temple Solomon offered hecatombs of 22,000 oxen (1 Kings viii. 63). At its purification by Hezekiah 600 were sacrificed (2 Ch. xxix. 33), and at its second cleansing by Josiah 500 (2 Ch. xxxv. 9).

There are several provisions in the Law of Moses for the protection of cattle. "Doth God take care for oxen?" "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn" (Deut. xxv. 4), an injunction twice quoted by St. Paul. So the rest of the Sabbath is enjoined, "that thine ox and thine ass may rest" (Ex. xxiii. 12).

The greater part of Central Palestine is wholly unsuited for grazing horned cattle, which were turned loose on the open wilds during a great part of the year, the wilderness of Judaea and the south country being treated as commons are with us; each village or town having its recognised landmarks, within which it was the herdsman's duty to keep his cattle. The herds roamed in a half-wild state till winter approached. Such were the bulls of Bashan in the wild pastoral region east of Jordan. But when required for table and in winter, they were brought under cover. The provision for Solomon's court for each day was ten fat (*i.e.* stall-fed) oxen, and twenty oxen out of the pastures (1 Kings iv. 23). Stalled cattle are often referred to, as when Amos rebukes the luxury of his times, the princes of Samaria eating the "calves out of the midst of the stall" (Amos vi. 4). "Better is a dinner of herbs where love is, than a stalled ox and hatred therewith" (Prov. xv. 17). The word אֲבוּסִים, often translated "fatted" cattle, is literally "cattle of the stall." The custom of thus keeping up cattle is alluded to by our Lord, "Doth not each one of you on the Sabbath loose his ox or his ass from the stall and lead him away to watering?" (Luke xiii. 15.) Barley straw was the fare of these oxen, for hay, as we understand it, is never made in the East.

There are several provisions in the Mosaic law for cases of injury by a bull goring man or animal; and as under our own laws the owner of an animal known to be dangerous is held responsible, so by the Jewish, if he had been warned beforehand and had neglected to keep in the animal, he had to ransom his own life or to lose it, in case of fatal injury inflicted by the beast, which was also to be slain and its flesh not eaten (Ex. xxi. 28–36). The semi-wild cattle in the plains and forests are in the habit of gathering in a circle round any strange object, and are easily irritated into charging it. This habit is alluded to in Ps. xxii. 12, "Many bulls have compassed me: strong bulls of Bashan have beset me round."

Horned cattle are now restricted to those districts where fresh pasture can be found throughout the year, and where water is easily attainable. In the Sinaitic Peninsula, even in those parts where not only camels but sheep, goats, and horses are kept, neat cattle are unknown. In the hill-country of Judaea and in the Judaean wilderness, they are never seen. In Central Western Palestine, from Hebron to the Lebanon, they are rare, except on the plains of Dothan, Shechem, and Esdraelon. The pastures are few and burnt up in summer, and the agriculture of the terraced hills is not adapted for their use. Goats supply the milk and butter of this hill-country; and beef and veal are unknown delicacies. But in the southern wilderness of Judah, on the downs and wide prairies south and east of Beersheba, and in the Philistian plain, horned cattle of a small and coarse race are numerous. They are not used for agriculture, but simply for their milk. In the plains of Sharon, Acre, Esdraelon, and Phoenicia, a much larger and finer race, from which the southern cattle have probably degenerated, is found, and employed in the tillage of these rich corn-plains. North of Esdraelon, in all the richer parts of Galilee, we may frequently see a larger and finer breed of cattle, known in the country as the Armenian ox, light coloured, like the Tuscan cattle, but which appear to be identical with the best race on the banks of the Nile, and which are depicted on the ancient Egyptian monuments. This race is also found round Damascus and in Northern Syria. East of Jordan, neat cattle form the principal wealth both of the nomads and of the villagers. They are a small race, like that of the maritime plains, but generally black; and as the numerous forests of this region preserve the herbage from the sun throughout the year, the milch kine afford a constant supply of milk. In the Jordan valley, and especially in the upper part near Lake Huleh (the waters of Merom), are herds of another species, the Indian buffalo (*Bos bubalus*, L.), quite distinct from *Bos taurus*, the common ox. These huge ungainly creatures, which can only thrive in swamps, where they

wallow, buried up to the back in water or mud, have been by many modern writers erroneously identified with the bulls of Bashan. They are, however, a comparatively recent introduction, having been imported through Persia from India, and were unknown to the Israelites.

In the bone caves of the Lebanon I discovered the teeth and bones of two extinct species of the ox tribe, belonging probably to *Bos primigenitus*, the aurochs or unicorn, and *Bison priscus*. [See UNICORN.] [H. B. T.]

CAULS (שְׁבָכִים; ἐμπλόκια; *torques*). The A. V. and R. V. give in the margin "networks." The Old English word "caul" denoted a netted cap worn by women. Compare Chaucer (*Wyf of Bathes Tale*, C. T., l. 6599):

> "Let se, which is the proudest of hem alle,
> That werith on a coverchief or a *calle*."

The Hebrew word *shĕbîsîm*, thus rendered in Is. iii. 18, is, like many others which occur in the same passage, the subject of much dispute. It occurs but once, and its root is not elsewhere found in Hebrew. The Rabbinical commentators connect it with שָׁבַץ, *shibbêts*, rendered "embroider" in Ex. xxviii. 39, but properly "to work in squares, make checker-work." So Kimchi (*Lex.* s. v.) explains *shĕbîsîm* as "the name of garments wrought in checker-work." Rashi says that they are "a kind of network to adorn the head." Abarbanel is more full: he describes them as "head-dresses, made of silk or gold thread, with which the women bound their heads about, and they were of checker-work." The word occurs again in the Mishna (*Celim*, xxviii. 10), but nothing can possibly be inferred from the passage itself, and the explanations of the commentators do not throw much light upon it. It there appears to be used as part of a network worn as a head-dress by women. Bartenora says that it was "a figure which they made upon the network for ornament, standing in front of it and going round from one ear to the other." Beyond the fact that the *shĕbîsîm* were head-dresses or ornaments of the head-dress of Hebrew ladies, nothing certain can be said to be known about them.

Schroeder (*de Vest. Mul.*, cap. ii.) conjectured that they were medallions worn on the necklace, and identified *shĕbîsîm* with the Arab. شَمِيسَة, *shomaiseh*, the diminutive of شَمْس, *shams*, the sun, which is applied to denote the sun-shaped ornaments worn by Arab women about their necks. But to this Gesenius very properly objects (*Jes.* i. p. 209), as well as to the explanation of Jahn (*Archäol.* i. 2, 139), who renders the word "gauze veils."

The Versions give but little assistance. The LXX. render ἐμπλόκια "plaited work," to which κοσύμβους, "fringes," appears to have been added originally as a gloss, and afterwards to have crept into the text. Aquila has τελαμῶνας, "belts." The Targum merely adopts the Hebrew word without translating it, and the Syriac and Arabic vaguely render it "their ornaments." [W. A. W.]

CAUSEY (Fr. *chaussée*). Prov. xv. 19 (A. V. marg.; R. V. "highway," text); 1 Ch. xxvi. 16, 18 (ed. 1611), a raised or paved way (מְסִלָּה). Of this word causeway, which replaced it in 1 Ch., is a corruption (Eastwood and Wright's *Bible Wordbook*, p. 90). See *D. B.* Amer. ed. [F.]

CAUSEWAY. [CAUSEY.]

CAVE (מְעָרָה; σπήλαιον; *spelunca*; in A. V. Is. ii. 19, *hole*; Jer. vii. 11, *den*; Josh. xiii. 4, literatim, *Mearah*; *Maara*, Vulg.). I. The chalky limestone of which the rocks of Syria and Palestine chiefly consist presents, as is the case in all limestone formations, a vast number of caverns and natural fissures, many of which have also been artificially enlarged and adapted to various purposes both of shelter and defence (Kitto, *Phys. Geogr. of Pal.* p. 72). This circumstance has also given occasion to the use of so large a number of words as are employed in the Scriptures to denote caves, holes, and fissures, some of them giving names to the towns and places and their neighbourhood. Out of them, besides No. I., may be selected the following:—

II. חוֹר or חֹר (Ges.), *a hole*; usually τρώγλη, and *caverna*. From this come, (*a*) חֹרִי, *dweller in caves*, the name of the Horites of Mount Seir, *Wâdy Ghoeyer*, expelled by the Edomites, probably alluded to by Job, a Troglodyte race spoken of by Strabo (Gen. xiv. 6, xxxvi. 21; Deut. ii. 12; Job xxx. 6; Strab. i. 42, xvi. 775–776; Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 410; Robinson, ii. 69, 157; Stanley, *S. and P.* pp. 68–71). [HORITES.] (*b*) חֹרָן, *land of caverns* (Ezek. xlvii. 16, 18; Burckhardt, *Syria*, pp. 110, 286); Αὐρανῖτις, LXX.; *Auran*, Vulg. [HAURAN.] (*c*) בֵּית־חֹרוֹן, *house of caverns*, the two towns of Beth-horon (Josh. xvi. 3, 5). [BETH-HORON.] (*d*) חֹרֹנַיִם, *two caverns*, the town Horonaim (Is. xv. 5). [HORONAIM.]

III. חֲגָוִים, *places of refuge in rocks* (Ges.) for birds (Cant. ii. 14); σκέπη; *foramina petrae*, Obad. *v.* 3; ὀπαί; *scissurae petrarum*; A. V. and R. V. *clefts*.

IV. מְנָהָרָה; τρυμαλία; *antrum*; A. V. and R. V. *den*; a ravine through which water flows (Ges. *Thes.* p. 858), Judg. vi. 2.

The caves of Syria and Palestine are still used, either occasionally or permanently, as habitations; as at *Anâb*, near *Szalt*, Ramoth-Gilead (Buckingham, *Travels in Syria*, p. 62). The shepherds near Hebron leave their villages in the summer to dwell in caves and ruins, in order to be nearer to their flocks and fields (Robinson, i. 212; *PEFQy. Statement*, 1872, p. 176). Many caves are used as places of shelter both for the shepherds and their flocks, and are farther protected by "sheep-cotes," formed by a rough wall of stones built up in front of the entrance (Thomson, *Land and Book*, p. 603). Almost all the habitations at *Om-keis*, Gadara, are caves (Burckhardt, p. 273). An extensive system of caves exists at *Beit Jibrîn*, Eleutheropolis, in Judah, which has served for residence or concealment, though now disused (Robinson, ii. 53); and another between Bethlehem and Hebron (Irby and Mangles, p. 103).

The most remarkable caves noticed in Scripture are:—1. The one in which Lot is said to have dwelt after the destruction of Sodom (Gen. xix. 30). 2. The cave of Machpelah (*ib.*

xxiii. 17). 3. Cave of Makkedah (Josh. x. 16). 4. The cleft* in the rock Etam, in which Samson dwelt (Judg. xv. 11). 5. Cave of Adullam (1 Sam. xxii. 1; 2 Sam. xxiii. 13–16). 6. Cave of Engedi (1 Sam. xxiv. 3). 7. Obadiah's cave (1 K. xviii. 4). 8. Elijah's cave, and also the "clift" of Moses in Horeb (Ex. xxxiii. 22; 1 K. xix. 9). 9, 10. The rock sepulchres of Lazarus and of our Lord (John xi. 38; Matt. xxvii. 60). Of these, as regards the O. T., the site of Machpelah may be regarded as certain; the sites of Adullam, Engedi, Etam, and Makkedah as highly probable; of the cave of Lot and of the cave in Horeb, nothing more than their locality in a general sense can be affirmed; and to that of Obadiah no clue can be given, except that it must have been somewhere in the northern region of Palestine, in which many instances of caves fit for his purpose might be pointed out (Joseph. *Ant.* vi. 12, 3; Jerome, *de Situ et Nom.* iii. 871 [150]; Reland, p. 885; Robinson, i. 103, 500, ii. 28, 79; Stanley, *Sinai and Pal.* pp. 149, 211, 296; Conder, *Tent Life*, ii. 156, 159; *Heth and Moab*, p. 150; Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 608; Irby and Mangles, *Trav.* p. 93; Lynch, *Narr.* p. 234; *PEFQy. Statement*, 1871, p. 91, 1881, p. 40; *Survey of West Palestine*, ii. 411, iii. 337, 367; Victoria Institute, *Journ. of Trans.* xxi. § 82. See also ADULLAM, &c.).

Besides these special caves, frequent mention is made in O. T. of caves as places of refuge. In the time of Gideon the Israelites took refuge from the Midianites in caves and strongholds, such as abound in the mountain region of Manasseh (Judg. vi. 2), and in the early days of Saul they fled from the Philistines into "holes;" a description to which the scene of Jonathan's conflict, *Mŭkhmâs* (Michmash), sufficiently answers (1 Sam. xiii. 6, xiv. 5).

And so too the caves of Palestine have afforded refuge to the inhabitants during the earthquakes by which the country has from time to time been visited. This was the case in 1837, when *Safed* was destroyed; and to this the Prophet Isaiah probably alludes in language describing a divine visitation (*Is.* ii. 10, 19, 21. Cp. Irby and Mangles, p. 89; Robinson, i. 440, ii. 422).

But Adullam is not the only cave, nor were its tenants the only instances of banditti making the caves of Palestine their accustomed haunt. Josephus (*Ant.* xiv. 15, § 5) relates the manner in which, by order of Herod, a cave occupied by robbers, or rather insurgents, was attacked by soldiers let down from above in chests and baskets, from which they dragged forth the inmates with hooks, and killed or thrust them down the precipices; or, setting fire to their stores of fuel, destroyed them by suffocation. These caves are said to have been in Galilee, not far from Sepphoris; and are probably the same as those which Josephus himself, in providing for the defence of Galilee, fortified near Gennesaret, which elsewhere he calls the caves of Arbela (*B. J.* i. 16, §§ 2–4, ii. 20, § 6; *Vit.* § 37). Bacchides, the general of Demetrius, in his expedition against Judaea, encamped at Messaloth, near Arbela, and reduced to submission the occupants of the caves (*Ant.* xii. 11, § 1; 1 Macc. ix. 2). Messaloth is probably מְסִלּוֹת, *steps*, or *terraces* (cp. 2 Ch. ix. 11; Ges.). The Messaloth of the Book of Maccabees and the robber-caves of Arbela are thus probably identical, and are the same as the fortified cavern near *Mejdjdel* (Magdala), called *Kŭlat Ibn M'an*, or Pigeon's Castle, mentioned by several travellers. They are said by Burckhardt to be capable of containing 600 men (Reland, pp. 358, 575; Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 331; Irby and Mangles, p. 91; *Survey of West Pal.* i. 411; Robinson, ii. 398; Räumer, 108. Cp Hos. x. 14). [BETH-ARBEL.]

Josephus also speaks of the robber-inhabitants of Trachonitis, who lived in large caverns, presenting no prominence above ground, but widely extended below (*Ant.* xv. 10, § 1). These banditti annoyed much the trade with Damascus, but were put down by Herod. Strabo alludes very distinctly to this in his description of Trachonitis, and describes one of the caverns as capable of holding 4,000 men (Strabo, xvi. 756; Räumer, p. 68; Jolliffe, *Travels in Pal.* i. 197).

Lastly, it was the caves which lie beneath and around so many of the Jewish cities that formed the last hiding-places of the Jewish leaders in the war with the Romans. Josephus himself relates the story of his own concealment in the caves of Jotapata; and after the capture of Jerusalem, John of Gischala, Simon, and many other Jews, endeavoured to conceal themselves in the caverns beneath the city; whilst in some of them great spoil and vast numbers of dead bodies were found of those who had perished during the siege by hunger or from wounds (Joseph. *B. J.* iii. 8, § 1; vi. 9, § 4).

The rock dwellings and temples of Petra are described in a separate article.

Natural cavities in the rock were and are frequently used as cisterns for water, and as places of imprisonment (Is. xxiv. 22; Ezek xxxii. 23; Zech. ix. 11) [CISTERN; PRISON]; also as stalls for horses and for granaries (Irby and Mangles, p. 146). No use, however, of rock caverns more strikingly connects the modern usages of Palestine and the adjacent regions with their ancient history than the employment of them as burial-places. The rocky soil of so large a portion of the Holy Land almost forbids interment, excepting in cavities either natural or hewn from the rock. The dwelling of the demoniac among the tombs is thus explained by the rock caverns abounding near the Sea of Galilee (Jolliffe, i. 36). Accordingly numerous sites are shown in Palestine and adjacent lands of (so-called) sepulchres of saints and heroes of the Old and New Testaments, venerated both by Christians and Mohammedans (*Early Travels*, p. 36; Stanley, p. 148). Among these may be mentioned the cave of Machpelah, the tomb of Aaron on Mount Hor, of Joseph, and of Rachel, as those for which every probability of identity in site at least may be claimed (Irby and Mangles, p. 134; Robinson, i. 218, 219, ii. 275–287, &c.). More questionable are the sites of the tombs of Elisha, Obadiah, and John the Baptist, at Samaria; of Habakkuk at *Jebâtha* (Gabatha), of Micah near *Kcila;* and of Deborah, Rebekah's nurse, at Bethel (Stanley, pp. 143, 149; Reland, pp. 722, 698, 981; Rob. ii. 304). The questions so much debated relating to the tombs in and near Jerusalem and Bethany will be found treated under those heads, as also that of the tombs of the Maccabees at Modin (*Survey*

* מְעָרָה, from עָרַר, *to divide;* LXX. τρυμαλία; Vulg. *specus;* A. V. *top.* See Ges.

of West Pal. ii. 349). But whatever value may belong to the connexion of the names of Judges, Kings, or Prophets, with the very remarkable rock-tombs near Jerusalem, there can be no doubt that the caves bearing these names are sepulchral caverns enlarged and embellished by art. The sides of the valley of Jehoshaphat are studded with caves, many of which are inhabited by Arab families (Sandys, p. 188; Maundrell, p 446; Robinson, i. 241, 349, 364; Bartlett, *Walks about Jerusalem*, p. 117). It is no doubt the vast number of caves throughout the country, together with, perhaps, as Maundrell remarks, the taste for hermit life which prevailed in the 5th and 6th centuries of the Christian era, which has placed the sites of so many important events in caves and grottoes; *e.g.* the birth of the Virgin, the Annunciation, the Salutation, the birth of the Baptist and of our Lord, the scene of the Agony, of St. Peter's denial, the composition of the Apostles' Creed, the Transfiguration (Shaw, pt. ii. c. 1; Maundrell, *E. T.* p. 479); and the like causes have created a traditionary cave-site for the altar of Elijah on Mount Carmel, and peopled its sides, as well as those of Mount Tabor, with hermit inhabitants (1 K. xviii. 19; Amos ix. 3. Cp. Irby and Mangles, p. 60; Reland, p. 329; Winer, s. v. *Carmel;* Sir J. Maundeville, *Travels*, p. 31; Sandys, p. 203; Maundrell, *E. T.* p. 478; Jahn, *Arch. Bibl.* p. 9; Stanley, p. 353; Kitto, *Phys. Geogr.* pp. 30, 31; Van Egmont, *Travels*, ii. 5–7). [H. W. P.]

CEDAR (אֶרֶז, *erez;* κέδρος; *cedrus;* Arab. أَرْز, *arz*, "pine" (Lane). [The word is a primitive, and is found in all the Semitic languages except Assyrian, which has *erinu*.—C. J. B.] The word is invariably rendered *cedrus* and cedar in the Vulg., A. V., and R. V., and there can be no doubt but that in most instances, and always when in connexion, expressed or understood, with Lebanon, it means distinctively the cedar of Lebanon, *Cedrus Libani*, "the firmly-rooted and strong tree," as its derivation implies, κατ' ἐξοχήν, the firmest and grandest of all the conifers. Occasionally, as will be seen below, the word is used, as is the Arabic equivalent at the present day, for the pine-trees generically. Many characteristics of the cedar are mentioned in Scripture: the passages are too numerous for quotation. Among prophets and poets it is a favourite emblem for whatever is grand and magnificent. "The glory of Lebanon" (Is. xxxv. 2, lx. 13); "The trees of the Lord, the cedars of Lebanon which He hath planted" (Ps. civ. 16); "The righteous shall grow like a cedar in Lebanon" (Ps. xcii. 12); "The cedars of Lebanon that are high and lifted up" (Is. ii. 13); "The Assyrian was a cedar on Lebanon, with fair branches, and with a shadowing shroud, and of an high stature, and his top was among the thick boughs. All the fowls of heaven made their nests in his boughs" (Ezek. xxxi. 3, 6); "The Amorite, whose height was like the height of the cedars" (Amos ii. 9).

With peculiar appositeness, its wide-spreading branches, so unlike those of any other pine, are the model of the "spreading abroad," the constant growth of the righteous man; his boughs are multiplied, become fair, thick, overshadowing in length and multitude (Ezek. xvii. 23). Its fresh resinous fragrance is noticed. "The smell of thy garments is like the smell of Lebanon" (Cant. iv. 11). It was the prince of trees. It was to the vegetable what the lion was to the animal world. From the cedar downwards extended the botanical knowledge of Solomon. To the cedar upwards is the destruction of the trees in the parable of Jotham. "Howl, fir tree, for the cedar is fallen" (Zech. xi. 2). The lesser fir-tree is bidden as a humble follower to bewail the fall of its mighty chief. It was the crowning insolence of the proud boast of Sennacherib, "I am come up to the height of the mountains, to the sides of Lebanon, and I will cut down the tall cedars thereof" (Is. xxxvii. 24). Of all presumption the most outrageous was the proposal of the thistle to ally itself with the cedar (2 K. xiv. 9). Everyone who has seen the far-famed group above the Kadisha must recognise the force of the majestic imagery of the prophets. With their gnarled and contorted stems and their scaly bark, with their massive branches spreading their foliage rather in layers than in flakes, with their dark green leaves, shot with silver in the sunlight, as they stand a lovely group in the stupendous mountain amphitheatre—those trees assert their title to be the monarchs of the forest.

The cedar of Lebanon was the principal timber employed by David and Solomon in their buildings, both in the Temple and in palaces. "The house of the forest of Lebanon" was so named from the number of cedar pillars and the cedar beams and roof (1 K. vii. 2). The cedar of Lebanon also supplied the timber for the Second Temple of Zerubbabel (Ezra iii. 7). For this Temple, as well as for that of Solomon, the trees were felled and shipped from Tripoli and Gebal (*Jebeil*) by the Phoenician artisans, "the men of Tyre and Sidon." Cedar was also used by Herod for the roof of his Temple (Joseph. *B. J.* v. 5, § 2). The roof of the Rotunda of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, destroyed by fire in A.D. 1508, was constructed of cedar; and so also was that of the Church of the Virgin at Bethlehem. But this latter was restored by the Crusaders, and the material of the present roof appears to be English oak (Williams, *Holy City*, ii. 202; Quaresim. *Eluc. Terr. Sanct.* vi. 12; Tobler, *Bethlehem*, pp. 110, 112).

Pliny speaks of the cedar of Crete, Africa, and Syria as being much esteemed and imperishable. In Egypt and Syria ships were built of cedar, and in Cyprus a tree was cut down 120 feet long. The durability of cedar was proved, he says, by the cedar roof of the temple of Diana at Ephesus which lasted 400 years. At Utica, the beams made of Numidian cedar of a temple of Apollo had lasted 1178 years. Vitruvius speaks of the antiseptic properties of the oil of cedar and also of juniper (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xiii. 5, xvi. 40; Vitruv. ii. 9; Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 5, § 2). It may be and has been objected that the timber of the cedar has no commercial value now, and is in no repute as a building material. It is true that the English grown cedar supplies an inferior quality of deal, but the well-ripened old tree in its native climate yields a fine-grained sound wood. Timber in the dry climate of Syria will last for centuries longer than in our moist insular atmosphere:

and we have ourselves taken out pieces of acacia wood (*shittim*) used for bratticing wells in the wilderness of Judaea, as sound as when they were placed there more than 2,000 years ago. No other tree will meet the conditions of the problem. The only difficulty that deserves notice is the mention of the cedar by Ezekiel (xxvii. 5) as used for ships' masts. According to our ideas, the pine would be more adapted for this purpose, but we have ourselves seen many a cedar-tree in the Taurid mountains which would supply admirable masts even for our far larger shipping. Even were this not so, it is quite possible that the fir-trees brought from Lebanon might be spoken of as cedars. The cedar-trees when crowded grow as straight poles as do our Scotch firs. It is scarcely necessary to quote the many untenable surmises of writers unacquainted with the country as to what the *erez* might be. The Deodara has been suggested—a variety of cedar confined to the Himalayas; the Scotch fir (*Pinus sylvestris*), which does not exist in the East, but which is represented by *Pinus halepensis*. This is the conjecture of Celsius, generally well informed. Others have preferred *Thuja articulata*, the Sandara tree, with a valuable timber, found in Turkey and Africa, but not in Syria. As to the arguments from the name *arz* being elsewhere applied by the Arabs to other conifers, it may be replied that it is only thus applied in regions where the cedar is not found, and that this argument might include the larch of Western Europe, to which the Moors gave the name *el arz*, changed by the Spaniards into *alerce*, and by ourselves into *larch*. The three principal conifers of Lebanon are *Cedrus Libani*, *Pinus halepensis*, and *Juniperus excelsa*, and it is very possible that on the coast and by the timber-merchants the wood of all was indiscriminately spoken of as *erez*.

In two passages, and two only—Lev. xiv. 4; Num. xix. 6—*erez* cannot designate the cedar of Lebanon, for in the wilderness the cedar of Lebanon would be unattainable, and no cedar exists in Arabia. Here probably one of the junipers, whose wood has a strong resinous perfume, is intended. *Juniperus oxycedrus* is not uncommon in Arabia Petraea, and its wood was anciently burnt as a perfume, especially at funerals (Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xiii. 1, 5; Ovid, *Fast.* ii. 558; Hom. *Od.* v. 60). Pliny speaks of it as a cedar, though it is hardly larger than a bush; whence its specific name of *oxycedrus*.

Besides the celebrated grove of cedars above the Kadisha, nearly 7,000 feet above the sea, it was for centuries believed that none others existed in Lebanon. It is now, however, well known that groves, clumps, and even whole tracts of cedar still remain scattered over various parts of Lebanon, but chiefly in the most inaccessible districts of the south, though more generally on the northern and almost unvisited slopes. We ourselves have discovered several, and at least nine distinct localities are now ascertained, some of them containing many thousand trees, and with an abundant succession of young saplings springing up round them. These sufficiently indicate that in former ages the whole Lebanon region may have been one vast cedar forest, a mine of timber treasure, which seemed inexhaustible to the Phoenician woodcutters, who drew thence for successive centuries their supplies for the ship-building of the then whole world. But no one ever replanted a cedar, and the goats which browsed in the clearings ate down the young seedlings, till, if the north of Lebanon were as well peopled as the southern and central districts, the cedar might have suffered the same hircine extermination as has been the fate of the ebony of St. Helena, and of many another rare insular tree. The cedars remain now just in the districts where the physical obstacles to their transport to the coast are insurmountable; and the famous cedar grove far away in the recesses of the mountains, and almost inaccessible, is but a surviving outlier of what was, in the days of David, the grand characteristic of the whole range. It is curious that there is no trace of the cedar on Hermon or Antilebanon. But it is found abundantly all through the Taurid, even to its southern spurs, and magnificent forests run down the slopes to the neighbourhood of Marash and Samosata.

There are but three true cedars known, the present species, *Cedrus atlantica* and *C. deodara*. The Atlantic cedar is found on Mount Atlas, and is barely, if at all, distinguishable from the cedars of Lebanon and the Taurid. Some of the old trees at Teniet-el-Haad, 6,000 feet above the sea, equal those of Kadisha in size and grandeur. The Deodar, though more distinct in its habit, is by many united to these as merely a variety of the Lebanon cedar. It is less tolerant of our climate, and has not been found beyond the Himalayas and their neighbouring ranges. Its timber bears the same character as the cedar of old. In the temple of Kunawar, supposed to be from 600 to 800 years old, Major Madden states that the cedar beams are sound. Pieces from a bridge in Cashmere the same writer found to be only slightly decayed, though they had been exposed to the action of water for 400 years. The limits of the Deodar appear to be from 4,000 to 12,000 feet. All the cedars grow rapidly and live long. Sir J. D. Hooker calculates the age of the cedars of the grove to be 800 years, from the rate of growth of the cedars at Chelsea. From the rings in a branch, one of the older trees might be 2,500 years old; but this, he observes, is no doubt widely far from the mark. Still an immense antiquity must be assigned to some of them.

The cedar wood of modern commerce, used for pencils, &c., is the wood of a very different tree, the *Juniperus bermudiana*, of the warmer parts of North America.

Sir J. D. Hooker has favoured us with the following valuable communication relative to the true cedars of Lebanon:—"The grove is at the very upper part of the valley of the Kadisha, about fifteen miles from the sea, 6000 feet above that level, and their position is moreover above that of all other arboreous vegetation. The valley here is very broad, open, and shallow, and the grove forms a mere speck on its flat floor. The mountains rise above them on the N.E. and S. in steep stony slopes, without precipices, gorges, ravines, or any other picturesque features whatever. Nothing can be more dreary than the whole surrounding landscape. To the W. the scenery abruptly changes, the valley suddenly contracts to a gorge, and becomes a

rocky ravine of the most picturesque description, with villages, groves, and convents perched on its flanks, base, and summits, recalling Switzerland vividly and accurately. At the time of my visit (October 1860) the flanks of the valley about the cedars were perfectly arid, and of a pale yellow red; and the view of this great red area, perhaps two or three miles across, with the minute patch of cedar grove, seen from above and at a distance of ten miles or so, was most singular. I can give you no idea of what a speck the grove is in the yawning hollow. I have said the floor of the valley is flat and broad; but, on nearer inspection, the cedars are found to be confined to a small portion of a range of low stony hills of rounded outlines, and perhaps 60 to 100 feet above the plain, which sweep across the valley. These hills are, I believe, old moraines, deposited by glaciers that once debouched on to the plain from the surrounding tops of Lebanon. I have many reasons for believing this, as also for supposing that their formation dates from the glacial epoch." *

Since the visit of Sir J. D. Hooker, the cedar grove has been carefully enclosed by Rustem Pasha, the late enlightened governor of the Lebanon, and there is every prospect of an abundant succession of trees to supply the places of the failing patriarchs. [H. B. T.]

CE'DRON. 1. (ἡ Κεδρών; A. 1 Macc. xv. 39, Καιδρόν; *v.* 41, Κεδρώ; 1 Macc. xv. 39, 41, *Gedor*, but *Cedron*, ed. 1590, as in xvi. 9), a place fortified by Cendebaeus under the orders of king Antiochus (Sidetes), as a station from which to command the roads of Judaea (1 Macc. xv. 39, 41; xvi. 9). It was not far from Jamnia (*Yebnah*), or from Azotus (Ashdod), and had a winter-torrent or wady (χειμάῤῥους), on the eastward of it, which the army of the Maccabees had to cross before Cendebaeus could be attacked (xvi. 5). These conditions are well fulfilled in the modern place *Katrah*, which lies on the maritime plain below the river *Rûbîn*, and three miles south-west of *'Akir*, Ekron (*PEF. Mem.* ii. 410). Schwarz (p. 119) gives the modern name as *Kadrûn;* but this wants confirmation. Ewald (*Gesch.* iv. 390, note) suggests *Tell Turmus*, five or six miles further south.

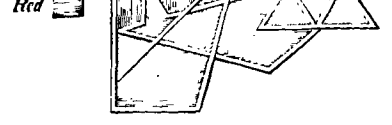
2. In this form is given in the N. T. the name of the brook Kidron (נַחַל קִדְרוֹן = "the black torrent"), in the ravine below the eastern wall of Jerusalem (John xviii. 1, only). Beyond it was the garden of Gethsemane. Lachmann, with A S Δ, has χειμάῤῥους τοῦ Κεδρών; but the Rec. Text, with B C L and most of the uncials, has τῶν Κέδρων, *i.e.* "the brook of the cedars" (Westcott and Hort; so, too, the LXX. in 2 Sam. xv. 23). Other MSS., as ℵ, D, have the name even so far corrupted as τοῦ κεδροῦ, *cedri*, and τῶν δένδρων. In English the name is often erroneously read (like Cephas, Cenchreae, Chuza, &c.) with a soft C; but it is unnecessary to point out that it has no connexion with "Cedar." [KIDRON.] [G.] [W.]

CEI'LAN (Κιλάν; *Ciaso*). Sons of Ceilan and Azetas, according to 1 Esd. v. 15, returned with Zorobabel from Babylon. There are no names corresponding to these in the lists of Ezra or Nehemiah. [W. A. W.]

CEILING (or CIELING; see Way, *Promptuarium parvulorum*, p. 65), סְפָן, from סָפַן (ἐκοιλοστάθμησε, 1 K. vi. 9), *to cover with rafters* (Ges.; Schleusner, *Lex. V. T.* κοιλοστ.), or שְׁחִי (Ezek. xli. 16), *a plank*. The descriptions of Scripture (1 K. vi. 9, 15, vii. 3; 2 Ch. iii. 5, 9; Jer. xxii. 14; Hag. i. 4), and of Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 3, §§ 2–9, xv. 11, § 5), show that the ceilings of the Temple and the palaces of the Jewish kings were formed of cedar planks applied to the beams or joints crossing from wall to wall, probably with sunk panels (φατνώματα), edged and ornamented with gold, and carved with incised or other patterns (βαθυξύλφις γλυφαῖς), sometimes painted (Jer. xxii. 14).

It is probable that both Egyptian and Assyrian models were, in this as in other branches of architectural construction, followed before the Roman period. [ARCHITECTURE.] The construction and designs of Assyrian ceilings in the more important buildings can only be conjectured (Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 265, 289), but the proportions in the walls themselves answer in a great degree to those mentioned in Scripture (*Nin. and Bab.* p. 642; Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, i. 174–177). Examples, however, are extant, of Egyptian ceilings in stucco painted with devices, of a date much earlier than that of Solomon's Temple. Of these devices the principal are the guilloche, the chevron, and the scroll. Some are painted in blue with stars, and others bear representations of birds and other emblems (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* ii. 290 [1878]; Maspéro, *L'Archéologie Égyptienne*, p. 162 sq.). The excessive use of vermilion and other glaring colours in Roman house-painting, of which Vitruvius at a later date complains (vii. 5), may have been introduced from Egypt, whence also came in all probability the taste for vermilion painting shown in Jehoiakim's palace (Jer. xxii. 14; Amos iii. 15; Wilkinson, i. 19). See also the descriptions given by Athenaeus of the tent of Ptolemy Philadelphus and the ship of Philopator (v. 25 [196], 39 [206]), and of the so-called sepulchres of the kings of Syria near Tyre (Hasselquist, p. 165).

The panel work in ceilings, which has been described, is found in Oriental and North African dwellings of late and modern times.

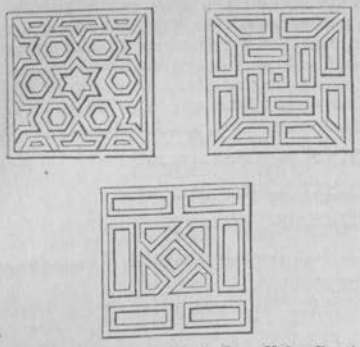


Panelled ceiling from house in Cairo. (Lane, *Modern Egyptians.*)

Shaw describes the ceilings of Moorish houses in Barbary as of wainscot, either "very artfully

* See Sir J. D. Hooker's paper "On the Cedars of Lebanon, Taurus, &c." in the *Nat. Hist Review*, No. 5, p. 11.

painted, or else thrown into a variety of panels, with gilded mouldings and scrolls of the Korân intermixed" (*Travels*, p. 208). Mr. Porter describes the ceilings of houses at Damascus as delicately painted, and in the more ancient

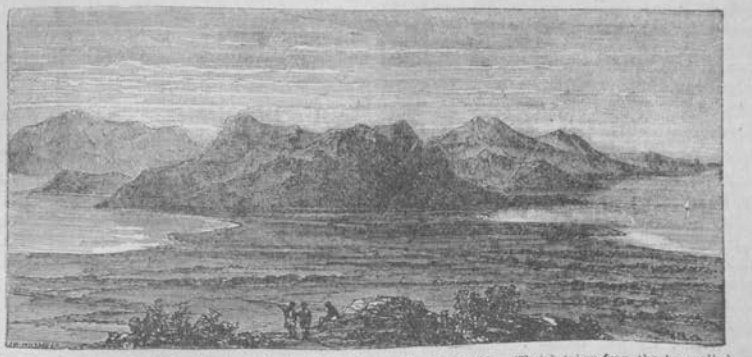


Panelled ceiling from house in Cairo.' (Lane, *Modern Egyptians.*)

houses with "arabesques encompassing panels of blue, on which are inscribed verses and chapters of the Koran in Arabic. Also a tomb at Palmyra, with a stone ceiling beautifully panelled and painted" (*Damascus*, i. 34, 37, 57, 60, 232: cp. Deut. vi. 9; also Lane's *Mod. Egypt.* i. 37, 38). Many of the rooms in the Palace of the Moors at the Alhambra were ceiled and ornamented with the richest geometrical patterns. These still remain, and restorations of them may be seen at the Alhambra Court of the Crystal Palace. The ancient Egyptians used coloured tiles in their buildings (Athen. v. 206; Wilkinson, ii. 288, 292 [1878]). The like taste is observed by Chardin to have prevailed in Persia, and he mentions beautiful specimens of mosaic, arabesque, and inlaid wood-work in ceilings at Ispahân, at Koom in the mosque of Fatima, and at Ardevil. These ceilings were constructed on the ground and hoisted to their position by machinery (Chardin, *Voyage*, ii. 434, iv. 126, viii. 40, pl. 39; Olearius, p. 241). [H. W. P.]

CELOSYRIA. [COELESYRIA.]

CEN'CHREA (accurately CENCHREAE, Κεγχρεαί), the eastern harbour of Corinth (*i.e.* its harbour on the Saronic Gulf) and the emporium of its trade with the Asiatic shores of the Mediterranean, just as Lechaeum (*Lutráki*) on the



Cenchrea, Isthmus of Corinth, showing both the Corinthian and Saronic Gulfs. (Sketch taken from the Acropolis.)

Corinthian Gulf connected it with Italy and the west. A line of walls extended from the citadel of Corinth to Lechaeum, and thus the pass of Cenchreae was of peculiar military importance in reference to the approach along the Isthmus from Northern Greece to the Morea. [CORINTH.]

St. Paul sailed from Cenchreae (Acts xviii. 18) on his return to Syria from his second missionary journey; and when he wrote his Epistle to the Romans in the course of the third journey, an organized Church seems to have been formed here (Rom. xvi. 1. See PHOEBE). The first Bishop of this Church is said (*Apost. Const.* vii. 46) to have been named Lucius, and to have been appointed by St. Paul.

The distance of Cenchreae from Corinth was seventy stadia or about nine miles. Pausanias (ii. 3) describes the road as having tombs and a grove of cypresses by the wayside. The modern village of *Kikries* retains the ancient name, which is conjectured by Dr. Sibthorpe to be derived from the millet (κέγκρι), which still grows there (Walpole's *Travels*, p. 41). Some traces of the moles of the port are still visible (see Leake's *Morea*, iii. pp. 233–235). The following coin exhibits the port exactly as it is described by Pausanias (ii. 2, § 3), with a temple at the extremity of each mole, and a statue of

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Colonial Coin of Corinth. On the obverse the head of Antoninus Pius: on the reverse the port of Cenchreae, with C. L. I. COR.—that is, COLONIA LAVS IVLIA CORINTHVS.

Neptune on a rock between them. There is also a Corinthian coin of the time of Hadrian, on which the harbours Lechaeum and Cenchreae are represented as nymphs turned opposite ways, each holding a rudder. The same two harbours are referred to on other coins representing Isthmus as a young male figure, standing and holding two rudders (*Journ. of Hellenic Studies*, vi. 63, 64). [J. S. H.] [J. E. S.]

CENDEBE'US (accurately **CENDEBAEUS**, Κενδεβαῖος), a general left by Antiochus VII. in command of the sea-board of Palestine (1 Macc. xv. 38 sq.) after the defeat of Tryphon B.C. 138. He fortified Kedron and harassed the Jews for some time, but was afterwards defeated by Judas and John, the sons of Simon Maccabaeus, with great loss (1 Macc. xvi. 1–10). [ANTIOCHUS VII.] [B. F. W.]

CENSER (מַחְתָּה and מִקְטֶרֶת; in LXX. mostly πυρεῖον, but also θυίσκη and θυμιατήριον; *thuribulum*). The former of the Hebrew words (from חָתָה, *to seize* or *lay hold of*, especially of fire) seems used generally for any instrument to seize or hold burning coals, or to receive ashes, &c., such as the appendages of the brazen Altar and golden candlestick mentioned in Ex. xxv. 38, xxxvii. 23, in which senses it seems rendered by the LXX. by ἐπαρυστρίς, ἐπαρυτῆρ, or perhaps ὑπόθεμα. "Censer," however, generally bears the limited meaning which properly belongs to the second Hebrew word, found only in the later Books (*e.g.* 2 Ch. xxvi. 19; Ezek. viii. 11, from קָטַר, to burn incense), that, viz. of a small portable vessel of metal fitted to receive burning coals from the Altar, and on which the incense for burning was sprinkled by the priest to whose office this exclusively belonged, who bore it in his hand, and with whose personal share in the most solemn ritual duties it was thus in close and vivid connexion (2 Ch. xxvi. 18; Luke i. 9). Thus "Korah and his company" were bidden to take "censers" (מַחְתֹּת), with which in emulation of Aaron and his sons they had perhaps provided themselves[a] (cp. Ezek. viii. 11); and Moses tells Aaron to take "*the* censer" (not *a* as in A. V.; R. V. "thy," Num. xvi. 46 [Heb., xvii. 11]), *i.e.* that of the sanctuary, or that of the high-priest, to stay the plague by atonement. The only distinct precepts regarding the use of the censer are found in Num iv. 14, where among the vessels of the golden Altar, *i.e.* of incense, "censers" are reckoned; and in Lev. xvi. 12, where we find that the high-priest was to carry it into the most holy place within the veil, where the "incense" was to be "put on the fire," *i.e.* on the coals in the censer, "before the Lord." This must have been on the Day of Atonement, for then only was that place entered. Solomon prepared "censers of pure gold" as part of the same furniture (1 K. vii. 50; 2 Ch. iv. 22). Possibly their general use may be explained by the imagery of Rev. viii. 3, 4,[b] and may have been to take up coals from the brazen Altar, and convey the incense while burning to the "golden Altar," or "Altar of incense," on which it was to be offered morning and evening (Ex. xxx. 7, 8). So Uzziah, when he was intending "to burn incense upon the altar of incense," took "a censer in his hand" (2 Ch. xxvi. 16, 19). The Mishna (*Joma*, iv. 4) mentions a silver censer which had a handle, and which was fetched from some chamber where such utensils were kept (*ib.* v. 1, and Barthenora's comment); it was used to gather the coals from the altar, which were then transferred to a golden censer. On the great Day of Atonement, however, a golden one of finer standard (*Tamid*, v. 5) was used throughout.[c] In Ugolini, vol. xi., a collection of authorities on the subject will be found; Sonneschmid, *de Thym. Sanct.* is referred to by Winer, *s. v.* Rauchfass. [H. H.]

[a] Gesenius, *s. v.* מַחְתָּה, seems to prefer the general meaning of a fire-pan in this passage; but, from Num. xvi. 17, it was probably the same fashion of thing as that used by Aaron in the priestly function. Nor, as the rebellion was evidently a deliberately concerted movement, is there any difficulty in supposing the amount of preparation suggested in the text.

[b] The word for censer here is λιβανωτής, from the λίβανος of Matt. ii. 11; in Rev. v. 8, φιάλας is used apparently to mean the same vessel.

[c] The word θυμιατήριον, rendered "censer" in Heb. ix. 4, probably means the "Altar of incense." [ALTAR; INCENSE.]

CENSUS. [NUMBERING.]

CENTURION. [ARMY.]

CE'PHAS. [PETER.]

CE'RAS (Κηράς; *Cariae*), 1 Esd. v. 29. [KEROS.]

CE'SAR. A. V. ed. 1611. [CAESAR.]

CESAREA. A. V. ed. 1611. [CAESAREA.]

CE'TAB (Κητάβ; *Cetha*), 1 Esd. v. 30. There is no name corresponding with this in the lists of Ezra and Nehemiah.

CHABRIS (Χάβρις; Vulg. omits), the son of Gothoniel (ὁ τοῦ Γ.), one of the three "rulers" (ἄρχοντες) or "ancients" (πρεσβύτεροι) of Bethulia, in the time of Judith (Judith vi. 15, viii. 10, x. 6).

CHA'DIAS. "They of Chadias (B. *oi* Χαδιασαί, A. Χαδ'ασαί; *Enocadics*) and Ammidoi," according to 1 Esd. v. 20, returned from Babylon with Zorobabel. Fritzsche (*Exeg. Hdb.* in loco) identifies it with Kedesh (Josh. xv. 23). There are no corresponding names in the lists of Ezra and Nehemiah. [W. A. W.]

CHAE'REAS, 2 Macc. x. 32, 37. [CHEREAS.]

CHAFF (מֹץ, חֲשִׁישׁ, תֶּבֶן; Chald. שׂוּר; χνοῦς, ἄχυρον; *stipula, pulvis, favilla*). The Heb. words rendered *chaff* in A. V. have all different meanings: חֲשִׁישׁ = fodder, and occurs twice only in O. T., viz. Is. v. 24, xxxiii. 11. The root חָשַׁשׁ is not used. Possibly the Sanscrit *kaksch* = *hay* is the same word (Bopp. *Gloss.* p. 41); the Arabic حشيش, *hashīsh*, is also applied to all cut herbage. Hay, as we understand it, is not made or stored in the East; but stalled cattle and horses are fed on straw and fodder cut green, or dried and withered according to the season. Whether fresh or dry, this is called *hashish*.

מוֹץ or מֹץ is chaff separated by winnowing from the grain—the husk of the wheat. The carrying away of chaff by the wind is an ordinary scriptural image of the destruction of the wicked, and of their powerlessness to resist God's judgments (Is. xvii. 13; Hos. xiii. 3; Zeph. ii. 2). The root of the word is מוּץ, *to press out, as of milk*; whence its second meaning, *to separate*.

תֶּבֶן is rendered correctly *straw* in Ex. v. 7, 10, 11, &c., but stubble in Job xxi. 18. In Ex. v. 12, we read קַשׁ לַתֶּבֶן, *stubble for straw*; so that it is not the same as stubble. Straw was cut into short portions, and mixed with the mud of which bricks were made to give it consistency. In 1 K. iv. 28, mention is made of a mixed fodder for horses and camels of barley and תֶּבֶן, such as the Arabs call *tibn* to this day. The derivation of the word is doubtful. Dietrich (see MV.[11] *s. n.*) connects it with תָּבַן, *to bruise*; Gesenius was of opinion that תֶּבֶן was for תִּבְנָה, from root בָּנָה, *to build*, in reference to edifices of bricks made with straw; but Roediger prefers to connect it with בִּין, which properly implies a separation and division of parts, and is thence transferred to the mental power of discernment; so that תֶּבֶן signifies properly anything cut into small parts (Ges. *Thes.* p. 1492).

The remarkable discovery of the Storehouse or Treasure-city at Sukkut, or Thuku, in Lower Egypt (Succoth, Ex. xii. 37), the temple of Pe-tum (Pithom, Ex. i. 11), which was the sacred enclosure within the civil city, has cast a vivid light on the use of straw and stubble mentioned in Exodus. The lower part of the walls are formed of dried bricks with chopped straw (*teben*). Above these reeds and waterweeds chopped (the *kash* or stubble of the A. V.) have been employed; while the upper tiers have been dried without either stubble or straw.

The Chaldaic word עוּר occurs but once, in Dan. ii. 35, and has the same meaning as the Heb. מוֹץ, *chaff*. It is connected with the Syr. ܥܘܿܢܳܐ and Arab. عُوَار, *i.e.* a small bit of chaff, or a mote. [W. D.] [H. B. T.]

CHAIN. Chains were used, 1. as badges of office; 2. for ornament; 3. for confining prisoners. 1. The gold chain (רְבִיד) placed about Joseph's neck (Gen. xli. 42), and that promised to Daniel (Dan. v. 7, named הַמְנִיכָא, Keri), are instances of the first use. In Egypt it was one of the *insignia* of a judge, who wore an image of Truth attached to it (Wilkinson's *Anc. Egypt.* ii. 205 [1878]); it was also worn by the prime minister. In Persia it was considered not only a mark of royal favour (Xen. *Anab.* i. 2, § 27), but a token of investiture (Dan. *l. c.*; Morier's *Second Journey*, p. 93). In Ezek. xvi. 11, the chain is mentioned as the symbol of sovereignty. 2. Chains for ornamental purposes were worn by men as well as women in many countries both of Europe and Asia (for Egypt, cp. Wilkinson, ii. 339), and probably this was the case among the Hebrews (Prov. i. 9). The necklace (עֲנָק) consisted of pearls, corals, &c., threaded on a string; the beads were called חֲרוּזִים, from חָרַז, *to perforate* (Cant. i. 10, A. V. "chains," where the words *of gold* are interpolated; R. V. "strings of jewels"). Besides the necklace, other chains were worn (Judith x. 4), hanging down as far as the waist, or even lower. Some were adorned with pieces of metal, shaped in the form of the moon, named שַׁהֲרֹנִים (*μήνισκοι*, LXX.; *lunulae*, Vulg.; "round tires like the moon," A. V., "the crescents," R. V.; Is. iii. 18); a similar ornament, the *hilāl*, still exists in Egypt (Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, App. A). The Midianites adorned the necks of their camels with it (Judg. viii. 21, 26); the Arabs still use a similar ornament (Wellsted, i. 301). To other chains were suspended various trinkets — as scent-bottles, בָּתֵּי הַנֶּפֶשׁ ("tablets," marg. *houses of the souls*, A. V.; "the perfume-boxes," R. V.; Is. iii. 20), and hand-mirrors, גִּלְיוֹנִים (Is. iii. 23). *Step-chains*, צְעָדוֹת ("tinkling ornaments," A. V., "anklets," R. V.), were attached to the anklerings, which shortened the step and produced a mincing gait (Is. iii. 16, 18). 3. The means adopted for confining prisoners among the Jews were fetters similar to our handcuffs, נְחשָׁתַיִם (lit. *two brasses*, as though made in halves), fastened on the wrists and ankles, and attached to each other by a chain (Judg. xvi. 21; 2 Sam. iii. 34; 2 K. xxv. 7; Jer. xxxix. 7). Among the Romans, the prisoner was handcuffed to one, and occasionally to two guards—the handcuff on the one being attached to that on the other by a chain (Acts xii. 6, 7; xxi. 33;—*Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Ant.*, art. CATENA). [W. L. B.] [F.]

CHALCEDONY (*χαλκηδών*; *calcedonius*). only in Rev. xxi. 19, where it is mentioned as being the stone which garnished the third foundation of the heavenly Jerusalem. The name is applied in modern mineralogy to one of the varieties of agate: specimens of this subspecies of quartz, when of a pearly or wax-like lustre and of great translucency, are known by the name of chalcedony, sometimes popularly called "white carnelian."* There is also a stalactitic form found occasionally in cavities. There can, however, be little doubt that the stone to which Theophrastus (*de Lapid.* § 25) refers, as being found in the island opposite Chalcedon and used as a solder, must have been the green transparent carbonate of copper, or our copper emerald. It is by no means easy to determine the mineral indicated by Pliny (*H. N.* xxxvii. 5); the white agate is mentioned by him (*H. N.* xxxvii. 10) as one of the numerous varieties of *Achates* (Agate), under the names *Cerachates* and *Leucachates*. The *Chalcedonius* was so called from Chalcedon, and was obtained from the copper mines there: it was a small stone and of no great value; it is described by Pliny as resembling the green and blue tints which are seen on a peacock's tail, or on a pigeon's neck. Mr. King (*Antique Gems*, p. 8) says it was a kind of inferior emerald, as Pliny understood it. [W. H.] [H. B. T.]

CHALCOL, 1 K. iv. 31. [CALCOL.]

CHALDE'A, CHALDAE'A (כַּשְׂדִּים; also, more correctly, אֶרֶץ כַּשְׂדִּים, "the land of the Chaldaeans:" ἡ Χαλδαία; *Chaldaea:* Assyr.

* "Our calcedony being often opalescent—*i.e.* having something of Pliny's 'Carbunculorum ignes' in it—got confounded with the Carchedonius or Punic carbuncle of a pale colour, and this again with his green Chalcedonius. Καρχηδόνιος and Καλχηδόνιος are continually interchanged in MSS. Marbodus already understood it of our calcedony, as shown by his 'Pallensque Chalcedonius ignis habet effigiem.'"—C. W. KING.

Mât Kaldu [*Kaldi, Kalda*], "the land of Chaldaea"), properly only the middle portion of Babylonia, apparently the tract immediately south and east of the city of Babylon, having on the N.W. the district called Kar-Dunîaš, on the S.E. Bît-Yâkîn and Tâmtim (the latter a district on the shores of the Persian Gulf), on the N.E. Sutu and Yatbur, and on the S.W. the Syrian Desert. After the time of Jeremiah, however, the name was extended, and made to include the whole of Babylonia; namely, the districts of Sumir and Akkad (N.E. and S.W. Babylonia), following and taking in the whole district between the Tigris and the Euphrates, as far as the Persian Gulf, and extending on the S.E. beyond the banks of the Tigris so as to include the tract of marshland on the S.W. borders of Elam. In its more extended meaning, its boundaries were the same as those of Babylonia, —Assyria and the Kassites on the N. and N.E., the Syrian desert and the Persian Gulf on the S., Elam on the E., and Syria on the W. Its extreme length (nearly N.E. and S.W.) would be about 400 miles, and its average width about 100 miles. [See BABEL, BABYLONIA.]

The meaning of the name Kasdim or Chaldaeans has often been discussed, and the explanation which may be regarded as the most satisfactory is that which connects the Hebrew form with the Assyrian root *kašādu*, "to conquer," whence (by the common change of *š*, through *r*, into *l* before a dental) the word *Kaldu*, the form from which the Greek Χαλδαῖα comes. The Hebrews seem to have borrowed the word at a very early period, for the form *Kašdu* has not yet been found in the wedge-writing. The absence of this last-named form, however, is probably to be explained by the fact, that besides the root *kašādu* the Assyrians possessed also the root *kalādu*, with the same meaning; and they probably considered that the name Kaldu came rather from the latter than the former. The name is supposed to have originated from the warlike nature of the Chaldaean tribes inhabiting Babylonia (see CHALDEANS, 1). [T. G. P.]

CHALDE'ANS or CHALDEES (כַּשְׂדִּים; Χαλδαῖοι; *Chaldnei*; Assyr. *Kaldâa, Kaldû*).

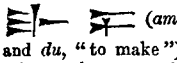
1. (In the original and limited sense.) The Chaldeans formed a cluster of tribes, each governed by its own chief or petty king, and situated immediately to the south of the city of Babylon (see CHALDEA). It seems not at all unlikely that the early Chaldaeans were so called on account of their warlike nature (see CHALDEA). The Babylonians proper hardly mention them in their records as a nationality; but the Assyrians often record encounters with them, and from this we may infer that they sometimes gave the Assyrians a great deal of trouble, for they seem to have been most persevering in resisting the Assyrian invasions of Babylonia. In the Assyrian records Chaldea (*mât Kaldu*) first makes its appearance about 880 B.C., being mentioned in the annals of Aššur-naṣir-apli or Assurnasirpal. Shalmaneser, his son, attacked the Chaldaeans, and compelled Adinu, of the tribe of Dakkuru or Dakuru, one of their chiefs, to give tribute. Tiglath-pileser also attacked many Chaldaean chiefs (Balasu "son of Dakkuru" among the number); and from other passages in the Assyrian records we learn also that Chaldea, in its restricted sense, was governed by a great many petty kings. Judging from what Sennacherib says about them, they were often to be found as mercenaries, and he classes them with the wandering Arabs and Arameans who used to enter the service of foreign states. Sennacherib himself, in his Babylonian expeditions, often came into contact with them. It is not at all unlikely that both Nergal-ušēzib (Regebelos) and Mušēzib-Marduk (Mesesimordakos), kings of Babylon, each of whom seems to have borne the name of Šûzub (from the Chald. שֵׁיזֵב; cp. the name מְשֵׁיזָבְאֵל), were, as implied by Sennacherib, Chaldeans. (When a Chaldaean chief became king of Babylon, he seems to have adopted a name in the court-Babylonian or Assyrian language.) The Chaldaeans were also among those who obeyed the call of Šamaš-sum-ukîn or Saosduchinos, king of Babylon, when he revolted against the overlordship of his brother Assurbanipal, king of Assyria. On the whole, the warlike nature attributed in the Bible to the Chaldaeans, is well borne out by the inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia. The house of Dakkuru, mentioned above, seems to have been the chief tribe.

From their character of warriors, which they shared with the Aramaeans, the Chaldaeans probably belonged to the more energetic portion of the population of Babylonia, the Babylonians proper being rather traders than warriors. Hence it probably was, that the Chaldaean tribes of Babylonia—who seem to have given more than one king to the country; and who, in later times, probably formed, with the Aramaeans, the backbone of the Babylonian army—were regarded by the nations around as the chief race of the country, and the whole of Babylonia probably obtained the name of Chaldea (by which it has been known since the time of Jeremiah) in this way.

Judging from one or two of the proper names met with in the Assyrian and Babylonian records, it seems probable that the Chaldaeans proper spoke a language closely akin to, if not exactly the same as, the Chaldaean of the books of Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah. The names which illustrate this best are those of Dakuru or Dakkuru and his descendant Adinu. Of the latter name the Hebrew equivalent would probably be עֵדֶן, whilst the former seems certainly to be from the root זכר, Chald. דכר, both having the common change from sibilant (*z*) to dental (*d*), which is met with also in Aramaean or Syriac.

2. (In its extended meaning.) The inhabitants of the land of which Babylon was the capital, and which is generally designated by the name of Babylonia, corresponding with the *mât Bâbili* of the Assyrians and Babylonians, and including Sumer or Shinar, Akkad (*Uri*), Kar-Dunîaš, Chaldea (*mât Kaldi*), *mât Tâmtim* ("the land of the sea"), *bît Yâkîn*, &c., &c. (see BABYLON, the country). These so-called Chaldaeans, though Semites for the most part, probably had originally but little Chaldaean blood in them. Their language was closely allied to Hebrew, and any words of Chaldaean form that it may have had in later times are probably due to the preponderating influence which the Chaldaean tribes inhabiting the

district south of Babylon had gained in the country (see above). The so-called Chaldaeans (= Babylonians) were in fact of the same race as the Assyrians, and spoke the same language. [BABYLON (the country); ASSYRIA.]

3. (In its derived meaning.) The Book of Daniel (ch. ii. 2, 10; iv. 4, &c.), Curtius, Strabo, and Diodorus understood *astrologers* by the word Chaldaean. This use of the name probably arises from the fact, that from ancient times Babylonia (= Chaldea) was the home of astrology, and remained so even after the downfall of the late-Babylonian monarchy. It is also not unlikely that their special reputation as astrologers rests upon a kind of pun, the word Chaldaean (probably restricted to the class of astrologers) being often written, in Babylonian and Assyrian, with the characters  (*amelu*) *Gal-du* (*gal*= "great," and *du*, "to make"); a group which could be understood to mean, in the old Akkadian language, "doer of great (things)." As has been stated above, the Chaldaeans proper (that is, in the original restricted sense of the word) spoke a Semitic dialect closely akin to, if not exactly the same as, the Chaldaean of the Book of Daniel and elsewhere; but the mother-tongue of the Chaldaean *astrologers* was apparently ordinary Semitic Babylonian. With regard to any special knowledge or science that they may have had, it does not appear from the ancient Babylonian or Assyrian monuments that they shone in that respect with greater lustre than any of the other classes of *dupšarrūti* or scribes. They nevertheless had a certain reputation, and it was apparently one of this class whom Sennacherib raised to the throne of Babylon, and of whom he speaks as "Bêl-ibnî, the son of the Galdu (Kaldu), of the stem of Šu-ana (the city of Babylon), who as a little child had grown up in my palace." This king, who is the Belibos of the Canon of Ptolemy, ruled over Babylonia for three years; at the end of which time (699 B.C.) he was deposed by the power which had raised him to the throne, and replaced by Aššur-nadin-šum (Aparanadios), Sennacherib's own son. It is probable that this learned class was located principally at Babylon, and future excavations in Babylonia will probably bring to light many additional facts concerning them. [T. G. P.]

CHALDEE or CHALDAIC LANGUAGE. [SHEMITIC LANGUAGES, § 14, &c.]

CHALDEE VERSIONS. [VERSIONS, ANCIENT (TARGUM).]

CHALDEES. [CHALDEANS.]

CHALK STONES (אַבְנֵי־גִר; *κονία*; *calx*, *lapides cineris*) occurs only in Is. xxvii. 9, "He maketh all the stones of the altar as chalkstones that are beaten in sunder," A. V. and R. V. The word signifies literally *stones of lime*. גִּר is from an unused root, גִּיר, "to boil up," in reference to the heating of lime when slaked.

In Dan. v. 5 the noun גִּירָה is translated "plaister," A. V. and R. V. The Arabic word جير, *g'ayyār*, "quicklime," is identical, and from the root جار, "to boil." Lime has been most abundantly used in Palestine from the very earliest times; and the cement of the most ancient remains is, for fineness, impenetrability and hardness, unsurpassed. The conditions of the country would always encourage the use of mortar. Timber is and always has been scarce, while the whole region, with some insignificant exceptions, is one mass of limestone, jurassic in the lower parts, but on the hills frequently covered, save when denuded, by eocene chalk. Here and there are basaltic streams, adjacent to which we sometimes find metamorphic limestone. The chalk and stone are both extremely friable, and in preparing lime a wheel like that of an oil press has been used from ancient times to pulverize the stone, before it is put into the kiln. The only fuel used is brushwood and thistle stalks, and the kiln is simply a saucer-shaped hollow in the ground about 4 feet deep, into which the fuel and crushed limestone are spread in alternate layers, then kindled, and the whole covered with earth or sods, as in the manufacture of charcoal, but with a draught hole in the centre. This is alluded to Is. xxxiii. 12: "The people shall be as the burnings of lime: as thorns cut up shall they be burned in the fire." One of the chief uses of this fine lime was to plaster the inside of the subterranean cisterns which honeycomb the whole land, especially the hill-country. The storage system, by which these cisterns were fed, consisted also of narrow cement gutters about six inches in diameter running along the edge of each terrace, and conveying the water into the cisterns. The innumerable sepulchres hewn out of the rocks and hillsides were likewise carefully plastered. In all these the cement, often more than 3,000 years old, remains hard, perfect, and impenetrable by moisture. [H. B. T.]

CHAMBER, UPPER. [HOUSE.]

CHAMBERLAIN (*οἰκονόμος*; *arcarius*). Erastus, "the *chamberlain*" (R. V. "treasurer") of the city of Corinth, was one of those whose salutations to the Roman Christians are given at the end of the Ep. addressed to them (Rom. xvi. 23). The office which he held was apparently that of public treasurer, or *arcarius*, as the Vulgate renders his title. These *arcarii* were inferior magistrates, who had the charge of the public chest (*arca publica*), and were under the authority of the senate. They kept the accounts of the public revenues. In the Glossary of Philoxenus the word *οἰκονόμος* is explained *ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς δημοσίας τραπέζης*, and in the Pandects the term *arcarius* is applied to any one who attends to public or private money. It is, as Grotius remarks, one of those words which have been transferred from the house to the state. In old glosses quoted by Suicer (*Thesaur.*) we find *arcarius* explained by *ὑποδεκτὴς χρυσοῦ*, and in accordance with this the translators of the Geneva Version have placed "receiver" in the margin. Erasmus interpreted the word *quaestor aerarii*. St. Ambrose thought that the office of the oeconomus principally consisted in regulating the prices of the markets, and hence Pancirollus was erroneously led to interpret the term of the aedile. Theophylact rendered it *ὁ διοικητής, ὁ προνοητὴς τῆς πόλεως Κορίνθου*, and is followed by Beza, who gives *procurator*.

In an inscription in the *Marm. Oxon.* (p. 85, ed. 1732), we find Νείλῳ οἰκονόμῳ Ἀσίας: and in another, mention is made of Miletus, who was oeconomus of Smyrna (Ins. xxx. p. 26; see Prideaux's note, p. 477). Another in Gruter (p. mxci. 7, ed. Scaliger, 1616) contains the name of "Secundus *Arkarius* Reipublicae Amerinorum;" but the one which bears most upon our point is given by Orellius (No. 2821), and mentions the "*arcarius* provinciae Achaiae." For further information see Reinesius, *Syntagm. Inscr.* p. 431; La Cerda, *Advers. Sacr.* cap. 56; Elsner, *Obs. Sacr.* ii. p. 68; and a note by Reinesius to the *Marmora Oxoniensia*, p. 515, ed. 1732.

Our translators had good reason for rendering οἰκονόμος by "chamberlain." In Stow's *Survey of London* (bk. v. p. 162, ed. Strype) it is said of the Chamberlain of the city of London: "His office may be termed a publick treasury, collecting the customs, monies, and yearly revenues, and all other payments belonging to the corporation of the city."

The office held by Blastus, "the king's *chamberlain*" (τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος τοῦ βασιλέως), was entirely different from that above mentioned (Acts xii. 20). It was a post of honour which involved great intimacy and influence with the king. The margin of our Version gives "that was over the king's bedchamber," the office thus corresponding to that of the *praefectus cubiculo* (Suet. *Dom.* 16).

For CHAMBERLAIN as used in the O. T., see EUNUCH. [W. A. W.]

CHAMELEON (כֹּחַ, *côach*; χαμαιλέων; *chamaeleon*). The Hebrew word which signifies "strength" occurs in the sense of some kind of unclean animal in Lev. xi. 30; the A. V. follows the LXX. and Vulg. The R. V. renders it "the land-crocodile." Various other interpretations of the word have been given, for which see Bochart (*Hieroz.* ii. 493). There seems to be no reason, etymological or other, for the rendering "chameleon," a lizard pre-eminently feeble rather than strong, and whose skeleton-like body affords absolutely no flesh that could be eaten. It is more probable that the chameleon is intended by the Hebrew תִּנְשֶׁמֶת, *tinshemeth* (Lev. xi. 30, A. V. "mole," R. V. "chameleon"), where the context seems to imply some lizard, while the etymology, "the breather," may refer to this lizard, supposed by the ancients to live upon air.

The present word is referred by Bochart and others to the Arabic *el waral*, i.e. the lizard, of which there are two species, distinguished as *waral el bahr* and *waral el 'ard*, "the water lizard" and "the land lizard." These huge lizards, the most powerful of their class, are found in Africa, especially in Egypt, and also in the region round the Dead Sea, and in the southern wilderness. The former (*Monitor Niloticus*) is rare in Southern Palestine, and is distinguished from the other by a high keel running along the whole length of its tail. It is in the habit of searching for and devouring crocodiles' eggs, on which account it was reverenced by the ancient Egyptians, and is often found sculptured on their gems (Forsk. *Descr. Anim.* p. 13; Hasselquist, *Travels*, p. 221).

The land Monitor, *Psammosaurus scincus*, "the land-crocodile" of the R. V., attains nearly the same size, four or five feet in length, has a long muzzle and sharp-pointed teeth, and is common in all the sandy districts of Southern Palestine and the Sinaitic desert. It also devours crocodiles' eggs. Both species are carnivorous, feeding on small lizards and jerboas, and are eaten by the Arabs. [H. B. T.]

CHAMOIS (זֶמֶר, *zemer*; καμηλοπάρδαλις; *camelopardalus*). In the list of animals allowed for food (Deut. xiv. 5) mention is made of the *zemer*. The etymology points to some leaping animal, and is identical with the Arabic زمر, *zamar*, "to spring." The creature intended cannot be the chamois of A. V. and R. V., as this is a central European antelope, unknown in any Bible lands. The LXX., Vulgate, and some other Versions are still further astray in rendering it "camelopard" or "giraffe," an inhabitant of the plains of Central Africa, and which could only be known to the Jews by specimens possibly brought into Egypt from Ethiopia, but which never could have been named as an article of food in the Levitical code, which only comprises the animals attainable in Palestine or the wilderness of the wanderings. Bochart (*Hieroz.* ii. 273) reasonably argues in favour of some ibex or wild goat [see Knobel-Dillmann on Lev. xi. 3], after showing the impossibility of the interpretation of the LXX. It is not likely to be the Ibex or wild goat of Sinai, which was and still is common in those countries, and is satisfactorily identified with the Hebrew יָעֵל, *yā'ēl*.

Col. H. Smith (in Kitto's *Cyc.*, art. *Zemer*) suggests that some mountain sheep is intended, and figures the *Kebsch* (*Ovis tragelaphus*), a wild sheep not uncommon, he says, in the Mokattam rocks near Cairo, and found also, though now very rarely, in Sinai; it is not improbable that this

Aoudad Sheep.

is the animal denoted, for the names of the other ruminants mentioned in the catalogue of beasts allowed for food are, for the most part, identifiable with other wild animals of the Bible lands, and there can be no doubt that the *Kebsch* or

Aoudad was known to the Israelites; again, Col. Smith's suggestion has partly the sanction of the Syriac Version, which reads as the equivalent of the Hebrew word, "a mountain goat."

Many species of the wild mountain sheep are known, and are all looked upon by the Arabs as goats, which in form and habits they much resemble. The North African *Aoudad* (*Ovis tragelaphus*) inhabits the Atlas, and all the higher and more inaccessible North African ranges, and is not unfrequently figured on the monuments of Egypt. An allied species, the Mouflon (*Ovis musimon*), still exists in Corsica, Sardinia, and Cyprus, and the same or a closely allied form was formerly common in Spain, the Greek mountains, and across Circassia to Northern Persia, where it is said still to occur. The Arabians speak of the *Kebsch*, which is very probably identical with the *Aoudad*, as inhabiting the mountainous parts of Arabia; but though undoubtedly still existing, and formerly probably extending to the Lebanon, no naturalist has yet secured a specimen for comparison. The true wild goat (*Capra aegagrus*) is still found in the Taurid range, and I have procured it near Aintab, on the northern frontier of Syria, where it is looked on as a *Kebsch*. It is very possible that both these species are included under *zemer*. [H. B. T.]

CHAMPIAN, CHAMPION, old forms for *champaign* in A. V. 1611 ed. Deut. xi. 30 (R. V. "Arabah"); Ezek. xxxvii. 2, marg. Cp. *B. D.* Amer. ed. [F.]

CHA'NAAN (Χαναάν), the manner in which the word CANAAN is spelt in the A. V. of the Apocrypha and N. T. (cp. Charran for Haran, &c.). Judith v. 3, 9, 10; Bar. iii. 22; Sus. 56; 1 Macc. ix. 37; Acts vii. 11, xiii. 19 (R. V. "Canaan").

CHANAANITE for CANAANITE, Judith v. 16. [W. A. W.]

CHANEL-BONE, Job xxxi. 22, marg. A. V. An old term for the collar-bone. See Eastwood and Wright's *Bible Word-Book*, s. n. Cp. *D. B.* Amer. ed. [F]

CHANNUNE'US (Χανουναῖος; *Chananaeus*), 1 Esd. viii. 48 [LXX. v. 47]. This answers to Merari, if to anything, in the parallel list of Ezra (viii. 19). [W. A. W.]

CHA'NOCH, Gen. iv. 17. A form of Enoch, more nearly approaching to the Hebrew. Cp. *D. B.* Amer. ed. [F.]

CHAPEL, the A. V. rendering of מִקְדָּשׁ in Amos vii 13 (R. V. "sanctuary;" ἁγίασμα; *sanctificatio*). The term is applied not to any definite temple or shrine, but to Bethel itself, which Jeroboam II. had filled with idolatry. In the *D. B.* Amer. ed., it is suggested that the rendering, which is as old as the Bishops' Bible, arose from an idea that the king had a private place of worship in Bethel. In 1 Macc. i. 47, 2 Macc. x. 2, xi. 3, "chapel" is applied to places of idol and heathen worship. [F.]

CHAPITER. 1. כֹּתֶרֶת, in pl. כֹּתָרוֹת, from כָּתַר, *to surround*; ἐπιθέμα; *capitellum*. 2. צָפָה, from צָפָה, *to draw out* (Ges. *Thes.*); αἱ κεφαλαί; *capita*. The upper member of a pillar—the same word which is now in use in the slightly different form of "capital"; also possibly a roll moulding at the top of a building or work of art, as in the case (1) of the pillars of the Tabernacle and Temple, and of the two pillars called especially Jachin and Boaz; and (2) of the lavers belonging to the Temple (Ex. xxxviii. 17; 1 K. vii. 27, 31, 38). As to the form and dimensions of the former, see TABERNACLE, TEMPLE, BOAZ; and of the latter, LAVER. (3) The word רֹאשׁ, *rôsh* = head, is also occasionally rendered "chapiter," as in the description of the Tabernacle, Ex. xxxvi. 38, xxxviii. 17, 19, 28; but in the account of the Temple it is rendered by A. V. and R. V. "top," 1 K. vii. 16, &c. [H. W. P.]

CHARAATH'ALAR (B. Χαρααθαλάν, A. Χαρα 'Αθαλαρ; *Carmellam*), 1 Esd. v. 36. The place-names "Cherub, Addan, and Immer," in the lists of Ezra and Nehemiah, are here perverted into "Charaathalar leading them, and Aalar" (see *Speaker's Comm.* l. c.). [W. A. W.]

CHAR'ACA (εἰς τὸν Χάρακα [? Χάραξ]; *in Characa*), a place mentioned only in 2 Macc. xii. 17, and there so obscurely that nothing can be certainly inferred as to its position. It was on the east of Jordan, being inhabited by the Jews called "Tubieni," or of "Tobie" [TOB], who were in Gilead (cp. 1 Macc. v. 9, 13); it was apparently in the same part of the country as Carnion (ASHTEROTH-KARNAIM), 2 Macc. xii. 18, 21, 26; and it was 750 furlongs (*i.e.* over 92 miles) from the city Caspis; but where the last place was situated, or in which direction Charax was with regard to it, there is no clue. Ewald (*Gesch.* iv. 359 n) places it to the extreme east, and identifies it with RAPHON; but it was more probably in the district immediately south of the *Nahr Yarmûk*. The only name now known on the east of Jordan which recalls Charax is *Kerak*, the ancient Kir-Moab, on the south-east of the Dead Sea, which in post-biblical times was called Χαράκωβα and Μωβουχάραξ (see the quotations in Reland, p. 705); this, however, is too far to the south. The Syriac Peshitto has כרכא, *Carca*, which suggests KARKOR (Judg. viii. 10). See *Speaker's Comm.* on 2 Macc. *l. c.* [G.] [W.]

CHARA'SHIM, THE VALLEY OF (גֵּיא חֲרָשִׁים, "ravine of craftsmen;" B. 'Αγεαδδαείρ, A. γῆς Ρασείμ, ὅτι τέκτονες ἦσαν; *vallis artificum*; R. V., in 1 Ch. iv. 14, Ge-harashim [marg.: *the valley of craftsmen*]; in Neh. xi. 35, אֹנוֹ A. om., א$^{c.a\ mg\ inf}$ Γηαρασίμ; A. V. and R. V. "the valley of craftsmen" [marg. *Ge-ha-harashim*]), a place mentioned twice,—1 Ch. iv. 14, as having been founded or settled by Joab, a man of the tribe of Judah and family of Othniel; and Neh. xi. 35, as being reinhabited by Benjamites after the Captivity. Its mention by Nehemiah with Neballat, Lod (Lydda), Ono (*Kefr 'Ana*), &c., fixes its position as in the swelling ground at the back of the plain of Sharon, east of Jaffa. A trace of the name may perhaps be retained in *Kh. Hirsha*, a ruin east of *Yâlo* (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 36). The Talmud (as quoted by Schwarz, p. 135) reports the valley of Charashim to consist of Lod and Ono,

which lay therein. Whether Joab the son of Seraiah is the same person as the son of Zeruiah will be best examined under the name JOAB. [G.] [W.]

CHAR'CHAMIS (B. Χαρκαμύς, A. Καλχαμύς; *Charcamis*), 1 Esd. i. 25 (LXX. v. 23). The ed. of 1611 (with most editions) reads Carchamis. [CARCHEMISH.] [F.]

CHAR'CHEMISH (כַּרְכְּמִישׁ; LXX. omits; *Charcamis*), 2 Ch. xxxv. 20. [CARCHEMISH.]

CHAR'CUS (B. Βαχούς, A. Βαρχουέ; *Barcus*), 1 Esd. v. 32. Corrupted from BARKOS, the corresponding name in the parallel lists of Ezra (ii. 53) and Nehemiah (vii. 55)—possibly by a change of ב into כ. In *D. B.* Amer. ed. it is suggested that the translators of the A. V. got their reading of the name from the Aldine ed. (Χαρκούς). In the edition of 1611 the name is spelt "Chareus." [F.]

CHAREA (A. Χαρέα, B. om.; *Caree*), 1 Esd. v. 32. [HARSHA.]

CHARGER (1. קְעָרָה, from a root signifying hollowness; τρυβλίον, κοτύλη; *ucetabulum*; rendered "dish" by A. V. and R. V. in Ex. xxv 29, xxxvii. 16, and Num. iv. 7. 2. אֲגַרְטָל; ψυκτήρ; *phiala*; only found in Ezra i. 9), a shallow vessel for receiving water or blood, also for presenting offerings of fine flour with oil (Num. viii. 79; cp. Ges. *Thes.* p. 22). The English word "charger," or that on which anything is laid, comes from the French *charger* (still used of guns) and the old English charge, *i.e.* to load. Cp. Eastwood and Wright, *Bible Word-Book*, s. n. The "chargers" mentioned in Numbers are said to have been of silver, and to have weighed each 130 shekels, or 65 oz. (Hussey, *Anc. Weights*, c. ix. p. 190).

The daughter of Herodias brought the head of St. John the Baptist in a charger, ἐπὶ πίνακι (Matt. xiv. 8); probably a trencher or platter, as Hom. *Od.* i 141:

> δαιτρὸς δὲ κρειῶν πίνακας παρέθηκεν ἀείρας παντοίων.

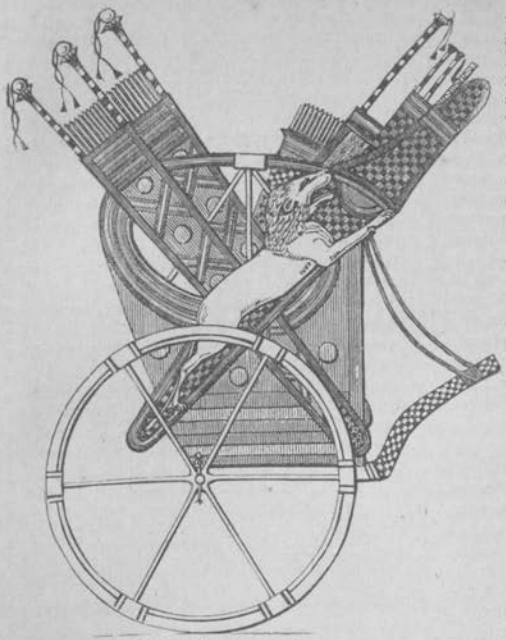
Cp. πίναξ, Luke xi. 39, A. V. and R. V. "platter;" and Luke i. 63, πινακίδιον, R. V. "a writing-tablet." [BASIN.] [H. W. P.]

CHARGES, Acts xxi. 24. "Be at charges with [R. V. "for"] them," *i.e.* Bear the expense of their offerings. The word comes, like CHARGER, from the French *charger*, to load; hence something laid upon a man, cost or expense. [F.]

CHARIOT. 1. רֶכֶב, from רָכַב, *to ride*; ἅρμα; *currus*: sometimes including the horses (2 Sam. viii. 4; x. 18). 2. רֶכֶב, a chariot or horse (Ps. civ. 3). 3. מֶרְכָּב, m. from same root as (1), a chariot, litter, or seat (Lev. xv. 9, Cant. iii. 10). 4. מֶרְכָּבָה, f. 5. עֲגָלָה, from עָגַל, *roll* (Ps. xlvi. 10, θυρεός; *scutum*). 6. אַפִּרְיוֹן. Cant. iii. 9; φορεῖον; *ferculum*. (Between 1–4 there is similarity in signification.) A vehicle used either for warlike or peaceful purposes, but most commonly the former. Of the latter use the following only are probable instances, (1) as regards the Israelites, 1 K. xviii. 44, (2) as regards other nations, Gen. xli. 43, xlvi. 29; 2 K. v. 9; Acts viii. 28.

The earliest mention of chariots in Scripture is in Egypt, where Joseph, as a mark of distinction, was placed in Pharaoh's second chariot (Gen. xli. 43), and later when he went in his own chariot to meet his father on his entrance into Egypt from Canaan (xlvi. 29). In the funeral procession of Jacob chariots also formed a part, possibly by way of escort or as a guard of honour (l. 9). The next mention of Egyptian chariots is for a warlike purpose (Ex. xiv. 7). In this point of view chariots among some nations of antiquity, as elephants among others, may be regarded as filling the place of heavy artillery in modern times, so that the military power of a nation might be estimated by the number of its chariots. Thus Pharaoh in pursuing Israel took with him 600 chariots. The Canaanites of the valleys of Palestine were enabled to resist the Israelites successfully in consequence of the number of their chariots of iron, *i.e.* perhaps armed with iron scythes (Ges. *s. v.*; Josh. xvii. 18; Judg. i. 19). Jabin, king of Canaan, had 900 chariots (Judg. iv. 3). The Philistines in Saul's time had 30,000, a number which, like the 32,000 mentioned below, can hardly be correct, and is probably due to a corrupt reading of the text (1 Sam. xiii. 5, שְׁלֹשִׁם for שְׁלֹשִׁים, so LXX. [Luc.] and Pesh., cp. Driver, *Notes on the Heb. text of the BB. of Sam.*, in loco. The LXX. [B.] and Joseph. [*Ant.* vi. 6, § 1] agree with the Heb.; Josephus adds 300,000 infantry). David took from Hadadezer king of Zobah 1000 chariots (2 Sam. viii. 4), and from the Syrians a little later 700 (x. 18), who in order to recover their ground collected 32,000 chariots (1 Ch. xix. 7). The Hittites are said in an Egyptian poem to have brought into the field 3,500 chariots in a contest with Rameses II. B.C. 1361 (Conder, *Heth and Moab*, c. i. p. 20). Up to the time of David the Israelites possessed few if any chariots, partly no doubt in consequence of the theocratic prohibition against multiplying horses, for fear of intercourse with Egypt, and the regal despotism implied in the possession of them (Deut. xvii. 16; 1 Sam. viii. 11, 12). But to some extent David (2 Sam. viii. 4), and in a much greater degree Solomon, broke through the prohibition from seeing the necessity of placing his kingdom, under its altered circumstances, on a footing of military equality or superiority towards other nations. He raised, therefore, and maintained a force of 1400 chariots (1 K. x. 25) by taxation on certain cities, agreeably to Eastern custom in such matters (1 K. ix. 19, x. 25; Xen. *Anab.* i. 4, 9). The chariots themselves and also the horses were imported chiefly from Egypt, and the cost of each chariot was 600 shekels of silver, and of each horse 150 (1 K. x. 29). [SHEKEL.] From this time chariots were regarded as among the most important arms of war, though the supplies of them and of horses appear to have been still mainly drawn from Egypt (1 K. xxii. 34; 2 K. ix. 16, 21, xiii. 7, 14, xviii. 24, xxiii. 30; Is. xxxi. 1). The prophets also allude frequently to chariots as typical of power (Ps. xx. 7, civ. 3; Jer. li. 21; Zech. vi. 1).

Chariots also of other nations are mentioned, as of Assyria (2 K. xix. 23; Ezek. xxiii. 24), Syria (2 Sam. viii. 4, and 2 K. vi. 14, 15), and Persia (Is. xxiii. 6, 7). Antiochus Eupator is said to have had 300 chariots armed with scythes (2 Macc. xiii. 2).



An Egyptian war-chariot, with bow-cases and complete furniture. (Wilkinson.)

In the N. T., the only mention made of a chariot except in Rev. ix. 9 is in the case of the Ethiopian or Abyssinian eunuch of Queen Candace, who is described as sitting in his chariot reading (Acts viii. 28, 29, 38).

Jewish chariots were no doubt imitated from Egyptian models, if not actually imported from Egypt. The following description of Egyptian chariots is taken from Sir G. Wilkinson. They appear to have come into use not earlier than the 18th dynasty (B.C. 1530). The war chariot, from which the chariot used in peace did not essentially differ, was extremely simple in its construction. It consisted, as appears both from Egyptian paintings and reliefs, as well as from an actual specimen preserved at Florence, of a nearly semicircular wooden frame with straightened sides, having the hinder part resting on the axle-tree of a pair of wheels, and supporting a rail of wood or ivory attached to the frame by leathern thongs and one wooden upright in front. The floor of the car was made of rope network, intending to give a more springy footing to the occupants. The car was mounted from the back, which was open, and the sides were strengthened and ornamented with leather and metal binding. Attached to the off or right-hand side, and crossing each other diagonally, were the bow-case and, inclining backwards, the quiver and spear-case. If two persons were in the chariot, a second bow-case was added. The wheels, of which there were two, had six spokes: those of peace chariots had sometimes four, fastened to the axle by a linch-pin secured by a thong. There were no traces: but the horses, which were often of different colours, wore only a breast-band and girths which were attached to the saddle, together with head

Egyptian princes in their chariot. (Wilkinson.)

furniture consisting of cheek pieces, throat-lash, head-stall, and straps across the forehead and nose. A bearing-rein was fastened to a ring or hook in front of the saddle, and the driving-reins passed through other rings on each side of both horses. From the central point of the saddle rose a short stem of metal, ending in a knob, whether for use or mere ornament is not certain. The driver stood on the off-side, and in discharging his arrow hung his whip from the wrist. In some instances the king is represented alone in his chariot with the reins fastened round his body, thus using his weapons with his hands at liberty. Most commonly two

persons, and sometimes three, rode in the chariot, of whom the third was employed to carry the state umbrella (1 K. xxii. 34; 2 K. ix. 20, 24; Acts viii. 38). A second chariot usually accompanied the king to battle, to be used in case of necessity (2 Ch. xxxv. 24; 1 Esd. i. 31).

On peaceable occasions the Egyptian gentleman sometimes drove alone in his chariot, attended by servants on foot. The horses wore housings to protect them from heat and insects. For royal personages and women of rank an umbrella was carried by a bearer, or fixed upright in the chariot. Sometimes mules were driven instead of horses, and in travelling sometimes oxen, but for travelling purposes the sides of the chariot appear to have been closed. One instance occurs of a four-wheeled car, which, like the τετράκυκλος ἅμαξα (Herod. ii. 63), was used for religious purposes. [CART.] The processes of manufacture of chariots and harness are fully illustrated by existing sculptures, in which also are represented the chariots used by neighbouring nations (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* i. 368, 386; ii. 75, 76 [1878]). Recent examination of Egyptian papyrus records has brought to light an account of a journey performed in the 14th century B.C. by an Egyptian mohar, either a tax-gatherer or court-messenger, in a chariot attended by his servant. The journey appears to have begun from a place near Aleppo, and the travellers in its course passed near the Sea of Galilee, and finally returned to Egypt by way of Joppa. They travelled chiefly over the more level parts of the country, but an accident is described as happening to the chariot in descending a ravine (*Survey of West. Pal.* vol. iv. pp. 163, 165; Conder, *Heth and Moab*, p. 100).

The earlier Assyrian war-chariot and harness did not differ essentially from the Egyptian.

Assyrian chariot. (Layard.)

Two or three persons stood in the car, but the driver is sometimes represented as standing on the near side, whilst a third warrior in the chariot held a shield to protect the archer in discharging his arrow. The car appears to have had closed sides. The war-chariot wheels had six spokes; the state or peace chariot eight or more, and a third person in state-processions carried the royal umbrella. A third horse, like the Greek παρήορος, was generally attached (Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 350).

In later times the third horse was laid aside, the wheels were made higher, and had eight spokes: and the front of the car, to which the quiver was removed from its former side position, was made square instead of round. The cars were more highly ornamented, panelled, inlaid with valuable woods and metals, and painted. The embroidered housings in which in earlier times the horses were clothed were laid aside, and plumes and tassels used to decorate their necks and foreheads (Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 353, 356; *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 341, 587, 603, 618; *Mon. of Nin.* 2nd series, pl. 24; Ezek. xxvii. 20).

The Persian chariot, as appears from the sculptures at Persepolis, and also at Kouyunjik, shows great similarity to the Assyrian; but the procession represented at the former place contains a chariot or car with wheels of twelve spokes, while from the sculptures at the latter it appears that the Elamites, or Persians, besides chariots containing two persons which were sometimes drawn by four horses, used a kind of cart drawn by a single mule or more, consisting of a stage on high wheels capable of holding five or six persons, of whom the driver sat on a low stool, with his legs hanging on each side of the pole. Xenophon mentions one, perhaps only a state-chariot, with four poles and eight horses. Chariots drawn by asses, *i.e.* perhaps mules, and also by camels, are mentioned by Isaiah (Is. xxi. 7, xxii. 6; Ezek. xxiii. 24; Xen. *Cyrop.* iv. 3, 1 and 2, § 22, vi. 4, 2; Niebuhr, *Voyage*, ii. 105; Chardin, *Voyage*, viii. 257, pl. lix.; Layard, *Nin. & Bab.* pp. 447–449; Olearius, *Travels*, p. 302).

Assyrian chariot. (Layard.)

Chariots armed with scythes (ἅρματα δρεπανηφορα, Xen. *Anab.* i. 7, § 10) may perhaps be intended by the "chariots of iron" of the Canaanites; they are mentioned as used by Ninus, B.C. *c.* 2000 (Diod. Sic. ii. 5, quoting from Ctesias. *Ctes. fr.* p. 395), as part of the equipment of Antiochus (2 Macc. xiii. 2) and of Darius (Diod. Sic. xvii. 53; Appian, *Syr.* 32).

Among the parts of wheeled-carriages mentioned in the A. V. are: 1. the Wheels, אוֹפַנַּיִם, ἄξονες, *rotae;* also גַּלְגַּלִּים; τροχοί, *rotae.* 2. Spokes, חִשֻּׁרִים, *radii.* 3. Naves, גַּבִּים; *modioli.* 4. Felloes, חִשֻּׁקִים; νῶτοι; *apsides.* 5. Axles, יְדוֹת; ἀξεῖρες; *axes.* To put the horses to the carriage, אָסַר; ζεῦξαι; *jungere;* and once (Mic. i. 13), רָתַם.

The Persian custom of sacrificing horses to the Sun (Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 3, 12) seems to have led to offerings of chariots and horses to the same object of worship by the Jewish monarchs who fell into idolatry (2 K. xxiii. 11; Ezek. viii. 17; P. della Valle, xv. § ii. p. 255; Winer, *Wagen*). [H. W. P.]

CHARMER, Deut. xviii. 11; Ps. lviii. 5; Is. xix. 3. [DIVINATION; ENCHANTMENTS; SERPENT-CHARMING.]

CHAR'MIS (B. Χαρμίς, A. Χαλμεῖς; *Charmi*), son of Melchiel, one of the three "ancients" (πρεσβύτεροι) or "rulers" (ἄρχοντες) of Bethulia (Judith vi. 15, viii. 10, x. 6). [W. A. W.]

CHAR'RAN (Χαρράν; *Charan*), Acts vii. 2, 4. [HARAN.]

CHASE. [HUNTING.]

CHAS'EBA (Χασεβά; *Caseba*), one of the "servants of the Temple" (1 Esd. v. 31). There is no name corresponding to it in the lists of Ezra and Nehemiah (cp. *Speaker's Comm.* in loco). [W. A. W.]

CHA'VAH, Gen. iii. 20 marg.; a form of Eve more nearly approaching the original Hebrew. Cp. *D. B.* Amer. ed. [F.]

CHAWS, A. V. ed. 1611, Ezek. xxix. 4, xxxviii. 4; considered in *D. B.* Amer. ed. an old form of "jaws" (R. V.). [F.]

CHE'BAR (כְּבָר; Χοβάρ; *Chobar*), a river in the "land of the Chaldeans" (Ezek. i. 3), on the banks of which the exiles, who had been carried away by Nebuchadnezzar with Jehoiachin, lived; and where Ezekiel saw his earlier visions (Ezek. i. 1, 3, iii. 15, 23, x. 15, 22, xliii. 3). One of the towns where the Jews dwelt, and which was situated on the banks of this river, was called Tel-abib (equivalent to *Til-abubi*, "the mound of the storm" or "of the flood," according to Fried. Delitzsch). It is commonly regarded as the same as the Habor (Heb. חָבוֹר, Assyr. *Ḫabur*), the river of Gozan, to which a portion of the Israelites was removed by the Assyrians (2 K. xvii. 6). This, however, is incorrect, the two names being in reality very dissimilar; and, in addition to this, it is now generally acknowledged that the Habor of the Bible is the modern Khabour, the Greek Ἀβόρρας (O. T. Ἀβὼρ and Χαβώρ), a river which joins the Euphrates near the site of the ancient Circesium, quite beyond the boundary of Chaldea, taken in the usual sense of the O. T. The Chebar of Ezekiel was certainly within Babylonia, and some of those who have located it there have argued that it is the *Nahr Malcha*, or Royal Canal of Nebuchadnezzar, the *greatest* of all the cuttings of Mesopotamia (cp. כָּבֵד, *kaber*, "great"). This canal, however, is apparently the *Nâr-šarri* of the monuments, and this makes its identification with the Chebar a little doubtful.* Notwithstanding the numerous lists of old Babylonian rivers and canals which exist in Assyrian and Babylonian literature, the name of the Chebar has not yet been found in the native records. The etymology which connects the word Chebar with the common Semitic root כבר, "to be great," is most likely correct, though it is probably more to the width or to the depth of the river, or canal, than to its length that the name refers. The Greek form Χοβὰρ seems to point to some such form as *Kubaru* in Babylonian. Compare the word *kuburru*, which seems to be a synonym of *sêru*, "supreme." [T. G. P.]

CHE'BEL (חֶבֶל), one of the singular topographical terms in which the ancient Hebrew language abounded, and which give so much force and precision to its records. The ordinary meaning of the word *Chebel* is a "rope" or "cord;" and in this sense it frequently occurs both literally (as in R. V. of Josh. ii. 15, "cord;" 1 K. xx. 31, "ropes;" Is. xxxiii. 23, "tacklings;" Amos vii. 17, "line") and metaphorically (see Eccles. xii. 6; Is. v. 18; Hos. xi. 4). From this it has passed—with a curious correspondence to our own modes of speech—to denote a body of men, a "band" (as in Ps. cxix. 61). In 1 Sam. x. 5, 10, our word "string" would not be inappropriate to the circumstances—"a string of prophets coming down from the high place." Further, it is found in other metaphorical senses, arising out of its original meaning (see Job xviii. 10; Ps. xviii. 4; Jer. xiii. 21). From the idea of a measuring-line (Mic. ii. 5), it has come to mean a "portion" or "allotment" (see 1 Ch. xvi. 18; Ps. cv. 11; Ezek. xlvii. 13). It is the word used in the familiar passage "the *lines** are fallen unto me in pleasant places" (Ps. xvi. 6). But in its topographical sense, as meaning a "tract" or "district," we find it always attached to the region of Argob, which is invariably designated by this, and by no other term (Deut. iii. 4, 13, 14; 1 K. iv. 13). It has been already shown how exactly applicable it is to the circumstances of the case. [ARGOB.] But in addition to the observations there made, the reader should be referred to the report of Mr. C. C. Graham, who in *Cambridge Essays*, 1858, abundantly confirms the statements of his predecessors as to the abrupt definiteness of the boundary of the district. No clue is afforded as to the reason of this definite localization of the term Chebel; but a comparison of the fact that Argob was taken possession of by Manasseh —a part of the great tribe of Joseph—with the use of this word by that tribe, and by Joshua in his retort, in the very early and characteristic fragment, Josh. xvii. 5, 14 (A. V. "portion"), prompts the suggestion that it may have been a provincialism in use amongst that large and independent part of Israel. Should this be thought untenable, its application to the "rocky shore" of Argob may be illustrated and justified by its use (Zeph. ii. 5–7; A. V. "coast") for the "coast line" of the Mediterranean along Philistia. In connexion with the sea-shore it is also employed in Josh. xix. 29. [ARGOB.]

The words used for *Chebel* in the older Versions are σχοίνισμα, περίμετρον, περίχωρον; *regio*, *funiculus*.

Ewald (*Gesch.* vi. 204, note) seems to derive "Oblias," the title by which St. James was distinguished (Euseb. *E. S.* ii. 23), from חבל and עם = חֹבְלָעֵם. [G.] [W.]

* *It is nevertheless not impossible that this river or canal may have been known by two names.*

* The use of the word in this sense in our own idiomatic expression—"hard lines"—will not be forgotten. Other correspondences between *Chebel* as applied to measurement, and our own words "rod" and "chain," and also "cord," as applied in the provinces and colonies to solid measures of wood, &c., are obvious.

CHEDORLA'OMER (כְּדָרְלָעֹמֶר; Χοδολλογομόρ; *Chodorlahomor*), a king of Elam, in the time of Abraham, who, with three other subordinate princes of Babylonia and the neighbouring region, carried on two campaigns in Palestine, where the kings of Sodom, Gomorrah, and other cities were reduced to servitude. For twelve years he retained his hold over them; in the thirteenth they rebelled; in the next year, however, he and his allies marched upon their country, and, after defeating many neighbouring tribes, encountered the five kings of the plain in the vale of Siddim. He completely routed them; slew the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah, and carried away much spoil, together with the family of Lot. A rescue, however, was effected by Abraham upon hearing of the captivity of his nephew (Gen. xiv. 17). Recent Assyriological discoveries have shown that there is nothing improbable in a Babylonian conquest of Palestine in the time of Abraham, as critics once urged. At a much earlier period Sargon I. of Accad, who reigned B.C. 3800, not only erected a monument on the Syrian coast, but crossed over into Cyprus, where a seal-cylinder bearing the name of his son and successor, Naram-Sin, has been found (*TSBA.* v. 2). The name of Kudur-Laomer is formed in accordance with other Elamite names. Lagamar, also written Lagamal,—on Susian bricks, Lagameri,—was an Elamite deity, afterwards adopted by the Babylonians, and Kudur, "servant," appears as the first element of many Elamite names. We learn from Assur-bani-pal that the Elamite king Kudur-nankhundi had carried away from Erech to Susa an image of the goddess Nana 1635 years before his own recovery of it; that is to say, B.C. 2280. Recently discovered dynastic tables make Khammu-ragas king of Babylon at this date (B.C. 2290–2235). Now Khammu-ragas first made Babylon the capital of the whole country by conquering Southern Babylonia or Sumir (Shinar), governed at that time by Rim-Agu, also known as Erim-Agu or Eriv-Aku, "minister of the Moon-god." Rim-Agu had originally fixed the seat of his power at Larsa (now Senkereh); from this centre he had extended his sway over all northern and southern Babylonia, with the exception of Babylon itself and the district immediately surrounding it. It was the overthrow of Rim-Agu which secured to Khammu-ragas the sovereignty of Chaldaea. Rim-Agu or Eriv-Aku calls himself the son of Kudur-Mabug, "the lord of Yavutbal," or Elam, and "the father of Palestine," from which we may infer that the rule of Rim-Agu in Babylonia was due to the conquest of the country by his father, and also that Kudur-Mabug claimed dominion over Palestine. Bricks of Rim-Agu prove that he reigned at Larsa during his father's lifetime, and that Kudur-Mabug thus exercised the same suzerainty over Babylonia that Chedor-Laomer is represented as exercising in Genesis. Indeed it is difficult not to compare Eriv-Aku, king of Larsa, with the biblical Arioch, king of Ellasar. The names of Chedor-Laomer (Kudur-Lagamar) and Kudur-Mabug, however, are not the same, but it is possible that Chedorlaomer may have been the successor of Kudur-Mabug and the predecessor of Kudur-Nankhundi, the latter being the king of Elam who, according to an inscription of Khammu-ragas, assisted Rim-Agu in his final struggle against the king of Babylon. Dr. Hommel identifies Amraphel, king of Shinar or Sumir, with Sin-muballidh, the predecessor of Khammu-ragas, but this does not seem probable. We must see in Amraphel the king of Southern Babylonia whose overthrow brought with it the submission of that part of the country to Rim-Agu. [A. H. S.]

CHEESE is mentioned only three times in the Bible, and on each occasion under a different name in the Hebrew: (1.) גְּבִינָה, from גָּבַן, *to curdle* (Job x. 10), referred to, not historically, but by way of illustration: (2.) חֶמְאָה, from חָמַץ, *to cut* (*τρυφαλίδες τοῦ γάλακτος*, LXX.; *formellae casei*, Vulg., 1 Sam. xvii. 18); the Chaldee and Syriac give גּוּבְנָן; Hesychius explains *τρυφαλίδες* as *τμήματα τοῦ ἁπαλοῦ τυροῦ*: (3.) שְׁפוֹת בָּקָר, from שָׁפָה, *to scrape* (*Σαφὼθ βοῶν*, LXX.; *cheese of kine*, A.V. and R.V. 2 Sam. xvii. 29: the Vulgate, following Theodotion's rendering, *γαλαθηνὰ μοσχάρια*, gives *pinques vitulos*, guided by the position of the words after "sheep": the Targum and other Jewish authorities, however, identify the substance with those mentioned above). It is difficult to decide how far these terms correspond with our notion of *cheese*; for they simply express various degrees of coagulation. It may be observed that cheese is not at the present day common among the Bedouin Arabs, butter being decidedly preferred; but there is a substance, closely corresponding to those mentioned in 1 Sam. xvii., 2 Sam. xvii., consisting of coagulated butter-milk, which is dried until it becomes quite hard, and is then ground: the Arabs eat it mixed with butter (Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins*, i. 60). In reference to this subject, it is noticeable that the ancients seem generally to have used either butter or cheese, but not both: thus the Greeks had in reality but one expression for the two, for *βούτυρον* = *βοῦς*, *τυρός*, "cheese of kine:" the Romans used cheese exclusively, while all nomad tribes preferred butter. On the distinction between cheese proper and coagulated milk, see Pliny, xi. 96. [W. L. B.]

CHELA'L (כֶּלָל, Ges. = *perfection*; LXX. 2 Esd. B. Χάηλ, A. Χαλήλ, N. Εδενεχ· Ηλ [coupling it with the preceding name]; *Chalal*), Ezra x. 30; one of those who had taken a "strange" wife. [W. A. W.] [F.]

CHELCI'AS (Χελκίας, *i.e.* חִלְקִיָּה, *the portion of the Lord*, HILKIAH; *Helcias*). **1.** The father of Susanna (*Hist. of Susanna*, *vv.* 2, 29, 63). Tradition (Hippol. *in Susann.* i. 689, ed. Migne) represents him as the brother of Jeremiah, and identical with the priest who found the copy of the Law in the time of Josiah (2 K. xxii. 8). [B. F. W.]

2. The ancestor of Baruch (Bar. i. 1).

3. The high-priest in the time of Isaiah (Bar. i. 7). [W. A. W.]

CHEL'LIANS, THE (Judith ii. 23). [CHELLUS.]

CHEL'LUH (כִּלְּוּהִי, Keri, כִּלְוֹהִי; Αν. Χελκειά; A. Χελία; *Chelium*), Ezra x. 35. One of the sons of Bani who had foreign wives.

CHEL'LUS (BA. Χελούς, ℵ. Χεσλούς; Vulg. omits), named amongst the places beyond (*i.e.* on the west of) Jordan to which Nabuchodonosor sent his summons (Judith i. 9). Except its mention with "Kades," there is no clue to its situation. Reland (*Pal.* p. 717) conjectures that it may be *Chalutza*, חֲלוּצָה, a place which, under the altered form of *Ehusa*, was well known to the Roman and Greek geographers (see *Speaker's Comm.* in loco). With this agrees the subsequent mention of the "land of the Chellians" (B. τῆς Χαλδαίων, ℵA. Χελεών; *terra Cellon*), "by the wilderness," to the south of whom were the children of Ishmael (Judith ii. 23). Volkmar (*Lüil. i. d. Apok.* i. 191) adopts the reading Χαλδαίων (B. and Syriac). [G.] [W.]

CHE'LOD (B. Χελεούλ, A. Χελεούδ, ℵ*. Χεσλαιουδά, ℵc.a Χελαιούδ; Old Lat. *Chelleuth*, Vulg. om.; Syr. *Chaldeans*). "Many nations of the sons of Chelod" were among those who obeyed the summons of Nebuchodonosor to his war with Arphaxad (Judith i. 6). The word is apparently corrupt. Simonis suggests Χάλων, perhaps Ctesiphon. Ewald conjectures it to be a nickname for the Syrians, "sons of the moles" חֹלֶד (*Gesch.* iv. 543). See other suggestions in *Speaker's Comm.* i. l. [G.] [F.]

CHELU'B (כְּלוּב, *bird-cage*). **1.** A man among the descendants of Judah, described as the brother of Shuah and the father of Mechir (1 Ch. iv. 11). In the LXX. the name is given as Caleb, Χαλέβ, the father of Ascha; the daughter of the well-known Caleb was Achsah; Vulg. *Caleb*.

2. A. Χελούβ, B. Χοβούδ; *Chelub*. Ezri the son of Chelub was "over them who did the work of the field for tillage of the ground," one of David's officers (1 Ch. xxvii. 26). [W. A. W.]

CHELU'BAI (כְּלוּבָי; A. ὁ Χαλέβ, B. ὁ Χαβέλ; *Calubi*), the son of Hezron, of one of the chief families of Judah. The name occurs in 1 Ch. ii. 9 only; and from a comparison of this passage with ii. 18 and 42, it would appear to be but another form of the name Caleb. It is worth noting that, while in this passage Jerahmeel is stated to be a brother of Chelubai, it appears from 1 Sam. xxvii. 10 that the Jerahmeelites were placed on the "south of Judah," where also were the possessions of the house of Caleb (Judg. i. 15; 1 Sam. xxv. 3, xxx. 14). In the Syriac Vers. the name is ܣܠܟܝ, *Salci*; probably a transcriber's error for ܟܠܒܝ, *Celubi* (Burrington, i. 209). [G.] [W.]

CHEMA'RIMS, THE (הַכְּמָרִים; *aruspices, aeditui*). This word only occurs in the text of the A. V. [R. V. "Chemarim"] in Zeph. i. 4 (T.[7] omits). In 2 K. xxiii. 5 (BA. οἱ Χωμαρείμ) it is rendered "idolatrous priests" (A. V. and R. V.), and in Hos. x. 5 [LXX. had a different reading] "priests" (A. V. and R. V.), and in both cases "Chemarim" is given in the margin. In Syriac the word ܟܡܪܐ, *cûmrô*, is used in Judg. xvii. 5, 12, of the priest of Micah, while in Is. lxi. 6 it denotes the priests of the true God, and in Heb. ii. 17 is applied to Christ Himself. The root in Syriac signifies "to be sad," and hence *cûmrô* is supposed to denote a mournful, ascetic person, and hence a priest or monk (cp. Arab. ابيل, *abil*, and Syr. ܐܒܝܠܐ, *abilô*, in the same sense). Kimchi derived כמרים from a root signifying "to be black," because the idolatrous priests wore black garments; and this is the signification adopted by most moderns (see *QPB.*[2] on Zeph. *l. c.*), the black-robed priest being taken as a term equivalent to an unlawful or non-levitical priest (see Keil on 2 K. *l. c.*). The word occurs in Nabatean Inscriptions (MV.[11]. Cp. *ZATW.* x. 169). In the Peshitto of Acts xix. 35, the feminine form of the word is used to render the Greek νεωκόρον, "a temple keeper." Compare the Vulg. *aeditui*, which is the translation of Chemarim in two passages. [W. A. W.] [F.]

CHEMO'SH (כְּמוֹשׁ; Χαμώς; *Chamos*), the Baal or Sun-god of the Moabites (Num. xxi. 29; 1 K. xi. 7; 2 K. xxiii. 13; Jer. xlviii. 7, 13, 46), whose worship was introduced into Judah by Solomon and abolished by Josiah. In Judg. xi. 24 Chemosh also appears as the supreme god of the Ammonites; but this is probably a false reading, since the title of the national deity of Ammon was Milcom or Malcham (Moloch), "the king" (1 K. xi. 7; 2 K. xxiii. 13; 2 Sam. xii. 30, *Heb. text*; Jer. xlix. 1, *Heb. text*). On the Moabite Stone (*Records of the Past*, N. S. ii. 200–3) Mesha speaks of Chemosh as if no other deity were recognised in the country, though the name of the god is once compounded with that of the male Ashtar (see ATARGATIS). The stone itself is stated to have been erected as "a stone of salvation" to Chemosh at Kirkhah, and the oppression of Moab by Israel is ascribed to the anger of Chemosh. Then "Chemosh had mercy" on it, and "said" to Mesha, "Go, take Nebo." Mesha accordingly shook off the Israelitish yoke, "killed all the warriors" of Ataroth "for the well-pleasing of Chemosh," and took from Nebo "the vessels of Yahveh (Jehovah) and offered them before Chemosh." Finally, "Chemosh drove out" Israel from Jahaz, and "said" to Mesha, "Go down, make war against Horonaim," which belonged to Edom. When regarded as the god of generation, Chemosh was known as Baal-Peor (Num. xxv.), as has been observed by Jerome (*Comm.* in Is. xv. 2). The Jewish legend that he was worshipped under the form of a black star is a mere invention. The name enters into composition with that of Chemosh-melech, the father of Mesha, as well as of Kamusu-nadbu, or Chemosh-nadab, who was king of Moab in the time of Sennacherib; but the etymology of it is uncertain. [A. H. S.]

CHENA'ANAH (כְּנַעֲנָה; B. Χανάαν, A. Χαναάν; *Chananah*; according to Gesen. fem. of CANAAN (כְּנַעַן), but this is doubtful). **1.** Son of Bilhan, son of Jediael, son of Benjamin, head of a Benjamite house (1 Ch. vii. 10), probably of the family of the Belaites. [BELA.]

2. Father, or ancestor, of Zedekiah, the false prophet who made him horns of iron, and encouraged Ahab to go up against Ramoth-gilead, and smote Micaiah on the cheek (1 K. xxii. 11 [B. Χαανά], 24; 2 Ch. xviii. 10 [A. Χαναανά], 23). He may be the same as 1. [A. C. H.]

CHENA'NI (כְּנָנִי, if *i. q.* כְּנַנְיָה = *Jehovah hath protected* or *set up*), one of the Levites who assisted at the solemn purification of the people under Ezra (Neh. ix. 4 only). The names Bani *and* Chenani (A. V., R. V., and Vulg.) are by א$^{c.a}$A. read *vioì Χανανί*, as if reading "sons of (בְּנֵי) Chenani"; B. omits. [F.]

CHENANI'AH (כְּנַנְיָהוּ, *Jehovah hath protected:* in 1 Ch. xv. 22, B. Κωνενιά, A. Χωνενία; in 1 Ch. xv. 27, B. Ἰεχονίας, א. Ελεχονίας, A. Χενενίας; in 1 Ch. xxvi. 29, B. Χωνενειά, A. Χωχενίας: *Chonenias*), chief of the Levites, when David carried the ark to Jerusalem (1 Ch. xv. 22; xxvi. 29. See R. V. and *QPB.*^{3} on these passages). In 1 Ch. xv. 27, his name is written כְּנַנְיָה. [F.]

CHEPHA'R-HAAMMO'NAI (כְּפַר הָעַמּוֹנִי, the *Ketib* of "hamlet of the Ammonites;" B. Κεφειρὰ καὶ Μονεί, A. Καφηραμμίν; *Villa Emona;* R. V. adopts the *Keri*, *Chephar-ammoni*), a place mentioned among the towns of Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 24). No certain trace of it has yet been discovered, but in its name is doubtless preserved the memory of an incursion of the Ammonites, possibly that mentioned in Judg. x. 9, up the steep ravines which lead from the Jordan valley to the highlands of Benjamin. Conder (MS. note) proposes to identify it with *Kh. Kefr 'Ana*, north of *Beitin* on the road to *Nâblus*. [G.] [W.]

CHEPHI'RAH (הַכְּפִירָה, with the definite article, except in the later Books,—"the hamlet:" B. Κεφειρά, A. Χεφ- [in Josh. ix.]; B. καὶ Φειρά, A. Χεφ- [in Josh. xviii.]: *Caphira* [Josh. ix.], *Caphara* [Josh. xviii.], *Cephira* [Ezra and Neh.]), one of the four cities of the Gibeonites (Josh. ix. 17 [LXX. *v.* 23]), and named afterwards among the towns of Benjamin, with Ramah, Beeroth, and Mizpeh (xviii. 26 [LXX. *v.* 27]). The men of Chephirah returned with Zerubbabel from Babylon (Ezra ii. 25, B. Καφειρά, A. -ι- [in 2 Esd.]; Neh. vii. 29, B. Καφειρά, A. Χαφιρά). The Samaritan Version of Gen. xiii. 3 renders Hai (Ai) by *Cephrah*, כפרה; but this cannot be Chephirah, since both Ai and it are mentioned together in Josh. ix. (cp. *v.* 3 with *v.* 17), and in the lists of Ezra and Nehemiah already quoted. Dr. Robinson seems to have discovered it under the scarcely altered name of *Kefireh*, in the mountain-country on the western side of Benjamin, about 1¾ miles north of *Kuryet el-'Enab* and nearly 5 miles east of *Yâlo* (Ajalon; Rob. iii. 146; *PEF. Mem.* iii. 103). [CAPHIRA.] [G.] [W.]

CHERA'N (כְּרָן, Dillmann[5] [Gen. *l. c.*] conjectures a connexion with כֶּבֶר, a *lamb* or *ram;* Χαρράν; *Charan*), one of the sons of Dishon (so A. V. and R. V., in accordance with the Mas. text of 1 Ch.; but the Hebrew of Gen. *l. c.* is Dishan), the Horite "duke" (Gen. xxxvi. 26; 1 Ch. i. 41). No name corresponding with this has yet been discovered amongst the tribes of Arabia. [F.]

CHE'REAS (Χαιρέας; *Chaereas*), a brother of Timotheus, the leader of the Ammonites against Judas Maccabaeus (1 Macc. v. 6), who held Gazara (Jazar, 1 Macc. v. 8), where he was slain on the capture of the fortress by the Jews (2 Macc. x. 32, 37). [B. F. W.]

CHERE'THIMS (כְּרֵתִים), Ezek. xxv. 16 (R. V. "Cherethites"; *Palaestini*). The plural form of the word elsewhere rendered CHERETHITES; which see. The Hebrew word occurs again in Zeph. ii. 5 (A. V. and R. V. "Cherethites"; *Philisthini*). In these passages the LXX. render Cretans (Κρῆτες). [F.]

CHE'RETHITES. The Negeb or South (district) of the Cherethites is mentioned in 1 Sam. xxx. 14; and if this district may be considered a part of the "land of the Philistines" (do. *v.* 16), the Cherethite was connected with, possibly a sub-tribe of, that nation. (In Ezek. xxv. 16, Zeph. ii. 5, the Vulg. renders it, or replaces it by, Philistines; see CHERETHIMS.) The name is very probably connected with Crete, and may represent the section of the Philistine race which passed from CAPHTOR into Philistia. The name is very frequently coupled with the Pelethites (כְּרֵתִי; וְהַפְּלֵתִי; Χερεθὶ καὶ Φελεθί; Σωματοφύλακες, Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 5, § 4; *Cerethi et Phelethi*), and represents that contingent of the tribe which together with the Pelethite (of unknown nationality; see Driver, *Notes on the Heb. Text of the BB. of Sam.* on 2 Sam. viii. 18, and reff.) formed the foreign body-guard of King David (2 Sam. viii. 18, xv. 18, xx. 7, 23; 1 K. i. 38, 44; 1 Ch. xviii. 17). Some have supposed that from this body (or rather that which succeeded it) were drawn the executioners (2 K. xi. 4) and couriers (1 K. xiv. 27). Similarly Potiphar was captain of the guard of Pharaoh, and also chief of the executioners (Gen. xxxvii. 36), as was Arioch, Nebuchadnezzar's officer (Dan. ii. 14). In the latter part of David's reign the Cherethites and Pelethites were commanded by Benaiah (2 Sam. viii. 18, xx. 23, xxiii. 23). [F.]

CHE'RITH, THE BROOK (נַחַל כְּרִית; χειμάῤῥους Χορράθ; *torrens Carith*), the torrent-bed or *wâdy*—to use the modern Arabic word which exactly answers to the Hebrew *Nachal*—by which Elijah hid himself during the early part of the three years' drought (1 K. xvii. 3, 5). No further mention of it is found in the Bible, and by Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 13, § 2) it is spoken of merely as χειμάῤῥους τις.

The position of the Cherith has been much disputed. The words of the passage unfortunately give no clue to it:—"Get thee hence (*i.e.* apparently from the spot where the interview with Ahab had taken place, and which may or may not be Samaria), and turn thee eastward (קָדְמָה), and hide thyself by the brook Cherith that is before (עַל פְּנֵי) Jordan" (R. V.). The expression "before (or facing) the Jordan," which occurs also in *v.* 5, seems simply to indicate that the stream in question ran into that river and not into either the Mediterranean or the Dead Sea. Josephus, as we have seen, does not name the torrent, and he says that Elijah went, not "eastward," but towards the south—εἰς τὰ πρὸς νότον μέρη. Eusebius and Jerome on the other hand (*ON.*^{2} pp. 147, 28; 290, 69)

place the Cherith on the east of the Jordan, where also Schwarz (p. 51) would identify it with a *Wâdy Alias*, opposite Bethshean. This is the *Wâdy el-Yâbis* (Jabesh), which Benj. Tudela says is a corruption of ואד אליאם (ii. 408: Asher). Antoninus Mart. (ch. ix.) places the valley east of Jordan, opposite Jericho; apparently identifying it with *W. Sh'aib* or *W. el-Kefrein*. The only other tradition on the subject is one mentioned by Marinus Sanutus in 1321; that it ran by Phasaelus, Herod's city in the Jordan valley. This would make it the *'Ain Fusâil*, which falls from the mountains of Ephraim into the *Ghôr*, south of *Kurn Surtabeh*, and about 15 miles above Jericho. This view is supported by Bachiene, and in our own time by Van de Velde (ii. 310). The spring of the brook is concealed under high cliffs and under the shade of a dense jungle (V. de Velde, *Memoir*, p. 339). Dr. Robinson, on the other hand, would find the name in the *Wâdy Kelt* (قلت), behind Jericho. The two names are, however, essentially unlike, and *Wâdy Kelt* lies far too much to the south.

The argument from probability is in favour of the Cherith being on the east of Jordan (see Mühlau in Riehm's *HWB.* s. n. *Crith*), of which Elijah was a native, and where he would be more out of Ahab's reach than in any of the recesses of the mountains of Ephraim or Benjamin. With increased knowledge of that part of the country, the name may possibly be discovered there. [G.] [W.]

CHERUB (כְּרוּב; *Cherub*), apparently a place in Babylonia from which some persons of doubtful extraction returned to Judaea with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii. 59, B. Χαρούς, A. Χερούβ [2 Esd.]; Neh. vii. 61, B. Χαρούβ, א[c.a]A. Χερ-). It is, however, quite uncertain whether a place or persons be meant (see Bertheau-Ryssel on Ezra, *l. c.*). In the parallel list of 1 Esd. v. 36 this name, with the next, Addan, seems to be corrupted to CHARAATHALAR. [W. A. W.] [F.]

CHERUB, CHERUBIM (כְּרוּב, plur. כְּרוּבִים, or, as mostly in Pentateuch, כְּרֻבִים; χερούβ, χερουβίμ). The symbolical figure so called was a composite creature-form, which finds a parallel in the religious insignia of

Fig. 1. The winged female Sphinx. (Wilkinson.)

Assyria, Egypt, and Persia, *e.g.* the sphinx, the winged bulls and lions of Nineveh, &c., a general prevalence which prevents the necessity of our regarding it as a mere adoption from the Egyptian ritual. In such forms (cp. the Chimaera of Greek and the Griffin of north-eastern fables) every imaginative people has sought to embody

Fig. 2. An Egyptian winged animal. (Wilkinson.)

its notions either of the attributes of Divine essence, or of the vast powers of nature which transcend that of man. In the various legends of Hercules the bull and the lion constantly appear as forms of hostile and evil power; and some of the Persian sculptures apparently represent evil genii under similar quasi-cherubic forms. Cherubim first enter the Bible record in Gen. iii. 24, attended by a "flaming sword;" where notice the article, "*the* cherubim" (R. V.). Stern and strict guardianship, prompt to avenge intrusion on the henceforth unapproachable scene of a higher spirituality, seems intended; "*the* cherubim" being known from the Tabernacle devices when Moses wrote, "*the* sword" being that of Num. xxii. 23, Josh. v. 13, although the symbolism is doubtless older than the Mosaic age. The Hebrew idea seems to limit the number of the cherubim. A pair (Ex. xxv. 18, &c.) were placed on the mercy-seat of the ark; a pair of colossal size[a] overshadowed it in Solomon's Temple with the canopy of their contiguously extended wings. To this, "under the shadow of Thy wings," in Ps. xvii. 8, xxxvi. 7, lxiii. 7, is probably an allusion. Ezek. i. 4–14 speaks of four,[b] and similarly the apocalyptic ζῷα (Rev. iv. 6) are four. They utter no voice, though one is "heard from above them," nor have dealings with men save to awe and repel; in short, they are nowhere developed into personality, unless we assume their identity with the apocalyptic ζῷα (Rev. v. 14; vi. 1). A "man clothed in linen" is introduced as a medium of communication between them and the Prophet, whereas for a similar office one of the Seraphim personally officiates; and these latter also "cry one to another." The cherubim are placed beneath the actual presence of Jehovah, Whose moving throne they appear to draw (Gen. iii. 24; Ezek. i. 5, 25, 26, x. 1, 2, 6, 7; Is. vi. 2, 3, 6). The expression, however, "the chariot (מֶרְכָּבָה) of the cherubim" (1 Ch. xxviii. 18), does not

[a] It is perhaps questionable whether the smaller cherubim on the mercy-seat were there in Solomon's Temple, as well as the colossal overshadowing ones. That they were on the ark when brought from Shiloh to the battle seems most likely; and it is hardly consistent with the reverential awe shown in the treatment of the ark, even by the enemy, to suppose that they could have been lost in the course of its wanderings [see ARK OF COVENANT]; still, the presence of the two pairs together seems hardly consistent and appropriate.

[b] The number four was one of those which were sacred among the Jews, like seven, and forty (Bähr, *De Symbol.*).

imply wheels, but the whole apparatus of ark and cherubim is probably so called in reference to its being carried on staves, and the words "chariot" and "cherubim" are in apposition. So a sedan might be called a "carriage," and כַּרְכֶּב is used for the body of a litter. See, however, Dorjen, *De Cherub. Sanct.* (ap. Ugolini, vol. viii.), where the opposite opinion is ably supported. The glory symbolizing that Presence which eye cannot see rests or rides on them, or one of them, thence dismounts to the Temple threshold, and then departs and mounts again (Ezek. x. 4, 18, cp. ix. 3; Ps. xviii. 10). There is in them an entire absence of human sympathy, and even on the mercy-seat they probably appeared not merely as admiring and wondering (1 Pet. i. 12), but as a vehicle of manifesting Deity, Whose Presence, in itself inaccessible, they at once proclaim and veil (Schultz, *Alt. Test. Theol.*[4] p. 321), and as guardians of the covenant and avengers of its breach. A single figure there might have suggested an idol, which two, especially when represented regarding something greater than themselves, would not do. They thus became subordinate, like the supporters to a shield, and are repeated, as it were the distinctive bearings of divine heraldry, —the mark, carved or wrought, everywhere on the house and furniture of God, alike in the tapestry of the Tabernacle, on the walls of the first Temple, and in Ezekiel's vision of the Temple renewed (Ex. xxvi. 31; 1 K. vi. 29, 35, vii. 29, 36; Ezek. xli. 18–20, 25).

Those on the ark were to be placed with wings stretched forth, one at each end of the mercy-seat, and to be made "of the mercy-seat," which Abarbenel (Spencer, *de leg. Heb. ritual.* iii. diss. v.) and others interpret of the same mass of gold with it, viz. wrought by hammering, not cast and then joined on. This seems doubtful, but from the word מִקְשָׁה the solidity of the metal may perhaps be inferred. They are called χερουβὶμ δοξῆς (Heb. ix. 5), as on them the glory, when visible, rested; but,

Fig. 3. Assyrian Gryphon. (Layard.)

whether thus visibly symbolized or not, a perpetual Presence of God is attributed to the Holy of Holies. They were anointed with the holy oil, like the ark itself, and the other sacred furniture. Their wings were to be stretched upwards, and their faces "towards each other and towards the mercy-seat." It is remarkable that with such precise directions as to their position, attitude, and material, nothing save that they were winged is said concerning their shape.

Was this shape already familiar, or kept designedly mysterious? From the fact that cherubim were blazoned on the doors, walls, curtains, &c. of the house, and from the detailed

Fig. 4. Assyrian winged Bull. (Layard, *Nin. and Bab.*)

description of shapes by Ezekiel, the latter notion might be thought absurd. But if the text of Ezekiel, and the carvings, &c., of the Temple had made them popular, Josephus could not possibly have said (*Ant.* viii. 3, § 3), τὰς δὲ χερουβεῖς οὐδεὶς ὁποῖαί τινες ἦσαν εἰπεῖν οὐδ' εἰκάσαι δύναται. It is also remarkable that Ezek. i. speaks of them as "living creatures" (חַיּוֹת, ζῶα), under mere animal forms. In x. 14 the remarkable expression, "the face of a cherub," is introduced, and the Prophet concludes by a reference to his former vision, and an identification of those creatures with the cherubim—v. 20, "I knew that they were cherubim." Familiarity with the colossal winged and human-headed bulls, &c., of Assyrian sculpture may have moulded the form in which the vision of Ezekiel was cast, just as Egyptian prototypes (fig. 7) may have suggested a symbolism to Moses for the Tabernacle. He probably develops into greater complexity under that influence what the older and simpler symbols involved. On the whole it seems likely that the word "cherub" meant not only the composite creature-form, of which the man, lion, ox, and eagle were the elements, but, further, some peculiar and mystical form, which Ezekiel, being a priest, would know and recognise as "the face of a CHERUB," κατ' ἐξοχήν, but which was kept secret from all others; and such probably were those on the ark, which, when it was moved, was always covered [ARK OF COVENANT], though those on the hangings and panels might be of the popular device.[e]

[e] The "cherubim, lions, and oxen," which ornamented certain utensils in the Temple (1 K. vii. 29), are probably all to be viewed as cherubic insignia, the former of composite form, the two latter of simple.

What this peculiar cherubic form was is perhaps an impenetrable mystery. It was probably believed popularly to be something of the bovine type (though in Ps. cvi. 20 the notion appears to be marked as degraded): so Spencer (*de leg. Hebr. rit.* iii. diss. 5) thinks that the ox was the *forma praecipua*, and quotes Grotius on Ex. xxv. 18; Bochart, *Hierozoic.* p. 87, ed. 1690. Hence the "golden calf." On the other hand we find "lions, *oxen, and* cherubim" on the "borders" (cp. 1 K. vii. 29). The symbolism of the visions of Ezekiel is more complex than that of the earlier Scriptures, and he certainly means in x. 14 that each composite creature-form had four faces, so as to look four ways at once; was four-sided[d] and four-winged, so as to move with instant rapidity in every direction without turning. Yet in his vision of the Temple this is again modified, and every cherub had *two* faces (xli. 18). But it is not necessary to import this into the simpler symbols of the Tabernacle and Temple, which were probably single-faced,[e] and with but one pair of wings. Ezekiel adds also the imagery of the wheels—a mechanical to the previous animal forms. We should remember, however, the wheels on the "borders" (1 K. vii. 30, 32, 33), on which cherubim form part of the ornamentation (*v.* 29). These are described as having "the work of a chariot wheel," and were probably merely for convenience of locomotion. This might typify inanimate nature revolving in a fixed course, informed by the spiritual power of God. The additional symbol of being "full of eyes" is one of obvious meaning, while the restless vivacity of the ζῶα in Rev. iv. 8 sets forth the same quality in Divine operations. Thus, instead of an *animus mundi* working mechanically, we have the nobler idea of a living God pervading all nature with ubiquitous consciousness; and the view of nature which we derive from the O. T. is thus defined as being in a higher than the purely mechanical sphere; for instance, the thunderstorm of Ps. xviii. 11 is a manifestation of Divine Presence and energy.

This mysterious form might well be the symbol of Him Whom none could behold and live. For as symbols of Divine attributes, *e.g.* omnipotence and omniscience, not as representations of actual beings (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. p. 241), the cherubim should be regarded.[f] Philo indeed assigns a varied signification to the cherubim: in one place he makes them allegories of the beneficent and avenging energies of God; in another, of the two hemispheres of the then astronomical system, one of which supported the planets and the other the fixed stars; elsewhere of power and goodness simply. They are symbolical in Gen. iii. 24, just as the serpent is a symbol in iii. 1–14, though functions and actions are attributed to each. When such symbolical forms have become conventional, the next step is to literalize them as concrete shapes of real beings. The ζῶα of Rev. iv. 6–8 are related both to the cherubim and to the seraphim of Is. vi., combining the symbols of both. They are not stern and unsympathising like the former, but invite the seer to "come and see;" nor, like the latter, do they cover their face (Is. vi. 2) from the Presence of Deity, or use their wings to speed on His errands, but, in a state of rest and praise, act as the *choregi* of the heavenly host. And here, too, symbolism ever sliding into realism, these have been diversely construed, *e.g* as the four evangelists, four archangels, &c.

Many etymological sources for the word כְּרוּב have been proposed. Two worth noticing are: (1) the Syriac ܟܪܘܒ, *great, strong* (Gesen. *s. v.*; comp. Philo, *de Profugis*, p. 465). The fact that all the symbols embody various forms of strength—the lion among wild and the ox among tame beasts, the eagle among birds, the man as supreme over all nature—is in favour of this. (2) The Syriac ܟܪܒ, *to plough*, i.e. *to cut into;* hence Arab. كرب, *sculpsit;* and here a doubt occurs whether in the active or passive sense, "that which ploughs" = the ox (comp. בָּקָר, "ox," from same word in Arab. "to plough"), which brings us to the *forma praecipua* of Spencer; or that which is carved = an image. In favour of the latter is the fact that כְּרוּב is rabbinical for "image" generically (Simonis, Bouget, and Pagninus, *Lexx.* s. v.), perhaps as the only image known to the Law, all others being deemed forbidden, but possibly also as containing the true germ of meaning.[g]

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[d] Schoetgen, *ad Hor. Hebr. Apoc.* iv. 3, quotes *Pirke Rab. Eliezer*, "Ad quatuor pedes (throni) sunt quatuor animalia, quorum unum quodque quatuor facies et tot alas habet. Quando Deus loquitur ab oriente, tunc id fit inter duos cherubinos facie hominis; quando Deus loquitur a meridie, tunc id fit inter duos cherubinos facie leonis," &c.

[e] Bähr, *Symbolik*, vol. i. pp. 313–14 (whose entire remarks on this subject are valuable and often profound), inclines to think that the precise form varied within certain limits; *e.g.* the cherubic figure might have one, two, or four faces, two or four feet, one or two pair of wings, and might have the bovine or leonine type as its basis; the imagery being modified to suit the prominently intended attribute, and the highest forms of creature-being expressing best the highest attributes of the Creator. Thus he thinks the human form might indicate spirituality (p. 340. Cp. Grot. on Exod. xxv. 18, and Heb. ix. 5). Some useful hints as to the connexion of cherubic with other mythological forms may be found in Creuzer, *Symbol.* i. 441, 540.

[f] Keil, on the contrary (*Bibl. Archaeol.* § 19, 3), takes them to be images representing actual beings, the highest of spiritual orders, supreme, next to God Himself, over their hierarchy, as man is supreme over earthly creatures.

[g] The griffin of Northern fable watching the gold in the wilderness has (see above) been compared with the cherub, both as regards his composite form and his function as the guardian of a treasure. The "watchful dragon" of the Hesperides seems perhaps a fabulous reflex of the same, where possibly the "serpent" (δράκων) may, by a change not uncommon in myth, have taken the place of the "cherubim." The dragon and the bull have their place also in the legend of the golden fleece. There is a very near resemblance too between the names γρῦπ- (with ς affirmative) and כְּרוּב; and possibly an affinity between γρῦπ- and the Greek forms γλύπω, γλύφω, γράφω, γλαφυρός (cp. Germ. *graben*), all relating to carving, as between כְּרוּב and the Syriac and Arab. words signifying *aravit, sculpsit*, &c., as above. We have another form of the same root probably in κύρβις, the block or tablet on which the laws were *engraved*.

Assyriologists are still unable to decide whether or not Cherub be identical with *Kirûbu*, the occurrence of this latter word as a name for the winged bull being still a matter of dispute (see *ZA.* i. 68). Canon Cook refers the word "to an Egyptian root, which probably means to 'carve,' or at any rate 'shape'" (*Speaker's Comm.* on Gen. iii. 24, note C end). In *PSBA.* 1884, p. 193, is a speculation by Renouf on a word *χerefu* (phonetically = "lion-forms") found on some papyri, but not recognised in Egyptian vocabularies, which he views as the probable parent of a Coptic and a demotic word, each signifying "forms," and suggests that the Hebrew כְּרוּב may "be derived from the Egyptian *χeref*." Besides these opinions, wisdom or intelligence has been given by high authority as the true meaning of the name (Jerome on Is. vi. 2; so Philo, *de Vit. Mos.* 688, ὡς δ' ἂν Ἕλληνες εἴποιεν ἐπίγνωσις καὶ ἐπιστήμη πολλή; and Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 240, ἐθέλει δὲ τὸ ὄνομα ιὼν χερουβὶμ δηλοῦν αἴσθησιν πολλήν). The Rabbins gave the etymological explanation כרב, "equal to many"; Umbreit and others take the word "cherub" from רכב, "a chariot," by transposing the first two letters (Oehler, *Theol. of the O. T.*, i. p. 385, § 119, who refers to Riehm, *de Nat. et Ratione Symbol. Cherub.*).

Though the exact form of the cherubim is uncertain, they must have borne a general resemblance to the composite religious figures found upon the monuments of Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, and Persia. The first two figures (p. 565) are winged creatures from the Egyptian monuments. The next two (p. 566) are taken from Assyrian sculptures. The winged Assyrian sphinx is elsewhere represented as engaged architecturally with the base of a column; it has thus analogy to the architectural cherubs of the sanctuary. Fig. 5 represents the griffin of Northern fable, as we see from the griffin found as an ornament in Scythian tombs, but drawn by Grecian artists. In the sacred boats or arks of the Egyptians, there are sometimes found two figures with extended wings, which remind us of the description of the cherubim "covering the mercy-seat with their wings, and their faces looking one to another" (Ex. xxv. 20). But these figures appear *within* the ark (fig. 6), and

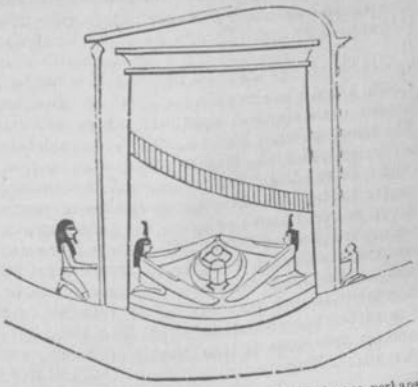


Fig. 6. A sacred Egyptian boat or ark, with two figures, perhaps resembling cherubim. (Wilkinson.)

probably represent inferior deities holding the symbol of the superior deity between them, which in the Mosaic type is significant by its absence. [H. H.]

Fig. 5. A Grecian griffin.

CHESA'LON (כֶּסְלוֹן, *strength, confidence*; B. Χασλών, A. Χασαλών; *Cheslon*), a place named as one of the landmarks on the west part of the north boundary of Judah, apparently situated on the shoulder (A. V. and R. V. "side") of Mount Jearim (Josh. xv. 10). The name does not, however, reappear in the list of towns of Judah later in the same chapter. Mount Jearim, the "Mount of Forests," has not necessarily any connexion with Kirjath-jearim, though the two were evidently, from their proximity in this statement of the boundary, not far apart. Chesalon was the next landmark to Beth-shemesh, and it is quite in accordance with this that Dr. Robinson has observed a modern village named *Kesla*, about six miles to the north-east of *'Ain Shems*, on the western mountains of Judah (Rob. ii. 30, note, iii. 154; *PEF. Mem.* iii. 25). Eusebius and Jerome, in the *Onomasticon*, mention a Chaslon, but they differ as to its situation, the former (*OS.*[2] p. 289, 47, s. n. Χαλαασών) placing it in Benjamin,[a] the latter (*OS.*[2] p. 147, 4) in Judah: both agree that it was a very large village in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. The meaning of the name is thought by Stanley, like Chesulloth,

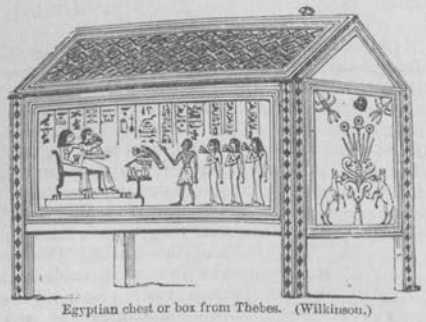
[a] Possibly referring to the village now *Beit Iksa*, between Jerusalem and *Neby Samwil*, and therefore in Benjamin.

to have reference to its situation on the "loins" of the mountain. [G.] [W.]

CHE'SED (כֶּשֶׂד; A. Χάσζαδ, *D.* Χάσαδ; *Cased*), fourth son of Nahor (Gen. xxii. 22). [CHALDEA.] [F.]

CHESI'L (כְּסִיל; B. Βαιθήλ; A. Χασείρ; *Cesil*), a town in the extreme south of Palestine, named with Hormah and Ziklag (Josh. xv. 30). The name does not occur again, and is evidently a corruption of the Masoretic text (see Driver, *Notes on the Heb. Text of the BB. of Samuel*, under 1 Sam. xxx. 27); but in the list of towns given out of Judah to Simeon, the name BETHUL occurs in place of it (xix. 4). This is confirmed by the reading of 1 Ch. iv. 30, BETHUEL; by that of the LXX. (B.) as given above; and by the mention in 1 Sam. xxx. 27 of a Bethel (not the better known Bethel, N. of Jerusalem, but) among the cities in the Negeb of Judah, not far from Ziklag. [G.] [W.]

CHEST. By this word are translated in the A. V. two distinct Hebrew terms: 1. אָרוֹן or אָרֹן, from ארה, to gather; κιβωτός; *gazophylacium*. This is invariably used for the ark of



Egyptian chest or box from Thebes. (Wilkinson.)

the Covenant, and, with two exceptions, for that only. It is instructive to be reminded that there is no connexion whatever between this word and that for the "ark" of Noah, and for the "ark" in which Moses was hid among the flags (both תֵּבָה, *Tebah*). The two exceptions alluded to are (*a*) the "coffin" (the ארנא of the Hauran inscriptions, Delitzsch [1887] in loco) in which the bones of Joseph were carried from Egypt (Gen. l. 26; rendered in the Targ. Ps.-Jon. in Hebrew letters by γλωσσόκομον; cp. John xii. 6), probably of stone, and containing the wooden chest (cp. Ebers in Riehm, *HWB.* s. n. 'Einbalsamiren'); and (*b*) the "chest" in which Jehoiada the priest collected the alms for the repairs of the Temple (2 K. xii. 9, 10; 2 Ch. xxiv. 8–11). Of the former the above woodcut is probably a near representation. 2. גִּנָּזִים, probably of Persian derivation ("treasuries" in Esther iii. 9, iv. 7; "chests" in Ezek. xxvii. 24). [G.] [W.]

CHESTNUT-TREE (עַרְמוֹן, *'armôn*; πλάτανος, ἐλάτη; *platanus*; "plane-tree," R. V.). Mention is made of the *'armôn* in Gen. xxx. 37, as one of the trees from which Jacob took rods in which "he pilled white strakes," to set them before Laban's flocks when they came to drink (see on this subject SHEEP); in Ezek. xxxi. 8, the *'armôn* is spoken of as one of the glories of Assyria. The tree really intended is the Oriental Plane, *Platanus orientalis*, so familiar in the London squares, and which must not be confounded with our common sycamore, often called a plane-tree, but which is really a maple, *Acer pseudo-platanus*. This rendering of plane-tree is supported by the LXX. (in Gen. *l. c.*), the Vulg., the Chaldee, with the Syriac and Arabic Versions (Celsius, *Hierob.* i. 513). The chestnut, though a native of the Caucasus and Western Asia, is only found in Palestine cultivated. The plane-tree is frequent by the sides of streams and in the plains, both on the coast and in the north of the country. It loves a rich soil in a low moist situation, and thus in Genesis is grouped with the willow and the poplar. On the Upper Jordan, on the banks of the Litany (Leontes), in the glens of Lebanon, and by the sides of the Orontes, it is abundant, and is a noble and beautiful tree. There are some grand old plane-trees in the streets of Damascus. One has its hollow trunk used as a dwelling; another which we measured is more than 40 feet in circumference, and a copious spring gushes up among its roots. Dr. Kitto (*Cyc.*, art. *Armôn*), in illustration of Ezek. (*l. c.*), says that "the planes of Assyria are of extraordinary size and beauty, in both respects exceeding even those of Palestine; it consists with our own experience, that one may travel far in Western Asia without meeting such trees, and so many together, as occur in the Chenar (plane) groves of Assyria and Media." The plane-trees of Persia are now and have been long held in the greatest veneration; with the Greeks also these trees were great favourites. Herodotus (vii. 31) tells a story of how Xerxes on his way to Sardis met with a plane-tree of exceeding beauty, to which he made an offering of golden ornaments.

The plane-tree belongs to the natural order *Platanaceae*, bearing catkins, with the flowers in clusters of rounded balls, pendulous on a common stalk, with palmate leaves of pale green colour. It sheds its bark as well as its leaves annually, and the trunk then appears white, whence its Hebrew name *'armôn*, "naked" (*i.e.* without bark). In Ecclus. xxiv. 14, Wisdom is compared to "a plane-tree by the water."

[W. H.] [H. B. T.]

CHESUL'LOTH (with the definite article, הַכְּסֻלּוֹת; B. Χασαλώθ, A. Ἀχασελώθ; *Casaloth*), one of the towns of Issachar, meaning (as some think) in Hebrew, "the loins" (Fr. *les flancs*), and therefore, perhaps, deriving its name from its situation on the slope of some mountain (Josh. xix. 18). It is named in the same group with Jezreel and Shunem (*Sôlam*), and is probably the same place as CHISLOTH-TABOR (*v.* 12. Cp. Dillmann,[2] *l. c.*). It is mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome, in the *Onomasticon*, under Ἀχεσέλωθ (*OS.*[2] p. 241, 58) and *Achaseluth* (*OS.*[2] p. 130, 24), and is said to be a village called Χασαλούς, *Chasalus*, 8 miles from Diocaesarea, in the plain near Mount Tabor. It is now *Iksâl*, 3 miles west of Tabor (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 385–7; Guérin, *Galilée*, i. 108); and is doubtless the Xaloth of Josephus (*B. J.* iii. 3, § 1). [G.] [W.]

CHETTIIM (Τ.? Χεττιείμ; ℵA. Χεττιείμ; *Chethim*) = Macedonia (1 Macc. i. 1). [CHITTIM.] [F.]

CHEZI'B (כְּזִיב; Sam. Cod. כזבה; Sam. Vers. כדובה; Χασβί; Vulg. [*quo nato parere ultra*] *cessavit*; cp. a similar translation by Aquila, in Jer. *Qu. Hebr.*), a name which occurs but once (Gen. xxxviii. 5). Judah was at Chezib when the Canaanitess Bathshua bare his third son Shelah. The other places named in this remarkable narrative are all in the low country of Judah, and therefore, in the absence of any specification of the position of Chezib, we may adopt the opinion of the interpreters, ancient and modern, who identify it with ACHZIB (אַכְזִיב). It is probably the Χασβί of Eusebius and Jerome (*OS.*[2] pp. 289, 37; 146, 18), and the name may perhaps be retained in *'Ain Kezbeh*, at *Beit Nettif*, 2½ miles from *'Aid el-Mâ* (Adullam. *PEF. Mem.* iii. 36). Probably identical with CHOZEBA. [G.] [W.]

CHI'DON (כִּידוֹן; LXX. B. om., A. Χειλών; Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 4, § 2, Χειδών; *Chidon*), the name which in 1 Ch. xiii. 9 is given to the threshing-floor (or to the owner of the threshing-floor) at which the accident to the ark, on its transport from Kirjath-jearim to Jerusalem, and the death of Uzzah took place. In the parallel account in 2 Sam. vi. 6 the name is given as NACHON. It has been debated whether these were two distinct names for the same spot, or whether the one was a corruption or alteration of the other (see Ges. *Thes.* p. 683; Simonis, *Onom.* pp. 339–40). Further, the Jewish tradition (Jerome, *Quaest. Heb.* on 1 Ch. xiii. 9)—irreconcilable with the topography—was that Chidon acquired its name from being the spot on which Joshua stood when he stretched out the *Chidon* (A. V. "spear," R. V. "javelin") towards Ai (Josh. viii. 18). All that can be affirmed is that it is a proper name, or some designation, which — attached to "threshing-floor"—constituted it a proper name (cp. Gen. l. 16, 17; 1 Sam. xix. 22), whether of owner or place (cp. Driver, *Notes on the Heb. Text of the BB. of Sam.*, under 2 Sam. vi. 6). [G.] [W.]

CHILDREN (בָּנִים; τέκνα, παιδία; *liberi, filii*. From the root בָּנָה, *to build*, are derived both בֵּן, *son*, as in Ben-jamin, &c., and בַּת, *daughter*, as in Bath-sheba. The Chald. בַּר, *son*, also occurs in O. T., and appears in N. T. in such words as Bar-nabas. Cognate words are the Arabic Beni, *sons*, in the sense of descendants, and Benât, *daughters*, Ges. pp. 215, 236; Shaw, *Travels*, Pref. p. 8). The blessing of offspring, but especially, and sometimes exclusively, of the male sex, is highly valued among all Eastern nations, while the absence of children is regarded as one of the severest deprivations. Women sometimes use charms and empirical means for the purpose of obtaining their wishes in this respect, a practice which may perhaps in some degree account for the teraphim stolen by Rachel from her father (Gen. xvi. 2, xxix. 32, xxx. 1, 24, xxxi. 19, 34; Deut. vii. 14; 1 Sam. i. 6, ii. 5, iv. 20; 2 Sam. vi. 23, xviii. 18; 2 K. iv. 14; Is. xlvii. 9; Jer. xx. 15, xxii. 30; Hos. ix. 14; Esth. v. 11; Ps. cxxvii. 3, 5; Eccles. vi. 3. Cp. Herod. i. 136; Strab. xv. 733; Drusius, *Prov. Ben-Sirac*, ap. *Cr. Sacr.* viii. 1887; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 208, 240; Mrs. Poole, *Englishw. in Eg.* iii. 163; Niebuhr, *Descr. de l'Ar.* p. 67; Chardin, *Voy.* vii. 446; Russell, *Nubia*, p. 343; Thomson, *Land and Book*, p. 124). Childbirth is in the East usually, but not always, attended with little difficulty, and accomplished with little or no assistance (Gen. xxxv. 17, xxxviii. 28; Ex. i. 19; 1 Sam. iv. 19, 20; Burckhardt, *Notes on Bedouins*, i. 96; Harmer, *Obs.* iv. 425; Lady M. W. Montagu, *Letters*, ii. 217, 219, 222). As soon as the child was born, and the umbilical cord cut, it was washed in a bath, rubbed with salt, and wrapped in swaddling clothes. Arab mothers sometimes rub their children with earth, sand, or finely powdered salt (Ezek. xvi. 4; Job xxxviii. 9; Luke ii. 7; Burckhardt, *l. c.*; *PEFQy. St.* 1881, p. 301). On the eighth day the rite of circumcision in the case of a boy was performed, and a name given, sometimes, but not usually, the same as that of the father, and generally conveying some special meaning. Among Mohammedans, circumcision is most commonly delayed till the fifth, sixth, or even the fourteenth year (Gen. xxi. 4, xxix. 32, 35, xxx. 6, 24; Lev. xii. 3; Luke i. 59, ii. 21, and Lightfoot *ad loc.*; Spencer, *de Legg. Hebr.* v. 62; Strab. xvii. 824; Herod. ii. 36, 104; Burckhardt, *l. c.* i. 96; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 87; Mrs. Poole, *Englishw. in Eg.* iii. 158; Niebuhr, *Descr.* p. 70). [CIRCUMCISION.] After the birth of a male child the mother was considered unclean for 7 + 33 days; if the child were a female, for double that period, 14 + 66 days. At the end of the time she was to make an offering of purification of a lamb as a burnt-offering, and a pigeon or turtle-dove as a sin-offering, or, in case of poverty, two doves or pigeons, one as a burnt-offering, the other as a sin-offering (Lev. vii. 1–8; Luke ii. 22). The period of nursing appears to have been sometimes prolonged to three years (Is. xlix. 15; 2 Macc. vii. 27. Cp. Livingstone, *Travels*, c. vi. p. 126; but Burckhardt was led to a different conclusion). The Mohammedan law enjoins mothers to suckle their children for two full years if possible (Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. p. 83; Mrs. Poole, *Englishw. in Eg.* iii. p. 161). Nurses were employed in cases of necessity (Gen. xxiv. 59, xxxv. 8; Ex. ii. 9; 2 Sam. iv. 4; 2 K. xi. 2; 2 Ch. xxii. 11). The time of weaning was an occasion of rejoicing (Gen. xxi. 8). Arab children wear little or no clothing for four or five years: the young of both sexes are usually carried by the mothers on the hip or the shoulder, a custom to which allusion is made by Isaiah (Is. xlix. 22, lxvi. 12; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 83). Both boys and girls in their early years, boys probably till their fifth year, were under the care of the women (Prov. xxxi. 1; Herod. i. 136; Strab. xv. 733; Niebuhr, *Descr.* p. 24). Afterwards the boys were taken by the father under his charge. Those in wealthy families had tutors or governors (אֹמְנִים, παιδαγωγοί), who were sometimes eunuchs (Num. xi. 12; 2 K. x. 1, 5; Is. xlix. 23; Gal. iii. 24; Esth. ii. 7; Joseph. *Vit.* 76; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 83). Daughters usually remained in the women's apartments till marriage, or, among the poorer classes, were employed in household work (Lev. xxi. 9; Num. xii. 14; 1 Sam. ix. 11; Prov.

xxxi. 19, 23; Ecclus. vii. 25, xlii. 9; 2 Macc. iii. 19). The example, however, and authority of the mother were carefully upheld in the case of children of both sexes (Deut. xxi. 20; Prov. x. 1, xv. 20; 1 K. ii. 19). Boys of the lower classes at the present day are taught early to take sheep and goats to pasture, and to watch vineyards when the fruit is ripening, and girls to carry water in buckets on their heads (*PEFQy. St.* 1881, p. 301).

The firstborn male children were regarded as devoted to God, and were to be redeemed by an offering (Ex. xiii. 13; Num. xviii. 15; Luke ii. 22). Children devoted by special vow, as Samuel was, appear to have been brought up from very early years in a school or place of education near the Tabernacle or Temple (1 Sam. i. 24, 28). [EDUCATION.]

The authority of parents, especially the father, over children was very great, as was also the reverence enjoined by the Law to be paid to parents. The disobedient child, the striker or reviler of a parent, was liable to capital punishment, though not at the independent will of the parent. Children were liable to be taken as slaves in case of non-fulfilment of their duties, and were expected to perform menial offices for their parents, such as washing the feet, and to maintain them in poverty and old age. How this last obligation was evaded, see CORBAN. The like obedience is enjoined by the Gospel (Gen. xxxviii. 24; Lev. xix. 32, xxi. 9; Num. xii. 14; 1 K. ii. 19; 2 K. iv. 1; Neh. v. 5; Prov. x. 1, xv. 20, xix. 3; Drusius, *Quaest. Hebr.* ii. 63, ap. *Cr. Sacr.* viii. 1547; Col. iii. 20; Ephes. vi. 1; 1 Tim. i. 9: cp. Virg. *Aen.* vi. 609, and Servius *ad loc.*; Aristoph. *Ran.* 146; Plato, *Phaedo*, 144, *de Legg.* ix.).

The legal age was twelve, or even earlier in the case of a female, and thirteen for a male (Maimon. *de Pros.* c. v., ed. Prideaux, p. 167; Grotius and Calmet *on John* ix. 21).

The inheritance was divided equally between all the sons except the eldest, who received a double portion (Deut. xxi. 17; Gen. xxv. 31, xlix. 3; 1 Ch. v. 1, 2; Judg. xi. 2, 7). Daughters had by right no portion in the inheritance; but if a man had no son, his inheritance passed to his daughters, but they were forbidden to marry out of their father's tribe (Num. xxvii. 1, 8 xxxvi. 2, 8).

The term *sons* was applied also to the disciples and followers of the teachers of the various sects which arose after the Captivity (Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* on John xiii. 33; Luke xi. 45; John xvi. 16). [See SECTS; SCHOOLS; and SCHOOLS OF PROPHETS.] [H. W. P.]

CHIL'EAB. [ABIGAIL; DANIEL.]

CHIL'ION (כִּלְיוֹן, perhaps *wasting away* [but see Oettli in Strack u. Zöckler's *Kjff. Komm.* 'das B. Ruth,' Einleit. § 3]; B. Χελαιὼν and Κελ-; A. Χελεὼν and Χαι-; *Chelion*), the son of Elimelech and Naomi, and husband of Orpah (Ruth i. 2–5, iv. 6). He is described as an "Ephrathite (cp. Gen. xlviii. 7; Mic. v. 1) of Bethlehem-Judah;" Judah being added to distinguish this Bethlehem from the Bethlehem in Zebulon (Josh. xix. 15) [W. A. W.]

CHIL'MAD (כַּלְמַד; Χαρ. [? Carmania]; *Chelmad*), a place or country mentioned in conjunction with Sheba and Asshur (Ezek. xxvii. 23). Bochart found a similarity to it in Charmande, a town near the Euphrates between the Mascas and the Babylonian frontier (Xen. *Anab.* i. 5, § 10); but G. Smith (*TSBA.* 1872, p. 61) and Fried. Delitzsch (*Wo lag das Paradies*, p. 206) in *Kalwâdha* near Bagdad, to which Orelli (in Strack and Zöckler's *Kjff. Komm.* in loco) assents. Hitzig (*Comm. on Ezek.* l. c.), following Kimchi, does not consider it the name of a place at all, but alters the punctuation to כָּלְמֹד with the sense "Asshur was *as thy pupil* in commerce;" and with an alteration of this character Cornill (*Das Buch d. Proph. Ezechiel*, in loco) agrees, though he prefers to render "Assur must accommodate himself to thy market." [F.]

CHIM'HAM (כִּמְהָם; in 2 Sam. xix. 40, it is in the Hebrew text Chimhan, כִּמְהָן; and in the *Ketîb* of Jer. xli. 17, Chemôham, כִּמּוֹהָם: B. Χαμαάμ, A. Χαναάν; LXX. in Jer. [xlviii.] couples the name with another reading of the preceding noun, T.^{r} Γαβηρωχαμάα, א. Γηβαηρωχαμά; Jos. Ἀχίμανος: *Chamaam*), a follower, and probably a son (Josh. *Ant.* vii. 11, § 4; and cp. 1 K. ii. 7), of Barzillai the Gileadite, who returned from beyond Jordan with David (2 Sam. xix. 37, 38, 40; see Targum on Jer. xli. 17). David appears to have bestowed on him a possession at Bethlehem, on which, in later times, an inn or *Khân* (גֵּרוּת) was standing, well known as the starting-point for travellers from Jerusalem to Egypt (Jer. xli. 17). Josephus (*Ant.* x. 9, § 5) gives the name of this place as Μάνδρα. [G.] [W.]

CHIN'NERETH (כִּנֶּרֶת, in pause כִּנָּ֫רֶת; B. Κενερέθ, A. Χενερώθ; *Cenereth*), a fortified city in the tribe of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 35 only), of which no trace is found in later writers, and no remains by travellers. Whether it gave its name to, or received it from, the lake, which was possibly adjacent, is quite uncertain. The Talmud (Tal. Jer. *Megillah*, 70 *a*) renders the name by גְּנֹסַר, *Genosar* (or גִּנֵּיסַר, Γεννησάρ, 1 Macc. xi. 67), and praises the fertility of the plain of the same name. If this rendering be correct, Chinnereth was in or near Gennesaret, possibly at *Abû Shûsheh*, or on the heights above *Khân Minyeh*. By St. Jerome Chinnereth was identified with the later Tiberias (*OS.*^{2} p. 146, 28). This may have been from some tradition then existing; but it is more probable that Tiberias represents the Rakkath of Josh. xix. 35. The identification of Chinnereth with Tiberias is denied by Reland (p. 161), on the ground that Capernaum is said by St. Matthew (iv. 13) to have been on the very borders of Zebulun and Naphtali, and that Zebulun was to the south of Naphtali. But St. Matthew's expression will hardly bear this strict interpretation. The town, or the lake, appears to have given its name (slightly altered) to a district — "all CINNEROTH" (1 K. xv. 20. Cp. the suggested reading in Josh. xix. 34, *QPB.*^{3} in loco). In A. V. 1611 it is spelt "Cinnereth." [G.] [W.]

CHIN'NERETH, SEA OF (יָם כִּנֶּרֶת; in Num. B. ἡ θάλασσα Χενάρα, AF. Χενερέθ, in Josh. B. Χενερέθ, A. -ρώθ; *mare Cenereth*,

Num. xxxiv. 11; Josh. xiii. 27), the inland sea, which is most familiarly known to us as the "lake of Gennesareth." This is evident from the mode in which it is mentioned in various passages in the Pentateuch and Joshua — as being at the end of Jordan opposite to the "Sea of the Arabah," *i.e.* the Dead Sea; as having the Arabah or Ghor below it, &c. (Deut. iii. 17; Josh. xi. 2, xii. 3). In the two former of these passages the word "sea" is omitted; in the two latter it is in a plural form—"Chinneroth" (acc. Cinnaroth, כִּנָּרוֹת; and כִּנֶּרוֹת, Cinneroth, Vulg. Ceneroth). The word is by some derived from Cinnoor (*κιννύρα, cithara*, "a harp"), as if in allusion to the oval shape of the lake. But this, to say the least, is doubtful. It seems more likely that Cinnereth was an ancient Canaanite name existing long prior to the Israelite conquest, and, like other names, adopted by the Israelites into their language. The subsequent name "Gennesar" may have been derived from "Cinnereth" by a change of letters of a kind frequent enough in the East. [GENNESARETH.] [G.] [W.]

CHIN'NEROTH (כִּנֶּרוֹת, כִּנָּרוֹת: B. Κενερώθ, Χενέρεθ; A. Χενερεθθί, Χεννερέθ; F. (bis) Χενέρεθ: *Ceneroth*), Josh. xi. 2, xii. 3. [CHINNERETH.] In A. V. 1611 the name is spelt Cinneroth, as in 1 K. xv. 20. [F.]

CHI'OS (Χίος; *Chius*). The position of this island in reference to the neighbouring islands and coasts could hardly be better described than in the detailed account of St. Paul's return voyage from Troas to Caesarea (Acts xx., xxi.). Having come from Assos to Mitylene in Lesbos (xx. 14), he arrived the next day over against Chios (*v.* 15), the next day at Samos, and tarried at Trogyllium (*ib.*); and the following day at Miletus (*ib.*): thence he went by Cos and Rhodes to Patara (xxi. 1). [MITYLENE; SAMOS.] With this it is worth while to compare the account of Herod's voyage to join Marcus Agrippa in the Black Sea. We are told (Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 2, § 2) that, after passing by Rhodes and Cos, he was detained some time by north winds at Chios, and sailed on to Mitylene, when the winds became more favourable. It appears that during this stay at Chios Herod gave very liberal sums towards the restoration of some public works which had suffered in the Mithridatic war. This island does not appear to have any other association with the Jews; nor is it specially mentioned in connexion with the first spread of Christianity by the Apostles. When St. Paul was there, on the occasion referred to, he did not land, but only passed the night at anchor. At that time Chios enjoyed the privilege of freedom (Plin. v. 38), and it is not certain that it ever was politically a part of the province of Asia, though it is separated from the mainland only by a strait of 5 miles. Its length is about 32 miles, and in breadth it varies from 8 to 18. Its outline is mountainous and bold; and it has always been celebrated for its beauty and fruitfulness. In recent times it has been too well known, under its modern name of *Scio*, for the dreadful sufferings of its inhabitants in the Greek war of independence. Chios is described by the older travellers, Thevenot, Tournefort, and Chandler (*Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geog.*, art. CHIOS), and by Fustel de Coulanges, *Mém. sur l'île de Chios*: Arch. des Miss. v. pp. 92, 273 sq. (1856); Vaux, *Gk. Cities and Islands of Asia Min.*, p. 159. [J. S. H.] [J. E. S.]

CHISLEU. [MONTHS.]

CHIS'LON (כִּסְלֹן, *confidence, strength*; Χασλών; *Chaselon*), father of Elidad, the prince of the tribe of Benjamin, chosen to assist in the division of the land of Canaan among the tribes (Num. xxxiv. 21). [W. A. W.]

CHIS'LOTH-TA'BOR (כִּסְלֹת תָּבֹר, "loins of Tabor;" B. Χασελωθαίθ, A. Χασαλωθβαθώρ; *Ceseleth thabor*), a place to the border (גְּבוּל) of which reached the border of Zebulun (Josh. xix. 12). It is now the village *Iksâl*, three miles west of Mount Tabor; and is probably the same place as CHESULLOTH. Eusebius and Jerome mention it under the forms Χασελοὺς τοῦ Θαβώρ (*OS.*[2] p. 292, 64) and Chaselath Tabor (*OS.*[2] p. 147, 12). Josephus names a village Ξαλὼθ as in the great plain, *i.e.* of Esdraelon, and as one of the landmarks of lower Galilee (*B. J.* iii. 3, § 1; and see *Vita*, § 44): this is doubtless identical with Chisloth-Tabor and Chesulloth. [G.] [W.]

CHIT'TIM, KIT'TIM (כִּתִּים, כִּתִּיִים; Κήτιοι, Κίτιοι, Κητιείμ, Χεττιείμ; *Cetthim, Cethim*), one of the sons of Javan (Gen. x. 4; 1 Ch. i. 7; A. V. KITTIM), and closely related to the Dodanim or Rodanim, as well as to Elishah and Tarshish. Chittim is frequently noticed in Scripture: Balaam predicts that a fleet should thence proceed for the destruction of Assyria (Num. xxiv. 24, מִיַּד כִּתִּים, "from beside Chittim;" *venient in trieribus de Italia*, Vulg.): in Is. xxiii. 1, 12, it appears as the resort of the fleets of Tyre: in Jer. ii. 10, the "isles of Chittim" (אִיֵּי, i.e. *maritime districts*) are to the west, as Kedar to the east of Palestine: the Tyrians procured thence the cedar or BOX-WOOD, which they inlaid with ivory for the decks of their vessels (Ezek. xxvii. 6, בַּת־אַשֻּׁרִים, A. V. "the company of the Ashurites," but R. V. better [ivory, *the daughter of cedar*, i.e.] "inlaid in box-wood"): in Dan. xi. 30, "ships of Chittim" (*καὶ ἥξουσι Ῥωμαῖοι*; *Trieres et Romani*) advance to the south to meet the king of the north: at a later period we find Alexander the Great described as coming *ἐκ τῆς γῆς* Χεττιείμ (1 Macc. i. 1; A. V. CHETTIIM), and Perseus as Κιττιέων βασιλεύς (1 Macc. viii. 5; A. V. CITIMS). Josephus rightly explains Chittim as Cyprus, so named from the Phoenician settlement of Citium (*Χέθιμος δὲ Χέθιμα τὴν νῆσον ἔσχεν. Κύπρος αὕτη νῦν καλεῖται, Ant.* i. 6, § 1). Citium was the chief Phoenician town in the island, and its site is at present partly occupied by Larnaka. A considerable number of Phoenician inscriptions have been found there, and we learn from them that כתי (*Chitti*) was the native word for "a Citian." It was Melekyathon, king of Citium (B.C. 370), who caused the bilingual inscription (in Phoenician and Cypriote) to be engraved which was discovered by Mr. Hamilton Lang at Dali (Idalion), and furnished Mr. George Smith with the clue to the decipherment of the Cypriote syllabary.

Citium seems to have been the first of the Phoenician colonies in Cyprus, and hence it was that the whole island came to be called the island of the Chittim or "Citians" by the Phoenicians and their Hebrew neighbours. The Phoenician settlers, however, occupied only the eastern and southern portions of the island; Paphos, with its famous temple of Astartê, and the *ashêrah* or upright cone of stone which symbolised the goddess, being one of their towns. The rest of the island was for the most part inhabited by Greek colonists; hence the Assyrian name of it, Yavnan or Yânan, the island "of the Ionians." Yavnan is the Javan of the O. T. As early as B.C. 3750, Sargon I., of Accad, not only caused an image of himself to be sculptured on the shores of the Mediterranean, but also crossed over into Cyprus; and a Babylonian cylinder, bearing the name of his deified son and successor, Naram-Sin, has been found by General di Cesnola among the temple-treasures of Curium. In the 16th century B.C. Cyprus, under the name of Asebi or Asi, sent copper, lead, ivory, and chariots as tribute to the Egyptian Pharaoh, Thothmes III. Seven of its kings despatched ambassadors to Sargon II. in B.C. 709, and the Assyrian king caused a monolith (now in the Berlin Museum) to be erected at Citium. Esar-haddon also received tribute from ten of the Cyprian princes. The island was conquered by the Egyptian Amasis, and subsequently passed under the Persian yoke until Evagoras of Salamis revolted in B.C. 410. The name Chittim has no connexion with that of the חִתִּים, or Hittites, and the Greek spelling with X is erroneous. In Macc., Chittim evidently = *Macedonia*, and was perhaps more especially applied to that country from the apparent similarity of the name in the form Μακεττία, which was supposed = Μα and Κέτιοι, *the land of the Cetii*. The use of the term was extended yet farther so as to embrace Italy according to the LXX. (Dan.), and the Vulgate (Num. and Dan.), to which we may add the rendering of the Chaldee Targum, which gives אטליון (Italia) in 1 Ch. i. 7, and אפוליא (Apulia) in Ezek. xxvii. 6. The "ships of Chittim" in Daniel have been explained as *Macedonian*, which Popillius Laenas may have seized at Delos after the defeat of Perseus, and taken on his expedition to Egypt against Antiochus; but the assumption on which this interpretation rests is not borne out by the narrative (Liv. xliv. 29; xlv. 10), nor does there appear any difficulty in extending the term to Italy, as one of the lands in the far west with which the Hebrews were but little acquainted. [A. H. S.]

CHIUN (כִּיּוּן, Amos v. 26). The word occurs in a verse of which there are two very different renderings (see *QPB.*[2] in loco). The LXX. (τὸ ἄστρον τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν Ῥαιφάν), Peshitto, and Vulg. (*imaginem idolorum vestrorum, sidus dei vestri*) do not consider Chiun a proper name, and in this they are followed by those who render (*e.g.* R.V. marg.) "the shrine (*al.* the pedestal) of your images," as if derived from כָּנָן. On the other hand, many consider Chiun to be the name of a deity worshipped by the Israelites in the desert, and, punctuating the name כִּיְוָן, identify him with the star Saturn, the principle of evil, whose Assyrian name was *Kewan* or *Kaiwanu* (Schrader, *KAT.*[2] pp. 442–3). [See REMPHAN.] [F.]

CHLOE (Χλόη, Greek female name meaning *verdure; Chloe*), a woman mentioned in 1 Cor. i. 11. It was by "those of Chloe" (τῶν Χλοῆς) that St. Paul had been informed of the divisions in the Church of Corinth. "Those of Chloe" were probably slaves or freedmen belonging to the household of a person of that name (cp. Rom. xvi. 10 and 11, and see ARISTOBULUS). Nothing is known of Chloe, and her residence either at Corinth or Ephesus is a matter of mere conjecture. [E. R. B.]

CHO'BA (BA. Χωβά, ℵ. Χαβά; Vulg. omits), a place mentioned in Judith iv. 4. The Syriac reads here "the kikkar" or circle of the Jordan. The place is not identified (see *Speaker's Comm.* in loco). [F.]

CHO'BAI (BA. Χωβαί, ℵ[1c] Χωβά; Vulg. omits) occurs in Judith xv. 4, 5. The name suggests Hobah (חוֹבָה, which is the reading of the Syriac), especially in connexion with the mention of Damascus in *v.* 5, but the distance from the probable site of Bethulia is too great. It is supposed by Reland (p. 721) to be the same as Coabis, a station given in the Peutinger Tables, as 12 Roman miles from Scythopolis, and 12 from Archelais; and it is now probably the ruin *el-Mekhubby*, near which is the cave *'Arâk el-Khubby*, on the old Roman road, 3 miles from *Tûbâs*, and 11 from *Beisân* (Scythopolis. See *PEF. Mem.* ii. 231, 243; Conder, *Hbk. to Bible*, p. 289). [W.]

CHOR-A'SHAN (כּוֹר־עָשָׁן). The true reading of the Heb. text is בּוֹר־עָשָׁן [cp. Driver, *Notes on the Heb. Text of the BB. of Sam.* in loco], which is recognised both in B. Βηρσάβεε, and in A. Βωρασάν; *in lacu Asan;* cp. R. V. marg. *Bor-ashan*), one of the places in which "David and his men were wont to haunt," and to his friends in which he sent presents of the plunder taken from the Amalekites (1 Sam. xxx. 30). The towns named in this catalogue are all south of Hebron, and Chorashan may therefore be identified with ASHAN of Simeon (Josh. xv. 42; xix. 7). This is, however, uncertain (cp. Dillmann[2] in loco). [G.] [W.]

CHORA'ZIN (Χοραζίν, Χοραζείν, Χοροζαΐν; *Corozain*), one of the cities in which our Lord's mighty works were done, but named only in His denunciation (Matt. xi. 21; Luke x. 13). In the time of Eusebius (*OS.*[2] p. 290, 77) it was stated to be deserted, and to be 2 (or 12, Euseb.) miles from Capernaum. Jerome describes it (*Comm. in Is.* ix. 1) as on the borders of the lake. It is mentioned in the Talmud (Tal. Bab. *Menahoth*, 85*a*) as celebrated for the fine quality of its wheat (see Neubauer, *Géog. du Talmud*, p. 220). The origin of the name is also very uncertain. Origen writes the name as χώρα Ζίν, *i.e.* the district of Zin; but this is obviously a mere fancy, and has no support from MSS. The only traveller who visited Chorazin, previous to the Crusaders, was Willibald (A.D. 723–6), who went from Tiberias to Magdalum and Capernaum, and thence to Bethsaida and Chorazin, "where our Lord healed the demoniac, and sent

the devil into a herd of swine." Willibald appears here to identify Chorazin with Gergesa, which lay on the eastern shore of the lake; and in this he is followed by the mediaeval geographers: see especially the map of Mar. Sanutus (1321). Chorazin is now *Kh. Kerâzeh*, 2½ miles north of *Tell Hûm*; the ruins are extensive, and especially interesting, as the place does not seem to have been occupied since the fourth century. The most important ruin is that of a synagogue, with Corinthian capitals and decorative details elaborately carved in hard black basalt (Wilson, *Recovy. of Jerusalem*, pp. 346–7; *PEF. Mem.* i. 400–2). [G.] [W.]

CHOSAME'US. [See SIMON CHOSAMAEUS.]

CHOZE'BA (כֹּזֵבָא; B. Χωχηθά, A. Χωζηβά; *viri mendacii*; R. V. *Cozeba*). The "men of Chozeba" are named (1 Ch. iv. 22) amongst the descendants of Shelah the son of Judah. The name does not reappear, but it is sufficiently like CHEZIB (and especially the reading of the Samaritan Codex of that name) to suggest that the two refer to the same place; that, namely, elsewhere called ACHZIB, at which place Shelah was born. (The Vulgate Version of this passage is worth notice.) Conder (*PEFQy. St.* 1875, p. 13) proposes to identify Chozeba with *Kh. Kûeizîba*, N.E. of *Hûlhûl*, in the hill-country of Judaea (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 358; Tristram, *Bible Places*, p. 68); but if it be the same as CHEZIB, it must have been in the low country of Judah (see CHESIB). [G.] [W.]

CHRIST. [JESUS.]

CHRISTIAN (Χριστιανός; *Christianus*). The disciples, we are told (Acts xi. 26), "were first called Christians at Antioch" on the Orontes, somewhere about A.D. 43. The name, and the place where it was conferred, are both significant. It is clear that the appellation "Christian" was one which, though eagerly adopted and gloried in by the early followers of Christ, could not have been imposed by themselves. They were known to each other as brethren of one family, as disciples of the same Master, as believers in the same faith, and as distinguished by the same endeavours after holiness and consecration of life; and so were called *brethren* (Acts xv. 1, 23; 1 Cor. vii. 12), *disciples* (Acts ix. 26, xi. 29), *believers* (Acts v. 14), *saints* (Rom. viii. 26, xv. 25). But the outer world could know nothing of the true force and significance of these terms, which were in a manner esoteric; it was necessary therefore that the followers of the new religion should have some distinctive title. To the contemptuous Jew they were Nazarenes and Galilaeans, names which carried with them the infamy and turbulence of the places whence they sprang, and from whence nothing good and no prophet might come (cp. John i. 46). The Jews could add nothing to the scorn which these names expressed, and had they endeavoured to do so they would not have defiled the glory of their Messiah by applying his title to those whom they could not but regard as the followers of a pretender. The name "Christian," then, which, in the only other cases where it appears in the N. T. (Acts xxvi. 28; 1 Pet. iv. 16; cp. Tac. *Ann.* xv. 44), is used contemptuously, could not have been applied by the early disciples to themselves, nor could it have come to them from their own nation the Jews; it must therefore have been imposed upon them by the Gentile world, and no place could have so appropriately given rise to it as Antioch, where the first Church was planted among the heathen. It was manifest by the preaching of the new teachers that they were distinct from the Jews, so distinct as to be remarked by the heathen themselves; and as no name was so frequently in their mouths as that of Christ,[a] the Messiah, the Anointed, the people of Antioch, ever on the alert for a jibe or mocking taunt, and taking Christ to be a proper name and not a title of honour, called his followers Χριστιανοί, Christians, the partisans of Christ; just as in the early struggles for the Empire we meet with the Caesariani, Pompeiani, and Octaviani. The Latin form of the name is what would be expected, for Antioch had long been a Roman city. Its inhabitants were celebrated for their wit and a propensity for conferring nicknames (Procop. *Pers.* ii. 8, p. 105). The Emperor Julian himself was not secure from their jests (Amm. Marc. xxii. 14). Apollonius of Tyana was driven from the city by the insults of the inhabitants (Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* iii. 16). Their wit, however, was often harmless enough (Lucian, *De Saltat.* 76), and there is no reason to suppose that the name "Christian" of itself was intended as a term of scurrility or abuse, though it would naturally be used with contempt.

Suidas (*s. v.* Χριστιανοί) says the name was given in the reign of Claudius, when Peter appointed Evodius bishop of Antioch, and they who were formerly called Nazarenes and Galilaeans had their name changed to Christians. According to Malalas (*Chronog.* x.) it was changed by Evodius' himself, and William of Tyre (iv. 9) has a story that a synod was held at Antioch for the purpose. Ignatius, in the Epistle to the Magnesians (c. x.), regards the prophecy of Isaiah (lxii. 2, 12) as first fulfilled in Syria, when Peter and Paul founded the Church at Antioch. But reasons have already been given why the name did not originate within the Church.

Another form of the name is Χρηστιανοί, arising from a false etymology (Lact. iv. 7; Tertullian, *Apol.* c. 3; Suet. *Claud.* 25), by which it was derived from χρηστός. [W. A. W.]

CHRONICLES, FIRST AND SECOND BOOKS OF. I. *Title.*—Chronicles (in Heb. דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים; *verba dierum*, as Jerome translates it, and *sermones dierum*, as Hilar. Pictav. in Wolf, but rather *acta dierum*; journals or diaries, *i.e.* the record of the daily occurrences) is the name originally given to the record made by the appointed historiographers in the kingdoms of Israel and Judah. In the LXX. these Books are called Παραλειπομένων πρῶτον and δεύτερον, which is understood, after Jerome's explanation, as rightly recording one of their characteristics, viz. that they are supplementary to the Books of Kings. The Vulgate retains both the Hebrew and Greek name in Latin characters, Dibre jamim or hajamim, and Paralipomenon. The division of Chronicles into two Books is not

[a] "Christ," and not "Jesus," is the term most commonly applied to our Lord in the Epistles.

original any more than a similar division in the cases of the Books of Samuel and Kings. In all the old catalogues the Chronicles form but one out of the 22 (or 24 Talmud) Books of the O. T. canon. Jerome tells us (*ad Domnion. et Rogatian.*) that in his time they formed only one Book in the Hebrew MSS., but had been divided by the LXX. translators; and that for convenience, on account of their length, the Christian Churches of the West had adopted this division. In his Ep. to Paulinus, he thus further explains the name *Paralipomenon*, and eulogizes the Book: "Paralipomenon liber, id est Instrum. Vet. epitome, tantus ac talis est, ut absque illo si quis scientiam scripturarum sibi voluerit arrogare, seipsum irrideat. Per singula quippe nomina juncturasque verborum, et praetermissae in Regum libris tanguntur historiae, et innumerabiles explicantur Evangelii quaestiones." The name *Chronica*, or *Chronicorum liber*, which is given in some copies of the Vulgate, and from whence we derive our English name of "Chronicles," seems to be taken from Jerome's saying in his *Prologus Galeatus*, "Dibre hajamim, *i.e.* verba dierum: quod significantius *Chronicon* totius divinae historiae possumus appellare." It was possibly suggested to him by his having translated the *Chronica* of Eusebius into Latin. Later Latin writers have given to the Books the name of "*Ephemeridum* libri."

II. *Text and Language.*—The *text* of the Chronicles is in parts very corrupt, and has the appearance of having been copied from MSS. which were partly effaced by age or injury. Various readings of the names of persons and places are frequent, and the numbers are often justly open to suspicion. Jerome (*Praef. ad Paral.*) speaks of the Greek text as being hopelessly confused in his days, and assigns this as a reason why he made a new translation from the Hebrew. At the same time, these defects cannot be said seriously to affect the narratives in these Books. The lacunae in the text are not of any great length, and the ancient Versions make no important additions to the Hebrew (*Speaker's Comm.* § 8). As regards the *language* of these Books, as of Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, the later Prophets, &c., it has a marked Aramaic colouring, and Gesenius says of them, that "as literary works, they are decidedly inferior to those of older date" (*Heb. Gramm.*[25] § 2, 7, ed. Kautsch, and reff. Cp. Bertheau,[2] *Komm. z. Chronik*, p. xvi. sq.). The chief Chaldaisms are the use of certain words not found in old Hebrew, as זָמַן, סוֹף, &c., or of words in a different sense, as עָנָה, אָמַר, &c., or of a different orthography, as דָּוִיד for דָּוִד, רוֹב for רַב, &c., and the interchange of א and ה at the end and at the beginning of words.

III. *Plan and Contents.*—One of the greatest difficulties connected with the Captivity and the return must have been the maintenance of that genealogical distribution of the lands which yet was a vital point of the Jewish economy. Accordingly it appears to have been one to which both Ezra and Nehemiah gave their earnest attention, as David, Hezekiah, and other kings had done before them. Another difficulty, intimately connected with the former, was the maintenance of the Temple services at Jerusalem. This could only be effected by the residence of the priests and Levites in Jerusalem in the order of their courses: and this residence was only practicable in case of the payment of the appointed tithes, first-fruits, and other offerings. Immediately these ceased the priests and Levites were obliged to disperse to their own villages to obtain a livelihood, and the Temple services were neglected. But then again the registers of the Levitical genealogies were necessary, in order that it might be known who were entitled to such and such allowances, as porters, as singers, as priests, and so on; because all these offices went by families; and again the payment of the tithes, first-fruits, &c., was dependent upon the different families of Israel being established each in his inheritance. Obviously therefore one of the most pressing wants of the Jewish community after their return from Babylon would be trusty genealogical records; and if there were any such in existence, the arrangement and publication of them would be one of the greatest services such a person as Ezra could confer. But further, not only had Zerubbabel (Ezra iii. v. vi.), and after him Ezra and Nehemiah (Ezra ii. viii.; Neh. vii. viii.), laboured most earnestly, in the teeth of immense difficulties, to restore the Temple and the public worship of God there to the condition it had been in under the kings of Judah; but it appears clearly from their policy, and from the language of the contemporary Prophets, Haggai and Zechariah, that they had it much at heart to re-infuse something of national life and spirit into the heart of the people, and to make them feel that they were still the inheritors of God's covenanted mercies, and that the Captivity had only temporarily interrupted, not dried up, the stream of God's favour to their nation. Now nothing could more effectually aid these pious and patriotic designs than setting before the people a compendious history of the kingdom of David, which should embrace a full account of its prosperity, should trace the sins which led to its overthrow, and, carrying the thread through the period of the Captivity, should continue it as it were unbroken on the other side; and those passages in their former history would be especially important which exhibited their greatest and best kings as engaged in building or restoring the Temple, in reforming all corruptions in religion, and zealously regulating the services of the house of God. As regards the kingdom of Israel or Samaria, seeing it had utterly and hopelessly passed away, and that the existing inhabitants were among the bitterest "adversaries of Judah and Benjamin," it would naturally engage very little of the compiler's attention.

These considerations explain exactly the plan and scope of that historical work which contains the two Books of Chronicles. The Books may be conveniently divided into four principal sections: (*a*) 1. i.–ix. (Genealogies); (*b*) x.–xxix. (Saul and David); (*c*) 2. i.–ix. (Solomon); (*d*) x.–xxxvi. (the Kings of Judah till the Babylonian Captivity). The first eight chapters give the genealogical divisions and settlements of the various tribes, the compiler informing us in ix. 1 of the disturbance of those settlements by the Babylonish Captivity, and, in the following verses, of the partial restoration of them at

the return from Babylon (*vv.* 2–24). That this list refers to the families who had returned from Babylon is clear, not only from the context, but from its re-insertion in Neh. xi. 3–22,[a] with additional matter evidently extracted from the public archives, and relating to times subsequent to the return from Babylon, extending to Neh. xii. 27, where Nehemiah's narrative is again resumed in continuance with Neh. xi. 2. Having thus shown the re-establishment of the returned families, each in their own inheritance according to the houses of their fathers, the compiler proceeds to the other part of his plan, which is to give a continuous history of the kingdom of Judah from David to his own times, introduced by the closing scene of Saul's life (ch. x.), which introduction is itself prefaced by a genealogy of the house of Saul (ix. 35–44), extracted from the genealogical tables drawn up in the reign of king Hezekiah, as is at once manifest by counting the thirteen or fourteen generations, from Jonathan to the sons of Azel inclusive, exactly corresponding to the fourteen from David to Hezekiah inclusive. This part of the plan extends from 1 Ch. ix. 35 to the end of the Book of Ezra. 1 Ch. xv.–xvii. xxii.–xxix.; 2 Ch. xiii.–xv. xxiv. xxvi. xxix.–xxxi. and xxxv. are among the passages wholly or in part peculiar to the Books of Chronicles.

As regards the *materials* used by him, and the *sources* of his information, they are not difficult to discover. The genealogies are obviously transcribed from some register, in which were preserved the genealogies of the tribes and families drawn up at different times. This appears from the very different ages at which different genealogies terminate, indicating of course the particular reign when each was drawn up. Thus *e.g.* the genealogy of the descendants of Sheshan (1 Ch. ii. 34–41) was drawn up in Hezekiah's reign, since, including Zabad, who lived in David's time, and Azariah in the time of Joash, it ends with a generation contemporary with Hezekiah [AZARIAH, No. 13]. The line of the high-priests (1 Ch. vi. 1–15) must have been drawn up during the Captivity; that in *vv.* 50–53 in the time of David or Solomon; those of Heman and Asaph, in the same chapter, in the time of David; that of the sons of Azel (1 Ch. viii. 38) in the time of Hezekiah; that of the sons of Zerubbabel (1 Ch. iii. 19–24) in the time of Ezra, and so on. The same wide divergence in the age of other materials embodied in the Books of Chronicles is also apparent. Thus the information in 1 Ch. i. concerning the kings of Edom before the reign of Saul, was obviously compiled from very ancient sources. The same may be said of the incident of the slaughter of the sons of Ephraim by the Gittites (1 Ch. vii. 21, viii. 13), and of the account of the sons of Shela, and their dominion in Moab (1 Ch. iv. 21, 22). The curious details concerning the Reubenites and Gadites in 1 Ch. v. must have been drawn from contemporary documents, embodied probably in the genealogical records of Jotham and Jeroboam, while other records used by the compiler are as late as after the return from Babylon, such as 1 Ch. ix. 2 sq.; 2 Ch. xxxvi. 20 sq.; and others, as Ezra ii. and iv. 6–23, are as late as the time of Artaxerxes and Nehemiah. Hence it is further manifest that the Books of Chronicles contain extracts from the writings of many different writers, which were extant at the time the compilation was made, and are by no means to be limited to documents already existing in the Canonical Books of Samuel and Kings. For the full account of the reign of David, he made copious extracts from the Books of Samuel the seer, Nathan the prophet, and Gad the seer (1 Ch. xxix. 29). For the reign of Solomon he copied from "the book of Nathan," from "the prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite," and from "the visions of Iddo the seer" (2 Ch. ix. 29). Another work of Iddo, called "*the story* (or commentary, *Midrash*, מִדְרָשׁ) of the prophet Iddo," supplied an account of the acts, and the ways, and sayings of king Abijah (xiii. 22); while yet another book of Iddo concerning genealogies, with the book of the prophet Shemaiah, contained the acts of king Rehoboam (xii. 15). For later times the "Book of the kings of Israel and Judah"—a work not to be confounded with the canonical Books of Kings—is repeatedly cited (2 Ch. xxv. 26, xxvii. 7, xxxii. 32, xxxiii. 18, &c.), and "the sayings of the seers" (xxxiii. 19, reading חֹזִים with LXX. and R. V. marg.) or perhaps "of Hozai" (R. V.:—on this disputed reading see the *Comm.* in loco), and for the reigns of Uzziah and Hezekiah "the vision of the prophet Isaiah" (xxvi. 22, xxxii. 32). In other cases where no reference is made to any book as containing further information, it is probable that the whole account of such reign is transcribed. Besides the above-named works, there was also the public national record called סֵפֶר דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים, mentioned in Neh. xii. 23, from which doubtless the present Books took their name, and from which the genealogies and other matters in them were probably derived, and which are alluded to as having existed as early as the reign of David (1 Ch. xxvii. 24). These "Chronicles of David," דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים לַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִיד, are probably the same as the דִּבְרֵי דָוִיד, above referred to, as written by Samuel, Nathan, and Gad. From this time the affairs of each king's reign were regularly recorded in a book called—*e.g.*, סֵפֶר דִּבְרֵי שְׁלֹמֹה, "the book of the acts of Solomon" (1 K. xi. 41)—by the name of the king, as before of David, but afterwards in both kingdoms by the general name of ס" ד" הַיָּמִים, as in the constantly recurring formula,—"Now the rest of the acts of (דִּבְרֵי) Rehoboam, Abijam, &c.; Jeroboam, Nadab, &c., are they not written in the book of the Chronicles of the kings of Judah" *or* "of Israel" (1 K. xiv. 29, xv. 7, &c.)? And this continues to the end of Jehoiakim's reign, as appears by 2 K. xxiv. 5; 2 Ch. xxxvi. 8. And it was probably from this common source that the passages in the Books of Samuel and Kings identical with the Books of Chronicles were derived. All these several works have perished, but the most important matters in them have been providentially preserved to us in the Chronicles (see a useful summary in *Speaker's Comm.* § 5).

As regards the closing chapter of 2 Ch. subsequent to *v.* 8, and the 1st ch. of Ezra, a comparison of them with the narrative of 2 K.

[a] Cp. also 1 Ch. ix. 19 with Ezra ii. 42, Neh. vii. 45.

xxiv. xxv. will lead to the conclusion that while the writer of the narrative in *Kings* lived in Judah and died under the dynasty of Nebuchadnezzar, the writer of the chapter in *Chronicles* lived at Babylon and survived till the commencement at least of the Persian dynasty. For this last writer gives no details of the reigns of Jehoiachin, or Zedekiah, or of the events in Judah subsequent to the burning of the Temple; but, only dwelling on the moral lessons connected with the destruction of Jerusalem, passes on quickly to relate the return from Captivity. Moreover, he seems to speak as one who had long been a subject of Nebuchadnezzar, calling him simply "King Nebuchadnezzar;" and by the repeated use of the expression "*brought him*, or *these*, to Babylon," rather encourages the idea that the writer was there himself. The first chapter of Ezra strongly confirms this view, for we have copious details, not likely to be known except to one at Babylon, of the decree, the presents made to the captives, the bringing out of the sacred vessels, the very name of the Chaldee treasurer, the number and weight of the vessels, and the Chaldee name of Zerubbabel; and in this chapter the writer speaks throughout of the captives *going up* to Jerusalem, and Sheshbazzar *taking* them up (הֶעֱלָה, as opposed to הֵבִיא). But with this clue we may advance a little further, and ask, who was there at Babylon, a Prophet, as the writer of sacred annals must be, an author, a subject of Nebuchadnezzar and his sons, and yet who survived to see the Persian dynasty, to whom we can with probability assign this narrative? Surely the answer will be Daniel. Who so likely to dwell on the sacred vessels taken by Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. v. 2, 23); who so likely to refer to the prophecy of Jeremiah (Dan. ix. 2); who so likely to bewail the stubbornness of the people, and their rejection of the Prophets (Dan. ix. 5–8); who so likely to possess the text of Cyrus's decree, to know and record the name of the treasurer (Dan. i. 3, 11); and to name Zerubbabel by his Chaldee name (Dan. i. 7)? Add to this, that Ezra i. exactly supplies the unaccountable gap between Dan. ix. and x. [EZRA], and may we not conclude with some confidence that as Jeremiah wrote the closing portion of the Book of Kings, so did Daniel write the corresponding portion in Chronicles, and down to the end of Ezra i.? Ezra perhaps brought this with him from Babylon, and made use of it to carry on the Jewish history from the point where the old Chronicles failed him.

[A. C. H.]

On many of the points considered in the previous paragraphs there is tolerable unanimity of opinion. It is otherwise with the questions of date, authorship, and trustworthiness.

IV. *Date and Authorship.*—Critics are unanimous upon one point only, viz. that the Chronicler lived after the Babylonian exile (2 Ch. xxxvi. 20–23), but how soon or how late after that event must be declared difficult to determine. Evidence is indeed adduced which is thought to point to a definite and *late* date. (*a*) The use of the word "daric" (אַדַּרְכֹנִים, 1 Ch. xxix. 7, R.V.; "drams," A.V. The word occurs again in Ezra viii. 27, and under the form דַּרְכְּמוֹן in Ezra ii. 69; Neh. vii. 70–72) in the history of David is affirmed to prove composition late in, or even after, the Persian period when the coin had been long in circulation. (*b*) A comparison between 1 Ch. ix. 1–34 and Neh. xi. 1–19 is thought to indicate that the time when Nehemiah was Tirshatha (*i.e.* B.C. 445) had long been passed. (*c*) The genealogy in 1 Ch. iii. 17–24 is considered to extend to the *eleventh* generation after Zerubbabel. (*d*) The title "king of Persia" applied to Cyrus (2 Ch. xxxvi. 22) is thought to be an explanatory title, not appropriate in the Persian period but in the Greek which followed it, when it was more necessary thus to distinguish him. But these indications of date, severally or cumulatively, hardly warrant positive deductions of a *late* date. (*a*) The word is Persian, and its occurrence indicates revision in the days of Persian supremacy, or the introduction into the text of a marginal money-equivalent, nothing more; but, on the other hand, its very occurrence places such revision or insertion at a date preceding the Greek period, when "talents" or "drachms" were in use and might have been expected (cp. 1 Macc. xi. 28; 2 Macc. iv. 19); (*b*) rests too much on one interpretation of a disputed verse (1 Ch. ix. 18), and upon a presumed superfluity of information had not the writer lived long after Nehemiah; (*c*) also depends upon one view of a very disputed passage—others finding *six* generations, and some only *three*—and upon a preference for the LXX. over the Masoretic text;[b] (*d*) this, as a matter of fact, is the only clear indication of date, but that *not* a late one. "King of Persia" is the title given to Cyrus by the cuneiform inscriptions contemporary with the fall of Babylon (CYRUS, p. 691, note *; cp. Schrader, *Keilinschriftl. Bibliothek*, iii. 2 Hälfte, pp. 130–1). Moreover, in the Books "Chronicles to Nehemiah" there is no absolute uniformity of designation for the kings. Cyrus and Artaxerxes are called "king of Babylon" (Ezra v. 13; Neh. xiii. 6) as well as "king of Persia;" and often the longer title is replaced by the simpler, "the king." Such variations, interesting in themselves, do but exhibit a faithful reproduction of any original memoirs before the composer or reviser.

It is, therefore, hardly possible to speak positively as to a *late* date if the indications (*a*) to (*c*) only are available, and if (*d*) be opposed to such an inference. Something more is needed; and therefore connected with the date is the question: Does "Chronicles" form one work with "Ezra-Nehemiah" written by Ezra; or, are "Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah" to be taken as one work, emanating from neither Ezra nor Nehemiah, but from some (otherwise) unknown writer, who had before him documents relative to the periods before and after the Exile, and sources incorporated into the works which bear those honoured names?

The former used to be the almost universally-received opinion. It rests upon the tradition of

[b] For an explanation of Zerubbabel's genealogy in 1 Ch. iii., see *Geneal. of our Lord*, by Lord A. Hervey, p. 97 sq. But even if this explanation is not accepted, there is no difficulty. The hand which added Neh. xii. 10, 11, 22, 23, might equally have added 1 Ch. iii. 22–24.—[A. C. H.]

the Jews,[c] and is still held by many scholars of repute. Of late years, however, the latter opinion has been steadily gaining ground. Undoubtedly there runs through the three Books a similarity of style and sentiment, and the characteristic use of materials and sources noted in § III. with reference to Chronicles is continued in the other Books (Keil, Movers, and Bertheau[2]). These and other facts therefore suggest a modification of the first opinion. The materials for "Chronicles" may well have been collected, and in part "written" by Ezra; but, later on, somewhere about the second half of the 4th century B.C. (cp. 1 Ch. iii. 18, &c.), the several Books of "Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah" were revised and assumed their *present* form. The unknown reviser may have been a Levite with considerable musical likings. Most events are estimated from a Levitical point of view, and the writer had before him the Pentateuch in its complete and canonical form. Why or wherefore the compilers of the Hebrew Canon again separated these Books, and placed Chronicles *after* Ezra and Nehemiah in the Ketubim, has not been—*pace* those who have attempted it (*e.g.* Merx, p. 38; Kuenen, pp. 183–4)—satisfactorily explained.

V. *Trustworthiness.* — Does this conclusion militate against the trustworthiness and authenticity of the whole, or of its component parts? In this article the question has to be answered principally as it affects the "Books of Chronicles." Critics, who assign a *late* date to the work, affirm that the composer or reviser has presented a picture of pre-exilic history entirely coloured by the Judaism of his own post-exilic time. His object was to present to his contemporaries a mirror in which they might see reflected for their own edification the blessing of a religiousness ordered after strict Levitical models, and the punishment for deviation from it. The older records have therefore been purposely altered, and the story brought into conformity with the convictions and necessities of the writer's own time, so that the reader has not a true description of the earlier periods of Biblical history, but one to which have been transferred elements of a very much later date. Criticism of the Books conducted from this point of view compels those who maintain it to describe as unhistorical and untrustworthy (*a*) the sections in which parallels can be instituted between "Chronicles" and "Samuel and Kings," and (*b*) the sections in which the former is independent of the latter. Under this discipline such parallel accounts (*e.g.*) as those connected with the transfer of the Ark (2 Sam. vi. and 1 Ch. xiii.–xvi.), the numbering of Israel (2 Sam. xxiv. and 1 Ch. xxi.), the dedication of the Temple (1 K. iii. and 2 Ch. i.), Athaliah (2 K. xi. and 2 Ch. xxiii.), and the reformation of Josiah (2 K. xxiii. and 2 Ch. xxxiv.) are described as deliberately mutilated, widely differing, directly contradictory, intentionally distorted, or purposely invented; while the independent sections cannot be, in the main, considered historical on account of the fabulous character of the numbers, of statements considered psychologically and even doctrinally improbable (*e.g.* the repentance of Manasseh, 2 Ch. xxxiii.), and of the transference of late ideas to early periods. An examination of such criticisms would be beyond the province of this article, and belongs more appropriately to special Introductions and Commentaries. It is enough here to state that a dispassionate study of the Books by no means leads to the conclusions quoted. Critical analysis certainly renders clear a large and independent usage of documents by the compiler, but with an eclectic and, in that sense, idealising purpose, rather than with an intention which it is extremely difficult to distinguish from deception. Critics who do not limit almost exclusively the sources used by the compiler to the Canonical Books of Samuel and Kings in their present or in subsidiary forms, and are not fettered by the conclusion that (*e.g.*) the Chronicler's description of the Temple, the preparation for it, its after-cultus and official personages in the times of David, &c., were unknown till long after the Exile, cannot admit what is antecedently most improbable and is not accepted by some of the best scholars of the day. They can readily accept differences and modifications of events recorded; the expansion of speeches delivered by king, prophet, or priest; and the use of a syntax and vocabulary even dogmatically peculiar, without losing faith in the general trustworthiness of the writer, or in the honesty with which he worked.

VI. *Bibliography.*—The views of those who, for various reasons, reject "Chronicles" as untrustworthy are to be found in De Wette (in the earlier, but not in the later, editions of his *Einleitung*), Gramberg (*Die Chron. nach ihrem gesch. Charakter ... geprüft*, 1823), Graf (*Die Gesch. BB. d. A. T.*, 1866), Nöldeke (*Die A Tliche Literatur*, 1868), Wellhausen (*Proleg. to the Hist. of Israel* [pref. W. R. Smith], pp. 171–227; *Proleg. z. Gesch. Isr.*[3] pp. 175–235), Reuss (*Gesch. d. heil. Schriften d. A. T.*, 1881, §§ 420, &c.), and Kuenen-Weber (*Histor.-krit. Einl. in die BB. d. A. T.*, Erster Teil, Zweites Stück, 1890, §§ 28–35). The views of those who, differing in some not unimportant points, yet agree in accepting these Books as trustworthy, are stated by Keil (*Bibl. Comm. üb. das A. T.*, Fünfter Theil), Movers (*Krit. Untersuchungen üb. d. Bibl. Chron.* 1834), Bertheau (*Die BB. d. Chronik*[2]), Dillmann (in Herzog's *RE.*[2] art. "Chronik"), Strack (*Handb. d. theolog. Wissenschaften*,[3] i. 251, &c.), Rawlinson (in *Speaker's Commentary*), Ball (in *Cassell's Commentary*), W. R. Smith (*Encyclop. Britann.*[9] art. "Chronicles"), and Cornely (*Introd. Specialis in Histor. V. T. Libris*, ch. vi., 1887). [F.]

CHRONOLOGY. I. Introduction.—The object of this article is to indicate the present state of Biblical chronology. By this term we understand the technical and historical chronology of the Jews and their ancestors from the earliest times to the close of the New Testament Canon. The technical division must be discussed more fully than the historical, the details of which are treated in other articles. It may

[c] See the passage from the *Baba Bathra* quoted under Canon (p. 503, col. 1). It will be noticed that Ezra is there said to have brought "the genealogies down to his own time," and the words would seem to impose this limit upon his special work. Cp. Merx, *Traditio Rabb. veterrima de libris V.T. ordine atque origine*, p. 55 sq

close with the return from Babylon, the disputed matters of the period following being separately noticed under other heads.

The character of the inquiry may be made clearer by some remarks on the general nature of the subject. Formerly exactness was expected in the determination by the Biblical data of Hebrew chronology. Hence the positive schemes of the older chronologers. Their attitude was unreasonable. The character of the records forbids us to hope for a complete system based on them. The materials for technical chronology being scanty and mainly inferential, we can but raise on them a general structure which cannot be exact, though it may be approximately correct. With historical chronology it is far otherwise. The Bible does not give a complete history of the times to which it refers: in its historical portion it deals with special and detached periods, not connected by the use of an era, nor defined by the record of astronomical observations. The chronological information is therefore not absolutely continuous, nor definite; although, with the evident purpose of forming a connexion between the detached periods, it has sometimes a more continuous character than might have been expected. It might be supposed that the accuracy of the data would compensate in some degree for their scantiness and want of absolute continuity. It is a most important question at the outset whether all these data are original. Some must be, although perhaps not in their original form, but it is not unreasonable to suppose that those which afford a continuous chronology were in some cases added to the original documents. Certainly they were not treated by redactors with the respect shown to the rest of the text. They have suffered from designed alteration as well as from the errors of copyists. Designed alteration of numbers has only been detected in the genealogical lists of Abraham's ancestors in Genesis, in which the nature of the differences of the Hebrew, the Septuagint, and the Samaritan Pentateuch, is such as to indicate separate alteration by design in two of the three records. From this we may draw two inferences. Where three sets of data disagree we cannot be certain that any one is the original, and it is evident that at least two ancient bodies of redactors attached no final authority to the numbers. The object of these alterations has been either to lengthen or to shorten the chronology. With the same purpose alterations may have been made in the prominent large numbers in the Old Testament, which give the reckoning from period to period, as in the case of the 430 years in Ex. xii. 40 (cp. *Speaker's Comm.*, add. n.), where the Septuagint (B. Cp. Swete's ed.) and the Samaritan Version (see Knobel-Dillmann, *l. c.*) either insert a gloss, or preserve a clause dropped out of the Hebrew. Similarly the small numbers may have been altered, when forming part of a series within a period measured elsewhere, or the historical context may have been modified, but of this last there does not seem to be any clear instance. We must therefore carefully weigh independent evidence. In considering the evidence of the New Testament, we must bear in mind that the object of the Apostles was to teach religion, not chronology, and that a new reckoning would have scandalized their hearers. The evidence of the genealogies is an important element. Their weight is not so much injured by the discovery of designed alteration, of which the mention of the second Cainan is the only certain instance, as by the abundant indications of the errors of copyists. Their very nature makes them unsafe guides when unsupported, for a genealogy may be broken without being technically imperfect in the Semitic sense. When there is a general agreement of several contemporary genealogies, confirmed by the continuity of one of them, their evidence is invaluable, but this unfortunately is limited to a single period of disputed reckoning.

The Biblical information cannot, in the present state of criticism, be assumed to be correct in all cases of the periods to which it was formerly assigned. This difficulty will be noticed as it arises.

The discovery of collateral information from the Egyptian and Assyrian records affords a new set of data for Biblical chronology and a new means of testing the Biblical data. If we can fix the Exodus within fifty years on Egyptian evidence, we have an approximative date, and can compare the Hebrew evidence bearing on the same date. This is equally the case with the exact or approximative determination of some dates in later chronology by means of the Assyrian Eponym Canon.

II. TECHNICAL CHRONOLOGY.—The technical part of Hebrew chronology presents great difficulties. The Biblical information is, as already indicated, mainly inferential, but in many cases positive inferences may be drawn from it. Thus the exact character of every ordinary year cannot be fixed, but the general or mean character of the year may be determined. In this section we may use with more than ordinary confidence the Rabbinical information. The writers who afford it could scarcely be ill-informed in such matters. They lived near the times at which all the Jewish observances connected with the calendar were strictly observed in the country for which they were framed, and it has not been shown that they had any motive for misrepresentation. We can, however, make no good use of our materials if we do not know what character to expect in Hebrew technical chronology. There is no reason to look for any great change, either in the way of advance or decline, although it seems probable that the patriarchal division of time was somewhat ruder than that established in connexion with the Law, and that after the time of Moses until the establishment of the kingdom but little attention was paid to science. In endeavouring to ascertain how much scientific knowledge the patriarchs and their descendants are likely to have had, we must not expect the accuracy of modern science or the inaccuracy of modern ignorance. As to scientific knowledge necessary for the calendar, particularly that of astronomy, the cases of the Egyptians and the Babylonians and Assyrians afford us the highest level the Hebrews could have attained. The Hebrews, however, we must remember, had not the same advantage of being wholly settled, nor the same inducements derived from national religions connected with the heavenly bodies. The Arabs of the desert, from somewhat before the time of Mohammad—that is, so far as our knowledge of

them in this respect extends—to the present day, afford the best parallel. They have never been a mathematical people, nor given to chronological computation depending on astronomy, but have regulated their calendar by observation alone. It might have been expected that their observations would, from their constant recurrence, have acquired an extraordinary delicacy, and have gradually given place to computations; but this was not the case, and those observations are not now more accurate than the earlier ones must have been, nor has computation taken their place except by the publication of calendars of no strict legal authority. The same characteristics probably marked the scientific knowledge and practice of the Hebrews. We have no reason for supposing that they had attained, either by discovery or by the instruction of foreigners, to a high degree of mathematical knowledge or accuracy of chronological reckoning, at any period of their history. Probably they were always far below the Egyptians and the Babylonians and Assyrians. But there is sufficient evidence that they were not inattentive observers of the heavens in the allusions to stars and constellations as well-known objects sometimes connected with terrestrial seasons. We may therefore expect, in the case of the Hebrews, that wherever observation could take the place of computation it would be used, and that it would be but moderately accurate. If, for instance, as among the Muslims generally, a new moon were to be observed at any town, it would be known within two days when it might be first seen, and one of the clearest-sighted men of the place would ascend an eminence on the first of those days, to look for it. This would be done for centuries without any close average for computation being obtained, as the observations would not be kept on record. So too with star-risings and the equinoxes. These probable conclusions as to the importance of observation and its degree of accuracy must be kept in view throughout this section.

Before noticing the usual divisions of time we must discuss genealogies and generations.

Referring the reader to the article GENEALOGY for a fuller statement of the subject, it is only necessary here to speak of the Hebrew genealogies in their relation to chronology, with a view to determining their use. In spite of their importance to the people and the great attention bestowed upon them, the Hebrew lists are seen on a short examination not to be strictly genealogical, but lines of inheritance. Thus it is natural that they should sometimes be broken without being imperfect: a line could be carried up to a certain point, and then the remote founder of the family placed at the head, or the same could be done in the descending order. Looking a little more closely into the documents, we observe countries and tribes treated as individuals. Thus in the table of Gen. x. by the side of the names of individuals we have Mizraim in the dual for the double land of Egypt, or Mizrim "the Egyptians," for this is a mere question of the vowel-points, as the parent of "sons" each one of whom is a people named in the plural. The use of the terms of relationship is much broader in Semitic than in Aryan languages. A man may be the father of a remote descendant or even of a town; a son may be a remote descendant, a disciple, or even an inhabitant of a town. In the genealogies we do not find the broader uses after the division of the Promised Land save in cases where they could not confuse the line. The cause seems obvious: the descents became of the greatest importance to inheritance in the later period; in the earlier, the indication of a tribe would serve as well as a continuous list. Thus after the division of the land we may infer that there is not any break in a particular line of descent, except where the links dropped were perfectly well known. We may therefore separate the genealogies into two classes at the point of the division of the land. The earlier are probably in some cases of individuals only, but it cannot be proved that any one of them is absolutely complete. The most important, the pedigree of the nation, separates at Jacob. The lines of every one of his sons seem to be incomplete for the age of the sojourn. Neither the genealogy from Levi to Moses and his sons nor any parallel list, except the line of Joshua in its present form, can be reconciled with the term assigned to the sojourn in the Hebrew text, nor even with the shorter term of the Septuagint and Samaritan; nor again with the increase indicated by the statements of the number at the Exodus and the accordant numbers of the two censuses twice in the wilderness. Thus the chronological use of the genealogies begins with the division of the land. What that use is has been defined by the following canon: "What seems necessary to make them trustworthy measures of time is, either that they should have special internal marks of being complete, such as where the mother as well as the father is named, or some historical circumstance defines the several relationships, or that there should be several genealogies, all giving the same number of generations within the same termini." [GENEALOGY.] The second part of this canon, however, will only apply to portions of genealogies before the division of Canaan, notwithstanding their general agreement in the number of generations between Jacob and that period. This seems at first sight enough to make us distrust the use of genealogies altogether, but it must be remembered, that according to the view before expressed, which the historical character of the narrative seems absolutely to require, the use of genealogies to designate tribes and families ends, and the strict use of descents begins, exactly where the conditions of the nation render it necessary.

There is no distinct use in the Bible of generations as divisions of time, according to the method of Herodotus. Some indeed suppose that דּוֹר in Gen. xv. 16 is so used, holding it to mean an interval of 100 years (see Dillmann[3]), as it would do if it were a period of time corresponding to the fourth part of the 400 years of v. 13; but a century as the length of a generation nowhere appears in the lists. Probably the original use of the term in question is the period of the lives of a generation of men, and thus a century. The period from birth to birth is somewhat over thirty years, or three to a century. We observe this in the case of Joseph's descendants (Gen. l. 22, 23). It is noteworthy that almost all the numbers assigned to generations in the Hebrew text from Adam to Terah are

divisible by the ordinary estimate of a generation or are of that length, and that the longer generations of the Septuagint and the lengths of the lives in both text and Version are divisible by about the same term. [GENERATION.]

There is no evidence that the Hebrews had any division of time below the hour: with this we begin the inquiry into definite divisions of time.

Hour.—The hour is supposed to be mentioned in Daniel (iii. 6, 15; iv. 16, 30—A. V. 19, 33; v. 5), but in no one of these cases is it certain that a definite period of time is intended by שָׁעָה, שַׁעְתָּא, Chald. (see MV.[11]). The Egyptians divided the day and the night into hours like ourselves, from at least B.C. 1200 (see Lepsius, *Chronologie der Aeg.* i. p. 230). Probably therefore the Hebrews were acquainted with the hour from an early period, at least during the sojourn in Egypt. "The sun-dial of Ahaz" implies some division of the kind. In the N. T. we have the same division as the modern, the hours being reckoned from the beginning of the Jewish night and day. [HOURS.]

Day.—For the civil day of twenty-four hours we find in one place (Dan. viii. 14) the term עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר, "evening-morning," LXX. *νυχθήμερον* (also in 2 Cor. xi. 25, "a night and a day"). The A. V. renders עַד עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר אַלְפַּיִם וּשְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת "unto two thousand and three hundred nights and days;" the R. V. prefers "evenings and mornings." The day is similarly described in Gen. i. as consisting of day and night in the natural sense, and each day of evening and morning in the civil sense, the word day יוֹם being then extended over the twenty-four hours. This word יוֹם is used in both senses elsewhere in the O. T., the natural day sometimes needing distinction to avoid vagueness, "three days and three nights" (Jon. ii. 1, E. V. i. 17; cp. Matt. xii. 40). The civil day began with night, as might perhaps be inferred from the use in Gen. i. In the passages last cited day perhaps necessarily comes first. The night, לַיִל, and thus the civil day, is generally held to have begun at sunset. Ideler, however, while admitting that this point of time was that of the beginning of the civil day among all nations who used a lunar reckoning, questions whether this was the practice of the Jews. He argues in favour of the beginning of deep night, reasoning that, for instance, in the ordaining of the Day of Atonement, on the tenth day of the seventh month, it is said, "in the ninth [day] of the month at even, from even unto even, shall ye celebrate (*lit.* rest) your Sabbath" (Lev. xxiii. 32). Here, if the civil day began at sunset, it would have been said that the observance should begin on the evening of the *tenth* day, or merely on that day, so that the word "evening," עֶרֶב, would mean the latter part of the afternoon. He cites, as probably supporting his view, the expression בֵּין הָעַרְבַּיִם, "between the two evenings," used of the time of offering the Passover and the daily evening-sacrifice (Ex. xii. 6; Num. ix. 3, xxviii. 4). The Pharisees, whom the present Jews follow, took it to be the time between the ninth and eleventh hours of the day, or our 3 and 5 P.M., but the Samaritans and Karaites supposed it to be the time between sunset and full darkness, particularly on account of the phrase בְּבוֹא הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ, "when the sun is setting," used in a parallel passage (Deut. xvi. 6; see Ideler, *Handbuch*, i. 482–4). From these passages we must infer that the time "between the two evenings" preceded the beginning of the civil day; that this day may have begun after sunset; but that, if the Samaritans and Karaites are right, it began with dark night. On the other hand, the term "between the two evenings" can scarcely be supposed to have originally indicated a long period: a special short period, not a point, the time of sunset, is shown to correspond to it. This is a natural division between the late afternoon when the sun is low, and the evening when his light has not wholly disappeared, the two evenings into which the natural evening would be cut by the commencement of the civil day, if it began at sunset. By this theory the two evenings would be the respective halves of the evening belonging to the ending and the beginning day. This is an early view, probably preserving the oldest, which ritualistic scruples would naturally have changed so as to extend the time. There is no difficulty in the command that the observance of so solemn a day as the Day of Atonement should commence somewhat before the true beginning of the civil day, for due preparation could thus be made for the sacrifices. It may be added that in Judaea, where the duration of twilight is very short, the most natural division of the day would be at sunset. Where there is a long twilight, nightfall acquires special importance.—The natural day, יוֹם (also used for the civil day), probably began at sunrise, unless the day was divided into hours, morning-twilight being included in the last watch of the night, according to the old division into three watches, as well as the new into four: some, however, made the morning-watch part of the day, in consonance with the supposed beginning of the civil day at nightfall.

Four natural periods, smaller than the civil day, are mentioned: these are עֶרֶב, evening, בֹּקֶר, morning, both frequently occurring, and the less usual צָהֳרַיִם, "the two lights," as though "double light," noon, or better noontide, and חֲצוֹת הַלַּיְלָה or —חֲצִי "half the night," midnight. Recollecting that the Hebrews were not an astronomical people, we may suppose that evening and morning were indefinite, and noontide and midnight much shorter periods rather than points of time.

The night was divided into watches, אַשְׁמֹרוֹת, sing. אַשְׁמֻרָה. In the O. T. two are expressly mentioned, and we can thus infer the existence of a third, the first watch of the night. The "beginning of the watches" רֹאשׁ אַשְׁמֹרוֹת (Lam. ii. 19) probably refers to the first watch, without absolutely designating it. The middle watch, הָאַשְׁמֻרֶת הַתִּיכוֹנָה, occurs in Judg. vii. 19, where the connexion of watches with military affairs is shown: "And Gideon and the hundred men that were with him came unto the outermost part of the camp in the beginning of the middle watch, when they had

but newly set the watch" (הַשְׁמִרִים; R. V.). The morning-watch, אַשְׁמֹרֶת הַבֹּקֶר, is mentioned in Ex. xiv. 24, in the narrative of the passage of the Red Sea, and in 1 Sam. xi. 11, in that of Saul's surprise of the Ammonites, when he relieved Jabesh-gilead. Some Rabbins held that there were four watches (Ideler, *Hdb.* i. p. 486). In the N. T. four night-watches are mentioned, which were probably adopted from the Romans in modification of the old system. All four occur together in Mark xiii. 35: *ὀψέ*, the "evening" watch; *μεσονύκτιον*, midnight; *ἀλεκτροφωνία*, the cock-crowing; and *πρωΐ*, the "morning" watch. [DAY; NIGHT; WATCHES OF NIGHT.]

Decad (עָשׂוֹר, *δεκάς*).—The Hebrews used the same term for a period of ten days (Gen. xxiv. 55) and for the last day of a decad, the tenth day of the month (Ex. xii. 5; Lev. xvi. 29). Dillmann, who refers to Ewald (*Alterthümer*,[2] p. 132), has collected instances of these two uses, and compared the Egyptian decad or third of the month (*Ueber das Kalendarwesen der Israeliten vor dem babylonische Exil: Monatsberichte Berl. Akad.* 1881, pp. 930, 931). Until we know more of the Canaanite calendar, we cannot here draw any inference of origin. See what is said below of Months and MONTH (separate art.).

Week (שָׁבוּעַ, a hebdomad).—The Hebrew week was a period of seven days ending with the Sabbath. It therefore could not have been a division of the month, which was strictly lunar, without an intercalary day or days; for the Sabbath was every seventh day, and weeks were counted on without any break. The mention together of Sabbaths and new-moons merely proves a similarity of observance of the day which closed the week and that which opened the month. The week of the ancients was of two kinds, a period of seven days or a quarter of the month. The week of seven days was the Semitic form. It was used with the Sabbath from remote times in Chaldaea, and was probably of Cushite origin. The Egyptians, however, were without the week, although they had a monthly and half-monthly festival. No doubt their lunar year was marked by the observance of the new and full moon of each lunation. The civil or vague year had twelve months of thirty days each, and at its close five epagunenae. Each month was divided into three decades, of which there were thirty-six in the year, which appears to have closed with a half-decade (Lepsius, *Chronologie der Aegypter*, p. 131 sq.; cp. p. 97). The Hebrew week therefore cannot have been adopted from Egypt: week and Sabbath alike were preserved from the patriarchal times. The days of the week, save the Sabbath, appear to have been unnamed. The mode of speaking of them is indicated in Gen. i. In Syriac the words ܫܒܥܐ, "seven days," equivalent to the Hebrew שָׁבוּעַ, a hebdomad, are superseded by the use of ܫܒܬܐ, &c., Sabbath, the Hebrew, שַׁבָּת, in the sense of week. The days are numbered ܚܕ ܫܒܬܐ, the first (day) of the week, ܩܕܡ ܫܒܬܐ, and so forth, Friday having the special name ܥܪܘܬܐ, "preparation (day)," *παρασκευή*, and the Sabbath ܫܒܬܐ. Thus *σάββατον*, "Sabbath," also signifies "week" in the N. T., and we find *μία σαββάτων*, followed by the Fathers (*μία, δευτέρα, . . . τῶν σαββάτων*), where the plural is difficult to account for.

Month (חֹדֶשׁ יָמִים, חֹדֶשׁ יָרֵחַ).—The earliest mention of months in the Bible is in the narrative of the Flood. These would seem to have been of 30 days each, the sum of 150 days apparently reaching from the seventeenth day of the second month (Gen. viii. 11) to the seventeenth of the seventh month. If the months were lunar, alternately of twenty-nine and thirty days, the sum would be a little deficient. Ewald has ingeniously conjectured that the year was lunar, comparing the date 2 m. 17 d. of one year with 2 m. 27 d. of the next (viii. 4), which including both limits gives a sum of 365 days, or a solar year; a period which, if the lunar year began about the autumnal equinox, would begin with the rainy season (Ewald, *Jahrb. d. bibl. Wissenschaft*, t. vii. p. 9, *ap.* Fr. Lenormant, *Les Origines*, i. 2nd ed., pp. 411, 412). It must be remembered, however, that there are positive indications of the use of the Chaldaeo-Babylonian year of 360 days in prophetic passages, and this year is more probably here intended. That the months from the Exodus, when the calendar appears to have been founded, or at least the beginning of the year changed, until the time of the Second Temple, when we have absolute knowledge of their character, were always lunar, appears from the command to observe new-moons, and from the unlikelihood of any change in the calendar. These lunar months have been supposed to have been always alternately of 29 and 30 days. Their average length would of course be a lunation, or a little (44 min.) over 29½ days, and therefore they would in general be alternately of 29 and 30 days; but if, as is highly probable, the beginning of each was strictly determined by observation, occasionally months might irregularly occur of 29 and 30 days. That observation was employed for this purpose is distinctly stated in the Babylonian Talmud of the practice of the time, when, however, a month was not allowed to be less than 29 days in length or more than 30. The first day of the month is called חֹדֶשׁ, "new moon;" LXX. *νεομηνία*. In speaking of the first day of a month a numeral was sometimes added to this word, as בַּחֹדֶשׁ הַשְּׁלִישִׁי . . . . בְּיוֹם הַזֶּה, "on the third new-moon . . . . on that day" (LXX. *τοῦ δὲ μηνὸς τοῦ τρίτου . . . τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ*; Ex. xix. 1). Thus the word came to mean "month," though in this sense it was sometimes qualified as חֹדֶשׁ יָמִים. The new-moon was kept as a sacred festival. [FESTIVALS.] In the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, and Ruth we find but one month mentioned by a special name, the rest being called according to their order. The month with a special name is the first חֹדֶשׁ הָאָבִיב (LXX. *μὴν τῶν νέων*), "the month of the Abib," "ears of corn," when the ears of corn were so forward that on the sixteenth day,

the second day of the Feast of Unleavened Bread, ripe ears, אָבִיב, could be offered (Lev. ii. 14; xxiii. 10, 11, 14). The similarity in sound of the name of the Egyptian eleventh month, in the Graeco-Egyptian form Epiphi, the Coptic ⲉⲡⲏⲡ, ⲉⲡⲏϕ, ⲉⲡⲏⲡⲓ, has suggested the derivation of the Hebrew Abib from this source, and has led to chronological inquiry as to the possible derivation of the Hebrew calendar from the Egyptian. The Egyptian name is derived from the tutelary divinity of the month Apet or Apet-heb (Brugsch, *Matériaux pour servir à la reconstruction du Calendrier des anc. Ég.* p. 53, pl. i.); and the original form was probably Pa-apet, whence Epiphi, as Apapus from Pepi. The interchange of the Egyptian letter *p* with the Hebrew ב is unlikely, and the Egyptian word does not offer any like sense so far as is known. Thus the idea of a derivation of the name from Egypt seems unlikely. In 1 K. three other names of months occur: Ziv, זִו, the second; אֵיתָנִים, the seventh; and בּוּל, the eighth. The sense of all these appears to be in relation to the seasons. The name of the second is the month *of* "blossom;" the seventh, which, like the first, takes the article, the month of "constant streams;" and that of the eighth the month of "rain." The time of blossom is true of Egypt and Palestine; that of constant streams, of Egypt, and not of Palestine; that of rain, of the Delta, and not of Palestine. It should be remarked that, rare as rain is south of the Delta, it falls in the Delta from October to March. The most rainy months are November and December. In the absence of meteorological observations made in the neighbourhood of Goshen, we cannot speak more precisely, but the indications are sufficient to justify the supposition that Bul, like the other three months named after the seasons, was named during the sojourn in Egypt. The very moderate rains of the Delta would give a sufficient characteristic, if each month was named from natural conditions. Of those names two, Bul and Ethanim (בל, אתנם), are found in the Phoenician inscriptions (MV.[11] s. nn.), and it has therefore been inferred that the Hebrews borrowed them from the usage of the country. These were solar months of thirty days, probably of a year of 365, which would agree with the use of the decad (Dillmann, *Ueber das Kalenderwesen der Israeliten: Monatsber. Berl. Akad.* p. 925 sq.). The origin cannot yet be determined. If the indications pointed to Egypt, the Canaanite calendar might have been framed in the Delta during the Hyksos-age: if they pointed to Canaan, the origin would be there localised. In the Books of the Bible written after the return from Babylon, the later nomenclature of the months, still in use, appears. It is almost identical with that of the Babylonians at the same period, and the origin affirmed by the Jews themselves is thus confirmed. [MONTHS.]

Year (שָׁנָה).—It has been noticed in the last section that the months used in the narrative of the Flood seem best to accord with the Chaldaeo-Babylonian year of 360 days, which is certainly used in prophetical passages in both Testaments. The time, times, and a half, of Daniel (vii. 25, xii. 7), where "time" means "year" (cp. xi. 13), cannot be doubted to be expressions equivalent to the 42 months of the Revelation (xi. 2, xiii. 5), and the 1260 days of the same Book (xi. 3, xii. 6) for $360 \times 3\frac{1}{2} = 1260$, and $30 \times 42 = 1260$. Whether the year thus employed is a year of days or a year of years, it is clear that we have here an indication of the use of the Chaldaean year of 360 days; and this, combined with the notices of time in the narrative of the Flood, leaves little doubt that the patriarchal year was of this duration, and was brought from Chaldaea by the Hebrews. In historical passages from the date of the Exodus downwards the year is lunar. Was the change made in Egypt, and at the time of the Exodus? At that time the Egyptians had three forms of year, the lunar year of 354 days, the vague year of 365, and the supposed sidereal year of $365\frac{1}{4}$. The account of the institution of the Passover may imply the institution of the calendar, but it may merely indicate the change of the beginning of the year (Ex. xii. 2); and as the Hebrews in after-times had two beginnings to the year, this is the more probable view. If so, we may reasonably conjecture that the rude lunar year of 360 days was abandoned during the sojourn under Egyptian influence for the fairly accurate lunar year of 354 days.—The characteristics of the year from the Exodus downwards can be clearly determined, though we cannot absolutely fix those of any single year. There can be no doubt that it was essentially tropical, as certain observances connected with the produce of the land were fixed to particular days. It is equally clear that the months were lunar, each beginning with a new moon. It would appear therefore that there must have been some mode of adjustment. To ascertain what this was, it is necessary first to decide when the year began. On the 16th day of the month Abib, as already mentioned, ripe ears of corn were to be offered as "the first of the first-fruits" of the harvest (Lev. ii. 14; xxiii. 10, 11). The reaping of the barley began the harvest (2 Sam. xxi. 9), the wheat following (Ruth ii. 23). Josephus states that the offering was of barley (*Ant.* iii. 10, § 5). It is therefore necessary to find when the barley becomes ripe in Palestine. According to the observation of travellers, the barley is ripe, in the warmest parts of the country, in the first days of April. The barley-harvest therefore begins about half a month after the vernal equinox, so that the year would begin at about that tropical point were it not divided into lunar months. We may conclude that the nearest new moon about or after the equinox, but not much before, would be chosen as the beginning of the year. Ideler, whom we have thus far followed on this question, concludes that the right new-moon was found by observation of the forwardness of the barley-crops in the warmer districts of the country (*Handbuch*, i. p. 490). There is however this difficulty, that the different times of barley-harvest in various parts would have been likely to cause confusion. It seems therefore possible that the Hebrews adopted the surer means of determining their new-year's day by observations of heliacal risings or similar stellar phenomena, known to mark the right time before

the barley-harvest. Certainly the ancient Egyptians and the Arabs used such means. The method of intercalation can only have been that which obtained after the Captivity, the addition of a thirteenth month, whenever the twelfth ended too long before the vernal equinox for the first-fruits of the harvest to be offered in the middle of the month following, and the similar offerings at the times appointed This method would be in accordance with the postponement of the celebration of the Passover, in the case of any one who was legally unclean, or journeying at a distance, for a whole month to the fourteenth day of the second month (Num. ix. 9–13), of which law we find Hezekiah availed himself for both the reasons allowed, because the priests were not sufficiently sanctified, and the people were not collected (2 Ch. xxx. 1–5, 15).

The later Jews had two beginnings to the year, or, as it is commonly but somewhat inaccurately said, two years. At the time of the second Temple, as Ideler admits, these two beginnings obtained, the seventh month of the civil reckoning being Abib, the first of the sacred. Hence it has been held, as already stated, that the institution at the time of the Exodus was merely a change of commencement, and not the introduction of a new year; and also that from this time there were two beginnings. The former opinion is at present hypothetical, and has been too much mixed up with the latter, for which there is some evidence. The strongest point in this evidence, although strangely unnoticed by Ideler as such, is the circumstance that the sabbatical and jubilee years began in the seventh month. That the jubilee year began in this month is distinctly stated, since its solemn proclamation was on the tenth day of the seventh month, the Day of Atonement (Lev. xxv. 9, 10); and as this year immediately followed a sabbatical year, that year must have begun in the same manner. As these were whole years, they must have begun on the first day of the month, the Day of Atonement standing in the same relation to the defining of the jubilee year, and perhaps to those of the sabbatical and civil years, as did the Passover to the sacred beginning, unless indeed the Feast of Ingathering took its place. It is clear that the civil reckoning would be most convenient, if not necessary, for the commencement of single years of total cessation from the labours of the field, as each year so beginning would comprise the whole round of field-labour from seed-time to harvest, and from harvest to vintage and ingathering of fruit. This is indeed plain from the injunction as to both sabbatical and jubilee years, apart from the mention of the Day of Atonement, unless we suppose, very unreasonably, that the injunction follows the order of the seasons of agriculture, but that the observance did not. It might seem at first sight that the seventh month was chosen, as itself of a kind of sabbatical character; but the seventh of twelve months would not be analogous to every seventh year. We can therefore come to no other conclusion but that for the labours of agriculture the year was held to begin with the seventh month, while the months were still counted from the sacred beginning in Abib. There are two expressions used with respect to the time of the celebration of the Feast of Ingathering on the fifteenth day of the seventh month, one of which leads to the conclusion at which we have just arrived, while the other is in accordance with it. The first of these speaks of this feast as בְּצֵאת הַשָּׁנָה, "in the going out" or "end of the year" (Ex. xxiii. 16), and the other, as תְּקוּפַת הַשָּׁנָה, "at the change [R. V. "end;" marg. Heb. *revolution*] of the year" (xxxiv. 22); a vague expression, but one consistent with a turning-point of a natural year. By the term תקופה the Rabbins denote the beginning of each of the four seasons into which their year is divided (Ideler, *Hdb.* i. pp. 550–551). Evidence in support of our conclusion is also afforded by the similar distinctive character of the first and seventh months in the calendar with respect to their observances. The one was distinguished by the Feast of Unleavened Bread, from the fifteenth to the twenty-first inclusive; the other, by that of Tabernacles, from the fifteenth to the twenty-second. The parallel is rendered closer by the circumstance that the first-fruits of the harvest were offered on the sixteenth day of the first month; similarly, the Feast of Tabernacles was also called the Feast of Ingathering, as a time of thanksgiving for the fruit-harvest, including the vintage. There is further evidence in the special sanctification, above that of the ordinary new moon, of the first day of the seventh month, which, in the ceremony of blowing trumpets, resembles the celebration of the beginning of the jubilee year on the Day of Atonement. That solemn annual rite seems also more appropriate to the beginning than to the middle of the year. On these grounds we hold that there were two beginnings of the year from the institution of the Calendar. Dr. Dillmann writes of the autumnal beginning of the year rather as a civil use than a calendric one, but he cites with caution the indications of Lev. xxiii. 24, the celebration of the Feast of trumpets, and of xxv. 9, that of the jubilee year (*Ueber der Kalenderwesen*, pp. 919–920). The probable coincidences in the later reigns of Judah with the Babylonian reckoning of Nebuchadnezzar's years, both years from spring (pp. 923–924), do not prove more than a late usage of vassal-kings. The earlier usage may have been of the autumnal beginning (cp. p. 920 sq.).

The question of the two beginnings of the year is somewhat confused by our unacquaintance with such usages. In Egypt, until lately, the Coptic Julian year was used by the Muslims for agricultural purposes, the Muslim lunar year for religious purposes; now the European Gregorian year is fast superseding the Coptic. We may more pointedly compare the beginnings of our civil and ecclesiastical years. [YEAR.]

Seasons.—The ancient Hebrews do not appear to have divided their year into fixed seasons. We find mention of the natural seasons: קַיִץ, "summer," and חֹרֶף, "winter," which are used for the whole year in the expression קַיִץ וְחֹרֶף, "summer and winter" (Ps. lxxiv. 17; Zech. xiv. 8; perhaps Gen. viii. 22). קַיִץ properly means the time of cutting fruits; חֹרֶף, the time of gathering fruits, or autumn. Their true senses are therefore rather summer and autumn than summer and winter. There can be no doubt, however, that they came to signify the two grand natural divisions

of the year, both from their use together, as the two seasons and from the mention together of "the winter house," בֵּית־הַחֹרֶף, and "the summer house," בֵּית־הַקַּיִץ (Amos iii. 15). The last evidence is the stronger, for the winter in Palestine is the time when a palace would be needed of different construction to the light summer pavilion; and in the only other passage in which the winter-house is mentioned, we read that Jehoiakim "sat in the winter-house in the ninth month;" that is, almost at mid-winter: "and [there was a fire] on the hearth burning before him" (Jer. xxxvi. 22). It is probable, however, that חֹרֶף, when used without reference to the year, as in Job xxix. 4, has its original signification. The phrase "cold and heat," קֹר וְחֹם, in Gen. viii. 22, is still more general, and cannot be held to mean more than the great alternations of temperature (cp. Ideler, *Handb.* i. p. 494). There are two agricultural seasons of a more definite character. These are זֶרַע "seed-time," and קָצִיר, "harvest." Ideler (*l. c.*) makes them equivalent to the foregoing seasons when similarly used together; but he has not proved this, and the passage he quotes (Gen. *l. c.*) cannot be held to afford any evidence of the kind, no two terms in it being proved to be strictly correspondent. [SEASONS.]

Festivals and Holy Days.—Besides the sabbaths and new moons, there were four great festivals and a fast in the Hebrew year before the Captivity: the Feast of the Passover, of Weeks, that of Trumpets, the Day of Atonement, and the Feast of Tabernacles. The Feast of the Passover, פֶּסַח, was properly only the time of the sacrifice and eating of the paschal lamb; that is, the evening, בֵּין הָעַרְבַּיִם, "between the two evenings" (Lev. xxiii. 5)—a phrase already considered—of the fourteenth day of the first month, and the night following,—the Feast of Unleavened Bread, חַג הַמַּצּוֹת, beginning on the morning of the fifteenth day of the month, and lasting seven days until the twenty-first inclusive. The fifteenth and twenty-first days of the month were sabbaths; that is, holy days. [PASSOVER.] The Feast of Weeks, חַג שָׁבֻעוֹת, or Pentecost, was kept at the close of seven weeks, counted from the day inclusive following the sixteenth of the first month. Hence its name means "the feast of seven weeks," as indeed it is cited in Tobit, *ἁγία ἑπτὰ ἑβδομάδων* (ii. 1). As the ears of barley, "the first of the first-fruits," were offered on the sixteenth day of the first month, so on this day thanksgiving was made for the blessings of the harvest with its first-fruits in the form of loaves of leavened bread made from the new flour: hence the names חַג הַקָּצִיר, Feast of Harvest, and יוֹם הַבִּכּוּרִים, Day of First-fruits.—The Feast of Trumpets, יוֹם תְּרוּעָה (lit. "of the sound of the trumpet"), also called שַׁבָּתוֹן זִכְרוֹן תְּרוּעָה, "a great sabbath of celebration by the sound of the trumpet," was the first day of the seventh month, the civil beginning of the year. The Day of Atonement, יוֹם הַכִּפֻּרִים, was the tenth day of the seventh month. It was a sabbath, therefore a holy day, and also a fast, the only one in the Hebrew year before the Captivity. Upon this day the high-priest made an offering of atonement for the nation.—The Feast of Tabernacles, חַג הַסֻּכּוֹת, was kept in the seventh month, from the fifteenth to the twenty-second days inclusive. Its chief days were the first and last, which were sabbaths. Its name was taken from the people dwelling in tabernacles, to commemorate the Exodus. It was otherwise called חַג הָאָסִיף, "the Feast of Ingathering," because it was also the occasion of thanksgiving for the end of the fruit-harvest, including the vintage. The small number and simplicity of these primitive Hebrew festivals and holy days are especially worthy of note. It is also observable that they are not of an astronomical character; and that when they are connected with nature it is as times of thanksgiving for the produce of field, garden, and vineyard. In later times several holy days were added. The most noteworthy are the Feast of Purim or "Lots," commemorating the deliverance of the Hebrews from Haman's plot; the Feast of the Dedication, recording the cleansing and dedication of the Temple by Judas Maccabaeus; and fasts on the anniversaries of great national calamities of the age of the Babylonish Captivity. These last were doubtless instituted during that period (cp. Zech. vii. 1–5). [FASTS and FESTIVALS.]

Sabbatical and Jubilee Years.[a]—The Sabbatical Year, שְׁנַת שַׁבָּתוֹן, "the year of entire rest," שְׁנַת הַשְּׁמִטָּה, "the year of remission," or שְׁמִטָּה alone, also called "a sabbath" and "a great sabbath," was an institution of strictly the same character as the sabbath, a year of rest, like the day of rest. As the day of rest has a side of physical necessity with reference to man, so the year has a side of physical necessity with reference to the earth. Every seventh year appears to be a very suitable time for the recurrence of a fallow year, on agricultural grounds. Besides the rest from the labours of the field and vineyard, there was to be in this year remission, temporary or absolute, of debts and obligations among the people. The sabbatical year must have begun at the civil commencement of the year, with the seventh month, as already shown. Although doubtless held to begin with the first day of the month, its beginning appears to have been kept at the Feast of Tabernacles (Deut. xxxi. 10), while that of the jubilee year was kept on the Day of Atonement. After the lapse of seven sabbatical periods, or forty-nine

[a] Those who hold that the whole system of the Sabbatical and Jubilee Years is of late introduction have to explain the occurrence of the principle in relation to the slavery of Hebrews (Ex. xxi. 2), and in the same particular as well as in the remission of debts in Deut. xv. 1–18, documents held to be respectively much earlier, and earlier than the part of the Law in which the more precise definition of the cyclical system is given. It should be borne in mind that if the laws in relation to the Sabbatical system were enforced, the slavery of Hebrews would be of necessity interrupted by the rest of the Sabbatical Year; on the other hand, that if the system were neglected the principle would defend the Hebrews' right. The liberty proclaimed at the beginning of the Jubilee Year has to do with inheritance, the reversion of the land to its former owners, and not with personal liberty. This is seen in the passage relating to the Hebrew hired servant in the Jubilee law (Lev. xxv. 39–41).

years, a year of jubilee was to be kept, immediately following the last sabbatical year. The jubilee year was called שְׁנַת הַיּוֹבֵל, "the year of the trumpet," or יוֹבֵל alone, the latter word meaning either the sound of the trumpet or the instrument itself, because the beginning of the year was to be announced on the Day of Atonement by sound of trumpet. It was similar to the sabbatical year in character, though doubtless yet more important. In the jubilee year debts were to be remitted, lands restored to their former owners, and Hebrew slaves set free. It is obvious from the terms of the enactment in Leviticus (xxv. 8–11) that this year was to follow every seventh sabbatical year, so that the opinion that it was identical with the seventh sabbatical year is untenable. There is a more difficult question as to the length of each jubilee period, some holding the jubilee year to have been intercalary, and the period therefore of fifty years, while others hold the sabbatical periods to have been continuous, the jubilee year beginning a sabbatical period and not standing between two such periods. According to Maimonides, the jubilee period was of fifty years, the fifty-first year beginning a new cycle. The same writer mentions a tradition that after the destruction of the first Temple only sabbatical years, and no jubilee years, were observed (Ideler, *Handbuch*, i. pp. 503, 504). The Jews in the first and second centuries B.C. certainly followed the system of continuous sabbatical periods: the tradition handed down by Maimonides may be an endeavour to explain away this evidence. The testimony of Josephus does not seem conclusive, though Ideler (*l. c.*) holds it to be so: the expression *ταῦτα πεντήκοντα μέν ἐστιν ἔτη τὰ πάντα* (*Ant.* iii. 12, § 3) cannot be held to prove absolutely that the jubilee year was not the first year of a sabbatical period instead of being intercalary.

It is important to ascertain as far as possible when the first sabbatical year after the entrance into Palestine ought to have been kept; whether the sabbatical and jubilee periods seem to have been continuous; and what positive record there is of any sabbatical or jubilee years having been observed. 1. It can scarcely be disputed that the first sabbatical year to be kept after the Israelites had entered Palestine was about the fourteenth (Jennings, *Jewish Antiquities*, bk. iii. cap. 9). It is possible that it might have been somewhat earlier or later; but the narrative will not admit of much latitude. 2. The institution seems to have been greatly neglected. It is said in Leviticus that in the desolation of the land she should enjoy the sabbaths which had not been kept (Lev. xxvi. 34, 35, 43). The seventy years' Captivity is also spoken of in 2 Ch. (xxxvi. 21) in like terms; but this may be on account of the number being itself sabbatical, ten times seven, which indeed seems to be indicated in the passage. In spite of neglect we may infer that any sabbatical and jubilee years kept from the time of Joshua until the destruction of the first Temple, would have been reckoned from the first one, but it may be questioned if any kept after the return from Babylon would be counted in the same manner: from the nature of the institution it is rather to be supposed that the reckoning would begin again after the re-occupation of the country. The recorded sabbatical years do not enable us to determine this problem, because we do not know the exact year of the first cultivation of the country by the returned exiles. The known dates of sabbatical years would make that next after the return to commence B.C. 528, and be current B.C. 527, which would make the first year of the period B.C. 534–3, which would not improbably be the first year of cultivation; but the sabbatical period being so short, this evidence is of little weight. Of course, both dates may be brought down seven years. 3. There is no positive evidence of any jubilee year having been kept. The dates of three sabbatical years have been preserved. These were current B.C. 163, 135, and 37, and therefore commenced about three months earlier, B.C. 164, 136, and 38 (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 9, § 5; xiii. 8, § 1; xiv. 16, § 2; xv. 1, § 2; *B. J.* i. 2, § 4; 1 Macc. vi. 49, 53).—The phrase *ἐν σαββάτῳ δευτεροπρώτῳ* (Luke vi. 1) has been explained as the first sabbath in the second year of the cycle. The year would be A.D. 29; and as the second year of a sabbatical period commenced in the autumn of A.D. 28, the harvest would have fallen in the spring of A.D. 29.

Eras.—There are indications of several historical eras having been used by the Hebrews, but our information is too scanty for any positive conclusions. Some of these possible eras may be merely reckonings employed by writers and not national eras; others from their reference to events of the highest importance to the whole people have the true character of eras, though they may not have had any lasting use. The era of the Seleucidae is here excepted as foreign.

1. The Exodus is used as an era in dating the foundation of Solomon's Temple (1 K. vi. 1). This is the only positive instance of the occurrence of this era. Ideler, indeed, supposes it to be so used in the Pentateuch, referring to Ex. xix. 1; Num. xxxiii. 38 (*Handbuch*, i. p. 507). Here, as elsewhere in the same part of the Bible, the beginning of the Exodus-year (*Regnal years*, &c.) is used as the point whence time is counted; but during the interval of which it formed the natural beginning it cannot be shown to have been an era, though it may have been, any more than the beginning or first year of a sovereign's reign is one. A reference to be conclusive must be after the conquest of Canaan.

2. The foundation of Solomon's Temple is conjectured by Ideler to have been an era (*Handb.* l. c.). The passages to which he refers (1 K. ix. 10; 2 Ch. viii. 1) merely speak of occurrences subsequent to the interval of twenty years occupied in the building of the Temple (seven years, 1 K. vi. 37) and Solomon's house (thirteen years, vii. 1).

3. The era once used by Ezekiel (i. 1, 2), beginning with the reform of Josiah in his eighteenth year.

4. The era of Jehoiachin's captivity is constantly used by Ezekiel. The earliest date is the fifth year (i. 2); and the latest, the twenty-seventh (xxix. 17). The Prophet generally gives the date without applying any distinctive term to the era. He speaks, however, of "the fifth year of king Jehoiachin's captivity" (i. 2), and "the

twelfth year of our captivity" (xxxiii. 21), the latter expression probably explaining his constant use of the era. The same reckoning is necessarily employed, though not as such, where the advancement of Jehoiachin in the thirty-seventh year of his captivity is mentioned (2 K. xxv. 27; Jer. lii. 31). We have no proof that this era was used save by those to whose captivity it referred. The first year was current B.C. 598, beginning in the spring of that year.—The beginning of the seventy years' Captivity does not appear to have been used as an era.—The return from Babylon also does not seem to be so used, though dated from (Ezra iii. 1, 8), like the Exodus in the Pentateuch. Daniel, Haggai, and Zechariah, date by the reigns of foreign kings.

5. The era of the Seleucidae is used in the First and Second Books of Maccabees.

6. The liberation of the Jews from the Syrian yoke B.C. 141 was commemorated by an era used in contracts and agreements (1 Macc. xiii. 41). The years 1 to 5 on the shekels assigned to Simon are probably dated by this era, although it is stated that the right of coining money with his own stamp was not conceded to him until two years later, B.C. 139, by Antiochus VII. (xv. 6). It may be supposed that Antiochus VII. confirmed privileges before granted by his brother Demetrius II. (cp. *v.* 5), or that he gave his sanction to money already issued. [MONEY; SHEKEL.] The era seems to have fallen into disuse.

Regnal Years, &c.—By the Hebrews regnal years appear to have been counted from the beginning of the year in which the king came to the throne, not from his accession. Thus, if a king came to the throne in the last month of one year, reigned through the next year, and died in the first month of the third year, we might have dates of his first, second, and third years, although he did not reign above thirteen or fourteen months. Any dates in the year of his accession before that event would be assigned to the last year of his predecessor, and any in the year of his death after it would be given to his successor's first year. The same principle applies to counting from eras or important events. The whole stated length of reigns and intervals roughly allows for this mode of reckoning.

III. HISTORICAL CHRONOLOGY.—The historical section of Hebrew chronology is not less difficult than the technical. The information in the Bible *is* rather direct than inferential, though there is important inferential evidence; and the present state of the numbers precludes absolute certainty in our deductions. For instance, where the Hebrew and LXX. differ, when we have decided, which we cannot always do, which form of a number has the preponderance of evidence in its favour, we cannot be sure that the original form of the number has been preserved. We may indeed doubt if the text originally contained numbers. There are also several gaps in series of smaller numbers which we cannot supply. When, therefore, we can compare several of these smaller numbers with a larger number, we are frequently prevented from applying a conclusive test by the deficiencies in the detailed series. The frequent occurrence of round numbers is a matter of minor importance, for, although when we have no other evidence, it forbids an exact determination, the variation of a few years cannot be balanced against great and apparently insoluble difficulties, like those of the primeval numbers in the Hebrew, LXX., and Samaritan Pentateuch. Until recently many critics considered that Hebrew chronology was indeterminable before the time of the building of Solomon's Temple. Recently doubts have been thrown on the numbers from that time until the Babylonian Captivity. However much these numbers may have suffered in the attempt to synchronise the lines of Israel and Judah, the theory that they inherently show an artificial system has signally failed. Dr. Adolf Kamphausen has successfully defended the numbers of the reigns of the kings against E. Krey and his followers (*Die Chronologie d. hebräischen Könige*, Bonn, 1883). Some have laid great stress on the frequent occurrence of the number 40, alleging that 40, its division 20 and multiple 80, as well as 70, are vague terms equivalent to "many," so that 40 or 70 years would mean no more than "many years." The number 40 is not always indefinite even when it would specially seem to be so. Thus the 40 years in the wilderness can be divided into two periods:—1. From the Exodus to the sending of the spies about a year and a quarter (1 yr. + 4 m.; Num. ix. 1, x. 11; cp. xiv. 29, 33, showing it was the second year, and xiii. 20, showing the time was about the fifth month Ab), the 40 days of search being included; 2. The time of wandering until the brook Zered was crossed 38 yrs. (Deut. ii. 14): making altogether 39 yrs. 4 m. This accords with the date of 40 yrs. 11 m. 1 d. of the address of Moses after the conquest of Sihon and Og (Deut. i. 3, 4), which was after the crossing of the brook Zered. So again David's reign of 40 years is divided into 7 yrs. 6 m. at Hebron and 33 yrs. in Jerusalem (2 Sam. ii. 11, v. 5; 1 Ch. iii. 4; but 1 K. ii. 11, 7 yrs., omitting the months, and 33). Thus we cannot hold all periods of 40 yrs. (and of course 80) to be vague. Another remarkable instance is the partial confirmation of the second of the three forties into which the life of Moses is divided. The reigns of Ramses II. the great oppressor, and his son the Pharaoh of the Exodus, are admitted to have lasted together about eighty-five years, and the Egyptian evidence shows that as one of the store cities (Ramses) was already built in the fifth year of Ramses II. the oppression had already begun in that year. We have therefore a maximum of 86 years and a minimum of 81, corresponding to the Biblical 80. On the whole it is, however, not possible to account for the numerous instances of 40, 20, and 80, especially where a series of such figures occurs in juxtaposition with another series of precise numbers as in the Book of Judges,[b] except by the hypothesis that the nearest round number is intended, unless indeed 40 mean merely "many" (cp. 1 Sam. xv. 7). It would rather seem as if the nearest round number was sometimes taken, but it does not follow that round numbers must be absolutely vague ones.—In the technical part of

[b] The periods of foreign rule are predominantly precise, so are the judges' periods, excluding those connected with times of rest. The four times of rest are 80 once, 40 three times.

the subject we have shown deference to the early Rabbinical authorities: here we place no reliance upon them. As to divisions of time connected with religious observances, they could scarcely be far wrong, in historical chronology they could hardly be right, their knowledge of foreign sources being limited and inexact. By comparing their later dates with the certain or approximative chronology of the time, we find such inaccuracy that we can scarcely hold they had any traditional information to guide them, unless indeed the true date of the Exodus had been traditionally preserved. Their violent treatment of later chronology may be due to an attempt to harmonise it with the interval from the Exodus, of which the earlier part was in their judgment fixed by a Biblical statement.—There are valuable foreign materials to aid us in discussing Hebrew chronology, principally the contemporary evidence of the Egyptian and Assyrian documents.

Biblical data.—The Biblical information may be examined under the main periods into which it may be separated, beginning with the earliest.

A. First Period, from Adam to Abram's departure from Haran.—All the numerical data for the chronology of this interval are found in two genealogical lists in Genesis, the first from Adam to Noah and his sons (Gen. v. 3 *ad fin.*), and the second from Shem to Abram (xi. 10–26), and in passages in the same Book (vii. 6, 11; viii. 13; ix. 28, 29; xi. 32; xii. 4). The parallel passages in 1 Ch. (i. 1–4, 24–27) and Luke (iii. 34–38) give no numbers. The Hebrew text, the LXX., and the Samaritan Pentateuch greatly differ, as may be seen in the following table, taken from the writer's *Genesis of the*

	Age of each when the next was born.			Years of each after the next was born.			Total length of the life of each.		
	Sept.	Heb.	Sam.	Sept.	Heb.	Sam.	Sept.	Heb.	Sam.
Adam	230	130		700	800		930	...	...
Seth	205	105		707	807		912	...	...
Enos	190	90		715	815		905	...	...
Cainan	170	70		740	840		910	...	...
Mahalaleel	165	65		730	830		895	...	...
Jared	162	...	62	800		785	962	...	847
Enoch	165	65		200	300		365	...	...
Methuselah	187	...	67	(782)	782	653	969	...	720
	167			802					
Lamech	188	182	53	565	595	600	753	777	653
Noah	502	...	...	448	...	...	950	...	...
Shem	100	...	...	500	...	...	600	...	...
	2264	1658	1309	This was "two years after the Flood."					
	2244								
Arphaxad	135	35	...	400	403	303	(535)	(438)	438
Cainan	130			330			(460)		
Salah	130	30	...	330	403	303	(460)	(433)	433
Eber	134	34	...	270	430	...	(404)	(464)	404
Peleg	130	30	...	209	...	109	(339)	(239)	239
Reu	132	32	...	207	...	107	(339)	(239)	239
Serug	130	30	...	200	...	100	(330)	(230)	230
Nahor	79	29	...	129	119	69	(208)	(148)	148
Terah	70	...	...	(135)	(135)	(75)	205	...	145
Abram leaves Haran	75	...	...						
	1145	365	1015						

Earth and of Man[2], with the addition of a various reading, the age of Abram when he left Haran, and parenthetic marks enclosing numbers not stated but obtained by computation from others. The advantage of the method of the table is that it clearly shows the differences and agreements of the three versions of the data. The dots indicate numbers agreeing with the LXX.

There is one difference which may be immediately disposed of, the excess of generations in the LXX. caused by the "second Cainan." The best chronologers are agreed in rejecting him as spurious. Probably his name was first inserted by a copyist in St. Luke's Gospel (iii. 36), and thence transferred to the LXX. [CAINAN.]

A rapid glance at the table shows that the Hebrew is exactly 100 years less than the LXX. in every generation but one before the period for which the longer generations are needed to leave time for the completion of lives before the Flood. In the age following the reduction is alone found in the Heb., the Sam. agreeing with the LXX. In the lengths of lives the Heb. and Sam. reduce the fourth, fifth, and sixth after Shem by 100 years, which is inconsistent with the lengths of the generations in the Sam. which remain unchanged.—In the Heb. the life of Lamech is apparently shortened to avoid the Flood; so also is the LXX., the numbers differing. In the Sam. the lives of Jared, Methuselah, and Lamech are all curtailed from the agreeing or nearly agreeing numbers of Heb. and LXX., and all three patriarchs die in the year of the Flood. In all Versions the generation of Noah is greatly in excess of the others, of course far more so in the Heb. and Sam. than in the LXX. Otherwise, if the generation were normal, several of Noah's ancestors, in the case of the Sam. every one, would have survived the Flood.—The proportion of generations to lives is fairly normal in the LXX.; in the Heb. less by a century, except where the LXX. numbers are rendered necessary

by the Flood and one other instance. The Sam. is inconsistent.

There can be no question that the LXX. gives the most satisfactory version of the data, but there are inherent difficulties. 1. The apparent reduction of the life of Lamech. 2. The apparent lengthening of the life of Noah. 3. The shortness of the lives of Peleg, Reu, and Serug, while the generations remain the same, though this is not sufficient to make the generations absolutely abnormal. Supposing that these difficulties may be explained, we find an improbability in the numbers themselves. These are hundreds and thirty and multiples of thirty, usually with a small excess, irregularities beginning with the generation which if shorter would leave the residue of the life to overlap the Flood (Methuselah's). The second figure is 3, 0, 9, 6, in twelve out of fourteen generations. The first seven generations after the Flood are 135, 134, 132, and (three times, omitting Cainan) 130. The lengths of lives present the same phenomena, but not to the same extent. It seems as if the units had been added to bring up the sums towards complete centuries; but they are always defective, as if converted from a shorter to a longer year. If we suppose that the original computation was in Chaldaeo-Babylonian years of 360 days, and was converted into years of 365¼ days, the sum from the birth of Arphaxad to that of Nahor is 801 years of the shorter duration. Similarly from Adam to the birth of Methuselah would be 1305 years. This is sufficiently near to warrant the conjecture that some change of this kind has been effected. The very artificial character of the numbers for generations and the less artificial lengths of the lives have led to the hypothesis that the generations are not original, and the lives alone are so; but this hypothesis seems unwarranted by the texture of the record: the two sets of numbers must stand or fall together. It is observable that both are wanting in the Chronicles, and it is therefore possible that in Genesis the numbers may be due to an ancient tradition. On this theory they would still be very early, and the peculiarity of their gradual diminution is one which marks some unknown mode of reckoning, which is much in favour of their originality, or at least great antiquity. On this subject see *Genesis of the Earth and of Man*,[2] pp. 142 sq.

A serious difficulty is raised by the idea that the numbers are cyclical, and the personages, for the most part, legendary. The artificial character of the generation numbers and Enoch's life of 365 years seems to lend some colour to this view, but it has failed in spite of the learning and ingenuity with which it has been advanced. The comparison with the Babylonian zodiacal periods, a cognate hypothesis, instituted by Lenormant, is most interesting but inconclusive. It would be easier to conjecture that as the Babylonians had a tradition of ten patriarchs or kings before the Flood, and as Taurus in their historical age originally marked the vernal equinox, it would be natural to them to connect the period of Aquarius with the Flood. Beyond this the points of agreement are slight. The idea that the patriarchs may be legendary does not wholly rest on the cyclical hypothesis or its modified zodiacal form: it claims in its support the parallelism of the genealogies of Seth and Cain.

Adam	
Seth	
Enos	
Cainan	Cain
Mahalaleel	Enoch
Jared	Irad (Γαϊδάδ, LXX.)
Enoch	Mehujael (Μαλελεήλ, LXX.)
Methuselah	Methusael
Lamech	Lamech
Noah	Three sons
Three sons.	

In these lists two names are identical, three very similar, and three unlike. All the similar names and an identical one are in the same places in the succession. In addition to this, Enos, the father of Cainan, is curiously parallel to Adam, the father of Cain. An endeavour to explain the relation of the two lists has been ingeniously made by Lenormant, who sees in the Cainite names contrasts to the Sethite ones, first favourable to the Sethites, and, when the general corruption of mankind extended to these, conversely unfavourable, but the evidence is insufficient. It is to be noted that the genealogy of Seth is in an Elohistic passage, that of Cain in a Jehovistic one. Are they two versions of one list, differing as versions of the same genealogy do in various parts of the Bible? In this case we have to account for the apparent identity of the lines, traced to different heads. To this difficulty no answer can yet be given, but that if the generations are in neither case wholly successive, some meeting-points may be thus indicated. Otherwise the knot is cut by the theory that the list of the Sethites is the original, and that of the Cainites founded upon it. But the characteristic nature of the incidents told of each line forbids this view. They are independent and contrasted. On the whole subject see Lenormant, *Les Origines*,[2] &c. i. 214 sq.

It has been shown that the LXX. numbers for the generations have the highest claim to be considered original, or at least the oldest form, though where two of three variants are shown to be corrupted we may reasonably doubt whether any one is genuine. Accepting, with this reserve, the numbers in question, we have to inquire if they are historical. As generations and lives they cannot be historical if ordinary years are intended. Is then the gradual reduction a difference in the periods employed rather than a reduction of human life?—in other words, are the years employed such in the ordinary senses?

It is obvious that all other records support the opinion of the physiologists that the maximum life of man little exceeds a century. The Egyptians appear to have fixed it as 110 years, the length of the life of Joseph, and their oldest document, the Proverbs of Ptah-hotep, dating about 3000 years B.C., mentions this sum as extreme old age. In Genesis, when the corruption of mankind is told, "when men began to multiply on the face of the earth," the duration of life was limited to 120 years (vi. 1–3). This admits of three explanations: (1) that this was the length of human life before the Flood; (2) that it was a reduction; (3) that it was a time of repentance allowed before the catastrophe. The first and second explanations seem

alone reasonable, and the first is the more probable, as the curtailment, if we accept the existing chronological scheme, would not have taken effect on all living people, but only on the latest born, and Noah would form an exception. Moreover, we are limited by physiology to the sum of 120 years. An antediluvian maximum of that sum would suit the modern conditions.

The idea that shorter periods than the ordinary years are used in the patriarchal genealogies is as old as St. Augustine. It is not without the support of Biblical evidence, though this is by no means conclusive.

1. The two beginnings of the Hebrew year suggest the idea of a patriarchal year of six months, which is perhaps favoured by the etymology of שָׁנָה, "year," for the radical sense is not so much "repetition" as "doing a second time." During the closing period of the patriarchal age, from Nahor to Amram, a reduction by one-half would make the narrative far easier to be understood historically. According to the ordinary reckoning Jacob was 77 years old when he went to Haran, 84 or 91 when Reuben his firstborn was born: 35½, 42, and 45½ are more likely sums. Abraham's age when leaving Haran was 75 (37½), Sarah's when taken by Pharaoh 67 (33½), by Abimelech 89 (44½). The ages of Abraham and Sarah at Isaac's birth, 100 (50) and 90 (45), do not, if reduced, weaken the language of the narrative. It is remarkable that the period of the sojourn is put at 430 years, and many chronologers compute it at 215, exactly the half on the data of the text. We believe the longer is the true period, but the result of the reduction is significant. The ordinary years seem to be employed throughout the story of Joseph. If two modes of reckoning are used, the 430 years could have been incorrectly halved.

2. A period of three months would be that of one of the natural seasons. We have no evidence that the Hebrews so divided the year before the Rabbinical age. The pagan Arabs had, however, besides the twelve months, four equal seasons, beginning, like the Hebrew civil year, at the autumnal equinox (see Lane, *Arab. Lex.* s. v. ربيع). Supposing that this reckoning was used in the period during which the ages are roughly double those of that next following, we should obtain a like result: the lives 460 (115) to 330 (82½), and the generations 135 (33¾) to 130 (32½), would be reduced to the figures required by physiology.

3. The still farther reduction to two months might be suggested by the six Arab seasons, beginning at the autumnal equinox (Lane, *Lex.* l. c.). If applied to the generations and lives before the Flood, including Shem's, 969 (161½) to 535 (88), and 230 (38⅜) to 167 (27⅞), with the exceptional generation of Noah, 500 (83⅓), the result is nearly the same.

It is argued against any hypothesis of this kind that the 600th year of Noah's life is treated as an ordinary year. Had there been a double use of years in the document, this might be a natural consequence. No doubt any explanation is fraught with difficulties, but in this case we must consider the difference of what occurs in a historical narrative and mere statements of intervals attached to names, and deductions from them. Thus the 600th year must be separated from the division of the year of the Flood. If however we consider each generation to have probably been of the same length as in history generally, we must suppose the generations not to have been consecutive as we do in the period of the sojourn in Egypt.

B. Second Period, from Abram's departure from Haran to the Exodus.—The length of this period is stated by St. Paul as 430 years from the promise to Abraham to the giving of the Law (Gal. iii. 17), the first event being held to be that recorded in Gen. xii. 45. The same number of years is given in Ex., where the Heb. reads: "Now the sojourning of the children of Israel who dwelt in Egypt [was] four hundred and thirty years. And it came to pass at the end of the four hundred and thirty years, even the selfsame day it came to pass, that all the hosts of the Lord went out from the land of Egypt" (xii. 40, 41). Here the Vat. LXX. adds after "in Egypt" the words "and in Canaan;" and the Alex. and Sam. add after "Canaan" "they and their fathers." Clearly we have here a growth of glosses. The promise to Abraham states that the sojourn or the oppression shall last 400 years. "Know of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not their's, and *shall* serve *them*; and they shall afflict them four hundred years; and also that nation, whom they shall serve, will I judge: and afterward shall they come out with great substance . . . in the fourth generation (period?) they shall come hither again" (Gen. xv. 13, 14, 16). Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 15, 2) and the Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan accept the LXX. view: St. Stephen in the Acts (vii. 6) and Philo (*Quis rer. div. her.* § 54, p. 511) cite Gen. xv. 13; and Josephus follows the Heb. reckoning in other places (*Ant.* ii. 9, 1; *B. J.* v. 9, 4). In citing these differences of criticism, Bishop Lightfoot adds, "The difficulties which attend both systems of chronology need not be considered here, as they do not affect St. Paul's argument, and cannot have entered into his thoughts" (*Epistles of St. Paul, Galatians*, p. 140, note). Supposing however that St. Paul did not hold the current chronology, his argument would admit of his reasoning, "You concede the law was four hundred and thirty years after," without in any way vouching for the accuracy of the reckoning. The two reckonings could be reconciled on the theory of a different use of the term "year," but scholars are generally agreed that the long period of 430 years is needed for the growth of the Israelites from a family to a nation, and the circumstances of Egyptian history accord best with the chronological result. This important consequence follows, that the generations connected with this interval must be one, and all statements of the heads of families and as genealogies broken; for not one, even Joshua's from Ephraim [BERIAH], can be reconciled with the long period if consecutive. On the other hand, Jochebed, the mother of Moses, would not have been a daughter of Levi in a literal sense, and thus Amram would not have necessarily married his aunt, his father's "sister," but his kinswoman.

If then we take the period of 430 years for the sojourn in Egypt, we cannot carry our

chronology farther back. The periods of generations appear too long, and the theory that they should be reduced is not sufficiently strong to warrant our coming to any conclusion. During the sojourn the ages of Levi, Kohath, and Amram, 137, 133, 137 (Ex. vi. 16, 18, 20), seem to need reduction; those of Joseph, and still more those of Moses and Aaron, appear to be well made out. This difficulty, which looks like the effect of a partial redaction, may possibly apply to the age preceding the sojourn. The entry into Egypt must for the present be the starting-point of Hebrew chronology.

It is necessary here to notice the Egyptian evidence for the date of the Exodus. Egyptologists are now agreed that this event occurred in the reign of Merenptah or Menptah, fourth king of the Nineteenth Dynasty, and son and successor of Ramses II. This result has been reached by the following steps. [EGYPT, p. 886.]

It has been long held that the Exodus must have taken place in the period of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties. Attention was drawn to the later line, and the king just mentioned, by an Egyptian tradition reported by Manetho as such,[c] by Chaeremon, Lysimachus, and Diodorus Siculus. Manetho and Chaeremon call the king Amenophis; and Lysimachus, Bocchoris.[d] Manetho makes his son Sethos also Ramesses, and thus identifies him with Merenptah, as may be seen by comparing the lists of Dynasties; Chaeremon gives the name Messenes, which may be a corruption of Rameses.

Two circumstances in the Bible narrative confirmed this view. The great oppressor is related to have built as store-cities Pithom and Rameses (Ex. i. 11). The name Rameses points to a king of that name who could be no other than Ramses II. The earlier Ramses I., his grandfather, had a short and unimportant reign. Ramses II. was a powerful king and great builder, and in the early part of his reign, before his fifth year, he founded a city called after himself, Pa-Ramses, "the abode of Ramses," in eastern Lower Egypt, near to if not within the Land of Goshen. The reign of Ramses II., nearly 67 years, or 62 after the latest date of the foundation of Pa-Ramses and that of his son —probably 19 or 20, certainly not much less— correspond, as 86 or 81, well to the period which the Bible allows from the heat of the oppression, the time apparently when Rameses was built, to the Exodus, about 80 years. No other two reigns make up this sum, and the two kings as portrayed by Egyptian documents resemble closely the Pharaoh of the Oppression and the Pharaoh of the Exodus, showing us in Ramses II. a stern and merciless oppressor, in Merenptah his weak shadow, self-important but irresolute.

A recent discovery completes the evidence. In the mound now called Tell-el-Maskhûtah, M. Naville has discovered the temple and magazines of the store-city Pithom, with as the earliest name that of Ramses II., evidently founder of the town as well as the temple. The identification with the Pithom of Exodus is rendered complete by the size of the bricks, and the prodigiously thick walls of the magazines, those bricks being of the dimensions used under Ramses II. [see M. Naville's *Memoir on Pithom*, 3rd ed. *Egypt Exploration Fund.* PITHOM; RAAMSES].

So far we have a historical synchronism. Is it also chronological? It must be admitted that Egyptian dates before the final establishment of Psammetichus I. are increasingly vague as we ascend. The reign of Shishak, however, must have begun about the middle of the 10th century, and there is a general agreement in placing the accession of Ramses II. about B.C. 1400. Dr. Brugsch indeed would date it earlier, but this is because he reckons reigns as generations, three to a century. If the reign of Ramses II. began about B.C. 1400, the Rabbinical date of the Exodus, B.C. 1314, would fall about the close of the reign of Merenptah.

C. Third Period, from the Exodus to the Foundation of Solomon's Temple.—In but one passage do we find the whole length of this period stated. It is that in which the foundation of the Temple is dated in the 480th (Heb.) or 440th (LXX.) year after the Exodus, in the fourth year of Solomon's reign (1 K. vi. 1). This period is inconsistent with the genealogies, which give on an average 410 years. David's exceptional genealogy, if continuous, would seem to give about 330 to 350 years at the outside; but it is possible that one or more generations may have been dropped, though this can scarcely be conjectured of the very consistent Levitical genealogies. It is true that we have to consider all genealogies from Jacob's sons to the Exodus as defective, but with the conquest of Canaan a different system may be reasonably conjectured. The period 480 or 440 seems again inconsistent with the separate numbers of the Book of Judges, with which it can alone be reconciled by making some judges contemporary or shortening the times of rest, which in the case of that following the Moabite servitude is warranted by the LXX. (40 for 80). Thus the period seems too long for the genealogies, and probably too short for the data of Judges. There are two detached statements which bear on this difficulty. Jephthah's message to the Ammonite king reckons 300 years from the time of the conquest of the Amorites to his own time (Judg. xi. 26). This suits the period in Kings best, allowing some latitude in the expression: it cannot be reconciled with the computation from the genealogies unless we conjecture 300 years to mean in the third century. St. Paul's 450 years, which is usually considered to define the period from the partition of Canaan to Samuel's judgeship, apparently inclusive, is ordinarily read as follows (A. V.): "And when He had destroyed seven nations in the land of Chanaan, He divided their land to them by lot. And after that He gave *unto them* judges about the space of four hundred and fifty years, until Samuel the prophet. And afterward they desired a king" (Acts xiii. 19–21). This is the reading of Cod. Claromont.; but the Sinaitic, Alex., Vat., and Ephr. rescr. read thus (R. V.), "He gave *them* their land for an inheritance, for about four hundred and fifty years; and after these things He gave *them* judges until," &c. This reading on

[c] ὑπὲρ ὧν δ' ὁ Μανεθὼν οὐκ ἐκ τῶν παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις γραμμάτων, ἀλλ' ὡς αὐτὸς ὡμολόγηκεν, ἐκ τῶν ἀδεσπότως μυθολογουμένων προστεθεικέν, κ. τ. λ.

[d] Bocchoris may be a corruption of Ba-en-ra, better represented by the Pheron of Herodotus.

such high manuscript authority makes the passage extremely obscure, and gives the period of years the air of a gloss introduced in the wrong place. If it is the term of the Judges, it is consistent with the long reckoning in vogue in the early centuries of the Christian era, and the remark of Dr. Lightfoot on St. Paul's use of the 430 years already cited might apply to it. On the whole we prefer the reckoning by genealogies as depending on a general but not complete consensus of evidence of a special kind, less likely than any other to suffer at the hands of copyists. It will be seen under the next head that the probable date of Solomon's accession is a little after B.C. 950, and in the examination of the Egyptian evidence for the date of the Exodus it has been shown that this event may probably be placed somewhat before B.C. 1300. This suggests the idea that the original number in Kings could have been 380.

D. Fourth Period, from the Foundation of Solomon's Temple to its destruction.—The chronology of this period was, until lately, held to be very nearly fixed, but the discovery of the Assyrian Eponymous Canon has led to a general opinion that it needs large correction. Nearly all scholars hold this Canon to be continuous, Dr. Oppert among Assyriologists standing alone in the contrary view.

Formerly, although the data of the Books of Kings were accepted, the difficulty of constructing a system from the coincident years of the kings of Israel and Judah was met by conjectures of an arbitrary kind. The usual expedient was the insertion of two interregna, the first of eleven years after Jeroboam II., the second of nine years after Pekah. Another expedient was to add ten years to the reign of Jeroboam II. Dr. Schrader in his *Die Keilinschriften und das alte Testament* (Eng. trans. by Professor Whitehouse) compares the Hebrew data with those of the Canon in the following table, to which a column is here added, giving the Hebrew dates as modified by the omission of the interregna.

From the Monuments.	In the Bible. [with interregna]	In the Bible. [without]
Ahab: 854 (battle at Karkar)	918–897 (time of reign)	898–876
Jehu: 842 (payment of Tribute)	884–856	864–837
*Azariah (Uzziah): 742–740 (in these years at war with Tiglath-pileser)	809–758	
Menahem: 738 (payment of tribute)	771–761	762–752
Pekah: 734 (conquered by Tiglath-pileser)	758–738 (?)	749–729
*?Hoshea: 728 (last year of Tiglath-pileser in which Hoshea must have paid him tribute)	729–722	
722 (fall of Samaria)	722 (fall of Samaria).	
Hezekiah: 701 (Sennacherib's expedition)	714 (Sennacherib's expedition).	
Manasseh: 681–673 (in this interval he must have paid tribute to Esarhaddon)	696–642 (time of reign).	
668 (667?) (tribute to Assurbanipal); c. 647	(See *KAT.*² pp. 465–6).	

The Assyrian dates render necessary several changes in the Hebrew sums, and the correspondences of the two lines in Kings no longer agree. But there are internal difficulties in these correspondences which may induce reasonable doubt whether they are part of the original text, or, if so, unaltered. These are the three dates of the accession of Jehoram of Israel (2 K. i. 17, iii. 1, viii. 16), the date of the accession of Uzziah in the 27th year of Jeroboam II. (xv. 1), the date of Hoshea's accession in the 20th year of Jotham (*v.* 30); whereas according to both Kings (*v.* 30) and 2 Chron. (xxvii. 1) Jotham's whole reign is stated to have been 16 years. Dr. Adolf Kamphausen (*Die Chronologie der hebräischen Könige*, Bonn, 1883) has endeavoured to construct a chronology of this period on the comparison of the lengths of reigns with the Assyrian data. He makes six changes in the Hebrew reigns (two Israelite,—Menahem, Pekah; and four of Judah,—Amaziah, Azariah, Ahaz, Manasseh), in three of which instances 10 years, all in Judah (Amaziah, Azariah, Manasseh), are struck out. Further he counts 15 of Jotham's 16 years to him as regent. Lastly he puts the battle of Karkar (B.C. 854) in the reign of Jehoram (B.C. 854–843), although Ahab is mentioned in the Assyrian documents (cp. pp. 32, 43, note 13). It is quite evident, notwithstanding the very able character of the essay, that the results cannot be fully accepted.* Though the chronological difficulties are as yet insoluble, the historical synchronisms are in no way affected. If the reckoning be modified, the story of the relations of Israel, Judah, Syria, and Assyria, would remain practically untouched. In one instance the narrative seems to suit the change suggested in Dr. Kamphausen's reckoning. The story of the capture of Samaria and of the captivity of Israel is given before the reign of Hezekiah is spoken of, and during the narrative of that reign the capture of Samaria is repeated in brief (cp. 1 K. xviii. 9–12 with xvii. 3 sq.). Again, the history of Hezekiah's reign in 2 Ch. implies that on his accession Israel was without a king (xxx. 1, 5, 6, 10, 11; xxxi. 1), and that they were but a remnant (xxx. 6). Again the length of Isaiah's prophetic career, from Uzziah to at least the 14th year of Hezekiah, would according to the old reckoning be at the shortest 46 years, and that of Hosea from Jeroboam II. to Hezekiah at least 44. These minimum lengths would be reduced to about 39 and 25 years.

It is thus obvious that, if we accept the Assyrian Canon as continuous, we must admit that the sums of some reigns must be changed, and that the correspondences of the two lines of Israel and Judah in many cases cannot be correct in their present form. Farther the chronology presents internal difficulties which cannot be explained without arbitrary hypotheses. Were

* The translator of Dr. Schrader's *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament* (Prof. Whitehouse) gives a useful note with Dr. Kamphausen's table, and some slight modifications suggested (ii. 320 sq.).

the correspondences added to harmonise two independent books? The Chronicles present but one statement of correspondence in years: Abijah 1 = Jeroboam I. 18 (2 Ch. xiii. 1). In other cases the beginning of the history of a reign in Chronicles reads like a shorter form of that in Kings. The difference is the absence of the clause of correspondence and a slight variety in the form of the rest of the statement.

In attempting to measure the length of the interval from the foundation of Solomon's Temple to its destruction, the earliest fixed date which can be synchronised with a regnal year is that of the fall of Samaria, B.C. 722–721, in the 9th year counted from Hoshea's accession. The earliest fixed date is that of the battle of Karkar, B.C. 854, late in Ahab's reign, the year not being known. The reigns of the kings of Israel to Ahab inclusive are apparently 78 years; those of the kings of Judah to 8 years after that date, 86, the synchronism of Ahab's death with Jehoshaphat's 17th year suiting the history. The Israelite sum is 84 years, but the correspondences reduce it to 78, which with seven Israelite reigns reckoned as of complete years could easily be. The sum of 86 years for four reigns in Judah is near the usual average and that afforded by the whole series. Taking the date B.C. *c.* 850 for Ahab's death, and adding 78 years, we obtain B.C. *c.* 928 for the separation of the two kingdoms, and for Solomon's accession B.C. *c.* 968.

The date of the building of Solomon's Temple would thus be B.C. *c.* 965; that of its destruction is B.C. 586, making the interval about 382 years. This period corresponds to 18 generations, giving an average of 23 years, and to 19 reigns, if we omit Athaliah, Jehoahaz, and Jehoiachin, or an average of 22 years. It seems obvious that this reckoning cannot be reduced, and the Assyrian Canon does not admit of its being extended, unless in the period before Ahab's death, and then but little extension is likely. It is to be hoped that the discovery of the exact date of Shishak's reign may aid in determining this question. [See ISRAEL, KINGDOM OF; and JUDAH, KINGDOM OF.]

E. Fifth Period, from the Destruction of Solomon's Temple to the return from Babylon.—The determination of the length of this period depends on the date of the return. The decree of Cyrus was promulgated in the 1st year of his reign at Babylon, B.C. 538: the return, a matter needing much time, may well have occupied one or two years. With it closed the 70 years' Captivity, which is reckoned from the 1st year of Nebuchadnezzar and the 4th of Jehoiakim. Ptolemy's Canon allows 66 years for this interval, which is near enough to a round period of 70 years. [R. S. P.]

CHRYSOLITE (χρυσόλιθος; *chrysolithus*), one of the precious stones in the foundation of the heavenly Jerusalem (Rev. xxi. 20). It has been already stated [BERYL] that the chrysolite of the ancients is identical with the modern Oriental topaz, the *tarshish* of the Hebrew Bible[a]; and there is much reason for believing that the *topaz* is the stone indicated by the χρυσόλιθος of St. John's vision. [See BERYL.] [W. H.]

CHRYSOPRASUS (A. V.), -SE (R. V.) (χρυσόπρασος; *chrysoprase*) occurs only in Rev. xxi. 20 as one of the precious stones mentioned in St. John's vision. In Ezek. xxvii. 16, the A. V. "agate" is rendered in the marg. *chrysoprase*, and by R. V. "rubies"; in Ezek. xxviii. 13 the A. V. and R. V. (text) "emerald" is marginally rendered by the former *chrysoprase*, and by the latter *carbuncle*. The chrysoprase of the ancients[a] is by some supposed to be identical with the stone now so called, viz. the apple or leek-green variety of agate, which owes its colour to oxide of nickel. This stone at present is found only in Silesia; but Mr. King (*Antique Gems*, p. 59, note) says that the true chrysoprase is sometimes found in antique Egyptian jewellery set alternately with bits of lapis-lazuli; it is not improbable, therefore, that this is the stone which was the tenth in the walls of the heavenly Jerusalem. [W. H.] [H. B. T.]

CHUB (כּוּב, *Chub*, Ezek. xxx. 5) is mentioned only once in Scripture in a passage referring to Egypt, where the translations differ considerably. The name does not occur in the LXX.; and it is doubtful whether the Greek Λίβυες, Libyans, indicating לוּב, known only by the plural לוּבִים, must be taken as its equivalent. Some manuscripts have the variant כְּנוּב, *Chenub*, which might be compared to the Egyptian *keneb* or *gheneb* جنوب, which in the statistical tablet of Thothmes III. is the collective name for the nations of the South, the Ethiopians and the Negroes (Brugsch, *Die aegyptische Völkertafel*, p. 45). [E. N.]

CHUN (כּוּן; A. ἐκ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν πόλεων [πολέμων, B.]; Joseph. Μάχωνι; *Chun*), a city of Hadadezer, king of Zobah, which David spoiled (1 Ch. xviii. 8), called Berothah in the parallel passage (2 Sam. viii. 8). [BEROTHAH.]

CHURCH (ἐκκλησία).—I. The derivation of the word Church is uncertain. It is found in the Teutonic and Slavonian languages (Anglo-Saxon, *Circ*, *Circe*, *Cyric*, *Cyricea*; English, *Church*; Scottish, *Kirk*; German, *Kirche*; Swedish, *Kyrka*; Danish, *Kyrke*; Icelandic, *Kyrkia*; Dutch, *Karke*; Swiss, *Kirche*; Frisian, *Tzierk*; Bohemian, *Cyrkew*; Polish, *Cerkiew*; Russian, *Zerkow*), and answers to the derivatives of ἐκκλησία, which are found naturally in the Romance languages (French, *Église*; Italian, *Chiesa*; old Vaudois, *Gleisa*; Spanish, *Iglesia*), and by foreign importation elsewhere (Gothic, *Aik-klêsjô*; Hungarian, *Egyhaz*; Gaelic, *Eaglais*; Welsh, *Eglwys*; Cornish, *Eglos*). The word "church" is generally said to be derived from the Greek κυριακόν (Walafrid Strabo, *De Rebus Ecclesiast.* c. 7; Suicer, *s. v.* κυριακόν; Glossarium, *s. v.* "Dominicum"; Casaubon, *Exercit.*

[a] Epiphanius, in his *Twelve Stones of the Rationale*, has got "Chrysolite, by some called chrysophyllus, of a golden colour, and found close to the walls of Babylon." Pliny makes several varieties of this name; his first is doubtless the Oriental topaz.—C. W. KING.

[a] That of Solinus (lv.) exactly agrees with our Indian chrysolite: "Chrysoprasos quoque ex auro et porraceo mixtam lucem trahentes aeque beryllorum generi adjudicaverunt."

Baron. xiii. § xviii.; Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.* v. ch. xiii. 1; Pearson, *On the Creed*, Art. ix.; Beveridge, *On the Thirty-Nine Articles*, Art. xix.; Wordsworth, *Theophilus Anglicanus*, c. 1; Gieseler, *Eccles. History*, c. 1; Trench, *Study of Words*, p. 75); but the derivation has been too hastily assumed. The arguments in its favour are the following: (1) a similarity of sound; (2) the statement of Walafrid Strabo; (3) the fact that the word κυριακὸν was undoubtedly used by Greek ecclesiastics in the sense of "a church," as proved by a reference to the Canons of the Council of Ancyra (Can. xiv.), of Neocaesarea (Can. v., xiii.), of Laodicea (Can. xxviii.), and of the Council in Trullo (Can. lxxiv.), to Maximin's Edict (in Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* ix. 10), to Eusebius' Oration in praise of Constantine (c. xviii.), to the *Apostolical Constitutions* (ii. 59), to Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech.* xviii.), and to a similar use of "Dominicum" by Cyprian, Jerome, Ruffinus, &c. (4) The possibility of its having passed as a theological term from the Greek into the Teutonic and Slavonian languages. (5) The analogous meaning and derivation of the Ethiopic word for Church, which signifies "the house of Christ." On the other hand, it requires little acquaintance with philology to know that (1) similarity of sound proves nothing, and is capable of raising only the barest presumption. (2) A mediaeval writer's guess at an etymology is probably founded wholly on similarity of sound, and is as worthless as the derivations with which St. Augustine's works are disfigured (Moroni derives *Chiesa* from κυριακὸν in his *Dizionario Storico ecclesiastico*, because there is some likeness of sound in the two words, though *Chiesa* is evidently only a modification of the word *ecclesia*, and has nothing to do etymologically with κυριακόν; and Walafrid Strabo derives the words *vater*, *mutter*, from the Greek through the Latin, *herr* from *heros*, *moner* and *monath* from μήνη, in the same breath as *kirche* from κυριακόν). (3) Although κυριακὸν is found, signifying "a church," it is no more the common term used by Greeks, than "Dominicum" is the common term used by Latins. It is therefore very unlikely that it should have been adopted by the Greek missionaries and teachers, and adopted by them so decidedly as to be thrust into a foreign language. (4) Nor is there any probable way pointed out by which the importation was effected. Walafrid Strabo indeed (*loc. cit.*) attributes it, not obscurely, so far as the Teutonic tongues are concerned, to Ulfilas; and following him, Trench says (*loc. cit.*): "These Goths, the first converted to the Christian faith, the first therefore that had a Christian vocabulary, lent the word in their turn to the other German tribes, among others to our Anglo-Saxon forefathers." Had it been so introduced, Ulfilas' "peaceful and populous colony of shepherds and herdsmen on the pastures below Mount Haemus" (Milman, i. 272) could never have affected the language of the whole Teutonic race in all its dialects. But as a matter of fact we find that the word employed by Ulfilas in his version of the Scriptures is not any derivative of κυριακόν; but, as we should have expected, *aikklêsjô* (Rom. xvi. 23; 1 Cor. xvi. 19 *et passim*). This theory therefore falls to the ground, and with it any attempt at showing the way in which the word passed across into the Teutonic languages. No special hypothesis has been brought forward to account for its admission into the Slavonic tongues, and it is enough to say that, unless we have evidence to the contrary, we are justified in assuming that the Greek missionaries in the 9th century did not adopt a term in their intercourse with strangers, which they hardly, if at all, used in ordinary conversation amongst themselves. (5) Further, there is no reason why the word should have passed into these two languages rather than into Latin. The Roman Church was in its origin a Greek community, and it introduced the Greek word for Church into the Latin tongue; but this word was not *cyriacum*, it was *ecclesia*; and the same influence would no doubt have introduced the same word into the northern languages, had it introduced any word at all. (6) Finally, it is hard to find examples of a Greek word being adopted into the Teutonic dialects, except through the medium of Latin. On the whole, this etymology must be abandoned. It is strange that Strabo should have imposed it on the world so long. It is difficult to say what is to be substituted. There was probably some word which, in the language from which the Teutonic and Slavonic are descended, designated the old heathen places of religious assembly; and this word, having taken different forms in different dialects, was adopted by the Christian missionaries. It was probably connected with the Latin *circus*, *circulus*, and with the Greek κύκλος, possibly also with the Welsh *cylch*, *cyl*, *cylchle*, or *cacr*. Lipsius, who was the first to reject the received tradition, was probably right in his suggestion that the word arose from the circular form of the ancient temples. "Credo et a circo Kirck nostrum esse, quia veterum templa instar Circi rotunda" (*Epist. ad Belgas*, Cent. iii. Ep. 44).

II. The word ἐκκλησία is no doubt derived from ἐκκαλεῖν, and in accordance with its derivation it originally meant an assembly called out by the magistrate, or by legitimate authority. This is the ordinary classical sense of the word. But it throws no light on the nature of the institution so designated in the N. T. For to the writers of the N. T. the word had lost its primary signification, and was either used generally for any meeting (Acts xix. 32), or, more particularly, it denoted (1) the religious assemblies of the Jews (Deut. iv. 10, xviii. 16, *ap.* LXX.); (2) the whole assembly or congregation of the Israelitish people (Acts vii. 38; Heb. ii. 12; Ps. xxii. 22; Deut. xxxi. 30, *ap.* LXX.). It was in this last sense, in which it answered to קְהַל יִשְׂרָאֵל, that the word was adopted and applied by the writers of the N. T. to the Christian congregation. The word ἐκκλησία, therefore, does not carry us back further than the Jewish Church. It implies a resemblance and correspondence between the old Jewish Church and the recently established Christian Church, but nothing more. Its etymological sense having been already lost when adopted by and for Christians, is only misleading if pressed too far. The chief difference between the words "ecclesia" and "church" would probably consist in this, that "ecclesia" primarily signified the Christian body, and secondarily the place of assembly,

while the first signification of "church" was the place of assembly, which imparted its name to the body of worshippers.

III. *The Church as described in the Gospels.*—The word occurs only twice. Each time in St. Matthew's Gospel (Matt. xvi. 18, "On this rock will I build My Church;" xviii. 17, "Tell it unto the Church"). In every *other* case it is spoken of as "the kingdom of heaven" by St. Matthew, and as "the kingdom of God" by St. Mark and St. Luke. St. Mark, St. Luke, and St. John never use the expression "kingdom of heaven." St. John once uses the phrase "kingdom of God" (iii. 3). St. Matthew occasionally speaks of "the kingdom of God" (vi. 33, xxi. 31, 43), and sometimes simply of "the kingdom" (iv. 23, xiii. 19, xxiv. 14). In xiii. 41 and xvi. 28, it is "the Son of Man's kingdom." In xx. 21, "Thy kingdom," *i.e.* Christ's. In the one Gospel of St. Matthew the Church is spoken of no less than thirty-six times as "the kingdom." Other descriptions or titles are hardly found in the Evangelists. It is Christ's household (Matt. x. 25), the salt and light of the world (v. 13, 15), Christ's flock (Matt. xxvi. 31; John x. 1); its members are the branches growing on Christ the Vine (John xv.): but the general description of it, not metaphorically but directly, is, that it is a kingdom. In Matt. xvi. 19, "the kingdom of heaven" is formally, as elsewhere virtually, identified with ἐκκλησία. From the Gospels, then, we learn that Christ was about to establish His heavenly kingdom on earth, which was to be the substitute for the Jewish Church and kingdom, now doomed to destruction (Matt. xxi. 43). Some of the qualities of this kingdom are illustrated by the parables of the tares, the mustard seed, the leaven, the hid treasure, the pearl, the draw-net: the spiritual laws and principles by which it is to be governed, by the parables of the talents, the husbandmen, the wedding feast, and the ten virgins. It is not of this world, though in it (John xviii. 36). It is to embrace all the nations of the earth (Matt. xxviii. 19). The means of entrance into it is Baptism (Matt. xxviii. 19). The conditions of belonging to it are faith (Mark xvi. 16) and obedience (Matt. xxviii. 20). Participation in the Holy Supper is its perpetual token of membership, and the means of supporting the life of its members (Matt. xxvi. 26; John vi. 51; 1 Cor. xi. 26). Its members are given to Christ by the Father out of the world, and sent by Christ into the world; they are sanctified by the truth (John xvii. 19); and they are to live in love and unity, cognizable by the external world (John xiii. 34, xvii. 23). It is to be established on the Rock of Christ's Divinity, as confessed by Peter, the representative (for the moment) of the Apostles (Matt. xvi. 18). It is to have authority in spiritual cases (Matt. xviii. 17). It is never to be deprived of Christ's Presence and protection (xxviii. 20), and never to be overthrown by the power of hell (xviii. 19).

IV. *The Church as described in the Acts and in the Epistles; its Origin, Nature, Constitution, Doctrines, and Growth.*—From the Gospels we learn little in the way of detail as to the kingdom which was to be established. It was in the great forty days which intervened between the Resurrection and the Ascension that our Lord explained specifically to His Apostles "the things pertaining to the kingdom of God" (Acts i. 3); that is, His future Church.

Its Origin.—The removal of Christ from the earth had left His followers a shattered company, with no bond of external or internal cohesion except the memory of the Master Whom they had lost, and the recollection of His injunctions to unity and love, together with the occasional glimpses of His Presence which were vouchsafed them. They continued together, meeting for prayer and supplication, and waiting for Christ's promise of the gift of the Holy Ghost. They numbered in all some 140 persons; namely, the eleven, the faithful women, the Lord's mother, His brethren, and 120 disciples. They had faith to believe that there was a work before them which they were about to be called to perform; and that they might be ready to do it, they filled up the number of the Twelve by the appointment of Matthias "to be a true witness" with the eleven "of the Resurrection." The Day of Pentecost is the birthday of the Christian Church. The Spirit, Who was then sent by the Son from the Father, and rested on each of the disciples, combined them once more into a whole—combined them as they never had before been combined, by an internal and spiritual bond of cohesion. Before they had been individual followers of Jesus; now they became His mystical body, animated by His Spirit. The nucleus was formed. Agglomeration and development would do the rest.

Its Nature.—St. Luke explains its nature by describing in narrative form the characteristics of the society formed by the union of the original 140 disciples with the 3,000 souls who were converted on the Day of Pentecost. "Then they that gladly received his word were baptized . . . and they continued stedfastly in the Apostles' teaching and fellowship, in the breaking of bread and the prayers" (Acts ii. 41, R. V.). Here we have indirectly exhibited the essential conditions of Church Communion. They are (1) Baptism, Baptism implying on the part of the recipient repentance and faith; (2) Apostolic Doctrine; (3) Fellowship with the Apostles; (4) the Lord's Supper; (5) Public Worship. Every requisite for church-membership is here enumerated not only for the apostolic days, but for future ages. The conditions are exclusive as well as inclusive, negative as well as positive. St. Luke's definition of the Church, then, would be the congregation of the baptized, in which the faith of the Apostles is maintained, communion with the Apostles is preserved, the Sacraments are duly administered, and public worship is kept up. The earliest definition (virtually) given of the Church is likewise the best. To this body St. Luke applies the name of "The Church" (the first time that the word is used as denoting an existing thing); and to it, constituted as it was, he states that there were daily added οἱ σωζόμενοι (ii. 47). By this expression he probably means those who "saved themselves from their untoward generation" (ii. 40), "added," however, "to the Church" not by their own mere volition, but "by the Lord," and so placed in a state of present salvation, become the elect people of God, sanctified by His Spirit, "delivered from the power of darkness and translated into

the kingdom of His dear Son" (Col. i. 13). St. Luke's treatise being historical, not dogmatical, he does not directly enter further into the essential nature of the Church. The community of goods, which he describes as being universal amongst the members of the infant society (ii. 44, iv. 32), is specially declared to be a voluntary practice (v. 4), not a necessary duty of Christians as such (cp. Acts ix. 36, 39; xi. 29).

From the illustrations adopted by St. Paul in his Epistles, we have additional light thrown upon the nature of the Church. Thus (Rom. xi. 17) the Christian Church is described as being a branch grafted on the already existing olive-tree, showing that it was no new creation, but a development of the institution which had flourished in the Patriarchal and in the Jewish Church. It is described (Rom. xii. 4; 1 Cor. xii. 12) as one body made up of many members with different offices, to exhibit the close cohesion which ought to exist between Christian and Christian; still more, it is described as the body of which Christ is the Head (Eph. i. 22), so that members of His Church are members of Christ's Body, of His Flesh, of His Bones (Eph. v. 23, 30; Col. i. 18, ii. 19), to show the close union between Christ and His people. Again, it is described as the Temple of God built upon the foundation-stone of Jesus Christ (1 Cor. iii. 11); and, by a slight change of metaphor, as the Temple in which God dwells by His Spirit, the Apostles and Prophets forming the foundation, and Jesus Christ the chief corner-stone, *i.e.* probably the foundation corner-stone (Eph. ii. 22). It is also the city of the saints and the household of God (Eph. ii. 19). The passage which is most illustrative of our subject in the Epistles is Eph. iv. 3–12: "Endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. There is one body and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one Baptism, one God, and Father of all, Who is above all, and through all, and in you all." Here we see what it is that constitutes the unity of the Church in the mind of the Apostle: (1) unity of Headship, "one Lord;" (2) unity of belief, "one faith;" (3) unity of Sacraments, "one Baptism;" (4) unity of hope of eternal life, "one hope of your calling" (cp. Tit. i. 2); (5) unity of love, "unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace;" (6) unity of organisation, "one body;" (7) unity of ministry, "for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edification of the Body of Christ." The Church, then, at this period was a body of baptized men and women who believed in Jesus as the Christ and in the revelation made by Him; who were united by having the same faith, hope, and animating Spirit of love, the same Sacraments, the same spiritual invisible Head, and the same discipline.

What was *the Constitution of this body?*—On the evening of the Day of Pentecost, the 3140 members of which it consisted were (1) Apostles, (2) previous disciples, (3) converts. We never afterwards find any distinction drawn between the previous disciples and the later converts; but the Apostles throughout stand apart. Here, then, we find two classes, Apostles and converts—Teachers and taught. At this time the Church was not only morally but actually one congregation. Soon, however, its numbers grew so considerably that it was a physical impossibility that all its members should come together in one spot. It became, therefore, an aggregate of congregations. But its essential unity was not affected by the accidental necessity of meeting in separate rooms for public worship; the bond of cohesion was still the same. The Apostles, who had been closest to the Lord Jesus in His life on earth, would doubtless have formed the centres of the several congregations of listening believers; and besides attending at the Temple for the national Jewish prayer (Acts iii. 1), and for the purpose of preaching Christ (ii. 42), they would have gone round to "every house" where their converts assembled "teaching and preaching," and "breaking bread," and "distributing" the common goods "as each had need" (ii. 46; iv. 35; v. 42). Thus the Church continued for apparently some seven years, but at the end of that time "the number of disciples was" so greatly "multiplied" (Acts vi. 1) that the Twelve Apostles found themselves to be too few to carry out these works unaided. They thereupon for the first time exercised the powers of mission entrusted to them (John xx. 21), and, by laying their hands on the Seven who were recommended to them by the general body of Christians, they appointed them to fulfil the secular task of distributing the common stock, which they had themselves hitherto performed, retaining in their own hands the functions of praying, and preaching, and administering the Sacraments. It is a question which cannot be certainly answered, whether the office of these Seven is to be identified with that of the διάκονοι elsewhere found. They are not called "deacons" in Scripture, and it has been supposed by some that they were extraordinary officers appointed for the occasion to see that the Hellenistic widows had their fair share of the goods distributed amongst the poor believers; and that they had no successors in their office. If this be so, we have no account given us of the institution of the Diaconate: the Deacons, like the Presbyters, are found existing, but the circumstances under which they were brought into existence are not related. We incline, however, to the other hypothesis which makes the Seven the originals of the Deacons. Being found apt to teach, they were likewise invested, almost immediately after their appointment, with the power of preaching to the unconverted (vi. 10) and of baptizing (viii. 38). From this time, therefore, or from about this time, there existed in the Church—(1) the Apostles; (2) the Deacons and Evangelists; (3) the multitude of the faithful. We hear of no other Church-officer till the year 44, seven years after the appointment of the deacons. We find that there were then in the Church of Jerusalem officers named Presbyters (xi. 30) who were the assistants of James, the chief administrator of that Church (xii. 17). The circumstances of their first appointment are not recounted. No doubt they were similar to those under which the Deacons were appointed. As in the year 37 the Apostles found that the whole work of the ministry was too great for them, and they therefore placed a portion of it, viz. distributing alms to the brethren and preaching Christ to the heathen, on the deacons, so a few

years later they would have found that what they still retained was yet growing too burdensome, and consequently they devolved another portion of their ministerial authority on another order of men. The name of Presbyter or Elder implies that the men selected were of mature age. We gather incidentally that they were ordained by apostolic or other authority (xiv. 23, Tit. i. 5). We find them associated with the Apostles as distinguished from the main body of the Church (Acts xv. 2, 4), and again as standing between the Apostles and the brethren (xv. 23). Their office was to minister the grace of spiritual edification (see Ephes. iv. 11 in the *Speaker's Commentary*), by pasturing or feeding the Church of God (Acts xx. 28), by teaching (1 Tim. iii. 1, 2, v. 17; Tit. i. 9) and supervising the flocks over which the Holy Ghost had made them overseers or Bishops (Acts xx. 28; Phil. i. 1), and by praying with and for the members of their congregations (Jas. v. 14). Thus the Apostles would seem to have invested these Presbyters with the powers which they themselves exercised, excepting in respect to those functions which they discharged in relation to the general regimen of the whole Church as distinct from the several congregations which formed the whole body. These functions, by which they ministered the grace of government, they still reserved to themselves. By the year 44, therefore, there were in the Church of Jerusalem—(1) the Apostles holding the government of the whole body in their own hands; (2) Presbyters invested by the Apostles with authority for feeding and teaching men in each congregation; (3) Deacons or Evangelists similarly invested with the lesser power of preaching and of baptizing unbelievers, and of distributing the common goods among the brethren. The same order was established in the Gentile Churches founded by St. Paul, the only difference being that those who were called Presbyters in Jerusalem bore indifferently the name of Bishops (Phil. i. 1; 1 Tim. iii. 1, 2; Tit. i. 7) or of Presbyters (1 Tim. v. 17; Tit. i. 5) elsewhere.

It was in the Church of Jerusalem that another order of the ministry found its exemplar. The Apostles, we find, remained in Jerusalem (Acts viii. 1) or in the neighbourhood (viii. 14) till the persecution of Herod Agrippa in the year 44. The death of James the son of Zebedee, and the imprisonment and flight of Peter, were the signal for the dispersion of the Apostles. One remained behind—James the brother of the Lord, whom we identify with the Apostle, James the son of Alphaeus [JAMES]. He had not the same cause of dread as the rest. His Judaical asceticism and general character would have made him an object of popularity with his countrymen, and even with the pharisaical Herod. He remained unmolested, and from this time he is the acknowledged head of the Church of Jerusalem. A consideration of Acts xii. 17, xv. 13, 19; Gal. ii. 2, 9, 12; Acts xxi. 18, will remove all doubt on this head. Indeed, four years before Herod's persecution he had stood, it would seem, on a level with Peter (Gal. i. 18, 19; Acts ix. 27), and it has been thought that he received special instructions for the functions which he had to fulfil from the Lord Himself (1 Cor. xv. 7; Acts i. 3). Whatever his pre-eminence was, he appears to have borne no special title indicating it. The example of the Mother Church of Jerusalem was again followed by the Pauline Churches. Timothy and Titus had probably no distinctive title, but it is impossible to read the Epistles addressed to them without seeing that they had an authority superior to that of the ordinary Bishops or Priests with regard to whose conduct and ordination St. Paul gives them instruction (1 Tim. iii., v. 17, 19; Tit. i. 5). Thus, then, we see that where the Apostles were themselves able to superintend the Churches which they had founded, the Church-officers consisted of—(1) Apostles; (2) Bishops or Priests; (3) Deacons and Evangelists. When the Apostles were unable to give personal superintendence, they delegated that power which they had in common to one of themselves, as in Jerusalem, or to one in whom they had confidence, as at Ephesus and in Crete. As the Apostles died off, these apostolic delegates necessarily multiplied. By the end of the 1st century, when St. John was the only Apostle that now survived, they would have been established in every country, as Crete, and in every large town where there were several Bishops or Priests, such as the seven towns of Asia mentioned in the Book of Revelation. These superintendents appear to be addressed by St. John under the name of Angels (Rev. i.–iii.). With St. John's death the apostolic College was extinguished, and the apostolic delegates or Angels were left to fill their places in the government of the Church, not with the full power of the Apostles, but with authority which, though unrestricted in its own nature, was in practice exercised by each individual only within a limited district. In the next century we find that these officers bore the name of Bishops, while those who in the 1st century were called indifferently Presbyters or Bishops had now only the title of Presbyters. We conclude, therefore, that the title Bishop was gradually dropped by the second order of the ministry, and applied specifically to those who represented what James, Timothy, and Titus had been in the apostolic age. Theodoret says expressly, "The same persons were anciently called promiscuously both Bishops and Presbyters, whilst those who are now called Bishops were called Apostles; but shortly after, the name of Apostle was appropriated to such as were Apostles indeed, and then the name Bishop was given to those before called Apostles" (*Com. in 1 Tim.* iii. 1). There were therefore always three orders of the ministry in the Christian Church, but the name or title Bishop, which was in later times appropriated to the first order, was originally applied to the second order in common with that of Presbyter.

There are other names found in the Acts and in the Epistles which the light thrown backward by early ecclesiastical history shows us to have been the titles of those who exercised functions which were not destined to continue in the Church, but only belonging to it while it was being brought into being by help of miraculous agency. Such are prophets (Acts xiii. 1; Rom. xii. 6; 1 Cor. xii. 28; Eph. iv. 11), whose function was to proclaim and expound the Christian revelation, and to interpret God's will, especially as veiled in the Old Testament; and teachers (Acts xiii. 1; Rom. xii. 7), whose special work was to instruct those already admitted

into the fold, as contrasted with the Evangelists, who had primarily to instruct the heathen. Prophecy is one of the *extraordinary* χαρίσματα which were vouchsafed, and it is to be classed with the gifts of healing, of speaking with tongues, of interpretation of tongues, and discernment of spirits, the last of which was a power of distinguishing between the real and supposed possessors of spiritual gifts (1 Cor. xii.). Teaching (χάρισμα διδασκαλίας, Rom. xii. 6; 1 Cor. xii. 28) is one of the *ordinary* gifts, and is to be classed with the word of wisdom and the word of knowledge (1 Cor. xii. 8), perhaps with "faith" (ib. 9), with the gift of government (χάρισμα κυβερνήσεως, ib. 28), and with the gift of ministration (χάρισμα διακονίας or ἀντιλήψεως, Rom. xii. 6; 1 Cor. xii. 28). These χαρίσματα, whether extraordinary or ordinary, were "divided to every man as the Spirit willed," according to the individual character of each, and not officially. Those to whom the gifts of prophecy and teaching were vouchsafed were doubtless selected for the office of Presbyter;* those who had the gift of ministration, for the office of Deacon; those who had the gift of government, for the office of delegates and successors of the Apostles. In the Apostles themselves they all alike resided.

Its Doctrines.—These were found in the teaching of the Apostles, whether oral or written, and in the traditions and records of the teaching of the Master. But whereas some of the evangelic and apostolic statements were of less importance for the salvation of mankind than others (although all were equally true), the fundamental or necessary truths of Christianity were put together in the form of a Creed, in which every person to be admitted into the Church was bound to declare his belief by himself or by his representatives, before he was permitted to be baptized. This formula was the Baptismal Creed, which contained the essential doctrines of the Church in short compass, as the Holy Scriptures contained them diffusively. Of this Creed we have to this day a hardly changed form in what is commonly called the Apostles' Creed. The doctrines contained in it were as follows:—1. The doctrine of the existence of an Almighty God, Who created the heaven and the earth. 2. The doctrine of the Holy Trinity, involving the Fatherhood of God, the Sonship of Christ, and the Procession of the Holy Ghost. 3. The Incarnation of Christ, including His Conception by the Holy Ghost and His Birth of the Virgin Mary. 4. His Passion, Crucifixion, Death, and Burial. 5. His Ascension, Session at the Right Hand of God, and future Judgment. 6. God's forgiveness and acceptance of mankind. 7. A resurrection after death and eternal life. These were the chief dogmas of Revelation, and because the dogmas of Revelation also the dogmas of the Church. They formed a body of doctrines which might not be taken from or added to, although when assailed they might be more explicitly stated. Further truths, of the nature of corollaries, might be drawn from them, provided that such further truths were logically deduced and did not conflict with other truths resting on an equally good basis of logical deduction; for such truths were indeed connoted by the words of Scripture and the Baptismal Creed, if not directly stated in them. But no new truths, or supposed truths, could be added to the deposit, once for all delivered to the custody of the Church, on pain of anathema (Jude *v.* 3; 1 Tim. vi. 20; Gal. i. 6–9).

Its external Growth.—The 3,000 souls that were added to the Apostles and to the 120 brethren on the Day of Pentecost were increased daily by new converts (Acts ii. 47, v. 14). These converts were without exception Jews residing in Jerusalem, whether speaking Greek or Hebrew (vi. 1). After seven or eight years a step was made outwards. The persecution which followed the martyrdom of Stephen drove away the adherents of the new doctrines, with the exception of the Apostles, and "they that were scattered abroad went everywhere preaching the word" to the Jews of the Dispersion. Philip, in his capacity of Evangelist, preached Christ to the Samaritans, and admitted them into the Church by Baptism. In Philistia he made the first Gentile convert, but this act did not raise the question of the admission of the Gentiles, because the Ethiopian eunuch was already a proselyte (viii. 27), and probably a proselyte of Righteousness. Cornelius, the next Gentile convert, was a proselyte of the Gate (x. 2). The first purely Gentile convert that we hear of by name is Sergius Paulus (xiii. 7), but we are told that Cornelius' companions were Gentiles, and by their Baptism the admission of the Gentiles was decided by the agency of St. Peter, approved by the Apostles and Jewish Church (xi. 18), not, as might have been expected, by the agency of St. Paul. This great event took place after the peace caused by Caligula's persecution of the Jews, which occurred A.D. 40 (ix. 31), and more than a year before the famine, in the time of Claudius, A.D. 44 (xi. 26, 29). Galilee had already been evangelized as well as Judaea and Samaria, though the special agent in the work is not declared (ix. 31).

The history of the growth of the Gentile Church, so far as we know it, is identical with the history of St. Paul. In his three journeys he carried Christianity through the chief cities of Asia Minor and Greece. His method appears almost invariably to have been this: he presented himself on the Sabbath at the Jewish synagogue, and, having first preached the doctrine of a suffering Messiah, he next identified Jesus with the Messiah (xvii. 3). His arguments on the first head were listened to with patience by all, those on the second point wrought conviction in some (xvii. 4), but roused the rest to persecute him (xvii. 5). On finding his words rejected by the Jews, he turned from them to the Gentiles (xviii. 6, xxviii. 28). His captivity in Rome, A.D. 63–65, had the effect of forming a Church out of the Jewish and Greek residents in the imperial city, who seem to have

* It was thus that the class of Prophets and of Teachers, which existed under those names in the earliest times, would become merged in the order of Presbyters. The ministry which the earlier *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* attributes to the Prophets (ch. xi.–xv.) is assigned by the later *Apostolical Constitutions* (bk. vii.) to Presbyters. The graces of Prophecy and Teaching would at once have indicated their possessors as men suitable for the permanent order of the Presbyterate.

been joined by a few Italians. His last journey may have spread the Gospel westward as far as Spain (Rom. xv. 28; Clemens, Eusebius, Jerome, Chrysostom). The death of James at Jerusalem and of Peter and Paul at Rome, A.D. 67, leaves one only of the Apostles presented distinctly to our view. In the year A.D. 70 Jerusalem was captured, and before St. John fell asleep, in A.D. 98, the Petrine and Pauline converts, the Churches of the circumcision and of the uncircumcision, had melted into one harmonious and accordant body, spreading in scattered congregations at the least from Babylon to Spain, and from Macedonia to Africa. How far Christian doctrine may have penetrated beyond these limits we do not know.

Its further Growth.—As this is not an ecclesiastical history, we can but glance at it. There were three great impulses which enlarged the borders of the Church. The first is that which began on the Day of Pentecost, and continued down to the conversion of Constantine. By this the Roman Empire was converted to Christ, and the Church was, speaking roughly, made conterminous with the civilized world. The second impulse gathered within her borders the hitherto barbarous nations formed by the Teutonic and Celtic tribes, thus winning, or, in spite of the overthrow of the Empire, retaining the countries of France, Scotland, Ireland, England, Lombardy, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. The third impulse gathered in the Slavonian nations. The first of these impulses lasted to the 4th century, the second to the 9th century, the third (beginning before the second had ceased) to the 10th and 11th centuries. We do not reckon the Nestorian missionary efforts in the 7th century in Syria, Persia, India, and China, nor the post-Reformation exertions of the Jesuits in the East and West Indies, for these attempts have produced no permanent results. Nor again do we speak of the efforts now being made in Africa, India, Australia, and New Zealand, because it has not yet been proved whether they will be successful in bringing the natives of those countries within the fold of Christ.

V. *Alterations in its Constitution.*—We have said that ecclesiastical authority resided originally in the Apostles; next in the Apostles and the Deacons; then in the Apostles, the Presbyters, and the Deacons; then in the apostolic delegates, the Presbyters, and the Deacons; then in those who succeeded the apostolic delegates, the Presbyters, and the Deacons. And to these successors of the apostolic delegates came to be appropriated the title of Bishop, which was originally applied to Presbyters. At the commencement of the second century and thenceforwards Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons are the officers of the Church wherever the Church existed. Ignatius' Epistles (in their unadulterated form) and the other records which are preserved to us are on this point decisive (see Pearson's *Vindiciae Ignatianae*, part ii. c. xiii. p. 534, ed. Churton; and Lightfoot's *S. Ignatius*, i. p. 375). Bishops were looked upon as Christ's Vicegerents (Cyprian, *Ep.* 55 [or 59] with Rigaltius' notes), and as having succeeded to the Apostles (Id. *Ep.* 69 [or 66] and 42 [or 45], Firmilian, Jerome), every Bishop's see being entitled a "sedes apostolica." They retained in their own hands authority over Presbyters, the function of ordination, and the general government of the Church, but with respect to each other they were equals whether their see was "at Rome or at Eugubium."

Within this equal college of Bishops there soon arose difference of rank though not of order. Below the city Bishops there sprang up a class of country Bishops (*chorepiscopi*), who were enabled to perform episcopal acts with the sanction of the city Bishops. Their position was ambiguous, and in the fifth century they began to decay and gradually died out.[b] Above the city Bishops there were, in the second century apparently, Metropolitans, and in the third, Patriarchs or Exarchs. The metropolitan was the chief Bishop in the civil division of the empire which was called a province (ἐπαρχία). His see was at the metropolis of the province, and he presided over his suffragans with authority similar to, but greater than, that which is exercised in their respective provinces by the two Archbishops in England. The authority of the patriarch or exarch extended over the still larger civil division of the empire which was called a dioecese. The ecclesiastical was framed in accordance with the exigencies and after the model of the civil polity. When Constantine, therefore, divided the empire into thirteen dioeceses, "each of which equalled the just measure of a powerful kingdom" (Gibbon, c. xviii.), the Church came to be distributed into thirteen (including the city and neighbourhood of Rome, fourteen) dioecesan, or, as we should say, national Churches. There was no external bond of government to hold these Churches together. They were independent self-ruled wholes, combined together into one greater whole by having one invisible Head and one animating Spirit, by maintaining the same faith, exercising the same discipline, and having as their chief officers Bishops, each one of whom had a potential jurisdiction throughout the whole of Christendom, though the exertion of that power was, as a matter of order, limited to a special see or province or diocese. The only authority which the Diocesan Churches recognised as capable of controlling their separate action, was that of an Oecumenical Council composed of delegates from each; and these Councils passed canon after canon forbidding the interference of the Bishop of any one dioecese, that is, district, or country, with the Bishop of any other dioecese. "Bishops outside a 'diocese' are not to invade the Churches across the borders, nor bring confusion into the Churches," says the second canon of the Council of Constantinople, "lest," says the eighth canon of the Council of Ephesus, "the pride of worldly power be introduced under cover of the priestly function, and by little and little we be deprived of the liberty which our Lord Jesus Christ, the deliverer of all men, has given us by His own

[b] An attempt was made to resuscitate this class in England, under the title of Suffragan Bishops, by the 26th Henry VIII. c. 14, by which twenty-six towns were named as the seats of Bishops, who were to be under the Bishops of the diocese in which they were situated. This Act, which had fallen into desuetude, was revived by Bishop Wordsworth of Lincoln, who consecrated a Bishop Suffragan of Nottingham in the year 1869, and his example has been followed by many other Bishops.

blood."[a] But there was a stronger power at work than any which could be controlled by canons. Rome and Constantinople were each the seats of imperial power, and symptoms soon began to appear that the patriarchs of the imperial cities were rival claimants of imperial power in the Church. Rome was in a better position for the struggle than Constantinople, for, besides having the prestige of being *Old* Rome, she was also of apostolic foundation. Constantinople could not boast an Apostle as her founder, and she was but *New* Rome. Still the imperial power was strong in the East when it had fallen in the West, and furthermore the Council of Chalcedon had so far dispensed with the canons and with precedent in respect to Constantinople as to grant the patriarch jurisdiction over three dioeceses, to establish a right of appeal to Constantinople from any part of the Church, and to confirm the decree of the second Council, which elevated the See of Constantinople above that of Alexandria and of Antioch. It was by the Pope of Constantinople that the first overt attempt at erecting a Monarchy was made; and by the Pope of Rome, in consequence, it was fiercely and indignantly denounced. John of Constantinople, said Gregory the Great, was destroying the patriarchal system of government (lib. v. 43; ix. 68); by assuming the profane appellation of Universal Bishop he was anticipating Antichrist (lib. vii. 27, 33), invading the rights of Christ, and imitating the devil (lib. v. 18). John of Constantinople failed. The successors of Gregory adopted as their own the claims which John had not been able to assert; and on the basis of the False Decretals of Isidore, and of Gratian's Decretum, Nicholas I., Gregory VII., and Innocent III. reared the structure of the Roman in place of the Constantinopolitan Papal Monarchy. From this time the federal character of the constitution of the Church was overthrown. In the West it became wholly despotic; and in the East, though the theory of aristocratical government was and is maintained, the still-cherished title of Oecumenical Patriarch indicates that it is weakness which has prevented Constantinople from erecting at least an Eastern, if she could not an Universal, Monarchy. In the 16th century a further change of constitution occurred. A great part of Europe revolted from the Western despotism. The Churches of England and Sweden returned to, or retained, the episcopal form of government after the model of the first centuries. In parts of Germany, of France, of Switzerland, and of Great Britain, a Presbyterian, or still less defined, form was adopted, while Rome tightened her hold on her yet remaining subjects, and by destroying all peculiarities of national liturgy and custom, and by depressing the order of Bishops except as interpreters of her decrees, converted that part of the Church over which she had sway into a jealous centralized absolutism.

VI. *The existing Church.*—Its members fall into three broadly-marked groups,—the Oriental Churches, the Latin Churches, the Teutonic Churches. The Oriental or Orthodox Greek Church consists of the Patriarchate of Constantinople with 127 sees, of Alexandria with 7 sees, of Antioch with 14 sees, of Jerusalem with 11 sees, of the Russian Church with 57 sees; besides which, there are in Cyprus 4 sees, in Austria 13 sees, in Montenegro 1 see, in Greece 40 sees, in Roumania 8 sees, in Bulgaria 13 sees. To these must be added—(1) The Assyrian or Nestorian Church, once spread from China to the Tigris, and from Lake Baikal to Cape Comorin, and ruled by twenty-five Metropolitans and a Patriarch possessing a plenitude of power equal to that of Innocent III. (Neale, *Eastern Church*, i. 143), but now shrunk to 13 sees. (2) The Christians of St. Thomas under the Bishop of Malabar. (3) The Syrian Jacobites, with 15 sees, under the Patriarch of Antioch, resident at Caramit or Diarbekir. (4) The Copts, with 16 sees, under the Coptic Patriarch of Egypt. (5) The Abyssinians, under the Abuna of Abyssinia; and (6) the Armenians, with 47 sees occupied by Bishops, under the Catholicos of all the Armenians residing at Etchmiadzin, and 43 vacant in consequence of persecution.

The Latin Churches are those of Italy with 270 sees, of Spain with 65, of France with 90, of Portugal with 22, of Belgium and Holland with 11, of Austria with 53, of Germany with 26, of Switzerland with 6. Besides these, the authority of the Roman See is acknowledged by 127 Asiatic Bishops, 12 African, 184 American, 84 European, and 23 Australian.

The Teutonic Churches consist of the Anglican communion, with 200 sees in Europe, Canada, the United States of America, the West Indies, Asia, Africa, Australia, and Oceanica; of the Old Catholic communion in Germany, Switzerland, and Holland, with 5 sees; of the Church of Sweden and Finland, with 14 sees; of Norway and Denmark, with 14 sees; of the Churches of Prussia, Holland, Scotland, and scattered congregations elsewhere.

The members of the Oriental Churches are supposed to number 80,000,000, of the Teutonic and Protestant Churches 98,000,000, of the Latin Churches 120,000,000, making a total of nearly 25 per cent. of the population of the globe.[d]

VII. *Definitions of the Church.*—The Greek Church gives the following:—"The Church is a divinely instituted community of men, united by the orthodox faith, the law of God, the hierarchy, and the Sacraments" (*Full Catechism of the Orthodox, Catholic, Eastern Church*; Moscow, 1839). The Latin Church defines it "the company of Christians knit together by the profession of the same faith and the communion of the same Sacraments, under the government of lawful pastors, and especially of the Roman Bishop as the only Vicar of Christ upon earth" (Bellarm. *de Eccl. Mil.* iii. 2; see also Devoti *Inst. Canon.* 1, § iv., Romae, 1818); the Church of England, "a congregation of faithful men in which the pure word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same" (Art. xix.); the Lutheran Church, "a

[a] See Canons v., vi. of Nicaea; ii., iii., vi. of Constantinople; i., viii. of Ephesus; ix., xvii., xxvii., xxx., of Chalcedon.

[d] The Latin Church claims 200,000,000, counting as its members all the inhabitants of those countries in which the Roman Church is predominant, such as France, Spain, Italy, and South America.

congregation of saints in which the Gospel is rightly taught and the Sacraments rightly administered" (*Confessio Augustana*, 1631, Art. vii.); the Confessio Helvetica, "a congregation of faithful men called, or collected out of the world, the communion of all saints" (Art. xvii.); the Confessio Saxonica, "a congregation of men embracing the Gospel of Christ, and rightly using the Sacraments" (Art. xii.); the Confessio Belgica, "a true congregation, or assembly of all faithful Christians who look for the whole of their salvation from Jesus Christ alone, as being washed by His blood, and sanctified and sealed by His Spirit" (Art. xxvii.).

These definitions show the difficulty in which the different sections of the divided Church find themselves in framing a definition which will at once accord with the statements of Holy Scripture, and be applicable to the present state of the Christian world. We have seen that according to the Scriptural view the Church is a holy kingdom, established by God on earth, of which Christ is the invisible King; it is a divinely organised body, the members of which are knit together amongst themselves, and joined to Christ their Head, by the Holy Spirit, Who dwells in and animates it; it is a spiritual but visible society of men united by constant succession to those who were personally united to the Apostles, holding the same faith that the Apostles held, administering the same Sacraments, and like them forming separate, but only locally separate, assemblies, for the public worship of God. This is the Church according to the Divine intention. But as God permits men to mar the perfection of His designs in their behalf, and as men have both corrupted the doctrines and broken the unity of the Church, we must not expect to see the Church of Holy Scripture actually existing in its perfection on earth. It is not to be found, thus perfect, either in the collected fragments of Christendom, or still less in any one of these fragments; though it is possible that one of those fragments more than another may approach the scriptural and apostolic ideal, which existed only until sin, heresy, and schism had time sufficiently to develop themselves to do their work. It has been questioned by some whether Hooker, in his anxious desire after charity and liberality, has not founded his definition of the Church upon too wide a basis; but it is certain that he has pointed out the true principle on which the definition must be framed (*Eccl. Pol.* v. 68, 6). As in defining a man, he says, we pass by those qualities wherein one man excels another, and take only those essential properties whereby a man differs from creatures of other kinds, so in defining the Church, which is a technical name for the professors of the Christian religion, we must fix our attention solely on that which makes the Christian religion differ from the religions which are not Christian. This difference is constituted by the Christian religion having Jesus Christ, His revelation, and His precepts for the objects of its contemplations and the motive of its actions. The Church, therefore, consists of all who acknowledge the Lord Jesus Christ the blessed Saviour of mankind, who give credit to His Gospel, and who hold His Sacraments, the seals of eternal life, in honour. To go further, would be not to define the Church by that which makes it to be what it is, *i.e.* to declare the *being* of the Church, but to define it by accidents, which may conduce to its *well-being*, but do not touch its innermost nature. From this view of the Church the important consequence follows, that all the baptized belong to the visible Church, whatever be their divisions, crimes, misbeliefs, provided only they are not plain apostates, nor directly deny and utterly reject the Christian faith, so far as the same is professedly different from infidelity. "Heretics as touching those points of doctrine in which they fail; schismatics as touching the quarrels for which or the duties in which they divide themselves from their brethren; loose, licentious, and wicked persons, as touching their several offences or crimes, have all forsaken the true Church of God—the Church which is sound and sincere in the doctrine which they corrupt, the Church that keepeth the bond of unity which they violate, the Church that walketh in the laws of righteousness which they transgress, this very true Church of Christ they have left—howbeit, not altogether left nor forsaken simply the Church, upon the foundation of which they continue built notwithstanding these breaches, whereby they are *rent at the top* asunder" (Hooker, v. 68, 7).

VIII. *The Faith, Attributes, and Notes of the Church.*—The Nicene Creed is the especial and authoritative exponent of the Church's faith, having been adopted as such by the Oecumenical Councils of Nicaea and Constantinople, and ever afterwards regarded as the sacred summary of Christian doctrine. We have the Western form of the Creed, originally used as a Baptismal Creed, in that which is called the Creed of the Apostles — a name possibly derived from its having been the local Creed of Rome, which was the chief apostolic see of the West. An expansion of the same Creed, made in order to meet the Arian errors, is found in the Creed of St. Athanasius. The Confessions of Faith of the Synod of Bethlehem (A.D. 1672), of the Council of Trent (commonly known as Pope Pius IV.'s Creed, A.D. 1564), of the Synod of London (A.D. 1562), of Augsburg, Switzerland, Saxony, &c., stand on a lower level, as binding on the members of certain portions of the Church, and negativing certain prevalent errors or supposed errors, but not being the Church's Creeds. The *attributes* of the Church are drawn from the expressions of the Creeds. The Church is described as One, Holy, Catholic, Apostolic. Its Unity consists in having one object of worship (Ephes. iv. 6), one Head (Ephes. iv. 15), one body (Rom. xii. 5), one Spirit (Ephes. iv. 4), one faith (ib. 13), hope (ib. 12), love (1 Cor. xiii. 13); the same Sacraments (ib. x. 17), discipline, and worship (Acts ii. 42). Its Holiness depends on its Head and Spirit, the means of grace which it offers, and the holiness that it demands of its members (Ephes. iv. 24). Its Catholicity consists in its being composed of many national Churches, not confined as the Jewish Church to one country (Mark xvi. 15); in its enduring to the end of time (Matt. xxviii. 20); in its teaching the whole truth in contradistinction to partial aspects of it, and having at its disposal all the means of grace vouchsafed to man. Its Apostolicity, in being built on the foundation of the

Apostles (Ephes. ii. 20), and continuing in their doctrine and fellowship (Acts ii. 42). The *notes* of the Church are given by Bellarmine and theologians of his school, as being the title "Catholic," antiquity, succession, extent, papal succession, primitive doctrine, unity, sanctity, efficacy of doctrine, holiness of its authors, miracles, prophecy, confession of foes, unhappy end of opponents, temporal good-fortune (Bellarm. *Contr.* tom. ii. lib. iv. p. 1293; Ingoldst. 1580): by Dean Field as (1) the complete profession of the Christian faith; (2) the use of certain appointed ceremonies and Sacraments; (3) the union of men in their profession and in the use of these Sacraments under lawful pastors (*Of the Church*, bk. ii. c. ii. p. 65). It is evident that the notes by which the Church is supposed to be distinguished must differ according to the definition of the Church accepted by the theologian who assigns them, because the true notes of a thing must necessarily be the essential properties of that thing. But each theologian is likely to assume those particulars in which he believes his own branch or part of the Church to excel others as the notes of the Church Universal.

IX. *Distinctions.*—"For lack of diligent observing the differences first between the Church of God mystical and visible, then between the visible sound and corrupted, sometimes more sometimes less, the oversights are neither few nor light that have been committed" (Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.* iii. 1, 9). The word Church is employed to designate (1) the place in which Christians assemble to worship (possibly 1 Cor. xiv. 19); (2) a household of Christians (Col. iv. 15); (3) a congregation of Christians assembling from time to time for worship, but generally living apart from each other (Rom. xvi. 1); (4) a body of Christians living in one city assembling for worship in different congregations and at different times (1 Cor. i. 1); (5) a body of Christians residing in a district or country (1 Cor. xiii.); (6) the whole visible Church, including sound and unsound members, that is, all the baptized professors of Christianity, orthodox, heretical, and schismatical, moral or immoral; (7) the visible Church exclusive of the manifestly unsound members, that is, consisting of those who appear to be orthodox and pious; (8) the mystical or invisible Church, that is, the body of the elect known to God alone who are in very deed justified and sanctified, and never to be plucked out of their Saviour's hands, composed of the Church Triumphant and of some members of the Church Militant (John x. 28; Heb. xii. 22); (9) the Church Militant, that is, the Church in its warfare on earth—identical therefore with the Church visible; (10) the Church Triumphant, consisting of those who have passed from this world, expectant of glory now in Paradise, and to be glorified hereafter in heaven. The word may be fairly used in any of these senses; but it is plain that if it is employed by controversialists without a clear understanding in which sense it is used, inextricable confusion must arise. And such in fact has been the case.

X. *Literature.*—On the *Nature* of the Church the following books may be consulted:—*The Teaching of the Apostles*, ed. Bryennius; Constantinople, 1883. Cyprian, *De Unitate Ecclesiae*, Op. p. 75; Amst. 1700. Vincentius Lirinensis, *Commonitorium*, Vien. 1809; in English, Oxf. 1841. Cranmer, *Works*, i. 376, ii. 11; Cambr. 1843. Ridley, *Conference with Latimer*, p. 122; Cambr. 1843. Hooper, *Works*, ii. 41; Cambr. 1852. Becon, *Works*, i. 293, ii. 41; Cambr. 1843. Hooker, *Eccles. Polity*, iii. 1, v. 68, §§ 6 and 78; Oxf. 1863. Bellarmine, *De Conciliis et Ecclesia Disputat.* i. 1084; Ingolds. 1580. Casaubon, *Epistola ad Cardinalem Perronium*; Lond. 1875. Andrewes, *Works*, xiii.; Oxf. 1854. Crakanthorp, *Defensio Ecclesiae Anglicanae*; Oxf. 1847. Field, *Of the Church*; Cambr. 1847. Laud, *Conference with Fisher*; Oxf. 1849. Jeremy Taylor, *Works*, v.; Lond. 1849. Bramhall, *Works*, i. ii. iii.; Oxf. 1842. Thorndike, *Works*, i.–vi.; Oxf. 1844. Beveridge, *On Art. XIX.*, Works, vii. 357, and *De Metropolitanis*, xii. 38; Oxf. 1848. Hammond, *Works*, ii.; Oxf. 1849. Pearson, *Exposition of the Creed, Art. IX.*; Oxf. 1833. Bingham, *Antiquities of the Christian Church*; Lond. 1875. De Marca, *De Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii*; Paris, 1663. Thomassini, *Vetus et Nova Ecclesiae Disciplina*; Lucae, 1728. Palmer, *Treatise on the Church*; Lond. 1842. Gladstone, *The State in its relations with the Church*, Lond. 1839; *Church Principles considered in their results*, Lond. 1840. *Tracts for the Times*; Lond. 1840. Palmer, *Treatise on the Church of Christ*; Lond. 1842. Wordsworth, *Theophilus Anglicanus*, Lond. 1857; in French, 1861; in Italian, 1864. Harold Browne, *Exposition of the XXXIX. Articles, On Art. XIX.*; Lond. 1862. Bates, *Lectures on Christian Antiquities*; Lond. 1845. Hook, *Church Dictionary*; Lond. 1887. Coxe, *Calendar of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church*; New York, 1863. Hale, *The Universal Episcopate*; Baltimore, 1882. Meyrick, *Is Dogma a Necessity?* Lond. 1883.

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CHURCHES, ROBBERS OF, Acts xix. 37; better (with R. V.) "robbers of temples" (*ἱεροσυλοί*). Dr. Hackett has pointed out that "churches," when the Authorized Version was made, denoted places of pagan as well as of Christian worship. This use of the word would not therefore have seemed at that time so incongruous as it does now (*D. B.* Amer. ed.). He refers to Trench, *The Authorized Version*, p. 42 (1859), for other examples of this wider usage in the older writers. [F.]

CHUSHAN-RISHATHA'IM (כּוּשַׁן רִשְׁעָתָיִם; Χουσαρσαθαΐμ; *Chusarsathaim*), a king of Mesopotamia (Aram-Naharaim) who oppressed Israel for eight years during the time of the Judges (Judg. iii. 8). The seat of his dominion was probably that district of Babylonia just north of Babylon, extending from the Euphrates to the boundary of Elam. As this name has not been, as yet, found in the cuneiform inscriptions, it is very likely that the king who bore it ruled over the wandering Arameans of Northern Babylonia; and who, the power of both Assyria and Babylonia being at this time at a very low ebb, made himself greatly feared in all the districts around. A great many Aramaean tribes are mentioned by Tiglath-pileser III., king of Assyria, in his annals. [T. G. P.]

CHU'SI (B. Χούς; A. Χουσεί; Vulg. omits), a place named only in Judith vii. 18, as near Ekrebel, and upon the brook Mochmur. In form Chusi is gentilic, and Movers (see *Speaker's Comm.* in loco) connected it with כּוּתִי, "Cuthite," i.e. Samaritans. It is now possibly *Kûzah*, a small village 5½ miles south of *Nâblus*, and about 5 miles west of *'Akrabeh*, Ekrebel. (*PEF. Mem.* ii. 285.) [W.]

CHU'ZA (properly **CHUZAS**), Χουζᾶς, the *ἐπίτροπος*, or house-steward of Herod (Antipas) whose wife Joanna (Ἰωάννα, יוֹחָנָה) became attached to that body of women who accompanied our Lord on His journeyings (Luke viii. 3); and, together with Mary Magdalen and Mary the *mother* of James, having come early to the sepulchre on the morning of the Resurrection, to bring spices and ointments to complete the burial, brought word to the Apostles that the Lord was risen (Luke xxiv. 10). [F.]

CIC'CAR (כִּכָּר). [JORDAN; TOPOGRAPHICAL TERMS.]

CILI'CIA (Κιλικία), a maritime province in the S.E. of Asia Minor, bordering on Pamphylia in the W., Lycaonia and Cappadocia in the N., and Syria in the E. Lofty mountain chains separate it from these provinces, Mons Amanus from Syria, and Antitaurus from Cappadocia: these barriers can be surmounted only by a few difficult passes; the former by the Portae Amanides at the head of the valley of the Pinarus, the latter by the Portae Ciliciae near

the sources of the Cydnus; towards the S. however an outlet was afforded between the Sinus Issicus and the spurs of Amanus for a road, which afterwards crossed the Portae Syriae in the direction of Antioch.* The sea-coast is rock-bound in the W., low and shelving in the E.; the chief rivers, Sarus, Cydnus, and Calycadnus, were inaccessible to vessels of any size from sand-bars formed at their mouths. The western portion of the province is intersected with the ridges of Antitaurus, and was denominated Trachaea, *rough*, in contradistinction to Pedias, the *level* district in the E. The latter portion was remarkable for its beauty and fertility, as well as for its luxurious climate: hence it became a favourite residence of the Greeks after its incorporation into the Macedonian empire, and its capital TARSUS was elevated into the seat of a celebrated school of philosophy. The connexion between the Jews and Cilicia dates from the time when it became part of the Syrian kingdom. Antiochus the Great is said to have introduced 2000 families of the Jews into Asia Minor, many of whom probably settled in Cilicia (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 3, § 4). In the apostolic age they were still there in considerable numbers (Acts vi. 9). Cilician mercenaries, probably from Trachaea, served in the bodyguard of Alexander Jannaeus (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 13, § 5; *B. J.* i. 4, § 3). Josephus identified Cilicia with the Tarshish of Gen. x. 4: *Θαρσὸς δὲ Θαρσεῖς, οὕτως γὰρ ἐκαλεῖτο τὸ παλαιὸν ἡ Κιλικία* (*Ant.* i. 6, § 1). Cilicia was from its geographical position the high road between Syria and the West; it was also the native country of St. Paul; hence it was visited by him, firstly, soon after his conversion (Gal. i. 21; Acts ix. 30), on which occasion he probably founded the Church there; and again in his second apostolical journey, when he entered it on the side of Syria, and crossed Antitaurus by the Pylae Ciliciae into Lycaonia (Acts xv. 41). Cp. W. Barker's *Cilicia and its Governors*, 1853; T. Kotschy, *Reise in den cilicischen Taurus über Tarsus*, Gotha, 1858; Langlois, *Exploration archéologique de la Cilicie*, Paris, 1857, and *Voyage dans la Cilicie*, 1860; E. J. Davis, *Anatolica*, 1874, and *Life in Asiatic Turkey*, 1879; J. R. S. Sterrett, *Routes in Cilicia, Lycaonia, Isauria, Pisidia*, Archaeol. Inst. of Amer. iii. 1884–5, vi. 488. [W. L. B.] [J. E. S.]

CINNAMON (קִנָּמוֹן; *κινάμωμον*; *cinnamomum*), a well-known aromatic substance, the rind of the *Cinnamomum zeylonicum*, called *Korunda-gauhah* in Ceylon. It is mentioned in Ex. xxx. 23 as one of the component parts of the holy anointing oil, which Moses was commanded to prepare, in Prov. vii. 17 as a perfume for the bed, and in Cant. iv. 14 as one of the plants of the garden which is the image of the spouse. In Rev. xviii. 13 it is enumerated among the merchandise of the great Babylon. It was imported into Judaea by the Phoenicians or by the Arabians, and is now found in Sumatra, Borneo, China, &c., but chiefly, and of the best quality, in the S.W. part of Ceylon, where the soil is light and sandy, and the atmosphere *moist* with the prevalent southern winds. The stem and boughs of the cinnamon-tree are surrounded by a double rind, the exterior being whitish or grey, and almost inodorous and tasteless; but the inner one, which consists properly of two closely connected rinds, furnishes, if dried in the sun, that much-valued brown cinnamon which is imported to us in the shape of fine thin barks, eight or ten of which rolled one into the other form sometimes a quill. It is this inner rind which is called in Ex. xxx. 23, קִנְמֹן־בָּשֶׂם, "spicy cinnamon" (Kalisch *ad loc.*). From the coarser pieces oil of cinnamon is obtained, and a finer kind of oil is also got by boiling the ripe fruit of the tree. This last is used in the composition of incense, and diffuses a most delightful scent when burning.

Herodotus (iii. 111) ascribes to the Greek word *κιννάμωμον* a Phoenician, *i.e.* a Semitic origin. His words are: *ὄρνιθας δὲ λέγουσι μεγάλας φορέειν ταῦτα τὰ κάρφεα, τὰ ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ Φοινίκων μαθόντες κιννάμωμον καλέομεν.*

The reader is referred to Sir E. Tennent's *Ceylon* (i. 599) for much interesting information on the subject of the early history of the cinnamon plant; this writer believes that "the earliest knowledge of this substance possessed by the Western nations was derived from China, and that it first reached India and Phoenicia overland by way of Persia; at a later period when the Arabs, 'the merchants of Sheba,' competed for the trade of Tyre, and carried to her 'the chief of all spices' (Ezek. xxvii. 22), their supplies were drawn from their African possessions, and the cassia of the Troglodytic coast supplanted the cinnamon of the far East, and to a great extent excluded it from the market."

With regard to the origin of the word, it is probable that it is derived from the Persian *Cinnamon*, i.e. "Chinese amomum" (see Tennent in *l. c.*). Dr. Royle, however, conjectures that it is allied to the Cingalese *Cacynnama*, "sweet wood," or the Malagan *Kaimanis*. The brothers C. G. and Th. F. L. Nees von Esenbeck have published a valuable essay, "*De Cinnamomo disputatio*" (*Amoenitates botan. Bonnenses*, Fasc. i.; Bonnae, 1823, 4to), to which the reader is referred for additional information. [See also CASSIA.] [W. H.] [H. B. T.]

CIN'NEROTH, ALL (כָּל כִּנֶּרוֹת; B. *πᾶσαν τὴν Χεζράθ*, A. *Χενερέθ*; *universam Ceneroth*; R. V. *all Chinneroth*), a district named with the "land of Naphtali" and other northern places as having been laid waste by Benhadad king of Damascus, the ally of Asa king of Judah (1 K. xv. 20). It probably took its name from the adjacent city or lake of the same name (in other passages of the A. V. spelt CHINNEROTH); and was possibly the small enclosed district north of Tiberias, and by the side of the lake, afterwards known as "the plain of Gennesareth." The expression "All Cinneroth" is unusual, and may be compared with "All Bithron,"—probably, like this, a district and not a town. [G.] [W.]

CI'RAMA. The people of Cirama (B. *ἐκ Κειραμᾶς*, A. *Κιραμά*; *Gramas*) and Gabdes came up with Zorobabel from Babylon (1 Esd. v. 20). [RAMAH.] [F.]

CIRCUMCISION (מוּלָה; *περιτομή*; *circumcisio*) was peculiarly, though by no means

* Hence the close connexion which existed between Syria and Cilicia, as indicated in Acts xv. 23, 41; Gal. i. 21.

exclusively, a *Jewish* rite. It may conveniently be treated of, as practised: I. By the Jews; II. By other nations; and *III.* In its relation to Christianity.

I. *By the Jews.*—The *origin* of circumcision is still uncertain (see Bp. Harold Browne, *Speak. Comm.*, note A on Gen. xvii. 10. Cp. Dillmann,[3] *Genesis*, p. 254). Whether, however, an existing rite, as in the case of baptism, was used for the purpose, or whether it was then first instituted, it was enjoined upon Abraham by God, at the institution, and as the token, of the Covenant, into which He entered with him and his descendants (Gen. xvii.; cp. *διαθήκη περιτομῆς*, Acts vii. 8). It was thus made a necessary condition of Jewish nationality. Every male child was to be circumcised when eight days old on pain of death (Gen. xvii. 12, 14). Slaves, whether home-born or purchased, were to be circumcised (*vv.* 12, 13). The neglect of Moses to circumcise one of his children well-nigh brought upon him, as the culpable party, the threatened penalty of death (Ex. iv. 24–26). The conjecture of Calvin, that it was the younger of his two sons, and that he had abstained from circumcising him in consequence of the domestic strife caused by the circumcision of the elder child, seems probable. "Ego autem potius existimo, postquam in uno expertus fuerat domesticos sibi infensos, in secundo supersedisse, ut soceri vel uxoris indignationem vitaret." In some way, either by sudden and deadly sickness, or by some other visitation, "the Lord sought to kill him." It was only by promptly performing herself the rite, which Moses was probably too prostrate to perform (Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.* v. ch. lxii. § 20), that Zipporah averted the judgment, of which she rightly divined the cause, and won again, as a "bridegroom of blood," חֲתַן דָּמִים the husband, whom she thus a second time, as it were, made her own, by rescuing him from the jaws of death by the blood of her son. "Te veluti iterum sponsum acquirere cogor, sanguine filii mei profundendo" (Maurer).

The Mosaic Law adopted and incorporated into itself the patriarchal law of circumcision (John vii. 22). No foreigner could eat the Passover, unless all the males of his family were circumcised (Ex. xii. 48; cp. Num. ix. 14), so that he became in fact a Jew (cp. Esth. viii. 17, where in explanation of Heb. מִתְיַהֲדִים, "became Jews," the LXX. have, *περιετέμοντο καὶ Ἰουδάϊζον*). The strict rule of the eighth day was held to override, in this respect, the law of rest of the Sabbath (John vii. 23). The principle is distinctly recognised in the *Mishna* (*Sabb.* xix. 1). R. Akiva said: "Every work which can be done on the eve of the Sabbath, does not set aside the Sabbath; but circumcision, which cannot be done on the eve of the Sabbath [if the eve be the seventh day], sets aside the Sabbath" (Bp. Westcott in loco).

Various explanations have been given of the fact, that though the Israelites practised circumcision in Egypt, it was neglected entirely during their sojourn in the wilderness (Josh. v. 5). The most satisfactory account of the matter appears to be, that the nation, while bearing the punishment of disobedience in its prolonged wanderings, was regarded as under a temporary rejection by God, and was consequently prohibited from using the sign of the Covenant. This view is supported by the mention of their disobedience and its punishment, which, as though to give the reason for the omission of the rite, is immediately subjoined (*v.* 6). "Haec igitur causa notanda est, quod filii Israel vagati sint per desertum, donec tota illa gens aboleretur quae Deum sequi abnuerat: ex qua, meo judicio, colligere licet, in signum maledictionis vel rejectionis cessasse toto illo tempore circumcisionis usum" (Calv. in loco). The "forty years" (*v.* 6) will then be used as a round number for the more precise period (between 38 and 39 years), which had elapsed since the rebellion at Kadesh, and during which circumcision was in abeyance. And thus the prediction would be fulfilled, that the children of the murmurers, though they should eventually be brought in and know the land which their fathers had despised (Num. xiv. 31), should yet, by this temporary exclusion from the federal rite, as well as by sharing the privations of the desert, "bear the whoredoms" of their fathers (*v.* 33). The comment of Almighty God upon the transaction, as recorded by Joshua (*v.* 9). "This day have I rolled away the reproach of Egypt from you," is in harmony with this explanation of the passage. The "reproach of Egypt" is not that which the Egyptians regard as a reproach among themselves, *i.e.* uncircumcision, but the reproach cast upon the Jews by Egypt or the Egyptians, viz. the threatened taunt of their former masters that God had brought them into the wilderness to slay them (Ex. xxxii. 12; Num. xiv. 13–16; Deut. ix. 28), which, so long as they remained uncircumcised and wanderers in the desert for their sin, was in danger of falling upon them. Now that they were actually within the confines of the promised land, and had been solemnly received back again as a nation into covenant with God, that "reproach" was effectually and for ever "rolled away" (see Fairbairn, *Typology*, ii. Cp. also Keil and Dillmann[2] in loco).

Among the ancient Jews, as among other nations in early times, circumcision was performed with stone knives. [KNIFE.] The implement which Zipporah used, is simply called "a stone" (צֹר). The circumcision under Joshua was done with "knives of stone," חַרְבוֹת צֻרִים, Josh. v. 2, where the rendering, "sharp knives" (R. V. "knives of flint") cannot be maintained; for though צוּר חָרְבּוֹ means "the edge of his sword" (Ps. lxxxix. 44), yet there is no other example of that meaning of the word, and the fact that Joshua's knives were of stone is confirmed by the interesting addition of the LXX. in Josh. xxiv. 30: *ἐκεῖ ἔθηκαν μετ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ μνῆμα εἰς ὃ ἔθαψαν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ τὰς μαχαίρας τὰς πετρίνας, ἐν αἷς περιέτεμε τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ ἐν Γαλγάλοις, κ.τ.λ.* The later Jews used iron or steel knives (see Maurer on Josh. v. 2). It has been thought that in early times the Egyptians used stone knives for circumcision, and that certain stone knives found in the tombs of Thebes were intended for the purpose. This, however, appears to be questionable (it is not mentioned in Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* ii. 163–4 [1878]). The process was a painful one, at least to grown-up persons (Gen. xxxiv. 25; Josh. v. 8).

The fact that Abraham received a new name at the time of his circumcision (Gen. xvii. 5), and his having probably given Isaac his name when he circumcised him (ib. xxi. 3, 4), may have led to the custom, of which we have examples in the history of our Lord and His forerunner (Luke i. 59; ii. 21), of naming children at their circumcision.

II. *By other nations.*—The use of circumcision by other nations besides the Jews is to be gathered almost entirely from sources extraneous to the Bible. The rite has been found to prevail extensively both in ancient and modern times; and among some nations, as, for instance, the Abyssinians, Nubians, modern Egyptians, and Hottentots, a similar custom is said to be practised by both sexes (see the *Penny Cyclopaedia*, art. "Circumcision"). In the Bible, however, the rite is described as distinctively, if not exclusively, Jewish. Circumcision certainly belonged to the Jews as it did to no other people, by virtue of its Divine institution, of the religious privileges which were attached to it, and of the strict regulations which enforced its observance. Moreover, the O. T. history incidentally discloses the fact, that several of the nations with whom the Israelites came in contact were uncircumcised. One tribe of the Canaanites, the Hivites, were so, as appears from the story of Hamor and Shechem (Gen. xxxiv.). To the Philistines the epithet "uncircumcised" is constantly applied (Judg. xiv. 3, &c. Hence the force of the narrative, 1 Sam. xviii. 25–27). From the great unwillingness of Zipporah to allow her son to be circumcised (Ex. iv. 25) it would seem that the Midianites, though descended from Abraham by Keturah (Gen. xxv. 2), did not practise the rite. At the same time, the biblical references to the subject, when carefully examined, cannot be held definitely to affirm anything either way, as regards the circumcision or uncircumcision of the Egyptians and some other nations of antiquity. They do amount to a general division of mankind into two classes, circumcised and uncircumcised, *i.e.* Jews and Gentiles; but they do not necessarily exclude all Gentiles from the former class. It must also be remembered that the testimony of secular writers, as regards some, at least, of the nations who are said to have practised circumcision, is conflicting and uncertain. The origin of the custom amongst one large section of those Gentiles who follow it, is to be found in the biblical record of the circumcision of Ishmael (Gen. xvii. 25). Josephus relates that the Arabians circumcise after the thirteenth year, because Ishmael, the founder of their nation, was circumcised at that age (*Ant.* i. 12, § 2; see Lane's *Mod. Eg.* ch. ii.). Though Mohammed did not enjoin circumcision in the Koran, he was circumcised himself, according to the custom of his country; and circumcision is now as common amongst the Mohammedans as amongst the Jews.

Another passage in the Bible has been thought by some to speak of certain Gentile nations as circumcised. In Jer. ix. 25, 26 (Heb. 24, 25), whether we translate the confessedly difficult expression (כָּל־מוּל בְּעָרְלָה, v. 24) with A. V. "all them which are circumcised with the uncircumcised" (which, however, is grammatically doubtful); or with *Michaelis* and *Ewald*, "all the uncircumcised circumcised ones" (the passage being understood to describe the Egyptians, Jews, Edomites, Ammonites, and Moabites, as alike circumcised in flesh and uncircumcised in heart); or with R. V. "all them which are circumcised in *their* uncircumcision;" or whether we regard the best rendering to be, "I will punish every one that is circumcised in the manner or character of—*i.e.* as, or like—him that is uncircumcised" (cf. בְּבֶסֶף, Is. xlviii. 10; בְּצֶלֶם, Ps. xxxix. 7); at any rate, the next verse makes a plain distinction between two classes, of which "all the Gentiles" (כָּל־הַגּוֹיִם), including, generally, the Egyptians and others just named, were one, and the house of Israel was the other; the former being uncircumcised both in flesh and heart, the latter, though possessing the outward rite, yet destitute of the corresponding state of heart, and therefore to be visited as though uncircumcised. The difficulty then arises, that the Egyptians are called uncircumcised, whereas Herodotus and others state that they were circumcised. To meet this it has been alleged that those statements refer only to the priests and those initiated into the mysteries, so that the nation generally might still be spoken of as uncircumcised (Herod. ii. 36, 37, 104; and Wesseling and Bähr in loco. See, however, on the other side, Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* [large ed.], c. xv., who says, that "if the law did not peremptorily require it for every individual, custom and public opinion tended to make it universal"). The testimony of Herodotus must no doubt be received with caution, especially as he asserts (ii. 104) that the "Syrians in Palestine" confessed to having received circumcision from the Egyptians, who, with the Colchians and Ethiopians, were the only nations that practised it originally. If he means by "Syrians" the Jews, the assertion, though it has been ably defended (see Spencer, *de Leg. Heb.*, i. 5, § 4), cannot be reconciled with Gen. xvii. and John vii. 22. Indeed, the very reverse has been suggested, viz. that Joseph introduced it into Egypt. "If it were previously unknown, no person was more likely than Joseph to have introduced it among the Egyptians; and this is possibly the true solution of an acknowledged difficulty." The first distinct representation of the rite is found on a monument of the 19th dynasty, long after the time of Joseph: two sons of Rameses II. are pictured as undergoing it (*Speak. Com.* vol. i. p. 480). If other Syrian tribes are intended by Herodotus, we have the contradiction of Josephus, who writes, "It is evident that no other of the Syrians that live in Palestine besides us alone are circumcised" (*Ant.* viii. 10, § 3. See Whiston's note there). Of the other nations mentioned by Jeremiah, the Moabites and Ammonites were descended from Lot, who had left Abraham before he received the rite of circumcision; and the Edomites cannot be shown to have been circumcised until they were compelled to be so by Hyrcanus (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 9, § 1). The terms, however, of Jeremiah's classification are, as has been said, *general*. They prepare the way for the N. T. usage, which unmistakably represents Jews and Gentiles respectively, as the circumcision and the uncircumcision (*περιτομὴ* and *ἀκροβυστία*, Rom. iii. 30, iv. 9; Ephes. ii. 11). The use by

Ezekiel of the word "uncircumcised" (xxviii. 10; xxxi. 18; xxxii. 19, 21, 25, 27) belongs to the same general way of describing the Gentiles, the impure heathen (cp. *οἱ βάρβαροι*, as employed by the Greeks). The subject is fully discussed by Michaelis (*Commentaries on the Laws of Moses*, iv. 3, clxxxiv.–clxxxvi.).

III. *In its relation to Christianity.*—As might have been expected, the Christian Church was called upon at an early stage in its history to take up a definite position with reference to circumcision. The question first assumed serious proportions at Antioch, where the peace of the Church was disturbed by Judaizing teachers who said to the Gentile converts, "Except ye be circumcised after the manner of Moses, ye cannot be saved" (Acts xv. 1). A reference of this question to "the Apostles and elders" at Jerusalem led to the clear and authoritative decision, that the Gentiles were entirely free from all obligation to undergo circumcision (*vv.* 22–29). The controversy was renewed some years later in Galatia, and called forth the Epistle of St. Paul, in which the earlier decision of the Apostles is emphatically, though independently, repeated and enforced. Neither to Jew nor Gentile is circumcision any longer of any religious or moral value (Gal. v. 6; vi. 15. Cp. 1 Cor. vii. 19). To undergo it, as if it were, is to sever oneself from Christ (Gal. v. 3, *περιτεμνομένῳ*). While, however, the Apostles thus resolutely forbade the imposition of the rite as necessary to salvation, they made no objection to its practice as a matter of sentiment or expediency. St. Paul, who would by no means consent to the demand, urged as it was with doctrinal significance and sinister intention, for Titus, who was a Greek, to be circumcised (Gal. ii. 3–5), yet on another occasion, true to his rule of becoming all things to all men in things indifferent, "took and circumcised" Timothy, who was of mixed extraction, to remove a prejudice against his preaching among the Jews (Acts xvi. 3).

In harmony with this view of the indifference of circumcision, in itself considered, is the advice given by St. Paul to the Corinthian Church. It was possible, by a surgical operation, for those who had been circumcised to obliterate the marks of the process and return to their natural condition (Celsus, *de re Medica*, vii. 25). Some of the Jews in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, wishing to assimilate themselves to the heathen around them, built a gymnasium at Jerusalem, and that they might not be known to be Jews, when they appeared naked in the games, "made themselves uncircumcised" (1 Macc. i. 15, *ἐποίησαν ἑαυτοῖς ἀκροβυστίας*; *fecerunt sibi praeputia*. Cp. Joseph. *Ant.* xii. § 5, 1: *τὴν τῶν αἰδοίων περιτομὴν ἐπικαλύπτειν, κ.τ.λ.*; and see the essay of Groddeck in Schottgen's *Hor. Hebr.* ii.). Should Christian Jews, then, adopt this practice? Should they give this proof that they had broken entirely with Judaism? By no means, is the Apostle's reply. "Was any man called being circumcised? let him not become uncircumcised" (*μὴ ἐπισπάσθω*). On the other hand, he adds, "Hath any been called in uncircumcision? let him not be circumcised." And the reason for both injunctions is, that "circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing; but the keeping of the commandments of God" (1 Cor. vii. 18, 19). The Abyssinian Christians are said still to practise circumcision as a national custom.

While, however, it thus dealt with the outward rite and with the false meaning that was sought to be put upon it, Christianity, as was no less certainly to be expected, seized upon and appropriated the true spiritual significance of circumcision. For this the way had been prepared in the O. T. Employed by Moses to describe his own physical inaptitude and natural slowness of speech (cp. Ex. vi. 12, 30 *with* iv. 10), the epithet "uncircumcised" is also applied by him and other O. T. writers to spiritual dulness and want of perception. "Uncircumcised ears" (Jer. vi. 10) and "uncircumcised hearts" (Lev. xxvi. 41) are spoken of (see also Deut. xxx. 6; Jer. iv. 4; and cp. Acts vii. 51: the idea being, according to Gesen. *Heb. Lex.* s. v. עָרַל, that lips, or heart, or ears were "closed as it were with the foreskin"). The more general idea of impurity seems pointed at in the words of Isaiah, "The uncircumcised and the unclean;" and in the provision that the fruit of newly-planted trees should be counted "uncircumcised" for the first three years, and not eaten till by consecration to God in the fourth year they had been made clean (Lev. xix. 23–25). In the N. T. the moral and spiritual idea is fully developed. Circumcision is declared to be "that of the heart, in the spirit and not in the letter" (Rom. ii. 29). While those who ascribed efficacy to the mere outward rite are contemptuously styled "the concision" (Philip. iii. 2, 3, *τὴν κατατομήν*, "the mutilation." "This circumcision which they vaunt, is in Christ only as the gashings and mutilations of the idolatrous heathen: cp. Gal. v. 12, *ὄφελον καὶ ἀποκόψονται*." Lightf. in *loco*), the title of the true "circumcision" is claimed for Christians, "who have put off the impurity of the heart and have put on Christ." They, though once dead "through the uncircumcision of their flesh," are now in Christ "circumcised with a circumcision not made with hands, in the circumcision of Christ" (Col. ii. 11, 13).

The view that the rite was designed to be significant of the production of a holy seed is maintained at length by Kurtz, *Hist. of the Old Coven.* § 58, i. 234; Fairbairn, *Typology*, i. 321. [T. T. P.]

CIS (Rec. T. Κίς; Westcott and Hort, Κεὶς; *Cis*), Acts xiii. 21. [KISH, 1.]

CI'SAI (Κισαῖος; *Cisi*), Esth. xi. 2. [KISH, 2.]

CISTERN (בּוֹר, from בָּאַר, *to dig* or *bore*, Gesen. p. 176; usually λάκκος; *cisterna* or *lacus*), a receptacle for water, either conducted from an external spring, or proceeding from rainfall.

The annual rainfalls of Jerusalem on an average of twelve years is not more than 16·25 inches, and the general dryness of the summer months between May and September, in Syria, and the scarcity of springs in many parts of the country, make it necessary to collect in reservoirs and cisterns the rain-water which falls in the intermediate period (Shaw, *Travels*, p. 335; St. Jerome, quoted by Harmer, i. 148; Robinson, i. 430; Kitto, *Phys. Geogr. of H. L.* pp. 302, 308;

Recovery of Jerus. p. 25; Sir C. Wilson, *Notes on Water Supply of Jerus.* p. 63). Thus the cistern is essentially distinguished from the living spring (עַיִן, *Ain*); but from the well (בְּאֵר, *Beer*), only in the fact that *Beer* is almost always used to denote a place ordinarily containing water rising on the spot, while בּוֹר, *Bór*, is often used for a dry pit, or one that may be left dry at pleasure (Stanley, *S. & P.* pp. 512, 514). [AIN.] The larger sort of public tanks or reservoirs, in Arabic, *Birkeh*, Heb. *Berecah*, are usually called in A. V. "pool," while for the smaller and more private it is convenient in the present article to reserve the name "cistern."

Both birkehs and cisterns are frequent throughout the whole of Syria and Palestine, and for the construction of them the rocky nature of the ground affords peculiar facilities either in original excavation, or by enlargement of natural cavities. Dr. Robinson remarks that the inhabitants of all the hill-country of Judah and Benjamin are in the habit of collecting water during the rainy season in tanks and cisterns, in the cities and fields, and along the high roads, for the sustenance of themselves and their flocks, and for the comfort of the passing traveller. Jerusalem, described by Strabo as well supplied with water, in a dry neighbourhood (xvi. p. 760), depends mainly for this upon its cisterns, of which almost every private house possesses one or more, excavated in the rock on which the city is built. Josephus (*B. J.* iv. 4, § 4) describes the abundant provision for water supply in the towers and fortresses of Jerusalem, a supply which has contributed greatly to its capacity for defence, while the dryness of the neighbourhood, verifying Strabo's expression τὴν κύκλῳ χώραν ἔχον λυπρὰν καὶ ἄνυδρον, has in all cases hindered the operations of besiegers. Thus Hezekiah stopped the supply of water outside the city in anticipation of the attack of Sennacherib (2 Ch. xxxii. 3, 4). The progress of Antiochus Sidetes, B.C. 134, was at first retarded by want of water, though this want was afterwards unexpectedly relieved (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 8, § 2; Clinton, iii. p. 331). Josephus imputes to Divine interposition the supply of water with which the army of Titus was furnished after suffering from want of it (*B. J.* v. 9, § 4). The Crusaders also, during the siege A.D. 1099, were harassed by extreme want of water while the besieged were fully supplied (Matth. Paris, *Hist.* pp. 46, 49, ed. Wat.). The defence of Masada by Joseph, brother of Herod, against Antigonus, was enabled to be prolonged, owing to an unexpected replenishing of the cisterns by a shower of rain (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 15, § 2), and in a subsequent passage he describes the cisterns and reservoirs by which that fortress was plentifully supplied with water, as he had previously done in the case of Jerusalem and Machaerus (*B. J.* iv. 4, § 4, 6, § 2; vii. 8, § 3). Benjamin of Tudela says that very little water is found at Jerusalem, but the inhabitants drink rain-water, which they collect in their houses (*Early Trav.*, p. 84). Cisterns, both at Jerusalem and in other parts of the country, may be divided into four classes: 1. The most ancient, and usually the smallest, consisting of excavations from the rock, and shaped like a full-bodied bottle, with a long neck and a small opening. 2. Larger excavations of a somewhat similar kind, supported below by rock-pillars left standing by the workmen. 3. Excavations in which the rock has been cut perpendicularly, and the opening covered by an arch with a mouth like an ordinary well. 4. The modern cisterns, built in the soil, and supplied by rain from roofs and terraces. Dr. Robinson describes four belonging to the house in which he resided. (1) 15×8×12 ft. in depth; (2) 8×4×15 ft.; (3) 10×10×15 ft.; (4) 30 × 30 × 20 ft. The cisterns have usually a round opening at the top, sometimes built up with stonework and furnished with a curb and wheel for the bucket (Sir C. Wilson, *Notes*, pp. 48, 53; Robinson, i. 324, 325). Cisterns of the first kind are common in all parts of the country, and when neglected became dangerous pitfalls. Sometimes the rock is cracked and the cistern is thus "broken" and useless (Jer. ii. 13, xviii. 13, xxxviii. 6; Thomson, *Land and the Book*, p. 287; *Survey of West. Pal.* iii. App. p. 441; *PEFQy. Stat.* 1872, p. 17; *Recovery of Jerus.* pp. 19, 23). When neglected cisterns become very foul, the water is very unwholesome (Wilson, pp. 17, 69).

Burckhardt mentions cisterns belonging to private houses, among other places, at Sermein near Aleppo (*Syria*, p. 121), El Bara in the Orontes valley (p. 132), Dhami and Missema in the Lejah (pp. 110, 112, 118), Tiberias (p. 331), Kerek in Moab (p. 377), Mount Tabor (p. 334). Of some at Hableh, near Gilgal, the dimensions are given by Robinson:—(1) 7 × 5 × 3 ft. deep. (2) Nearly the same as (1). (3) 12×9×8 ft. They have one or two steps to descend into them, as is the case with one near Gaza, now disused, described by Sandys as "a mighty cistern, filled only by the rain-water, and descended into by stairs of stone" (Sandys, p. 150; Robinson, ii. 39). Of those at Hableh, some were covered with flat stones resting on arches, some entirely open, and all evidently ancient (Robinson, iii. 137).

Empty cisterns were sometimes used as prisons and places of confinement. Joseph was cast into a "pit," בּוֹר (Gen. xxxvii. 22), and his "dungeon" in Egypt is called by the same name (xli. 14). Jeremiah was thrown into a miry though empty cistern, whose depth is indicated by the cords used to let him down. To this prison tradition has assigned a locality near the gate called Herod's Gate (Hasselquist, p. 140; Maundrell, *Early Trav.* p. 448). Vitruvius (viii. 7) describes the method in use in his day for constructing water tanks, but the native rock of Palestine usually superseded the necessity of more art in this work than is sufficient to excavate a basin of the required dimensions.

The city of Alexandria is supplied with water contained in arched cisterns supported by pillars, extending under a great part of the old city (Van Egmont, *Travels*, ii. 134). [POOL; WELL.]

[H. W. P.]

CITHERN is no doubt, on the whole, identical with the modern German Zither; and is, as its name indicates, a musical instrument of the guitar family. True, there are now points of considerable difference between the guitar and the Zither (cithern), both in shape and the nature of the strings, &c. These differences are, however, natural enough after hundreds of years of independent development of the two instru-

ments. Κιθάρα (guitar) and Zither resemble too closely one another in name not to have been originally the same.

Although the cithern is mentioned as having been one of the instruments used at the re-dedication of the Temple and Altar (1 Macc. iv. 54, . . . καὶ κιθάραις καὶ κινύραις, καὶ ἐν κυμβάλοις, κ. τ. λ.), it was an instrument, though probably known to the early Jews (HARP), not generally used by them.

Cithern makes its first appearance in the Hebrew Bible in the late and half-Aramaic Daniel, where it occurs, in one spelling or other, four times (iii. 5, 7, 10, 15). The origin of its peculiar construction is certainly not Greek, but Persian. The Greeks borrowed it from the Persians, in whose language *Se Tara* (cithern, *κιθάρα*, guitar) has a meaning ("three strings"). [S. M. S.-S.]

CITIES. 1. עָרִים, plur. of both עָר, *Ar*, and also עִיר, *Ir*, from עוּר, *to keep watch*—Ges. pp. 1004–5; once (Judg. x. 4) in plur. עֲיָרִים, for the sake of a play on the same word, plur. of עַיִר, *a young ass*; πόλεις; *civitates*, or *urbes*. 2. קִרְיַת, *Kirjath*; once in dual, קִרְיָתַיִם, *Kirjathaim* (Num. xxxii. 37), from קָרָה, *approach as an enemy*; prefixed to many names of towns on both sides of the Jordan existing before the conquest, as Kirjath-arba, probably the most ancient name for city, but seldom used in prose as a general name for town (Ges. p. 1236; Stanley, *S. & P.* App. § 80).

The classification of the human race into dwellers in towns and nomade wanderers (Gen. iv. 20, 22) seems to be intimated by the etymological sense of both words, *Ar* or *Ir*, and *Kirjath*, viz. as places of security against an enemy, distinguished from the unwalled village or hamlet, whose resistance is more easily overcome by the marauding tribes of the desert. This distinction is found actually existing in countries, as Persia and Arabia, in which the tent-dwellers are found, like the Rechabites, almost side by side with the dwellers in cities, sometimes even sojourning within them, but not amalgamated with the inhabitants, and in general making the desert their home, and, unlike the Rechabites, robbery their undissembled occupation (Judg. v. 7; Jer. xxxv. 9, 11; Fraser, *Persia*, pp. 366, 380; Malcolm, *Sketches of Persia*, pp. 147–156; Burckhardt, *Notes on Bedouins*, i. 157; Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, i. 335; Porter, *Damascus*, ii. 96, 181, 188; Vaux, *Nineveh and Persepolis*, c. ii. note A; Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 272; *Nin. & Bab.* 141). [VILLAGES.]

The earliest notice in Scripture of city-building is that of Enoch, by Cain, in the land of his exile (נוֹד, *Nod*, Gen. iv. 17). At a period much later than this, when we read of the manner in which the earth was "overspread" by the descendants of Noah, we see that the races which came from Ham were planted in Egypt, in Syria, and in Chaldaea (Gen. x. 6, 9, 12). Later still we read of an Egyptian city, Zoan, whose foundation is said to have taken place seven years later than that of Hebron in Syria (Num. xiii. 22), *i.e.* quite as early as 2,080 B.C. And we also read that the Hebrews were employed by the Egyptians to build treasure-cities, Pithom and Raamses, during their time of bondage in that country, *i.e.* between 1700 and 1600 B.C. (Ex. i. 11). But there is evidence from monuments to show that cities were built in Egypt at least as early as 3,000 B.C. (Smith, *Hist. of World*, i. 85; Fergusson, *Hist. of Arch.* i. 89 sq.), but at a date not much later than this cities were built in Chaldaea, both Lower and Upper, and in Assyria, both by the Cushite and the Semitic races. The builder whose name is most conspicuous is Nimrod, son of Cush, the "mighty hunter," or conqueror of men, and the most prominent names among the cities are those of Babel and Nineveh (Gen. x. 8–12). Babel was probably the oldest in date; and perhaps Nineveh with its companions, Calah, Resen the "great city," and Rehoboth, though this word probably only denotes "streets" of some other city, was founded later by a race of Semitic origin, denoted by Asshur, son of Shem, who had moved upwards under the pressure of the Cushite settlers (Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.* i. 15, 155). But we are told that the beginning of Nimrod's kingdom was not only in Babel, but in Erech, Accad, and Calneh, all in the land of Shinar. Of these names Accad may perhaps denote a people rather than a place, but those of Erech are in all probability connected with the extensive remains of a temple, within a large enclosure at Warka in Lower Chaldaea, of which the lowest courses of bricks bear the name of its founder, *Urukh*, and are of a date not much later than that assigned to Nimrod, about 2,300 B.C. Calneh is probably represented by Niffer, while to these three we may add a fourth, "Ur of the Chaldees," the original abode of Abraham, represented by the mass of brick ruins to which the Arabs have given the name of Mugheir, "mother of bitumen" (Loftus, *Chaldaea*, p. 131; Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.* i. 153, 158; Smith, *Hist. of World*, i. 205; Pietro della Valle, *Viaggi*, ii. 844, 862). But there is good reason to believe that a race, whose descendants or successors were called Medes, of Semitic origin, occupied the region called Elam, or Susiana, quite as early as the time mentioned above, if not earlier, and that the seat of their government was at the place which either then or in later times obtained the name of Susa, and which thus has a claim to be regarded as one of the most ancient cities of the world (Gen. x. 22; Rawlinson, i. 160). When Chederlaomer, one of the early kings of Elam, but perhaps of Hamite origin, invaded Syria about 1946 B.C., he found there on its eastern side cities inhabited by Canaanites; and we know that at the same time, and even earlier than this, cities, as Damascus, Kirjath-arba (Hebron), and perhaps Sidon, had been built in other parts of the same region by other races of the same or kindred stock as the Canaanites (Gen. x. 19; xiv. 15, 18; xxiii. 2).

In course of time the settled inhabitants of Syria on both sides of the Jordan grew in power and in number of cities. In the kingdom of Sihon are many names of cities preserved to the present day; and in the kingdom of Og, in Bashan, were sixty "great cities with walls and brazen bars," besides unwalled villages; and also twenty-three cities in Gilead, which were occupied and perhaps partly rebuilt or fortified by the tribes on the east of Jordan (Num. xxi.

21, 32, 33, 35, xxxii. 1–3, 34, 42; Deut. iii. 4, 5, 14; Josh. xi. xiii.; 1 K. iv. 13; 1 Ch. ii. 22; Burckhardt, *Syria*, pp. 311, 457; Porter, *Damascus*, ii. 195, 196, 206, 259, 275).

On the west of Jordan, at the time of the occupation by the Hebrews, whilst 31 "royal" cities are enumerated (Josh. xii.), in the district assigned to Judah 125 "cities" with villages are reckoned (Josh. xv.); in Benjamin, 26; Simeon, 17; Zebulun, 12; Issachar, 16; Asher, 22; Naphtali, 19; Dan, 17 (Josh. xviii. xix.). But from some of these the possessors were not expelled till a late period, and Jerusalem itself was not captured till the time of David (2 Sam. v. 6–9).

From this time the Hebrews became a city-dwelling and an agricultural rather than a pastoral people. David enlarged Jerusalem, and Solomon, besides embellishing his capital, also built or rebuilt Tadmor, Palmyra, Gezer, Bethhoron, Hazor, and Megiddo, besides store-cities (2 Sam. v. 7, 9, 10; 1 K. ix. 15–18; 2 Ch. viii. 6). To Solomon also is ascribed by Eastern tradition the building of Persepolis (Chardin, *Voyage*, viii. 390; Mandelslo, i. 4; Kurân, c. xxxviii.).

The works of Jeroboam at Shechem (1 K. xii. 25; Judg. ix. 45), of Rehoboam (2 Ch. xi. 5–10), of Baasha at Rama, interrupted by Asa (1 K. xv. 17, 22), of Omri at Samaria (xvi. 24), the rebuilding of Jericho in the time of Ahab (xvi. 34), the works of Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. xvii. 12), of Jotham (2 Ch. xxvii. 4), the rebuilding of Jerusalem, and later still, the works of Herod and his family, belong to their respective articles.

Collections of houses in Syria for social habitation may be classed under three heads:—1, cities; 2, towns with citadels or towers for resort and defence; 3, unwalled villages. The cities may be assumed to have been in almost all cases "fenced cities," *i.e.* possessing a wall with towers and gates (Lev. xxv. 29; Deut. ix. 1; Josh. ii. 15, vi. 20; 1 Sam. xxiii. 7; 1 K. iv. 13; 2 K. vi. 26, vii. 3, xviii. 8, 13; Acts ix. 25). As it was a mark of conquest to break down a portion, at least, of the city-wall of the captured place, so the first care of the defenders, as in the case of the Jews after their return from Captivity, was to rebuild the fortifications (2 K. xiv. 13, 22; 2 Ch. xxvi. 2, 6, xxxiii. 14; Neh. iii. iv. vi. vii.; 1 Macc. iv. 60, 61, x. 45; Xen. *Hell.* ii. 2, § 15).

But around the city, especially in peaceable times, lay undefended suburbs (מִגְרָשִׁים, *περισπόρια, suburbana*, 1 Ch. vi. 57 sq.; Num. xxxv. 1–5; Josh. xxi.), to which the privileges of the city extended. The city thus became the citadel, while the population overflowed into the suburbs (1 Macc. xi. 61). The absence of walls as indicating security in peaceable times, combined with populousness, as was the case in the flourishing period of Egypt, is illustrated by the prophet Zechariah (ii. 4; 1 K. iv. 25; Martineau, *East. Life*, i. 306).

According to Eastern custom, special cities were appointed to furnish special supplies for the service of the state; cities of store, for chariots, for horsemen, for building purposes, and for provision for the royal table. Special governors for these and their surrounding districts were appointed by David and by Solomon (1 K. iv. 7, ix. 19; 1 Ch. xxvii. 25; 2 Ch. xvii. 12, xxi. 3; 1 Macc. x. 39; Xen. *Anab.* i. 4, § 10). To this practice our Lord alludes in His parable of the pounds, and it agrees with the theory of Hindoo government, which was to be conducted by lords of single townships, of 10, 100, or 1,000 towns (Luke xix. 17, 19; Elphinstone, *India*, c. ii. 39, and App. v. p. 485).

To the Levites forty-eight cities were assigned, distributed throughout the country, together with a certain amount of suburban ground, and out of these thirteen were specially reserved for the family of Aaron, nine in Judah and four in Benjamin, and six as refuge cities (Josh. xxi. 13, 42); but after the division of the kingdoms the Levites in Israel left their cities and resorted to Judah and Jerusalem (2 Ch. xi. 13, 14).

The internal government of Jewish cities was vested before the Captivity in a council of elders with judges, who were required to be priests: Josephus says, seven judges with two Levites as officers, *ὑπηρέται* (Deut. xxi. 5, 19, xvi. 18, xix. 17; Ruth iv. 2; Joseph. *Ant.* iv. 8, § 14). Under the kings a president or governor appears to have been appointed (1 K. xxii. 26; 2 Ch. xviii. 25); and judges were sent out on circuit, who referred matters of doubt to a council composed of priests, Levites, and elders, at Jerusalem (1 Ch. xxiii. 4, xxvi. 29; 2 Ch. xix. 5, 8, 10, 11). After the Captivity Ezra made similar arrangements for the appointment of judges (Ezra vii. 25). In the time of Josephus there appear to have been councils in the provincial towns, with presidents in each, under the direction of the great council at Jerusalem (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 9, § 4; *B. J.* ii. 21, § 3; *Vit.* 12, 13, 27, 34, 57, 61, 68, 74). [SANHEDRIN.]

In many Eastern cities much space is occupied by gardens, and thus the size of the city is much increased (Niebuhr, *Voyage*, ii. 172, 239; Conybeare and Howson, i. 96; *Eöthen*, p. 240). The vast extent of Nineveh and of Babylon may thus be in part accounted for (Jon. iv. 11; Diod. ii. 70; Quint. Curt. v. ch. i. 26; Chardin, *Voy.* vii. 273, 284; Porter, *Damascus*, i. 153; P. della Valle, ii. 33). In most Oriental cities the streets are extremely narrow, seldom allowing more than two loaded camels, or one camel and two foot passengers, to pass each other, though it is clear that some of the streets of Nineveh must have been wide enough for chariots to pass each other (Nah. ii. 4; Olearius, *Trav.* 294, 309; Burckhardt, *Trav. in Arabia*, i. 188; Buckingham, *Arab Tribes*, 330; Mrs. Poole, *Englishwoman in Egypt*, i. 141). The word for streets used by Nahum רְחֹבוֹת, from רָחַב, *broad*, *πλατεῖαι*, is used also of streets or broad places in Jerusalem (Prov. i. 20; Jer. v. 1, xxii. 4; Cant. iii. 2); and it may be remarked that the *πλατεῖαι* into which the sick were brought to receive the shadow of St. Peter (Acts v. 15) were more likely to be the ordinary streets than the special *piazze* of the city. It seems likely that the immense concourse which resorted to Jerusalem at the Feasts would necessitate wider streets than in other cities. Herod built in Antioch a wide street paved with stone, and having covered ways on each side. Agrippa II. paved Jerusalem with white stone (Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 5, § 2, 3; xx. 9, § 7). The Straight street of Damascus is still clearly defined and recognisable (Irby and Mangles, v. 86; Robinson, iii. 454, 455).

In building Caesarea, Josephus says that Herod was careful to carry out the drainage effectually (Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 9, § 6). It seems probable that the internal commerce of Jewish cities was carried on as now by means of bazaars, for we read of the bakers' street (Jer. xxxvii. 21), and Josephus speaks of the wool market, the hardware market, a place of blacksmiths' shops, and the clothes-market, at Jerusalem (*B. J.* v. 8, § 1).

The open spaces (πλατεῖαι) near the gates of towns were in ancient times, as they are still, used as places of assembly by the elders, of holding courts by kings and judges, and of general resort by citizens (Gen. xxiii. 10; Ruth iv. 1; 2 Sam. xv. 2, xviii. 24; 2 K. vii. 1, 3, 20; 2 Ch. xviii. 9, xxxii. 6; Neh. viii. 13; Job xxix. 7; Prov. i. 21, viii. 2, 3; Jer. v. 1, xvii. 19; Matt. vi. 5; Luke xiii. 26). They were also used as places of public exposure by way of punishment (Jer. xx. 2; Amos v. 10).

The vices of populous cities are mentioned by the author of the Book of Proverbs (Prov. vii. 6–12; Luke vii. 37).

Prisons were under the kingly government, within the royal precinct (Gen. xxxix. 20; 1 K. xxii. 27; Jer. xxxii. 2; Neh. iii. 25; Acts xxi. 34, xxiii. 35).

Great pains were taken to supply both Jerusalem and other cities with water, both by tanks and cisterns for rain-water, and by reservoirs supplied by aqueducts from distant springs. Such was the fountain of Gihon, the aqueduct of Hezekiah (2 K. xx. 20; 2 Ch. xxxii. 30; Is. xxii. 9), and that of Solomon (Eccles. ii. 6), by which last water is still conveyed from near Bethlehem to Jerusalem (Maundrell, *Early Trav.* p. 457; Robinson, i. 347–8). Josephus also mentions an attempt made by Pilate to bring water to Jerusalem (*Ant.* xviii. 3, 2). [CONDUIT.]

Burial-places, except in special cases, were outside the city (Num. xix. 11, 16; Matt. viii. 28; Luke vii. 12; John xix. 41; Heb. xiii. 12). [H. W. P.]

CITIES OF REFUGE (עָרֵי הַמִּקְלָט, from קָלַט, *to contract*, Gesen. p. 1216; πόλεις τῶν φυγαδευτηρίων, φυγαδευτήρια, φυγαδεῖα; *oppida in fugitivorum auxilia, praesidia, separata; urbes fugitivorum*). Six Levitical cities were specially chosen as places of refuge for the involuntary homicide until released from banishment by the death of the high-priest (Num. xxxv. 6, 13, 15; Josh. xx. 2, 7, 9). [BLOOD, AVENGER OF.] There were three on each side of Jordan, *i.e.* three on the E. side only, until the country on the W. was subdued (Mishna, *Maccoth*, ii. 4). 1. On the E. side of Jordan—BEZER, in the tribe of Reuben, in the plains of Moab, said in the Gemara to be opposite to Hebron, not yet identified, but perhaps *Abu Ser*, west of Dibon (Deut. iv. 43; Josh. xx. 8, xxi. 36; 1 Macc. v. 26; Joseph. *Ant.* iv. 7, § 4; Reland, p. 662; Conder, *Heth and Moab*, p. 403). 2. RAMOTH-GILEAD, in the tribe of Gad, formerly supposed to be on or near the site of *es-Szalt* (Deut. iv. 43; Josh. xxi. 38; 1 K. xxii. 3; Reland, iii. p. 996; but more probably *Reimûn*, Conder, pp. 175, 404). 3. GOLAN, in Bashan, in the half-tribe of Manasseh, a town which doubtless gave its name to the district of Gaulonitis. *Jaulân* (Deut. iv. 43; Josh. xxi. 27; 1 Ch. vi. 71; Joseph. *Ant.* iv. 7, § 4; Reland, p. 815; Porter, *Damascus*, ii. 251, 254; Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 286). 4. KEDESH, in Naphtali, *Kedes*, about 20 miles E.S.E. from Tyre, 12 S.S.W. from *Banias* (1 Ch. vi. 76; Robinson, ii. 439; Benj. of Tudela, *Early Trav.* p. 89). 5. SHECHEM, in Mount Ephraim, *Nâbulus* (Josh. xxi. 21; 1 Ch. vi. 67; 2 Ch. x. 1; Robinson, ii. 287, 288). 6. HEBRON, in Judah, *el-Khûlil*. The last two were royal cities, and the last sacerdotal also, inhabited by David, and fortified by Rehoboam (Josh. xxi. 13; 2 Sam. v. 5; 1 Ch. vi. 55, xxix. 27; 2 Ch. xi. 10; Robinson, i. 213, ii. 89).

The Gemara on *Maccoth* notices that the cities on each side of the Jordan were nearly opposite each other, in accordance with the direction to divide the land into three parts (Deut. xix. 2; Reland, iii. 662; Otho, *Lex. Rabb.* p. 52). Maimonides says that all the forty-eight Levitical cities had the privilege of asylum, but that the six refuge-cities were required to receive and lodge the homicide gratuitously, but this statement appears to be without foundation (Calmet, *in Num.* xxxv.; Selden, *de Jure Naturali*, iv. 2, p. 489; Carpzovius, or Goodwin, *Moses and Aaron*, p. 339).

Most of the Rabbinical refinements on the Law are stated under BLOOD, REVENGER OF. To them may be added the following. If the homicide committed a fresh act of manslaughter, he was to flee to another city; but if he were a Levite, to wander from city to city. An idea prevailed that when the Messiah came three more cities would be added; a misinterpretation, as it seems, of Deut. xix. 8, 9 (Lightfoot, *Cent. Chor.* clii. 208). The altar at Jerusalem, and, to some extent also, the city itself, possessed the privilege of asylum under similar restrictions; a privilege claimed, as regards the former, successfully by Adonijah, and in vain by Joab; accorded, as regards the city, to Shimei, but forfeited by him (1 K. i. 53; ii. 28, 33, 36, 46).

The directions respecting the refuge-cities present some difficulties in interpretation. The Levitical cities were to have a space of 1,000 cubits (about 583 yards) beyond the city wall for pasture and other purposes. Presently after, 2,000 cubits are ordered to be the suburb limit (Num. xxxv. 4, 5). The solution of the difficulty may be, either the 2,000 cubits are to be added to the 1,000 as "fields of the suburbs" (Lev. xxv. 34), as appears to have been the case in the gift to Caleb, which excluded the city of Hebron, but included the "fields and villages of the city" (Josh. xxi. 11, 12, Patrick; Carpzovius, *u. s.* p. 340; Reland, *Ant. Hebr.* p. 216), or the additional 2,000 cubits were a special gift to the refuge-cities, whilst the other Levitical cities had only 1,000 cubits for suburb. Calmet supposes the line of 2,000 cubits to be measured parallel, and the 1,000 perpendicular to the city wall; an explanation, however, which supposes all the cities to be of the same size (Calmet on *Numbers* xxxv. [On the whole subject, consult Dillmann².]).

The right of asylum possessed by many Greek and Roman towns, especially Ephesus, was in process of time much abused, and was curtailed

by Tiberius (Tac. *Ann.* iii. 60, 63). It was granted, under certain limitations, to churches by Christian emperors (Cod. i. tit. 12; Gibbon, c. xx. iii. 35, ed. Smith). Hence came the right of sanctuary possessed by so many churches in the Middle Ages (Hallam, *Middle Ages.* c. ix. pt. 1, vol. iii. 302, 11th ed.). [H. W. P.]

CIT'IMS (Κιτιέοι, A. Κιτιαῖοι; *Cetei*), 1 Macc. viii. 5. [CHITTIM.]

CITIZENSHIP (πολιτεία; *civitas*). The use of this term in Scripture has exclusive reference to the usages of the Roman empire; in the Hebrew commonwealth, which was framed on a basis of religious rather than of political privileges and distinctions, the idea of the commonwealth was merged in that of the congregation, to which every Hebrew, and even strangers under certain restrictions, were admitted. [CONGREGATION; STRANGERS.] The privilege of Roman citizenship was widely extended under the emperors; it was originally acquired in various ways, as by purchase (Acts xxii. 28; Cic. *ad Fam.* xiii. 36; Dio Cass. lx. 17), by military services (Cic. *pro Balb.* 22; Suet. *Aug.* 47), by favour (Tac. *Hist.* iii. 47), or by manumission. The right once obtained descended to a man's children (Acts xxii. 28). The Jews had rendered signal services to Julius Caesar in the Egyptian war (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 8, §§ 1, 2), and it is not improbable that many obtained the freedom of the city on that ground; certain it is that great numbers of Jews, who were Roman citizens, were scattered over Greece and Asia Minor (*Ant.* xiv. 10, §§ 13, 14). Among the privileges attached to citizenship, we may note that a man could not be bound or imprisoned without a formal trial (Acts xxii. 29), still less be scourged (Acts xvi. 37; Cic. *in Verr.* v. 63, 66); the simple assertion of citizenship was sufficient to deter a magistrate from such a step (Acts xxii. 25; Cic. *in Verr.* v. 62), as any infringement of the privilege was visited with severe punishment. A Jew could only plead exemption from such treatment before a Roman magistrate; he was still liable to it from Jewish authorities (2 Cor. xi. 24; Seld. *de Syn.* ii. 15, § 11). Another privilege attaching to citizenship was the appeal from a provincial tribunal to the emperor at Rome (Acts xxv. 11. Cp. Conybeare and Howson, *Life, &c., of St. Paul*, in loco). [W. L. B.]

CITRON. [APPLE-TREE.]

CLAU'DA (Κλαύδη, Acts xxvii. 16; called Gaudos by Mela and Pliny, Κλαῦδος by Ptolemy, and Κλαυδία in the *Stadiasmus Maris Magni*: it is still called *Clauda-nesa*, or *Gaudonesi*, by the Greeks, which the Italians have corrupted into *Gozzo*). This small island, unimportant in itself and in its history, is of very great geographical importance in reference to the removal of some of the difficulties connected with St. Paul's shipwreck at Melita. The position of Clauda is nearly due W. of Cape Matala on the S. coast of Crete [FAIR HAVENS], and nearly due S. of PHOENICE (see Ptol. iii. 17, § 1; *Stadiasm.* p. 496, ed. Gail). The ship was seized by the gale a little after passing Cape Matala, when on her way from Fair Havens to Phoenice (Acts xxvii. 12–17). The storm came down from the island (κατ' αὐτῆς, *v.* 14), and there was danger lest the ship should be driven into the African Syrtis (*v.* 17). It is added that she was driven to Clauda and ran under the lee of it (*v.* 16). We see at once that this is in harmony with, and confirmatory of, the arguments derivable from all the other geographical circumstances of the case (as well as from the etymology of the word Euroclydon or Euro-Aquilo), which lead us to the conclusion that the gale came from the N.E., or rather E.N.E. Under the lee of Clauda there would be smooth water, advantage of which was taken for the purpose of getting the boat on board, and making preparations for riding out the gale. [SHIP.] Smith, *Voy. and Shipwreck of St. Paul*,[2] pp. 92, 98, 253. [J. S. H.]

CLAU'DIA (Κλαυδία; *Claudia*), a Christian who sends greeting to Timothy in 2 Tim. iv. 21, and therefore probably an inhabitant of Rome. Martial (iv. 13) has an epigram on the marriage of Pudens and Claudia. Martial's Claudia is of British birth, and the wish to find an early connexion between Britain and Christianity has set ingenuity at work to identify the two pairs of names. The identification is too precarious to be given at length here, but see Alford, *Gk. Test.* Prolegg. to 2 Tim., Excurs. Bright (*Early Eng. Ch. Hist.*[2] p. 2) does not favour it. See art. PUDENS. [E. R. B.]

CLAU'DIUS (Κλαύδιος; *Claudius*), full name Tiberius Claudius Drusus Germanicus. He was the fourth Roman emperor, and reigned from 41 to 54 A.D. He was the son of Nero Claudius Drusus, and the nephew of the Emperor Tiberius. He was born A.D. 10 at Lugdunum (Lyons), in Gaul. A sickly childhood and harsh treatment had unfitted him for public employments, and he lived unnoticed till the murder of his nephew, the Emperor Caius. He was then raised to the throne by the soldiers. For the important part taken by Agrippa in his elevation, see Joseph. xix. § 2 and art. HEROD AGRIPPA. Duruy's estimate of the administration of Claudius is as follows: "In Rome wise measures and useful labours, in the provinces a liberal administration, in foreign affairs a firm policy recompensed by success." This Duruy justifies in detail (ed. Mahaffy, iv. pt. 1). It was however due, not to Claudius himself, but to the freedmen Pallas, Narcissus, and others into whose hands the administration had now fallen. The miseries and cruelties of the reign were in great measure the result of the profligacy of Messalina and the ambition and greed of Agrippina, successively the wives of Claudius during his government. But their power for evil lay of course in the weakness of the Emperor himself. He was poisoned by Agrippina to make way for the succession of her son Nero.

The points at which Claudius comes into contact with N. T. history are: (1) The famine which is said to have taken place in his reign (Acts xi. 28). The fulfilment of this prophecy is vouched for by Suetonius, who mentions "assiduae sterilitates" under Claudius (Suet. *Claud.* xviii.). Dio Cassius (lx. 11) records a famine at Rome in the first two years of Claudius, but this would be before the pre-

diction. There was a famine in Greece ("fames ingens in Hellade") in his 4th year (Euseb. *Chron. Arm.* ed. Schöne, ii. p. 152); and again at Rome in his 11th year (Tac. *Ann.* xii. 43. See Wieseler, *Chron. Apost.* p. 157, note). But the prophecy of Agabus, though loosely referring to "the whole world" (ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην: cp. Luke ii. 1 and Rev. iii. 10), probably had special reference to a famine in Judaea in the 4th year of Claudius. See art. AGABUS.

(2) The command given by him that all Jews should depart from Rome (Acts xviii. 2). Two corroborative statements are found in profane historians, which are however somewhat difficult to reconcile with each other. Dio Cassius says that Claudius did not expel the Jews, owing to the difficulty of carrying out such a measure without disturbance, considering their great numbers; but forbade their assembling together (Dio Cass. lx. ch. vi. 6). Suetonius on the other hand says, Claudius expelled the Jews, who were always causing disorders ("Judaeos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes expulit," *Claud.* xxv.). The two may be fairly reconciled by keeping close to the account of St. Luke. The order was given, which is all Suetonius need mean by "expulit" (cp. the convincing parallel from Suet. *Tib.* xxxvi., about the "mathematici," quoted by Wieseler). It proved impossible to carry out the order; but meanwhile some Jews, among whom were Aquila and Prisca, had at once taken alarm and departed. Dio Cassius seems to place the event in the first year of Claudius, but does not really assign a date to it. It probably happened A.D. 52, when Agrippa was absent from Rome, and his influence in favour of the Jews was not felt. It would then coincide in time with the "senatus consultum" mentioned by Tacitus (*Ann.* xii. 52), which may relate to the same event. This also fell through in execution (*inritum*).

Another point remains to be noticed. If "Chresto" in Suet. *l. c.* stands for "Christo," then the cause of the Jewish disturbances was (as at Corinth and elsewhere) their disputes with the Christians, and Aquila and Prisca as Christians might naturally have to fly. Though Suetonius elsewhere (*Nero*, xvi.) spells Christianus rightly, he may here have followed a common pronunciation (cp. Tert. *Apol.* iii.) and meant Christ. With true Roman indifference he had informed himself so little about Christ, that he believed him to have been in Rome in person as

Claudius. (British Museum.)

the exciter (*impulsor*) of the strife, which was really occasioned by faith in His name. The other view is that Chrestus (not an unusual name) was some otherwise unknown Jew. But in that case "Chresto quodam" would have seemed more natural. See Wieseler, *Chron. Apost.* p. 120.

As to the general policy of Claudius towards the Jews, he first showed himself as a special patron of Agrippa I. He increased his territory by adding Judaea, Samaria, and certain districts in Lebanon (Jos. *Ant.* xix. 5, § 1). For his sake he favoured the Jewish worship (xx. 1, § 1), and gave his brother Herod the principality of Chalcis, and, later, the oversight of the Temple (xx. 1, § 3). At the beginning of his reign he treated the Jews in Asia with great mildness (xix. 5, § 2; xx. 1, § 2), but those of Palestine experienced much oppression from his officers (Tac. *Hist.* v. 4). [E. R. B.]

CLAU'DIUS LYS'IAS. [LYSIAS.]

CLAY (טִיט; πηλός; *humus* or *lutum*), a sedimentary earth, tough and plastic, arising from the disintegration of felspar and similar minerals, and always containing silica and alumina combined in variable proportions. As the sediment of water remaining in pits or in streets, the word is used frequently in the O. T. (*e.g.* Is. lvii. 20; Jer. xxxviii. 6; Ps. xviii. 42), and in the N. T. (πηλός, John ix. 6), for a mixture of sand or dust with spittle. It is also found in the sense of potter's clay (Is. xli. 25). The alluvial soils of Palestine would no doubt supply material for pottery, a manufacture which we know was, as it still is, carried on in the country (Jer. xviii. 2, 6; Thomson, *Land and Book*, p. 520), but the clay of Palestine, like that of Egypt, is probably more loam than clay (Birch, *Hist. of Pottery*, i. 55, 152). [POTTERY.] The word most commonly used for "potter's clay" is חֹמֶר (Ex. i. 14; Job iv. 19; Is. xxix. 16; Jer. xviii. 4, &c.). Bituminous shale, convertible into clay, is said to exist largely at the source of the Jordan, and near the Dead Sea. The great seat of the pottery of the present day in Palestine is Gaza, where are made the vessels in dark blue clay so frequently met with.

The use of clay in brick-making is described elsewhere. [BRICKS.]

Another use of clay was in sealing (Job xxxviii. 14). The bricks of Assyria and Egypt are most commonly found stamped either with a die or with marks made by the fingers of the maker. Wine jars in Egypt were sometimes sealed with clay; mummy-pits were sealed with the same substance, and remains of clay are still found adhering to the stone door-jambs. Our Lord's tomb may have been thus sealed (Matt. xxvii. 66), as also the earthen vessel containing the evidences of Jeremiah's purchase (Jer. xxxii. 14). So also in Assyria, at Kouyunjik, pieces of fine clay have been found bearing impressions of seals with Assyrian, Egyptian, and Phoenician devices. The seal used for public documents was rolled on the moist clay, and the tablet was then placed in the fire and baked. The practice of sealing doors with clay to facilitate detection in case of malpractice is still common in the East (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* i. 15, 48, ii. 364 [1878]; Layard, *N. and B.* pp. 153, 158, 608; Herod. ii. 38; Harmer, *Obs.* iv. 376.) [BRICKS; POTTERY; SEALS.] [H. W. P.]

CLEAN. [Unclean Meats; Uncleanness.]

CLEM'ENT (Κλήμης; *Clemens*), mentioned by St. Paul (Phil. iv. 3) as one of his fellow-labourers (*συνεργοί*). He is distinctly identified by Origen (*Comm. in Joann.* tom. vi. 36) with Clement of Rome, and through Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 15) this view has been transmitted to later writers (for Clement of Rome, see *Dict. of Chr. Biog.*; Lightfoot's *Apost. Ff.*, "Clem. of Rome," i. 22).

Bp. Lightfoot considers that the probable dates of Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians (95 A.D.) and his death (*circ.* 110 A.D.) are adverse to this identification, and that the frequency of the name Clemens makes any inference from the name precarious. But his argument against it from the supposed domicile of this Clement at Philippi and of the other at Rome is doubtful. St. Paul's "fellow-labourers" seem as a class to have had no more permanent domicile than the Apostle himself. See Lightfoot, *Philippians*,[2] note p. 166. [E. R. B.]

CLE'OPAS (Κλεόπας; *Cleophas*), one of the two disciples to whom Jesus showed Himself as they went to Emmaus on the day of the Resurrection (cp. Mark xvi. 12). Nothing is known of him, but he has been conjecturally identified with Clopas (John xix. 25). See Cleophas and Alphaeus. [E. R. B.]

CLEOPA'TRA (Κλεοπάτρα), the name of numerous Egyptian princesses derived from the daughter of Antiochus III., who married Ptolemy V. Epiphanes, B.C. 193.

1. "The wife of Ptolemy" (Esth. xi. 1) was probably the granddaughter of Antiochus, and wife of Ptolemy VI. Philometor. [Ptolemy Philometor.]

2. A daughter of Ptolemy VI. Philometor and Cleopatra (1), who was married first to Alexander Balas B.C. 150 (1 Macc. x. 51), and afterwards given by her father to Demetrius Nicator when he invaded Syria (1 Macc. xi. 12; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 4, § 7). During the captivity of Demetrius in Parthia [Demetrius] Cleopatra married his brother Antiochus VII. Sidetes, and was probably privy to the murder of Demetrius on his return to Syria B.C. 125 (App. *Syr.* 68: yet see Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 9, § 3; Just. xxxix. 1). She afterwards murdered Seleucus, her eldest son by Demetrius (App. *Syr.* 69); and then raised to the throne her other son by Demetrius,

Coin of Cleopatra and Antiochus VIII. Grypus.

Antiochus VIII. Grypus. But finding that he was unwilling to gratify her ambitious designs, she attempted to make away with him by offering him a cup of poison, but was compelled to drink it herself, B.C. 120 (Justin, xxxix. 2). The above coin represents on the obverse the heads of Cleopatra and her son Antiochus VIII. Grypus. [B. F. W.]

CLE'OPHAS (Κλωπᾶς; *Cleophas*). R. V. gives Clopas, which is undoubtedly right. The Cleophas of the A. V. represents the Vulgate, but not the Greek. Cleophas or Clopas is mentioned (John xix. 25) to distinguish Mary of Clopas (Μαριὰμ ἡ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ) from two other Marys mentioned in the same verse. This is generally understood to mean "the wife of Clopas" (sister according to Ewald). The form Clopas is confirmed by Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 11, who quotes the statement of Hegesippus that Clopas was brother of Joseph the husband of the Virgin, and father of Simeon, second Bishop of Jerusalem. Clopas has been identified with Alphaeus, father of James the Apostle. The two names are distinct, and are not duplicate forms (Lightfoot, *Gal.*[3] p. 260; and Wetzel, *Stud. Krit.* 1883, pp. 620–6, a very conclusive article); whether Clopas, like Alphaeus, be Aramaic, or whether it be a contraction from the Greek Cleopas and ultimately from Cleopatros. A strong argument against identification is that the Peshitto and the Jerus. Syriac Versions keep the two distinct.

But if, rejecting the identification of the names, we also refuse to identify Clopas the man with the man Alphaeus, we have the difficulty of adding another to the list of men who bore the name of James. If James the son of Alphaeus is *not* the son of Clopas, then we have to admit the existence of another James, son of Clopas and Mary, and known as "the little" (*ὁ μικρός*). At least this is necessary if we do not deny the almost certain identity of Mary of Clopas (John xix. 25) with Mary, mother of James "the little" and Joseph (Mark xv. 40). On the multiplication of persons bearing the same name, which seems the inevitable result of honest attempts to investigate the question, see Lightfoot, *Galatians*,[3] p. 261. For the literature of the question, see James. [E. R. B.]

CLOTHING. [Dress.]

CLOUD (עָנָן). The word נְשָׂאִים, so rendered in a few places, properly means "vapours," the less dense form of cloud which rises higher, and is often absorbed without falling in rain; Arab. نَشَاء and نَشْء. The word עָב, sometimes rendered "cloud," means merely "darkness," and is applied also to "a thicket" (Jer. iv. 29). The shelter given, and refreshment of rain promised, by clouds, give them their peculiar prominence in Oriental imagery, and the individual cloud in that ordinarily cloudless region becomes well defined, and is dwelt upon like the individual tree in the bare landscape (Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 140). Similarly, when a cloud appears, rain is ordinarily apprehended, and thus the "cloud without rain" becomes a proverb for the man of promise without performance (Prov. xvi. 15; Is. xviii. 4, xxv. 5; Jude 12; cp. Prov. xxv. 14). The cloud is of course a figure of transitoriness (Job xxx. 15; Hos. vi. 4), and of whatever intercepts divine favour or human supplication (Lam. ii. 1; iii. 44).

Being the least substantial of visible forms, undefined in shape, and unrestrained in position, it is the one amongst material things which suggests most easily spiritual being. Hence it is, so to speak, the recognised machinery by which supernatural appearances are introduced (Is. xix. 1; Ezek. i. 4; Rev. i. 7, and *passim*), or the veil between things visible and invisible; but, more especially, a mysterious or supernatural cloud is the symbolical seat of the Divine Presence Itself — the phenomenon of Deity vouchsafed by Jehovah to the Prophet, the priest, the king, or the people; so especially at the Transfiguration, Ascension, and gathering of the "vintage of wrath." Sometimes thick darkness, sometimes intense luminousness, often apparently, and especially by night, an actual fire (as in the descent of Jehovah on Sinai, Ex. xix. 18), is attributed to this glory-cloud (Deut. iv. 11; Ex. xxxiii. 22, 23; 2 Sam. xxii. 12, 13). In Ex. xl. 34–8, the Divine Presence takes visible possession of "the tent of the congregation," when Moses had "finished the work," and presents the appearance of a cloud "covering the tent" and "filling the Tabernacle"; and so subsequently the Temple (1 K. viii. 10, 11). In the former case "Moses was not able to enter;" in the latter "the priests could not stand to minister." The notion seems that of superhuman brightness which no eye could face. Such a bright cloud, at any rate at times, visited and rested on the mercy-seat (Ex. xxix. 42, 43; 1 K. viii. 11; 2 Ch. v. 14; Ezek. xliii. 4), and was by later writers named Shechinah. Thus the priests are cautioned not to "come at all times . . . within the vail," that they "die not, for" (it is added) "I will appear in *the* cloud upon the mercy-seat,"—the cloud being clearly that of the Presence mentioned above (Hofmann, *Schriftbeweis*, ii. 1, p. 361 sq., ed. 1). For the curious question which the Rabbis and others have raised concerning it, *e.g.* whether its light was created or not, or whether it was the actual "light" created on the "first day" (Gen. i. 3) or an emanation therefrom, cp. Buxtorf, *History of the Ark*, chs. xi.–xiv. (Ugolini, vol. vii.; Weber, *Altsynag. Palästin. Theologie*, § 39 and Index; Hamburger, *RE.* Abth. ii. s. n. "Schechina.")

[H. H.]

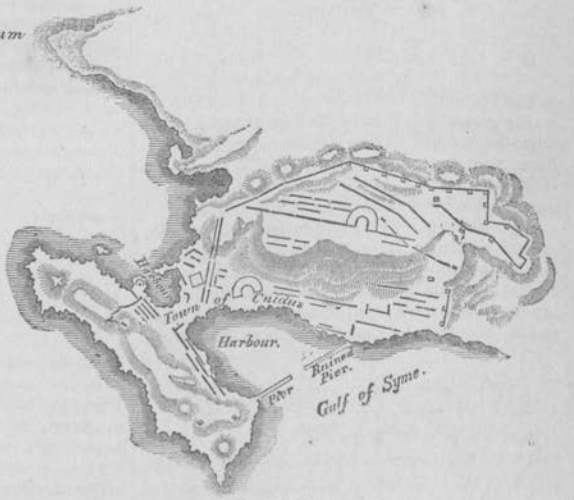
CLOUD, PILLAR OF (עַמּוּד הֶעָנָן). This was the active form of the symbolical glory-cloud, betokening God's Presence to lead His chosen host, or to inquire and visit offences, as the luminous cloud of the sanctuary exhibited the same under an aspect of repose. The cloud, which became a pillar when the host moved, seems to have rested at other times on the Tabernacle, whence God is said to have "come down *in* the pillar" (Ex. xxxiii. 9, 10; Num. xii. 5). It preceded the host, apparently resting on the ark which led the way (Ex. xiii. 21, xl. 36, &c.; Num. ix. 15–23, x. 34). So by night the cloud on the Tabernacle became fire, and the guiding pillar a pillar of fire. A note in the *Speaker's Commentary* on Ex. xiii. 21 mentions that "In an inscription of the Ancient Empire (of Egypt) an Egyptian general is compared to 'a flame streaming in advance of an army'; and that in a well-known papyrus (Anast. 1) the commander of an expedition is called 'a flame in the darkness at the head of his soldiers.'" A remarkable passage in Curtius (v. 2, § 7), descriptive of Alexander's army on the march, mentions a beacon hoisted on a pole from head-quarters as the signal for marching; *observabatur ignis noctu, fumus interdiu.* This was probably an adoption of an Eastern custom. Similarly the Persians used, as a conspicuous signal, an image of the sun enclosed in crystal (*ib.* iii. 3, § 9). Caravans are still known to use such beacons of fire and smoke; the cloudlessness and often stillness of the sky giving the smoke great density of volume and boldness of outline.

[H. H.]

CLOUTED. Josh. ix. 5; *i.e.* patched (see Lumby, s. n. in *Gloss. of Bible Words* in Eyre and Spottiswoode's *Variorum Teacher's Ed.* of the Bible). Cp. "clouts," *i.e.* patches or rags, in Jer. xxxviii. 11, 12.

[F.]

CNI'DUS (Κνίδος) is mentioned in 1 Macc. xv. 23 as one of the Greek cities which contained Jewish residents in the second century B.C., and in Acts xxvii. 7 as a harbour which was passed by St. Paul after leaving Myra, and before



Plan of Cnidus and Chart of adjoining coast.

running under the lee of Crete. It was a city of great consequence, situated at the extreme S.W. of the peninsula of Asia Minor [CARIA], on a promontory now called *Cape Crio*, which projects between the islands of Cos and Rhodes (see Acts xxi. 1). *Cape Crio* is in fact an island, so joined by an artificial causeway to the mainland as to form two harbours, one on the N.,

the other on the S. The latter was the larger, and its moles were noble constructions. All the remains of Cnidus show that it must have been a city of great magnificence. Few ancient cities have received such ample illustration from travels and engravings. We may refer to Beaufort's *Karamania*, Hamilton's *Researches*, and Texier's *Asie Mineure*, also Laborde, Leake, and Clarke, with the drawings in the *Ionian Antiquities*, published by the Dilettanti Society; the English *Admiralty Charts*, Nos. 1533, 1604; Newton's *Hist. of Discoveries at Cnidus* (1862–3), *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*, ii. 167 (1865); Vaux, *Gk. Cities and Islands of Asia Min.* pp. 73–80. [J. S. H.] [J. E. S.]

COAL. In A. V. this word represents no less than five different Heb. words. 1. The first and most frequently used is *Gacheleth*, גַּחֶלֶת (ἄνθραξ, ἀνθακία; *pruna, carbo*), a live ember, burning fuel, as distinguished from פֶּחָם (Prov. xxvi. 21). It is written more fully in Ezek. x. 2, גַּחֲלֵי אֵשׁ, and in Ezek. i. 13, גַּחֲלֵי אֵשׁ בִּעֲרוֹת.

In 2 Sam. xxii. 9, 13, "coals of fire" are put metaphorically for the lightnings proceeding from God (Ps. xviii. 8, 12, 13; cxl. 10).

In Prov. xxv. 22, we have the proverbial expression, "Thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head," which has been adopted by St. Paul in Rom. xii. 20, and by which is metaphorically expressed the burning shame and confusion which men must feel when their evil is requited by good. In Ps. cxx. 4, "coals" = burning brands of wood (not "juniper," but broom), to which the false tongue is compared (James iii. 6).

In 2 Sam. xiv. 7 the quenching of the live coal is used to indicate the threatened destruction of the single remaining branch of the family of the widow of Tekoah suborned by Joab; just as Lucian (*Tim.* § 3) uses the word ζώπυρον in the same connexion.

The root of גַּחֶלֶת is גָּחַל, which is possibly the same in meaning as the Arab. فحم, to light a fire, with the change of ל into מ.

2. *Pecham*, פֶּחָם (ἐσχάρα, ἄνθραξ; *carbo, pruna*). In Prov. xxvi. 21 this word clearly signifies *fuel* not *yet lighted*, as contrasted with the burning fuel to which it is to be added; but in Is. xliv. 12 and liv. 16, it means fuel lighted, having reference in both cases to smiths' work. It is derived from פֶּחָם; Arab. فحم, to be very black. (See below.)

3. *Rezeph*, or *Rizpah*, רִצָּפָה, רָצָף (ἄνθραξ; *calculus* in Is. vi. 6; but in 1 K. xix. 6, עֻגַת רְצָפִים is rendered by the LXX. ἐγκρυφίας ὀλυρίτης, and by the Vulg. *panis subcinericius*). In the narrative of Elijah's miraculous meal the word is used to describe the mode in which the cake was baked, viz. on a hot stone, as is still usual in the East. Cp. the Arab. رصف, a hot stone on which flesh is laid. רִצָּפָה, in Is. vi. 6, is rendered in A. V. "a live coal," but properly means "a hot stone" (R. V. marg.). The root is רָצַף, to lay stones together as a pavement.

4. רֶשֶׁף, in Hab. iii. 5, is rendered in A. V. (and R. V. marg.) "burning coals," and in A. V. margin *burning diseases;* in R. V. text, "fiery bolts." The former meaning is supported by Cant. viii. 6, the latter by Deut. xxxii. 24. According to the Rabbinical writers, רֶשֶׁף=רָצָף *pruna.*

5. *Shechor.* In Lam. iv. 8, חָשַׁךְ מִשְׁחוֹר תֹּאַרָם is rendered in A. V. and R. V. "their visage is blacker than a coal," or in the marg. (A. V. and R. V.) *darker than blackness.* שְׁחוֹר is found but this once, and signifies "to be black," from root שָׁחַר. The LXX. render it by ἀσβόλη, the Vulg. by *carbones.* In other forms the word is frequent, and Shihor is a usual name for the Nile. [SHIHOR.] [W. D.]

The fuel denoted by the Heb. words *gacheleth* (גַּחֶלֶת) and *pecham* (פֶּחָם) is charcoal, and not mineral coal. There is no evidence to show that the ancient Hebrews were acquainted with the substance we now denominate "coal;" indeed it seems pretty clear that the ancients generally used charcoal for their fuel; and although there is a passage in Theophrastus (Fr. ii. 61, ed. Schneider) from which we learn that fossil coal was found in Liguria and Elis, and used by "the smiths," yet its use must have been very limited. This coal was not what we understand by the term, but merely lignite, composed of fossilised vegetable matter, such as often occurs in geological formations much more recent than the true carboniferous strata. The houses of the ancient Greeks and Romans were without chimneys in our sense of the word (see this subject admirably discussed by Beckmann, *Hist. Invent.* i. 295). As the houses had merely an opening in the centre of the roof, the burning of "coal" would have made even their kitchens intolerable.

No true coal is found in Palestine, the geological formation of which is far too recent to afford any possibility of the coal measures being reached by any method now in man's possession. The whole of Syria, with the exception of the Jordan valley and the eastern volcanic districts, is cretaceous, answering to our greensand or neocomian, underlying the similar chalk or cretaceous formation of the lower eocene tertiaries. This latter covers the whole southern deserts, and also the tops of the central range running down from Lebanon to Hebron. Elsewhere it has been denuded by fluviatile action. Mixed with the limestone are here and there sandstone, marls, and clays. Of course no coal could be found in these formations. In the Jordan basin, from its northern to its southern extremities, are found large deposits of bitumen and bituminous shale, which might be used as fuel, but are all connected with the volcanic agencies formerly so active in the region. Lebanon and Hermon are scarcely, if at all, older than the triassic; the fossils being chiefly of the jurassic and oolite periods, and the superficial strata being often more recent. Consequently the only carboniferous deposits are some thin beds of lignite, almost valueless, apparently underlying the jurassic deposits.

The geology of Palestine has been examined by M. Lartet, in the splendid posthumous work of the Duc de Luynes, "*La Mer Morte;*" by Russegger, *Geognostische Karte des Libanon und Antilibanon;* by Tristram, *Land of Israel*, and *Land of Moab;* by Lynch, *United States' Exploring Expedition to the Dead Sea and the Jordan;* and by Hull, *Survey of Western Palestine* (PEF.). [H. B. T.]

COCK (ἀλέκτωρ; *gallus*). There appears to be but one reference to domestic poultry in the O. T., viz. 1 K. iv. 23; the passages where the LXX. and Vulg. (as in Prov. xxx. 31; Is. xxii. 17) read ἀλέκτωρ and *gallus* having no reference to that bird. In the N. T. the "cock" is mentioned in reference to St. Peter's denial of our Lord, and indirectly in the word ἀλεκτροφωνία (Matt. xxvi. 34; Mark xiv. 30, xiii. 35, &c.). At that period domestic poultry must have been as familiar and common as at present, from the various references to them, as when our Lord compares His tender love for Jerusalem to that of a hen for her brood (Luke xiii. 34). Though we have no knowledge of their first introduction into Palestine, it is not impossible that Solomon may have introduced them along with peacocks, coming as they do from the same region. בַּרְבָּרִים, *barburim*, 1 K. iv. 23, may refer to gallinaceous birds, though Gesenius (in loco) and Bochart (*Hieroz.* ii. 127) would render the word by "geese" or "swans." The latter are sometimes found in Palestine in winter, but too rarely ever to have been a regular article of food, while geese are only stragglers to the coast, and can scarcely be domesticated in so warm a climate. We should therefore prefer the ordinary rendering of "fowls." Poultry were common in Rome from the earliest times, and can certainly be traced in Greece before the Persian war. The Greek poet Pindar, living soon after the return from Babylon, mentions the cock; and the word Ἀλέκτωρ occurs in Homer as the name of a man, probably derived from the bird. Aristophanes calls the cock the Persian bird (*Aves*, 483). If, therefore, it were known so early further west, we may fairly infer that at the same time or at an earlier date it was domesticated in Palestine. No figures of our domestic poultry have been noticed among the antiquities of Egypt.

The original of our domestic fowl is from India, and the islands of the Eastern Archipelago; the jungle fowl (*Gallus ferrugineus*) of India and of most of the Malayan islands being hardly to be distinguished from our common gamecock. South India, Ceylon, and Java each possess distinct species (*Gallus sonneratti, G. stanleyi*, and *G. furcatus* respectively) which may have assisted by hybridization to modify some of our existing and ever-varying breeds. In India the domestication of the fowl goes back to the earliest known period.

The Mishna (*Baba Kama*, vii. 7) says that cocks were not kept at Jerusalem for fear of their polluting holy things. The statement is probably a fiction, for not only was the cock not unclean, but an instance is mentioned of a cock which was stoned by sentence of the Sanhedrin for having caused the death of a child. The Romans were devoted to cock-fighting, and took their birds with them everywhere. The Jews of Jerusalem keep poultry at the present day in great numbers, not only in their courtyard, but in the chambers of their houses, where they roost, aggravating the squalid appearance of a Jerusalem dwelling. [H. B. T.]

COCK-CROWING is spoken of as a definite period of the night in Mark xiii. 35: "Ye know not when the master of the house cometh, at even or at midnight, or at the *cock-crowing* or in the morning." The cock-crowing here spoken of is really the second cock-crowing, about an hour and a half before dawn. The first cock-crowing is at midnight, and there are in the East two subsequent times of crowing, about an hour and a half or two hours after midnight, and again just before the dawn. In our latitude, with the varying lengths of days and nights, the domestic fowls do not exercise their voices with the same regularity as in countries nearer the equator. On my first visit to Syria I was, for several successive nights, awakened three times by the sudden crowing of the cocks on the roof of the hotel. Arundell (*Discoveries in Asia Minor*) writes: "It has often been remarked, in illustration of Scripture, that in the Eastern countries the cocks crow in the night, but the regularity with which they keep what may be called the watches has not been perhaps sufficiently noticed. I will, however, confine myself to one, and that is between eleven and twelve o'clock. I have often heard the cocks of Smyrna crowing in full chorus at that time, and with scarcely the variation of a minute. The second cock-crowing is between one and two o'clock. Therefore, when our Lord says, 'In this night, before the cock crow twice,' the allusion was clearly to these seasons." The same regularity has been noticed in the domestic poultry of the South Sea Islands; so much so, that the natives of the New Hebrides mark the division of time in the night by the cock-crowing. In their language the midnight is "the little cock-crowing," 2 A.M. is "the great cock-crowing," and an hour before dawn is "the last cock-crowing." In explanation of the expression "the little cock-crowing," I have often noticed that in Syria frequently only one solitary cock disturbs the stillness about, or a little before, midnight, and he finds no response from his fellows, while two hours later all the birds in the neighbourhood at once join in discordant chorus. Dean Alford, therefore, correctly explains the slight difference in the wording of our Lord's warning to St. Peter as recorded by St. Matthew and St. Mark, "The *first* cock-crowing is at midnight; but inasmuch as few hear it,—when the word is used generally, we mean the *second* crowing, early in the morning before dawn." [H. B. T.]

COCKATRICE. A not very happy rendering by the A. V. of the Hebrew words *tsiph'ônî* (צִפְעֹנִי) and *tzepha'* (צֶפַע); R. V. "basilisk," marg. *adder*. See Prov. xxiii. 32, margin; Is. xi. 8, lix. 5; Jer. viii. 17. The cockatrice is a fabulous animal, concerning which absurd stories are told. Perhaps the great yellow viper, *Daboia xanthina*, is intended in the original. [ADDER.] [H. B. T.]

COCKLE (בָּאְשָׁה, *bo'shāh*; βάτος; *spina*) occurs only in Job xxxi. 40: "Let thistles grow

instead of wheat, and cockle instead of barley." The plural form of a Heb. noun, viz. בְּאֻשִׁים (*bĕushîm*), is found in Is. v. 2, 4, A. V. "wild grapes." Whatever it is, it must not be confounded with what is called the wild vine (*Vitis labrusca*), a North American plant, nor with the aconite, which is not found in Syria, but which is proposed by Celsius (*Hierob.* ii. 199). Hasselquist suggests (*Trav.* p. 290) the hoary nightshade, *Solanum villosum*, which is a troublesome vineyard weed in Palestine, bears berries, and is called by the Arabs *'inab ed di'b*, i.e. "wolf's grapes." Another suggestion, deduced from the derivation of the name from בָּאַשׁ, "to smell as carrion," is that it means some stinking weed. If the word be specific, and not general, it may well stand for the stinking arum, *Dracunculus vulgaris*, a common Palestine weed, with a horrible and disgusting odour; or, from the context of the word in Job, for the *bunt*, or stinking rust, *Uredo foetida*, which sometimes attacks barley, and has a scarcely less revolting smell than the arum. But if the term be general, it may allude to the troublesome grasses, such as the "tares" of N. T., *Lolium temulentum*, or darnel, which choke the corn, and also, if unchecked, the trailing vines. [H. B. T.]

COELESYRIA (Κοίλη Συρία; *Coelesyria*), "the *hollow* Syria," was (strictly speaking) the name given by the Greeks, after the time of Alexander, to the remarkable valley or hollow (κοιλία) which intervenes between Libanus and Anti-Libanus, stretching from lat 33° 20′ to 34° 40′, a distance of nearly a hundred miles. As applied to this region the word is strikingly descriptive. Dionysius the geographer well observes upon this, in the lines—

> Ἣν Κοίλην ἐνέπουσιν ἐπώνυμον, οὕνεκ' ἄρ' αὐτὴν
> Μεσσὴν καὶ χθαμαλὴν ὀρέων δύο πρῶνες ἔχουσιν.
> *Perieg.* 899, 900.

A modern traveller says, more particularly: "We finally looked down on the vast green and red valley—green from its yet unripe corn, red from its vineyards not yet verdant — which divides the range of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon; the former reaching its highest point in the snowy crest to the north, behind which lie the Cedars; the latter, in the still more snowy crest of Hermon—the culmination of the range being thus in the one at the northern, in the other at the southern, extremity of the valley which they bound. The view of this great valley is chiefly remarkable as being *exactly to the eye what it is on maps*—the 'hollow' between the two mountain ranges of Syria. A screen through which the Leontes (*Litâny*) breaks out closes the south end of the plain. There is a similar screen at the north end, but too remote to be visible" (Stanley's *S. & P.* p. 407). The plain gradually rises towards its centre, near which, but a little on the southern declivity, stand the ruins of *Baalbek* or Heliopolis. In the immediate neighbourhood of Baalbek rise the two streams of the Orontes (*Nahr-el-Asy*) and the Litâny, which flowing in opposite directions, to the N.W. and the S.E., give freshness and fertility to the tract enclosed between the mountain ranges.

The term Coele-Syria was also used in a much wider sense. In the first place it was extended so as to include the inhabited tract to the east of the Anti-Libanus range, between it and the desert, in which stood the great city of Damascus; and then it was further carried on upon that side of Jordan, through Trachonitis and Peraea, to Idumaea and the borders of Egypt (Strab. xvi. § 21; Polyb. v. 80, § 3; Jos. *Ant.* i. 11, § 5). Ptolemy (v. 15) and Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 13, § 2) even place Scythopolis in Coele-Syria, though it was upon the west side of Jordan; but they seem to limit its extent southwards to about lat. 31° 30′, or the country of the Ammonites (Ptol. v. 15; Joseph. i. 11). Ptolemy distinctly includes in it the Damascus country.

None of the divisions of Syria (*Aram*) in the Jewish Scriptures appear to correspond with the Coele-Syria of the Greeks; for there are no grounds for supposing, with Calmet (*Dict. of the Bible*, art. *Coelesyria*), that "Syria of Zobah" is Coele-Syria. Coele-Syria seems to have been included under the name of "Syria of Damascus" (אֲרַם־דַּמֶּשֶׂק), and to have formed a portion of that kingdom. [ARAM.] The only distinct reference to the region, as a separate tract of country, which the Jewish Scriptures contain, is probably that in Amos (i. 5), where "the inhabitants of the plain of Aven" (בִּקְעַת־אָוֶן, *Bikath-Aven*) are threatened, in conjunction with those of Damascus. *Bikath* is exactly such a plain as Coele-Syria (Stanley's *Palestine*, Append. p. 484); and the expression *Bikath-Aven*, "the plain of Vanity," would be well applied to the tract immediately around the great sanctuary of Baalbek. [AVEN.] In the Apocryphal Books there is frequent mention of Coele-[A. V. Celo-]Syria in a somewhat vague sense, nearly as an equivalent for Syria (1 Esd. ii. 17, 24, 27, iv. 48, vi. 29, vii. 1, viii. 67; 1 Macc. x. 69; 2 Macc. iii. 5, 8, iv. 4, viii. 8, x. 11). [G. R.]

COFFER (אֲרֹנָה, probably from רָנַן, *to be moved*; θέμα; *capsella*), a movable box hanging from the side of a cart (1 Sam. vi. 8, 11, 15). This word is found nowhere else, and in each of the above examples has the definite article, as if of some special significance, though not necessarily so (see Driver, *Notes on the Heb. Text of the BB. of Sam.* in loco). [H. W. P.]

CO'LA (B. Χωλά, A. Κωλά; א*. Vulg. om., but א$^{c.a}$ κεειλα), a place named with Chobai (Judith xv. 4, only); it is now, possibly, *Kh. Kâ'un* in the Jordan Valley, on the road from Chobai, *el-Mekhubby*, to Scythopolis. Simonis (*Onom.* p. 170) suggests Abelmecholah. [W.]

COLHO'ZEH (כָּל־חֹוזֶה; LXX. om.; *Cholhoza*), a man of the tribe of Judah in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. iii. 15, xi. 5). [W. A. W.]

CO'LIUS (Κώϊος, A. Κώλιος; *Colnis*), 1 Esd. ix. 23. [KELAIAH.] [W. A. W.]

COLLAR. For the proper sense of this term (נְטִיפוֹת), as it occurs in Judg. viii. 26 and in Is. iii. 18 (R. V. "pendants" in both passages. See Delitzsch on *Is. l. c.*), see EARRINGS. The rendering of כֶּפִי (*as the collar*) in Job xxx. 18 is supported by the LXX. (ὥσπερ τὸ περιστόμιον), the Vulg. (*quasi capitio*), R. V., and modern critics generally. [F.]

COLLEGE, THE (הַמִּשְׁנֶה; ἡ μασενά; *Secunda*). In 2 K. xxii. 14 it is said in the A. V. that Huldah the prophetess "dwelt in Jerusalem in the *college*," or, as the margin has it, "in the second part." The same part of the city is undoubtedly alluded *to* in Zeph. i. 10 (A. V. "the second [gate]"). In both passages R. V. reads "the second quarter," *i.e.* (see below) the lower city. Our translators derived their rendering "the college" from the Targum of Jonathan, which has "house of instruction," a schoolhouse supposed to have been in the neighbourhood of the Temple. This translation must have been based upon the meaning of the Hebrew *mishneh*, "repetition," which has been adopted by the Peshitto-Syriac, and the word was thus taken to denote a place for the repetition of the Law, or perhaps a place where copies of the Law were made (cp. Deut. xvii. 18; Josh. viii. 32). Rashi, after quoting the rendering of the Targum, says, "There is a gate in the [Temple] court, the name of which is the gate of Huldah in the treatise *Middoth* [i. 3], and some translate בַּמִּשְׁנֶה, without the wall, between the two walls, which was a second part (*mishneh*) to the city." The latter is substantially the opinion of the author of *Quaest. in Libr. Reg.* attributed to Jerome. Keil's explanation (*Comm.* on 1 K. *l. c.*), that the *Mishneh* was the "lower city," called by Josephus ἡ ἄλλη πόλις (*Ant.* xv. 11, § 5), and built on the hill Akra, is more definite than "a part of the city" preferred by Schwally (*ZATW.* x. 173). Ewald and Orelli (Zeph. i. 10) render it *Neustadt*, i.e. Bezetha, or New Town. [W. A. W.] [F.]

In the American edition of the *D. B.*, Dr. Conant has pointed out that the earlier stages of the English Version present a preference for the now generally accepted rendering. Thus Coverdale's Bible (1535) reads (in 2 K. *l. c.*) "the second porte;" Matthew's Bible (1537) "the second ward." Cranmer's Bible (1540) has in 2 K. "the house of the doctrine," but in the parallel passage in 2 Ch. "the second wall;" so also in both passages the Bishops' Bible. The Genevan Bible (1560) has in 2 K. and 2 Ch. "the college," with a marg. note on the former passage, "or, the house of doctrine, which was near to the Temple;" and this was the Version followed by King James' revisers (1611). [F.]

COLLOPS (פִּימָה = פַּאֲמָה, Job xv. 27; Olsh. *Lehrb. d. Heb. Sprache*, § 171a, *fat* or *fatness*). Eastwood and Wright (*Bible Handbook*, s.n.) affirm it to be a Yorkshire word still used, signifying lumps or slices of meat, and Lumby (*Glossary of Bible Words* in *Teacher's Bible*, s.n.) gives the same sense with references to the use of the word in *Piers Plowman* and North's *Plutarch*. [F.]

COLONY, a designation of Philippi, the celebrated city of Macedonia, in Acts xvi. 12. After the battle of Actium, Augustus assigned to his veterans those parts of Italy which had espoused the cause of Antony, and transported many of the expelled inhabitants to Philippi, Dyrrachium, and other cities (Dio Cass. li. 4). In this way Philippi was made a Roman colony with the "Jus Italicum" (cp. Dig. 50, tit. 15, s. 8), and accordingly we find it described as a "colonia" both in inscriptions and upon the coins of Augustus. The events which befell St. Paul at Philippi were directly connected with the privileges of the place as a Roman colony, and with his own privileges as a Roman citizen: see Conybeare and Howson (*Life and Epp. of St. Paul*, i. p. 312, orig. ed.), who develop these points at some length (Orelli, *Inscr.* 512, 3658, 3746, 4064; Rasche, iii. pt. 2, p. 1120). On the "Jus Italicum," see *Dict. of Ant.*, COLONIA and LATINITAS. [W. S.] [F.]

COLOURS. The terms relative to colour, occurring in the Bible, may be arranged in two classes, the first including those applied to the description of natural objects, the second those artificial mixtures which were employed in dyeing or painting. In an advanced state of art, such a distinction can hardly be said to exist; all the hues of nature have been successfully imitated by the artist; but among the Jews, who fell even below their contemporaries in the cultivation of the fine arts, and to whom painting was unknown until a late period, the knowledge of artificial colours was very restricted. Dyeing was the object to which the colours known to them were applied; so exclusively indeed were the ideas of the Jews limited to this application of colour, that the name of the dye was transferred without any addition to the material to which it was applied. The Jews were not, however, by any means insensible to the influence of colour; they attached definite ideas to the various tints, according to the use made of them in robes and vestments; and the subject exercises an important influence on the interpretation of certain portions of Scripture.

I. The natural colours noticed in the Bible are white, black, red, yellow, and green. It will be observed that only three of the prismatic colours are represented in this list; blue, indigo, violet, and orange are omitted. Of the three, *yellow* is very seldom noticed; it was apparently regarded as a shade of green, for the same term *greenish* (יְרַקְרַק; see MV.[11]) is applied to gold (Ps. lxviii. 13) and to the leprous spot (Lev. xiii. 49), and very probably the *golden* (צָהֹב) or *yellow* hue of the leprous hair (Lev. xiii. 30–32) differed little from the *greenish* spot on the garments or skin (Lev. xiii. 49). *Green* is frequently noticed, but an examination of the passages in which it occurs will show that the reference is seldom to colour. The Hebrew terms are *raanan* (רַעֲנָן) and *yarak* (יֶרֶק); the first of these applies to what is *vigorous* and *flourishing*; hence it is metaphorically employed as an image of prosperity (Job xv. 32; Pss. xxxvii. 35, lii. 8, xcii. 14; Jer. xi. 16, xvii. 8; Dan. iv. 4; Hos. xiv. 8); it is invariably employed wherever the expression "green tree" is used in connexion with idolatrous sacrifices, as though through its aged ever-greenness conveying the idea of a dense and lasting canopy to the worshippers (Deut. xii. 2 [cp. Dillmann[2]]; 2 K. xvi. 4); elsewhere it is used of that which is *fresh*, as oil (Ps. xcii. 10) and newly-plucked boughs (Cant. i. 16). The other term, *yarak*, has the radical signification of *putting forth leaves, sprouting* (Gesen. *Thesaur.* p. 632): it is used indiscriminately for all productions of the earth fit for food (Gen. i. 30, ix. 3; Ex. x. 15; Num. xxii. 4; Is. xv. 6; cp. χλωρός, Rev. viii. 7, ix. 4), and again

for all kinds of garden herbs (Deut. xi. 10; 1 K. xxi. 2; 2 K. xix. 26; Prov. xv. 17; Is. xxxvii. 27; contrast the restricted application of our *greens*); when applied to grass, it means specifically the *young, fresh grass* (דֶּשֶׁא, Ps. xxxvii. 2), which springs up in the desert (Job xxxix. 1). Elsewhere it describes the sickly yellowish hue of mildewed corn (Deut. xxviii. 22; 1 K. viii. 37; 2 Ch. vi. 28; Amos iv. 9; Hag. ii. 17); and lastly, it is used for the entire absence of colour produced by fear (Jer. xxx. 6; cp. χλωρός, *Il.* x. 376): hence χλωρὸς (Rev. vi. 8) describes the ghastly, livid hue of death. In other passages "green" is erroneously used in the A. V. for *white* (Gen. xxx. 37, R. V. "fresh"; Esth. i. 6, R. V. marg. *cotton*), *young* (Lev. ii. 14, xxiii. 14, R. V. "fresh"), *moist* (Judg. xvi. 7, 8, A. V. marg.; but R. V. gives in the marg.—as an alternative for the "green withes" of the text —*new bowstrings*). Thus it may be said that *green* is never used in the Bible to convey the impression of proper colour.

The only fundamental colour of which the Hebrews appear to have had a clear conception was *red;* and even this is not very often noticed. They had no scientific knowledge of colours, and such a passage as Rev. iv. 3 is not to be explained by assuming that the emerald represents *green*, the jasper *yellow*, and the sardine *red:* the idea intended to be conveyed by these images is rather that of *pure, brilliant, transparent* light. The emerald, for instance, was chiefly prized by the ancients for its *glittering, scintillating* qualities (αἰγλήεις, Orpheus, *de Lap.* p. 608), whence perhaps it derived its name (σμάραγδος, from μαρμαίρειν). The jasper is characterised by St. John himself (Rev. xxi. 11) as being crystal-clear (κρυσταλλίζων), and not as having a certain hue. The sardine may be compared with the amber of Ezek. i. 4, 27, or the burnished brass of Dan. x. 6, or again the fine brass, "as if burning in a furnace," of Rev. i. 15, each conveying the impression of the colour of fire in a state of pure incandescence. Similarly the beryl, or rather the *chrysolite* (the Hebrew *Tharsis*), may be selected by Daniel (x. 6) on account of its transparency. An exception may be made perhaps in regard to the sapphire, in so far as its hue answers to the deep blue of the firmament (Ex. xxiv. 10; cp. Ezek. i. 26, x. 1), but even in this case the pellucidity (לְבְנָה, omitted in A. V., Ex. xxiv. 10; R. V. marg. *bright*) or polish of the stone (cp. Lam. iv. 7) forms an important, if not the main, element in the comparison. The highest development of colour in the mind of the Hebrew evidently was *light*, and hence the predominance given to *white* as its representative (cp. the connexion between λευκὸς and *lux*). This feeling appears both in the more numerous allusions to it than to any other colour—in the variety of terms by which they discriminated the shades from a *pale, dull* tint (כֵּהָה, *blackish*, Lev. xiii. 21 sq.) up to the most brilliant splendour (זֹהַר, Ezek. viii. 2; Dan. xii. 3)—and in the comparisons by which they sought to heighten their ideas of it, an instance of which occurs in the three accounts of the Transfiguration, where the countenance and robes are described as like "the sun" and "the light" (Matt. xvii. 2), "shining, exceeding white as snow" (Mark ix. 3), "glistening" (Luke ix. 29). Snow is used eleven times in a similar way; the sun five times; wool four times; milk once. In some instances the point of the comparison is not so obvious, *e.g.* in Job xxxviii. 14 "they stand as a garment," in reference to the *white* colour of the Hebrew dress, and in Ps. lxviii. 13, where the glancing hues of the dove's plumage suggested an image of the brilliant effect of the *white* holyday costume. Next to white, *black*, or rather *dark*, holds the most prominent place, not only as its opposite, but also as representing the complexion of the Orientals. There were various shades of it, including the *brown* of the Nile water (whence its name, שִׁיחוֹר, Sihor)—the *reddish* tint of early dawn, to which the complexion of the bride is likened (Cant. vi. 10), as well as the *lurid* hue produced by a flight of locusts (Joel ii. 2)—and the darkness of blackness itself (Lam. iv. 8). As before, we have various heightening images, such as the tents of Kedar, a flock of goats, the raven (Cant. i. 5, iv. 1, v. 11), and sackcloth (Rev. vi. 12). *Red* was also a colour of which the Hebrews had a vivid conception: this may be attributed partly to the prevalence of that colour in the outward aspect of the countries and peoples with which they were familiar, as attested by the name Edom, and by the words *adamah* (earth) and *adam* (man), so termed either as being formed out of the red earth, or as being red in comparison with the fair colour of the Assyrians, and the black of the Aethiopians. Red was regarded as an element of personal beauty: cp. 1 Sam. xvi. 12; Cant. ii. 1, where the lily is the *red* one for which Syria was famed (Plin. xxi. 11); Cant. iv. 3, vi. 7, where the complexion is compared to the red fruit of the pomegranate; and Lam. iv. 7, where the hue of the skin is redder than coral (R.V. marg.; A. V. "rubies"), contrasting with the white of the *garments* before noticed. The three colours — white, black, and red—were sometimes intermixed in animals, and gave rise to the terms צָחֹר, "dappled" (A. V. "white"), probably white and red (Judg. v. 10; MV.[11]); עָקֹד, "ringstraked," either with white bands on the legs, or white-footed; נָקֹד, "speckled;" טָלֵא, "spotted," white and black; and lastly בָּרֹד, "piebald" (A. V. and R. V. "grisled"), the spots being larger than in the two former (Gen. xxx. 32, 35, xxxi. 10); the latter term is used of a horse (Zech. vi. 3, 6) with a symbolical meaning: Hengstenberg (*Christol.* in loc.) considers the colour itself to be unmeaning, and that the prophet has added the term strong (so R. V., אֲמֻצִּים; A. V. "bay") by way of explanation; Orelli (in Strack u. Zöckler's *Kzf. Komm.* in loco), on the contrary, is in favour of the opinion that some colour is intended. It remains for us now to notice the various terms applied to these three colours.

1. WHITE. The most common term is לָבָן, which is applied to such objects as milk (Gen. xlix. 12), manna (Ex. xvi. 31), snow (*Is.* i. 18), horses (Zech. i. 8), raiment (Eccles. ix. 8); and a cognate word expresses the colour of the moon (Is. xxiv. 23). צַח, *dazzling* white, is applied to the complexion (Cant. v. 10); חִוָּר, a term of a

later age, to snow (Dan. vii. 9 only), and to the paleness of shame (Is. xxix. 22, חָוַר); שִׁיב, to the hair alone. Another class of terms arises from the textures of a naturally white colour, as שֵׁשׁ and בּוּץ. These words appear to have been originally of foreign origin, but were connected by the Hebrews with roots in their own language descriptive of a white colour (Ges. *Thesaur.* pp. 190, 1384). Thus שֵׁשׁ was originally Egyptian (*schens*, cp. Dillmann on Exod. xxv. 4); בּוּץ was a later word, and represents rather the Syrian byssus (see MV.[11]). The terms were without doubt primarily applied to the material; but the idea of colour is also prominent, particularly in the description of the curtains of the Tabernacle (Ex. xxvi. 1) and of the priests' vestments (Ex. xxviii. 6). שֵׁשׁ is also applied to white marble (Esth. i. 6; Cant. v. 15); and a cognate word, שׁוֹשַׁנָּה, to the lily (Cant. ii. 16). In addition to these we meet with חוּר (*βύσσος*, Esth. i. 6, viii. 16), and כַּרְפַּס (*κάρπασος*; A. V. "green," R. V. "cotton," Esth. i. 6), also descriptive of white textures.

White was symbolical of innocence: hence the raiment of Angels (Mark xvi. 5; John xx. 12) and of glorified saints (Rev. xix. 8, 14) is white. It was also symbolical of joy (Eccles. ix. 8); and, lastly, of victory (Zech. vi. 3; Rev. vi. 2). In the Revelation the term λευκὸς is applied exclusively to what belongs to Jesus Christ (Wordsworth's *Apoc.* p. 105).

2. Black. The shades of this colour are expressed in the terms שְׁחֹר, applied to the hair (Lev. xiii. 31; Cant. v. 11); to the complexion (Cant. i. v.), particularly when affected with disease (Job xxx. 30); and to horses (Zech. vi. 2, 6): חוּם, lit. *scorched* (*φαιός*; A. V. "brown," R. V. "black," Gen. xxx. 32), applied to sheep; the word expresses the colour produced by the influence of the sun's rays: קָדַר, lit. *to be dirty*, applied to a complexion blackened by sorrow or disease (Job xxx. 30); to mourner's robes (Jer. viii. 21, xiv. 2; cp. *sordidae vestes*); to a clouded sky (1 K. xviii. 45); to night (Mic. iii. 6; Jer. iv. 28; Joel ii. 10, iii. 15); and to a turbid brook (whence possibly Kedron), particularly when rendered so by melted snow (Job vi. 16). Black, as being the opposite to white, is symbolical of evil (Zech. vi. 2, 6; Rev. vi. 5).

3. Red. אָדֹם is applied to blood (2 K. iii. 22); to a garment sprinkled with blood (Is. lxiii. 2); to a heifer (Num. xix. 2); to pottage made of lentiles (Gen. xxv. 30); to a horse (Zech. i. 8, vi. 2); to wine (Prov. xxiii. 31); and to the complexion (Gen. xxv. 25; Cant. v. 10; Lam. iv. 7). אַדְמֳדָם is a slight degree of red, *reddish*, and is applied to a leprous spot (Lev. xiii. 19, xiv. 37). שָׂרֹק, lit. *fox-coloured*, bay, is applied to a horse (A. V. "speckled," R. V. "sorrel"; Zech. i. 8), and to a species of vine bearing a purple grape (Is. v. 2, xvi. 8). The corresponding term in Greek is πυρρός, lit. *red as fire*. This colour was symbolical of bloodshed (Zech. vi. 2; Rev. vi. 4, xii. 3).

II. Artificial Colours. The art of extracting dyes, and of applying them to various textures, appears to have been known at a very early period. We read of scarlet thread at the time of Zarah's birth (Gen. xxxviii. 28); of blue and purple at the time of the Exodus (Ex. xxvi. 1). There is, however, no evidence to show that the Jews themselves were at that period acquainted with the art: the profession of the dyer is not noticed in the Bible, though it is referred to in the Talmud. They were probably indebted both to the Egyptians and the Phoenicians; to the latter for the dyes, and to the former for the mode of applying them. The purple dyes which they chiefly used were extracted by the Phoenicians (Ezek. xxvii. 16; Plin. ix. 60), and in certain districts of Asia Minor (Hom. *Il.* iv. 141), especially Thyatira (Acts xvi. 14). It does not appear that those particular colours were used in Egypt, the Egyptian colours being produced from various metallic and earthy substances (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* ii. 291, &c. [1878]). On the other hand, there was a remarkable similarity in the mode of dyeing in Egypt and Palestine, inasmuch as the colour was applied to the raw material, previous to the processes of spinning and weaving (Ex. xxxv. 25, xxxix. 3; Wilkinson, ii. 84, 85). The dyes consisted of purples, light and dark (the latter being the "blue" of the A. V.), and crimson ("scarlet," A. V.): vermilion was introduced at a late period.

1. Purple (אַרְגָּמָן; Chaldaic form, אַרְגְּוָנָא, Dan. v. 7, 16; *πορφύρα*; *purpura*). This colour was obtained from the secretion of a species of shell-fish (Plin. ix. 60), the *Murex trunculus* of Linnaeus, which was found in various parts of the Mediterranean Sea (hence called *πορφύρα θαλασσία*, 1 Macc. iv. 23), particularly on the coasts of Phoenicia (Strab. xvi. 757), Africa (Strab. xvii. 835), Laconia (Hor. *Od.* ii. 18, 7), and Asia Minor. The derivation of the Hebrew name is uncertain: it has been connected with the Sanscrit *râgaman*, "tinged with red" (cp. MV.[11]), but its occurrence in Assyrian under the form *ar-ga-man-nu* (Schrader, *KAT.*[2] p. 155) would seem to make a Semitic derivation more probable. The colouring matter was contained in a small vessel in the throat of the fish; and as the quantity mounted to only a single drop in each animal, the value of the dye was proportionately high: sometimes, however, the whole fish was crushed (Plin. ix. 60). It is difficult to state with precision the tint described under the Hebrew name. The Greek equivalent was, we know, applied with great latitude, not only to all colours extracted from the shell-fish, but even to other brilliant colours: thus, in John xix. 2, *ἱμάτιον πορφυροῦν* = *χλαμὺς κοκκίνη*, in Matt. xxvii. 28 (cp. Plin. ix. 62). The same may be said of the Latin *purpureus*. The Hebrew term seems to be applied in a similarly broad sense in Cant. vii. 5, where it either = *black* (cp. v. 11), or, possibly, *shining* with oil. Generally speaking, however, the tint must be considered as having been defined by the distinction between the purple *proper* and the other purple dye (A. V. "blue"), which was produced from another species of shell-fish. The latter was undoubtedly a dark violet tint, while the former had a light reddish tinge. Robes of a purple colour were worn by kings (Judg. viii. 26), and by the highest officers, civil and religious; thus Mordecai (Esth. viii. 15), Daniel (A. V. "scarlet," R. V. "purple," Dan. v. 7, 16, 29), and Andronicus, the deputy of Antiochus (2 Macc. iv. 38),

were invested with purple in token of the offices they held (cp. Xen. *Anab.* i. 5, § 8): so also Jonathan, as high-priest (1 Macc. x. 20, 64; xi. 58). They were also worn by the wealthy and luxurious (Jer. x. 9; Ezek. xxvii. 7; Luke xvi. 19; Rev. xvii. 4, xviii. 16). A similar value was attached to purple robes both by the Greeks (Hom. *Od.* xix. 225; Herod. iii. 22; Strab. xiv. 648) and by the Romans (Verg. *Georg.* ii. 495; Hor. *Ep.* 12, 21; Suet. *Caes.* 43; *Nero*, 32). Of the use of this and the other dyes in the textures of the Tabernacle, we shall presently speak.

2. BLUE (תְּכֵלֶת; *ὑάκινθος, ὑακίνθινος, ὁλοπόρφυρος*, Num. iv. 7; *hyacinthus, hyacinthinus*). This dye was procured from a species of shell-fish found on the coast of Phoenicia, and called by the Hebrews *Chilzon* (Targ. *Pseudo-Jon.*, in Deut. xxxiii. 19), and by modern naturalists *Helix Ianthina*. The derivation of the Hebrew name is uncertain; in Assyrian the word occurs as *takil-tu* (Schrader, *KAT.*² p. 155). The tint is best explained by the statements of Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 7, § 7) and Philo that it was emblematic of the sky, in which case it represents not the light blue of our Northern climate, but the deep dark hue of the Eastern sky (*ἀέρος δὲ σύμβολον ὑάκινθος, μέλας γὰρ οὗτος φύσει*, Phil. *Opp.* i. 536). The term adopted by the LXX. is applied by classical writers to a colour approaching to black (Hom. *Od.* vi. 231, xxiii. 158; Theoc. *Id.* 10, 28): the flower, whence the name was borrowed, being, as is well known, not the modern *hyacinth*, but of a dusky red colour (*ferrugineus*, Verg. *Georg.* iv. 183; *caelestis luminis hyacinthus*, Colum. ix. 4, 4). The A. V. (margin) has rightly described the tint in Esth. i. 6 as *violet*; the ordinary term *blue* (A.V. and R.V.) is incorrect: the Lutheran translation—in giving it *gelbe Seide* (yellow silk), and occasionally simply *Seide* (Ezek. xxiii. 6)—is still more incorrect. This colour was used in the same way as purple. Princes and nobles (Ezek. xxiii. 6; Ecclus. xl. 4), and the idols of Babylon (Jer. x. 9), were clothed in robes of this tint: the riband and the fringe of the Hebrew dress were ordered to be of this colour (Num. xv. 38): it was used in the tapestries of the Persians (Esth. i. 6). The effect of the colour is well described in Ezek. xxiii. 12, where such robes are termed לְבָשֵׁי מִכְלוֹל, *robes of perfection*, i.e. gorgeous robes. We may remark, in conclusion, that the LXX. treats the term תַּחַשׁ (A. V. "badger," R.V. "sealskin") as indicative of colour, and has translated it *ὑακίνθινος, ianthinus* (Ex. xxv. 5). [BADGER.]

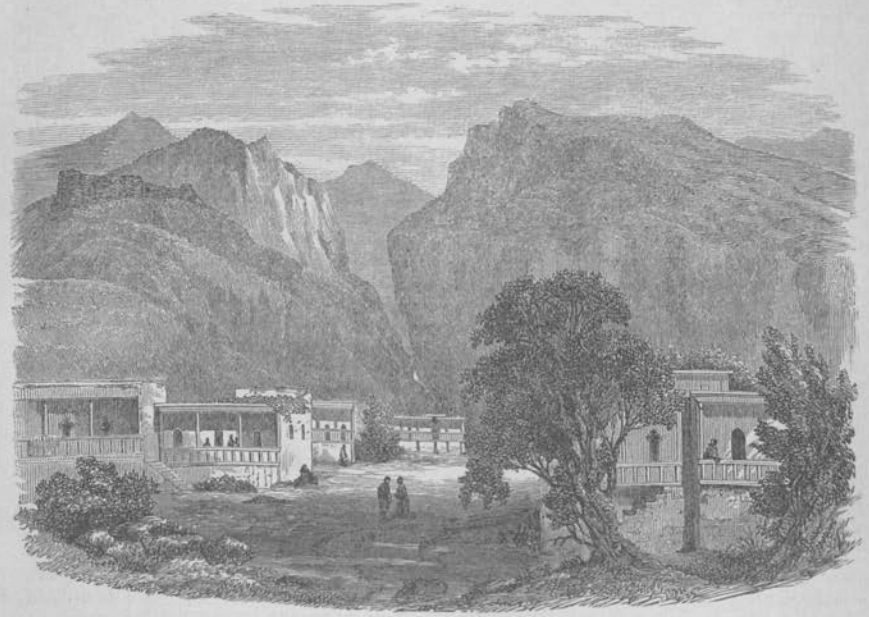
3. SCARLET (CRIMSON, Is. i. 18; Jer. iv. 30). The terms by which this colour is expressed in Hebrew vary; sometimes שָׁנִי simply is used, as in Gen. xxxviii. 28–30; sometimes תּוֹלַעַת שָׁנִי, as in Ex. xxv. 4; and sometimes תּוֹלַעַת simply, as in Is. i. 18. The word כַּרְמִיל (probably of Pers. etymology; see M.V.[11]; A. V. and R. V. "crimson;" 2 Ch. ii. 7, 14, iii. 14) was introduced at a late period, probably from Armenia, to express the same colour. The first of these terms (derived from שָׁנָה, *to shine*) expresses the *brilliancy* of the colour; the second, תּוֹלַעַת, the *worm*, or grub, whence the dye was procured, and which gave name to the colour occasionally without any addition, just as *vermilion* is derived from *vermiculus*. The LXX. generally renders it *κόκκινον*, occasionally with the addition of such terms as *κεκλωσμένον* (Ex. xxvi. 1), or *διανενησμένον* (Ex. xxviii. 8); the Vulgate has generally *coccinum*, occasionally *coccus bis tinctus* (Ex. xxviii. 8), apparently following the erroneous interpretation of Aquila and Symmachus, who render it *βίβαφος, double-dyed* (Ex. xxv. 4), as though from שָׁנָה, *to repeat*. The process of double-dyeing was, however, peculiar to the Tyrian purples (Plin. ix. 39). The dye was produced from an insect, somewhat resembling the cochineal, which is found in considerable quantities in Armenia and other Eastern countries. The Arabian name of the insect is *kermez* (whence *crimson*): the Linnaean name is *Coccus Ilicis*. It frequents the boughs of a species of *ilex*: on these it lays its eggs in groups, which become covered with a kind of down, so that they present the appearance of vegetable galls or excrescences from the tree itself, and are described as such by Pliny, xvi. 12. The dye is procured from the female grub alone, which, when alive, is about the size of a kernel of a cherry and of a dark amaranth colour, but when dead shrivels up to the size of a grain of wheat, and is covered with a bluish mould (Parrot's *Journey to Ararat*, p. 114). The general character of the colour is expressed by the Hebrew term חֲמוּץ (Is. lxiii. 1), lit. *sharp*, and hence dazzling (compare the expression *χρῶμα ὀξύ*), and by the Greek *λαμπρά* (Luke xxiii. 11), compared with *κοκκίνη* (Matt. xxvii. 28). The tint produced was *crimson* rather than scarlet. The only natural object to which it is applied in Scripture is to the lips, which are compared to a scarlet thread (Cant. iv. 3). Josephus considered it as symbolical of fire (*Ant.* iii. 7, § 7; cp. Phil. i. 536). Scarlet threads were selected as distinguishing marks from their brilliancy (Gen. xxxviii. 28; *Josh.* ii. 18, 21); and hence the colour is expressive of what is *excessive* or *glaring* (Is. i. 18). Scarlet robes were worn by the luxurious (2 Sam. i. 24; Prov. xxxi. 21; Jer. iv. 30; Lam. iv. 5; Rev. xvii. 4, xviii. 12, 16); it was also the appropriate hue of a warrior's dress from its similarity to blood (Nah. ii. 3; cf. Is. ix. 5), and was especially worn by officers in the Roman army (Plin. xxii. 3; Matt. xxvii. 28).

The three colours above described, purple, blue, and scarlet, together with white, were employed in the textures used for the curtains of the Tabernacle and for the sacred vestments of the priests. The four were used in combination in the outer curtains, the vail, the entrance-curtain (Ex. xxvi. 1, 31, 36), and the gate of the court (Ex. xxvii. 16); as also in the high-priest's ephod, girdle, and breast-plate (Ex. xxviii. 5, 6, 8, 15). The first three, to the exclusion of white, were used in the pomegranates about the hem of the high-priest's robe (Ex. xxviii. 33). The loops of the curtains (Ex. xxvi. 4), the lace of the high-priest's breastplate, the robe of the ephod, and the lace on his mitre were exclusively of blue (Ex. xxviii. 28, 31, 37). Cloths for wrapping the sacred utensils were either blue (Num. iv. 6), scarlet (*v.* 8), or purple (*v.* 13). Scarlet thread was specified in connexion

with the rites of cleansing the leper (Lev. xiv. 4, 6, 51), and of burning the red heifer (Num. xix. 6), apparently for the purpose of binding the hyssop to the cedar wood. The hangings for the court (Ex. xxvii. 9, xxxviii. 9), the coats, mitres, bonnets, and breeches of the priests were white (Ex. xxxix. 27, 28). The application of these colours to the service of the Tabernacle has led writers both in ancient and modern times to attach some symbolical meaning to them: reference has already been made to the statements of Philo and Josephus on this subject: the words of the latter are as follow: ἡ βύσσος τὴν γῆν ἀποσημαίνειν ἔοικε, διὰ τὸ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀνεῖσθαι τὸ λίνον· ἥ τε πορφύρα τὴν θάλασσαν, τῷ τεφοινίχθαι τοῦ κόχλου τῷ αἵματι· τὸν δὲ ἀέρα βούλεται δηλοῦν ὁ ὑάκινθος· καὶ ὁ φοῖνιξ δ' ἂν εἴη τεκμήριον τοῦ πῦρος (*Ant.* iii. 7, § 7). The subject has been followed up with a great variety of interpretations, more or less probable. Without entering on a disquisition upon them, we will remark that it is unnecessary to assume that the colours were originally selected with such a view; their beauty and costliness are a sufficient explanation of the selection.

4. VERMILION (שָׁשֶׁר; μίλτος; *sinopis*). This was a pigment used in fresco paintings, either for drawing figures of idols on the walls of temples (Ezek. xxiii. 14), for colouring the idols themselves (Wisd. xiii. 14), or for decorating the walls and beams of houses (Jer. xxii. 14). The Greek term μίλτος is applied both to *minium*, red lead, and *rubrica*, red ochre; the Latin *sinopis* describes the best kind of ochre, which came from Sinope. Vermilion was a favourite colour among the Assyrians (Ezek. xxiii. 14), as is still attested by the sculptures of Nimroud and Khorsabad (Layard, ii. 303; Perrot et Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, ii. 291 sq.; Babelon, *Manuel d'Archéologie Orientale*, p. 125 sq.; Riehm, *HWB.* s. v. "Farben"). [W. L. B.] [F.]

COLOS'SE (more properly COLOS'SAE, Κολοσσαί [Westcott and Hort], Col. i. 2. Κολασσαί, *Colassae*, is a form used by the Byzantine writers, and which perhaps represents the provincial mode of pronouncing the name. On coins and inscriptions, and in classical writers, we find Κολοσσαί. See Lightfoot[2] in loco, and COLOSSIANS, EPISTLE TO, § 1). A city in the upper part of the basin of the Maeander, on one of its affluents named the Lycus. Hierapolis and Laodicaea were in its immediate neighbourhood (Col. ii. 1, iv. 13, 15, 16; see Rev. i. 11, iii. 14). Colossae fell, as these other two cities rose, in importance. Herodotus (vii. 30) and Xenophon (*Anab.* i. 2, § 6) speak of it as a city of considerable consequence. Strabo (xii. p. 576) describes it as only a πόλισμα, not a πόλις; yet elsewhere (p. 578) he implies that it had some mercantile importance; and Pliny, in St. Paul's time, describes it (v. 41) as one of the "celeberrima oppida" of its district. Colossae was situated close to the great road which led from Ephesus to the Euphrates. Hence our impulse would be to conclude that St. Paul passed this way, and founded or confirmed the Colossian Church on his third missionary journey (Acts xviii. 23, xix. 1). He might also easily have visited Colossae during the prolonged stay at Ephesus, which immediately followed. The most competent commentators, however, agree in thinking that Col. ii. 1 proves that St. Paul had never been there, when the Epistle was written. Theodoret's argument that he must have visited Colossae on the journey just referred to, because he is said to have gone through the whole region of Phrygia, may be proved fallacious from geographical considerations: Colossae,



Colossae.

though ethnologically in Phrygia (Herod. *l. c.*; Xen. *l. c.*), was at this period politically in the province of Asia (see Rev. *l. c.*). That the Apostle hoped to visit the place on being delivered from his Roman imprisonment is clear from Philemon *v.* 22 (cp. Philip. ii. 24). Philemon and his slave Onesimus were dwellers in Colossae. So also were Archippus and Epaphras. From Col. i. 7, iv. 12, it has been naturally concluded that the latter Christian was the founder of the Colossian church (see Lightfoot on Col. iv. 12). [EPAPHRAS.] The worship of Angels mentioned by the Apostle (Col. ii. 18; see Lightfoot in loco and reff.) curiously reappears in Christian times in connexion with one of the topographical features of the place. A church in honour of the Archangel Michael was erected at the entrance of a chasm in consequence of a legend connected with an inundation (Hartley's *Researches in Greece*, p. 52), and there is good reason for identifying this chasm with one which is mentioned by Herodotus. This kind of superstition is mentioned by Theoderet as subsisting in his time; also by the Byzantine writer Nicetas Choniates, who was a native of this place, and who says that Colossae and Chonae were the same. The neighbourhood (visited by Pococke) was explored by Mr. Arundell (*Seven Churches*, p. 158; *Asia Minor*, ii. p. 160); but Mr. Hamilton was the first to determine the actual site of the ancient city, which is on the left bank of the Lycus about three miles from the modern village of *Chonas* (*Researches in A. M.* i. 508; *Dict. of Gk. and R. Geog.*, art. "Colossae;" Vaux, *Gk. Cities and Islands of Asia Min.* p. 142.) [J. S. H.] [W.]

COLOSSIANS, EPISTLE TO THE.

1. *Title.*—For this Epistle, as for the other books of the N. T., the rule holds goods that the simplest form of title is the oldest. There are however two ways of spelling the name, Κολοσσαί and Κολασσαί, Κολοσσαεῖς and Κολασσαεῖς. Of these the first is the older and is found on coins, &c., as long as the city had a coinage, *i.e.* down to the middle of the third century. The form in *a* predominates among later writers. Both forms appear in the MSS.; but while there is decisive authority (ℵ B D E F G L and others) for Κολοσσαῖς in i. 2 (*τοῖς ἐν* Κολοσσαῖς *ἁγίοις*), there is more fluctuation in the title of the Epistle. Here ℵ D E F and Latt. have Κολοσσαεῖς, while A B* K and some others give Κολασσαεῖς. As combinations with B are found on the whole to be superior to combinations with ℵ, the latter reading seems preferable; and, on internal grounds, it is certain that, if Κολοσσαῖς was read in the text, the title would be assimilated to it. We conclude therefore that St. Paul wrote "Colossae," but that the title which at a very early date was prefixed to the Epistle was "To the Colassians." It is probable that "Colassae" was a vernacular form which only gradually superseded the more correct usage, but which prevailed among the classes from which the Christians of the first two centuries were mostly taken. For an exhaustive discussion, see Lightfoot, *Col.* p. 17 n.; comp. Hort, *Introd.* p. 322. Lightfoot and Westcott and Hort print ΠΡΟΣ ΚΟΛΑΣΣΑΕΙΣ; Tischendorf, though admitting the higher authority of this spelling, retains ΚΟΛΟΣΣΑΕΙΣ out of conformity to i. 2.

2. *Authorship.*—There does not seem to have been any doubt in the ancient Church as to the Pauline authorship of the Epistle; and if the evidence that has come down to us is something short of conclusive, it is at least distinctly favourable to the traditional hypothesis. It is true that we have to wait until the Muratorian Fragment (*c.* 180 A.D.) and Irenaeus (180–190 A.D.) before the Epistle is definitely referred to by name; but much about the same date we find it acknowledged by Irenaeus in Gaul, by the Fragment at Rome, by Clement of Alexandria, and a little later by Tertullian in Africa. Marcion the Gnostic, who certainly included it among the ten Epistles which he accepted as St. Paul's, carries us back at least to A.D. 140, so that there is less reason to lay stress on the doubtful traces of its use than have been found in Clement of Rome, Barnabas, and Ignatius. Justin Martyr and Theophilus of Antioch both apply to our Lord the phrase *πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως*, which in this complete form is probably a reminiscence of Col. i. 15, and not of Psalm lxxxix. 28, though an isolated phrase of this kind might possibly get into oral circulation without being directly derived from any written source. It is sufficient to say that as soon as we find traces of a collection of St. Paul's Epistles, the Epistle to the Colossians certainly had a place among them, and in no quarter of the ancient world does it appear that this place was questioned.

The first serious doubts as to the genuineness of the Epistle date from the second quarter of the present century, when there was a general sense of dissatisfaction with the traditional views of things, and when the critical methods which had led to marked results in classical literature came to be applied, with the daring if also with the extravagance of newly-asserted freedom, to the books of the N. T. Mayerhoff led the way (*d. Brief an die Kol. mit vornehml. Berücksicht. d. Pastoralbr. kritisch geprüft*, Berlin, 1838), with objections partly literary, partly drawn from supposed allusions to Cerinthian Gnosticism. These objections were placed upon a more philosophic basis by Baur and his Tübingen followers, who saw in the Epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians a stage in the process of transition from St. Paul to St. John, and also in the gradual reconciliation of Jewish with Gentile Christianity.

It cannot be said that the doubts which were thus felt were altogether without reason. If the four great Epistles (1 and 2 Cor., Gal., Rom.) are taken as the standard of Pauline composition, the Epistle to Colossians presents a real difference, both of conception and of style.

(1) *Difference of Conception.*—Stress is laid no longer, as in the previous Epistles, so much upon the method of salvation as upon its Author. If it would not be true to say that the doctrine of justification by faith retires into the background (see i. 14, 20, 21; ii. 14), it is at least not expressed in the old terms (*δικαιόω, δικαίωμα, δικαιοσύνη ἐκ πίστεως* are entirely wanting), and on the other hand the pre-existence, exaltation, and true Divinity of Christ are strongly emphasized. He is considered less in connexion with His redeeming work for man than in a high

transcendental sphere, as exercising supreme authority over the world of spirits. There are many references to Angels, who are classed in an organised hierarchy. Corresponding to these incursions into the transcendental region, there is required on the part of man *σοφία* rather than *πίστις*, and the Gospel itself is conceived as a *μυστήριον*. Besides, language is used which at first sight seems hardly consistent with the humility of the Apostle, when he speaks of himself as "filling up that which is lacking of the afflictions of Christ."

(2) *Difference of Style.*—This is felt both in the general impression left by the Epistle, and also on examination into the use of particular words. The sentences are not only long and involved, but heavy and cumbrous in their movement. There is none of that fiery interchange of question and answer which was so characteristic of the earlier group; no rapid and eager dialectic; no appeal to the O. T.; no pressing of the antagonist with dilemma after dilemma; no sudden and soaring flights of eloquence. The impetuosity, the quick play of light and shade, are gone, and in their stead we have a uniformity which is elevated indeed, but also rather laboured.

These general characteristics are reflected in the diction. The particles which give such rapidity and flexibility of movement to the earlier Epistles—*ἄρα, ἄρα οὖν, διό, διότι, γάρ*—are either wanting or rare. The catchwords of Pauline theology, not only the derivatives of *δίκαιος*, but a multitude of others—*ἀποκάλυψις, δοκιμάζειν* and its cognates, *καυχᾶσθαι* and its cognates, *καταργεῖν, κοινωνία, νόμος, πιστεύειν, σωτήρ, σωτηρία*—are absent. Their place is taken by elaborate compounds, such as *αἰσχρολογία, ἀνταναπληροῦν, δογματίζεσθαι, ἐθελοθρησκεία, εἰρηνοποιεῖν, ἐμβατεύειν, παρηγορία, πιθανολογία, πρωτεύειν, στερέωμα, συλαγώγειν, χειρόγραφον*: there are thirty-three of these *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα* in all. And besides these words that are peculiar to the Epistle, there are others that are infrequent in the older group: ten shared only with the Epistle to the Ephesians, including *ἀνθρωπάρεσκος, ἀπαλλοτριοῦσθαι, αὔξησις, ἀφή, ὀφθαλμοδουλεία*; and others that are rare in St. Paul's writings, of which the most characteristic would be *ἀποκρύπτειν, γενέα* (in the phrase *ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν γενεῶν*), *οἰκονομία, συμβιβάζειν*.

Along with these phenomena, however, a dispassionate criticism could not but detect others of an opposite character. It was true that there were both thoughts and expressions that were wanting in the earlier Epistles, but it was equally true that there were many others that were common to those Epistles. The main lines of doctrine in Romans and Galatians were conspicuous also in Colossians: the idea of deliverance and reconciliation with God brought about through the death of Christ, in i. 14, 20, 21, ii. 14; and the idea of death to sin through union with Christ realised in Baptism, and followed by the moral *νέκρωσις* which is its corollary, in ii. 12, iii. 1 sq., 5 sq. The ideas of *σοφία* and *ἐπίγνωσις* had their counterpart in 1 Cor. ii. 6 sq. The condemnation of retrogression to the "rudiments of the world" and ceremonial observances was one of the main themes of the Epistle to the Galatians; and from the same Epistle might be easily paralleled the string of Christian graces in Col. iii. 12, 13.

And if a part of the vocabulary sounded novel, much of it also could not fail to be recognised as distinctly Pauline. No one, for instance, could read chs. i. 1–8, ii. 6–13, iii. 1–13, or the personal matter in ch. iv., without a sense of resemblance to the whole style and manner of St. Paul, too strong to be due to mere imitation. Still less was it possible to see any other hand than St. Paul's in that incomparable little Epistle to Philemon with which this to Colossians is so intimately connected.

Moved by these considerations, a third group of critics have tried to mediate between the two extremes of complete acceptance or complete rejection. Thus Ewald held that the substance of the Epistle was St. Paul's, but that its actual composition was handed over to Timothy. Weisse and Hitzig had recourse to a theory of extensive interpolation; a theory which was worked out on a most elaborate scale by Dr. H. J. Holtzmann, well known for his previous work on the Synoptic Gospels, in his *Kritik d. Epheser- und Kolosserbriefe*, Leipzig, 1872. Dr. Holtzmann maintains the presence in the Epistle of a genuine nucleus, which he believes to have been interpolated by the author of the (spurious) Epistle to the Ephesians. It cannot be said that this view has met, or is likely to meet, with much favour in England; but as it is based on a very close examination of the facts by a writer of great acumen, and as the hypothesis may possibly serve other purposes besides that for which it was intended, it may be worth while to indicate briefly the kind of outline that was assumed for the genuine Epistle. It was supposed to contain, roughly speaking, i. 1–5, 6a, 7, 8, 9a, a few words of 10, 13, a few words of 19 and 20, rather more of 21, 22, 23, the greater part of 25 and 29; chap. ii., 1, beginning of 2, greater part of 4, 5, 6, 7b, greater part of 8, some words of 9, 11, greater part of 12, 13 and 14, 16, 18b, 20, 21, 22a, 23b; chap. iii., 3, 12, 13, 17; chap. iv., greater part of 2–5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, much of 12, 13, 14, 18.

More recently a very friendly critic, Von Soden, in the *Jahrb. f. protestant. Theol.* for 1885 (p. 320 sq.; p. 497 sq.; p. 672 sq.), after a careful examination of the passages which Holtzmann regards as interpolations, has reduced them to much smaller dimensions, rejecting only i. 15–20, ii. 10, 15, 18b, as not the work of the Apostle. Von Soden's defence of the incriminated passages is worthy of all praise: the only wonder is that, having gone so far in re-vindicating these for St. Paul, he should stop short just where he does.* To draw a dividing line here it is necessary to strain out gnats with a very fine strainer indeed. The points of contact with admittedly Pauline teaching are so many, and the extensions of this which are involved so slight, that natural development and change of circumstances are quite enough to account for

* Pfleiderer aptly points out the inconsistency of separating passages which so closely resemble each other as i. 19 (regarded as not genuine) and ii. 9 (regarded as genuine), ii. 10 and 15 (not genuine), ii. 14 (genuine), ii. 18 (not genuine), ii. 23 (genuine), &c. (*Urchristenthum*, p. 683 n.)

them. On the other hand, such limited interpolation loses its *raison d'être*. It is not even attempted to show that it had any clear polemical purpose; and if it had, that purpose would not have been served at all effectively.

Yet a larger theory, such as Holtzmann's, is open to still more serious objections. The true answer to this is the detailed discussion, which is excellently conducted by Von Soden, of the passages rejected as spurious, together with the detailed testing of the reconstructed genuine Epistle. It was not difficult to show that this left abruptnesses and awkwardnesses of style and construction, quite as great as any supposed incoherence in the present text of the Epistle. But besides these detailed inquiries one or two general remarks may be made. (1.) There ought to be a clearer understanding as to the nature of the disproof of genuineness both in thought and in expression. It is not a sound method to take certain standard documents and to say all that cannot be paralleled out of these documents is interpolation. It is not to be supposed that a writer of so much originality as St. Paul would simply go on writing in a circle and repeating himself. The standard documents themselves have their ἅπαξ λεγόμενα; and ἅπαξ λεγόμενα are to be expected, especially with a difference of subject. The *onus probandi* certainly lies on the side of the critic, whose duty it is, as Von Soden rightly urges, not "to leave nothing but what is undoubtedly Pauline," but rather "to remove nothing but what is decidedly un-Pauline." There is a broad distinction between these two positions—a distinction which really covers the greater part of the matter in dispute. Holtzmann's criteria are altogether too narrow. (2.) A further point, which Holtzmann does not seem to have fully considered, is the nature of the relation which his theory presupposes between Colossians and Ephesians. In any case that relation raises a question about which we shall have something to say presently. If both Epistles proceed from St. Paul, the resemblance between them has an obvious cause. But on Holtzmann's theory this is what we have:—Into one letter (Colossians) the interpolator has introduced a clause here and a paragraph there; yet he also feels competent to write another letter (Ephesians) from the very beginning to complete his work. We should not have been so much surprised if the second letter had taken a new line and had dealt with new problems; but it is modelled upon the Colossian letter throughout: they are twin Epistles, with the closest likeness to each other. What strange parsimony and what strange prodigality of labour! Surely it would have been easy to make one letter do duty for both. A little more interpolation in Colossians, a few additional touches in Ephesians, would have been all that was wanted. (3.) There is yet a third point which, both here and elsewhere, ought to be borne in mind more fully than it has been. It must be granted in the abstract that the interpolation of ecclesiastical writings is a possibility. The Sibylline books, 4 Esdras, the longer Ignatian letters, the working up of the Didaché in the Apostolic Constitutions, Cyprian's treatise *De Unitate Ecclesiae*, are instances that readily occur to us. It must be conceded, too, that even within the limits of the N. T. interpolations are possible. The *pericopæ adulterae* and the moving of the waters in St. John, the last twelve verses of St. Mark, the eunuch's confession in the Acts, the phenomena of the later chapters of St. Luke, the apocryphal additions scattered throughout the Codex Bezae and its allies, the shifting place of the Doxology in Romans, are all examples in point. But the very existence of these analogies shows us that we must proceed carefully. We must not argue as if any and every document was upon the same footing: documents which rest on some one or two MSS., the oldest perhaps of the tenth century, and documents supported by MSS., Versions, and Fathers, the archetypes of which, if not the actual parchments, take us almost to the very threshold of the apostolic age. Discrimination is called for; and each class of books must be judged upon its own merits. In the case of the Historical Books it is not unreasonable to extend to one place a process which is seen from the MSS. in actual operation at another; but in the case of the Epistles there are no true analogies for dogmatic interpolation of the kind required by the hypotheses of Holtzmann and Von Soden. The phenomena referred to in the Epistle to the Romans are quite different. Such hypotheses therefore can only be received with extreme caution.

We have then to choose between a direct negative and a direct affirmative of St. Paul's authorship, and of these alternatives there can be little hesitation in preferring the latter. The differences from the earlier Epistles can be far more easily accounted for on this hypothesis than the essentially Pauline character of the Epistle on the other. A change of circumstances, acting on the singularly impressible character of St. Paul, will explain all that needs explanation. The Epistles of the third missionary journey were written at a time of great excitement. They were wrung from the Apostle in the heat of his conflict with enemies on the right hand and enemies on the left. They bear marks of high tension, of keen susceptibilities strongly roused. They betray not only a mental but a physical restlessness. "When I came to Troas . . . I had no relief for my spirit, because I found not Titus my brother: but taking my leave of them, I went forth into Macedonia." All this accords well with the vehement, impulsive, intensely personal tone of 2 Corinthians and Galatians, and the surge and swell of emotion had not subsided—it was only subsiding—in Romans.

The Epistles of the imprisonment were written under very different conditions. They were written, in a period of forced inaction, to Churches at a distance, one a Church which St. Paul had never seen. The problems with which the Apostle had to deal were in part apparently new problems. He met them with the fruits of his own reflection, a quiet and steady development of thought, and not with the weapons of a dialectic hammered out under the stress of fierce personal controversy. But even here, in an Epistle like Philippians, the old leaven breaks out, and the old vehemence of style is more than once resumed. Few writers have had a range and variety of style equal to St. Paul's, and there are few in whom the different phases

glide and pass into each other by more gradual and subtle transitions. If 2 Thessalonians leads on to Corinthians, and Galatians to Romans, then no less does Romans lead on to Philippians, and Philippians to Ephesians and Colossians. We shall see more fully how the peculiar element in this last Epistle is to be accounted for when we come to speak of the Colossian heresy and St. Paul's treatment of it.

Besides these considerations, it is possible that some reserve ought to be made in favour of such a theory as that put forward by Ewald. We do not know in what proportions St. Paul shared the work of composition with his amanuenses, and it is, to say the least, conceivable that more was left in these Epistles to Timothy than in the case of Romans to Tertius, or in the case of 1 Corinthians to Sosthenes. The arguments of Meyer (E. T., p. 247 sq.) against this supposition do not seem to be conclusive. It must, however, be confessed that we are drawing upon pure conjecture, where we can neither affirm nor deny with confidence. All we can say is that, if there is room in the unknown circumstances for other possibilities, there is room also for this, and it remains as an indefinite factor in the question. [For further remarks on the style of the Epistle and its relation to Ephesians, see below.]

3. *Date and Place.*—It is certain that the three Epistles—to Ephesians, Colossians, and Philemon—were all written about the same time and from the same place. They are connected together by a series of personal notices. (1.) Ephesians and Colossians both had the same bearer—Tychicus, and in both he was charged with the same commission, conveyed in almost identical terms (Ephes. vi. 21, 22 = Col. iv. 7, 8). There is a further connexion, if Dr. Lightfoot and others are right in supposing that the "Epistle from Laodicea" mentioned in Col. iv. 16 is really our "Ephesians." This view goes upon the assumption that the Epistle known to us by that name was originally a circular letter addressed to the Churches of Asia, of which Laodicea would be one. In that case it would appear that St. Paul desired the Colossians to acquaint themselves with the contents of the circular letter as well as with that specially addressed to themselves. The identification of the "Epistle from Laodicea" with Ephesians is of course conjectural, nor can it claim to be as yet generally accepted, but as a hypothesis it appears to give a simple and harmonious explanation of the facts, and so to possess as much probability as in the absence of direct attestation can be expected [see EPHESIANS, EPISTLE TO THE]. (2.) The links that connect Colossians with Philemon are, if not closer, at least more numerous. Here Timothy is joined with St. Paul in the address of both Epistles. Onesimus, who is the subject of the Epistle to Philemon, is the companion of Tychicus, who is to deliver that to Colossae (Col. iv. 9). Greetings are sent in both Epistles from the same persons—Aristarchus, Mark, Epaphras, Luke, Demas (Col. iv. 10, 12, 14 = Philem. *vv.* 23, 24). A special message is sent to Archippus in Philem. *v.* 2; and from Col. iv. 17 we gather that he held an official position in the Church at Colossae, or perhaps, as has been inferred from the context in which his name occurs, at Laodicea.

Putting all these various notices together, we conclude that St. Paul wrote and despatched three letters at the same time—a general letter to the leading Churches of Proconsular Asia (Ephesians), a letter addressed more directly to the particular circumstances of the Church at Colossae (Colossians), and a private letter dealing with the concerns of a single individual (Philemon).

What was the time in question? At what period in St. Paul's life do these three letters fall? The answer to this question depends upon a further point—the determination of the place from which they were written. We know that they were written during one of St. Paul's imprisonments (Col. iv. 3, 18; Philem. 1, 10, 13), and the choice lies between the two years during which he was detained at Caesarea (Acts xxiv. 27), or the similar period in which he was a prisoner at Rome (Acts xxviii. 30). Meyer and some others contend for the earlier of these two dates (*Ephesians*, E. T., pp. 18–21; *Colossians*, E. T., p. 241 sq.), but the arguments adduced are small and inconclusive, and it must be confessed that those upon the other side are hardly stronger. The real turning point in the discussion is the relation of these Epistles to the Epistle to Philippians, which Meyer himself admits was probably written from Rome. If, therefore, as we believe, the three Epistles were written *after* Philippians, it follows that they too are a product of the Roman imprisonment, and they would then fall about the year 62. This view of the place and date of their composition is that of by far the majority of critics and commentators. The more detailed examination of it belongs rather to the article on the EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS: see also EPHESIANS, EPISTLE TO THE.

4. *Persons addressed.*—A full account of Colossae and the Colossians has been given in the preceding article: what we have to consider here is, what special circumstances in the condition of the Colossian Church induced St. Paul to write to it this Epistle? The Church of Colossae had been founded by Epaphras, and Epaphras was now in the company of St. Paul at Rome. What brought him there we do not know, and the guesses that have been made on the subject are incapable of verification. The news that he brought of the state of his Church was on the whole good (Col. i. 3–8), but at the same time there was some reason for anxiety. A leaven of false teaching was at work which St. Paul was afraid might spread, and to guard against it he sends an earnest warning. In the character of this false teaching lies the main problem presented by the Epistle.

It was twofold in its nature, at once practical and speculative. (1) On the practical side its tendency was towards asceticism and punctilious observance of ceremonial rules. It involved abstinence from meats and drinks (ii. 16), and unsparing rigour in the treatment of the body (ii. 23). Along with this went a scrupulous attention to the sacred seasons—festivals, sabbaths, new moons (ii. 16). From the stress which St. Paul lays upon spiritual circumcision (ii. 11), we gather that literal circumcision was also practised. All these things St. Paul classes together as *στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου* (ii. 8), *i.e.* not as a majority of the ancients and some moderns

have supposed, "the heavenly bodies" as regulating the seasons, but crude material rudimentary methods which have been superseded by the higher Christian law of "faith." (2) On the speculative side the most distinctive feature in the Colossian heresy was the prominence which it gave to *Angels*. Worship was offered to them (ii. 18); and as we may infer from the emphatic language in which St. Paul excludes any such notion, they were regarded as the principal agents in creation (i. 15), the prerogatives of Christ were claimed for them (i. 15; ii. 10, 15), the Divine pleroma, or sum of the attributes of Godhead, was supposed in some way to be diffused among them.

It is natural to ask, What is the heresy thus described? Is it possible to give it a single name, or are we to suppose that there were several distinct tendencies in the Colossian Church at the same time? The tenor of St. Paul's reply certainly favours the conclusion that there was but a single heresy. He treats of its different aspects in the same paragraph (ii. 16–23), and even in the same sentence: for what is kept distinct in *vv.* 16, 18 is combined under one view in *v.* 23. Nor is there anything incompatible in the union of ascetic ceremonialism with angelolatry: a similar union was common enough in the later Gnostic sects.

But if this is so, the inquiry may be still further narrowed. The observance of "sabbaths and new moons" could only be Jewish, so that for the other features which went with this we must also seek a Jewish origin. But if we are to look in the direction of Judaism, it is not unnatural that attention should have been drawn especially to the sect of the Essenes. In Essenism we find a combination of features which presents some marked similarities to that which existed at Colossae. The Essenes seem to have been vegetarians;[b] they avoided wine; they were scrupulous to an extreme in the keeping of the Sabbath; they had some esoteric teaching in regard to Angels. The parallel, however, does not perhaps extend so far as is sometimes assumed. Our knowledge of Essenism is in many respects very imperfect—too imperfect to allow us to feel sure of our ground in comparing it with the Colossian heresy. This heresy contained a large element of cosmogonic speculation: in ascribing a similar element to Essenism we are depending upon a single sentence in a disputed treatise of Philo (*Quod omnis probus liber*, § 12), and at best we have no means of knowing how far the two coincided. Much would turn upon the degree of probability that the key-word πλήρωμα had, as Bp. Lightfoot thinks (*Col.* p. 328), a Palestinian origin. If there is no instance of it in Philo, we may equally doubt whether there is any instance in the apocryphal or pseudepigraphic literature which had its birth in Palestine. Again, all we are told about the Essene angelology is that the members of the sect were not "to reveal the names of the Angels." This was probably connected with the magic which the Essenes seem to have practised, and hardly amounts to the θρησκεία τῶν ἀγγέλων prevalent at Colossae (Col. ii. 18). On the other hand, there are a number of essential features in Essenism for which there is no evidence of any counterpart in the Colossian Church. Perhaps we ought not to include among these the elaborate lustrations, as they might be taken to be covered by the straining which is apparent after ceremonial purity. But the reverence, if not worship, paid to the sun, was a point that St. Paul could hardly have failed to notice. There is an equal silence as to the quasi-monastic mode of life which the Essenes adopted, as to the formidable process of initiation which they had to go through, and the obligation of secrecy which they imposed upon their disciples. The doctrines current at Colossae would seem to have been rather matters of common notoriety. Add to this that, though the Essenes were certainly strict in the observance of the Sabbath, their tenets would not favour the observance of the other festivals, as they avoided the Temple and its rites. And there is besides the initial difficulty that Palestine was the proper home of the Essenes: their principal community was by the Dead Sea; and Syria was the utmost limit assigned to their distribution.

It is therefore by no means without cause that, while a majority of commentators find Essenic affinities in the false teaching at Colossae, the best among them (*e.g.* Lightfoot, p. 94 sq.; Klöpper, p. 92 sq.) are careful to define that, in speaking of "the Judaism in the Colossian Church as Essene," they "do not assume a precise identity of origin, but only an essential affinity of type with the Essenes of the mother country." In view of what has just been urged it may be questioned whether even this is not going too far. Points of contact there are certainly, but "an essential affinity of type" is something different. In any case there is no direct affiliation. The truth seems to be that like causes were producing like effects in many parts of the East, and through the East even in the West. We happen to know rather more about the Essenes, but there must have been many similar manifestations of which we have no such direct record. Not to lay stress on the Therapeutae, our sole account of whom is impugned, though it has not wanted strenuous defenders (*e.g.* Dr. Edersheim in *Dict. of Christ. Biog.* iv. p. 368 sq.), many phenomena akin to those of Essenism (libations, repudiation of sacrifice, prayers before meat, but not denial of the resurrection of the body) are found in Book iv. of the Sibylline Oracles, which is ascribed to Asia Minor and to a date *c.* 80 A.D.; vegetarianism is found even in Rome (Rom. xiv. 2, &c.); and it is well known what a prominent part is played by Angels in a number of apocryphal and pseudepigraphic writings and in Rabbinical literature. All these are not so much directly connected as distinct and independent products of a common tendency. In the first

[b] The vegetarianism and water-drinking of the Essenes are described by Lucius and Schürer (*Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, ii. p. 478, ed. 2); see, however, Bp. Lightfoot's note, *Col.* p. 86: the evidence is perhaps not quite conclusive, but the parallels seem to make it probable that the ἐν ἀγγείον ἐξ ἑνὸς ἐδέσματος of Josephus, *B. J.* ii. § viii. 5, meant vegetables. In this connexion it should be mentioned that the Philonic treatise *Quod omnis probus liber*, besides earlier attacks, has recently had regular siege laid against it by Ohle, *Die Essäer des Philo*, Leipzig, 1887, and by Ausfeld, *De libro περὶ τοῦ πάντα σπουδαῖον εἶναι ἐλεύθερον*, Göttingen, 1887; cp. Harnack in *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1887, col. 493 sq.

century of the Christian era men's minds were intent upon the coming revelation. They caught eagerly at the asceticism, at the ceremonial purifications, and at the theories of mediatorial agencies between God and man in which the East was so prolific. The ground was everywhere prepared; and just as within less than a generation Gnosticism itself was rife at one and the same time in Proconsular Asia, in Samaria, and in Syria, so now the germs of Gnostic Judaism were sprouting on the banks of the Lycus as well as by the Dead Sea.

5. *Character and Contents of the Epistle.*—St. Paul gives no uncertain answer to the problems which this insidious "philosophy" forced upon him. Its representatives as yet were few (τις, ii. 8, 16; μηδείς, ii. 4, 18), but they were no less dangerous. Alike their method and their doctrine were utterly wrong. In doctrine they gave to Angels what was due solely to Christ. The remedy was to be sought in truer views about Him. He alone was the incarnation of Divinity; He alone was the Agent in creation; He alone existed before the worlds; the Angels themselves were created by Him; He was their Head; over the powers of the Evil One He had triumphed in what seemed to be His humiliation. Let the Colossians be loyal to Him, and not be deluded by any specious pretensions of superior reverence; it was no true reverence (though it might seem so) to place inferior beings between man and God. Equally ill-judged were the means which they were being persuaded to adopt for moral reformation. Asceticism and ceremonialism belonged to a past state of things. They had been superseded by methods far more potent. In his Baptism the Christian threw himself unreservedly on Christ; he died with Christ to sin; he is quickened by Christ with a new life; his sins are forgiven; he looks up to that heavenly abode to which Christ is gone, and the thought of heaven inspires him while on earth; he is a member of one vast organism which lives and moves and has its being in Christ. Whichever way it is regarded, Christ is all in all; He is the sum of all speculation; He is at once the source and the goal of all Christian practice. To "hold the Head" was what the false teachers failed to do, and "holding the Head" the Colossians would need nothing more.

Such would seem to be the main lines of the argument of the Epistle to the Colossians. The following may be taken as an analysis of the Epistle.

I. Introductory.
- (1) Apostolic salutation (i. 1, 2).
- (2) Thanksgiving for the faith and love shown by the Colossians since their conversion by Epaphras (i. 3–8).
- (3) Prayer for their growth in knowledge, Christian activity, and constancy, as heirs of Christ's kingdom (i. 9–13).

II. Dogmatic (Positive).

Christ the Saviour and Head (i. 14–19), of Angels as well as of men (*vv.* 20–23).
- (1) Christ our Redeemer (i. 14).
- (2) Christ and Creation, prior to it and sovereign over it; its Cause at once efficient and final (i. 15–17).
- (3) Christ and the Church, its Head in virtue of His Resurrection and as embodying the Divine pleroma (i. 18, 19).
- (4) Christ, the Author of salvation as well for Angels as for men, by His reconciling death (i. 20–22 a), in which salvation the Colossians will share if they are true to the faith (i. 22 b, 23).

III. Pastoral.
- (1) The mystery (of Christ's revelation to the Gentiles) which St. Paul is commissioned to preach (i. 24–29).
- (2) His anxiety for the Churches which he has not visited (ii. 1–5).
- (3) Exhortation to the Colossians to continue as they had begun (ii. 6, 7).

IV. Dogmatic (Negative) or Polemical.
- (1) Warning against that false philosophy which sought salvation through mundane agencies and not through Christ (ii. 8).
- (2) Preliminary assertion of true doctrine and true method (ii. 9–15).
  - *a.* Christ the sole Incarnation of Deity (ii. 9), to Whom all the hierarchy of spirits is subordinate (ii. 10).
  - *b.* Union with Him begins in Baptism, the Christian's circumcision, in which he dies with Christ and is raised to a new life with Him (ii. 11–13). In it he receives that forgiveness which Christ won for him on the Cross, triumphing over all the powers of evil (ii. 13–15) [so that bad and good spirits alike are subject to Him].
- (3) Direct condemnation of false doctrine and false method (ii. 16–23).
  - *a.* Punctiliousness as to food and seasons belongs to a past dispensation, the mere shadow of Christianity (ii. 16, 17).
  - *b.* The domineering visionaries who would force upon the Colossians a submissive Angel-worship, cut themselves loose from Christ, Who alone gives to the organic structure strength and cohesion (ii. 18, 19).
  - *c.* All such things are a retrogression to one who has died with Christ, whether (*α*) rules of diet and ceremonial cleanness, or (*β*) that pretentious and affected humility which is no real check on self-indulgence (ii. 20–23).

V. Practical and Hortatory.
- (1) True elevation to be sought through union with the risen Christ (iii. 1–4).
- (2) The necrosis of all evil passions and practices implied in the change from heathenism to the Church Universal (iii. 5–11).
- (3) Exhortation to assume Christian virtues and graces (iii. 12–17).
- (4) Special duties (iii. 18—iv. 1):
  - *a.* Of wives and husbands (iii. 18, 19).

b. Of children and fathers (iii. 20, 21).
c. Of slaves and masters (iii. 22—iv. 1).
(5) Prayer (α) enjoined on all, (β) requested by St. Paul for himself (iv. 2–4).
(6) Christian conduct towards the outer world (iv. 5, 6).

VI. PERSONAL MATTER.
(1) The bearer Tychicus and his commission (iv. 7, 8); Onesimus (iv. 9).
(2) Salutations from Aristarchus, Mark, and Jesus Justus (iv. 10, 11), from Epaphras (iv. 12, 13), from Luke and Demas (iv. 14).
(3) Salutations and instructions to the Church at Laodicea (iv. 15, 16), with a special message for Archippus (iv. 17).
(4) Autograph valediction (iv. 18).

Style.—In looking back over the Epistle as a whole, without reference to critical controversy or statistics of verbal usage, the sense of unity in style with the rest of St. Paul's writings increases in force. The practical and personal parts are entirely in his manner, and so too are those in which he expresses his pastoral solicitude for the group of Churches to which he is writing. Little less characteristic is his trenchant polemic against a novel kind of false teaching. And if in the accumulative method of his own doctrinal exposition, in which clause is piled upon clause charged with weighty dogmatic meaning, we miss something of the old fervid outbursts and rapid changes of front, yet they show a masterly grip of first principles, and a firm enunciation of them which few indeed could imitate. We are apt to forget how much fervour and energy of style are a matter not merely of temperament, but of passing moods and of physical condition. A high-strung nature like St. Paul's, rich in emotional sensibility, and liable to extremes of elation and depression, must have been especially open to such influences. One simple cause seems enough to account for any difference between the group of Epistles written after the tumult at Ephesus and the so-called Epistles of the Imprisonment—a cause implied in the very name of the later group—the change from the free exciting varied life, stimulated to intensity by struggles without and anxieties within, to a state of monotonous and compulsory inaction. Allowing for this, we seem to have sufficient explanation of that small proportion of the facts which needs explaining.

Relation to Ephesians.—In regard to style the Epistle to the Colossians presents a close parallel to the contemporary Epistle to the Ephesians. But the resemblance between the two Epistles goes beyond any general features of this kind. In many places the identity both of thought and of language is such as to make the one Epistle almost a duplicate of the other. The fuller exhibition of this identity must be reserved for the article on EPHESIANS. For the present we must content ourselves with a few general remarks on the peculiar literary relation involved. The problem is not quite the same as that which is raised by the Synoptic Gospels and the two Epistles. 2 St. Peter and St. Jude: for we have here not two writers copying each other, but a single writer repeating himself. In the case of St. Paul, however, we are in a measure prepared for the relation which is found to exist by the marked resemblance, often amounting to verbal identity, between others of his Epistles, *e.g.* between Galatians and Romans, or Romans and Philippians. No doubt the resemblance is not there so sustained, but there was also not the same reason why it should be. The Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians were written at the same time, despatched by the same messenger, and addressed to Churches of the same locality. Still, according to our modern notions, we have not reached an adequate explanation of the degree of resemblance by which we are confronted. The mistake lies in attempting to apply those notions to a state of things to which they are not applicable. The subsequent Christian literature shows how extremely common it was for one writer to transcribe bodily from another any passage that struck him as appropriate to the subject in hand. And if this was so as regards others, much more would a writer consider himself at liberty to borrow from compositions of his own. No fastidious literary canons stood in the way. On the contrary, there was the strongest inducement to adopt this course. The Apostles were none of them practised in the arts of composition. It was true that St. Paul had received as good an education as his time and country could offer. But it was characteristic of that education that it was essentially oral: writing was regarded as a thing to be avoided. Talmud and Targum had either not been set down in writing at all, or the little that had been written was kept secret, for private use rather than public. When therefore St. Paul found himself compelled to correspond with the Churches that he had founded, it must have been a matter of much difficulty and effort to him, which was only overcome by his intense earnestness and fulness of soul. "My heart was hot within me, and while I was thus musing the fire kindled; and at the last I spake with tongue," would well describe the process by which his thoughts found expression. Nor was it merely a common difficulty. The thoughts were new thoughts, for which a new language had to be provided. And this language again had to be shaped into sentences, and accommodated to the laws of grammar and rhetoric. It was at best a painful task. And we can well conceive how, having once succeeded in expressing his meaning, the Apostle would gladly fall back on this expression. It was not poverty of mind—far from it—but only a natural expedient to relieve an unwonted strain. No one can be more grandly eloquent than St. Paul, and when his eloquence is at the flood it sweeps away all dams and barriers; but just because it is so spontaneous, his eloquence does not always flow with equal volume, and then the restraints make themselves felt, and the stream is turned into easier channels.

Text.—As in all cases where the language of one book is parallel to that of another, the text of the Epistle to the Colossians has suffered much from assimilation. And it is a striking testimony to the excellence of Cod. B that it is singularly free from this influence. A good example may be seen in the parallel passages Ephes. v. 19, Col. iii. 16.

Ephes. v. 19. Received Text.	Col. iii. 16. Received Text.
λαλοῦντες ἑαυτοῖς ψαλμοῖς καὶ ὕμνοις καὶ ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς ᾄδοντες καὶ ψάλλοντες ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν τῷ Κυρίῳ.	νουθετοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς ψαλμοῖς καὶ ὕμνοις καὶ ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς, ἐν χάριτι ᾄδοντες ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν τῷ Κυρίῳ.
Probably correct Text as given in B.	Probably correct Text as given in B.
λαλοῦντες ἑαυτοῖς ἐν ψαλμοῖς καὶ ὕμνοις καὶ ᾠδαῖς ᾄδοντες καὶ ψάλλοντες τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν τῷ Κυρίῳ.	νουθετοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς ψαλμοῖς ὕμνοις ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς ἐν τῇ χάριτι ᾄδοντες ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν τῷ Θεῷ.

See Lightfoot, *Colossians*, p. 313 sq. Westcott and Hort rather unexpectedly omit ἐν before ψαλμοῖς (cp. 1 Cor. ii. 13), and insert πνευματικαῖς in the text of Ephesians.

This, however, is not the only cause of corruption. Dr. Hort goes so far as to say that the Epistle, "and more especially its second chapter, appears to have been ill-preserved in ancient times." Accordingly it has presented a favourite field for conjectural emendations. The most famous is perhaps Dr. C. Taylor's ἀέρα κενεμβατεύων for ἃ ἑόρακεν ἐμβατεύων. Others may be seen collected in Van Manen, *Conjecturaal-Kritiek toegepast op d. Tekst van de Schriften d. N. T.*, pp. 313–316, or in the similar work of Van de Sande Bakhuyzen, *Over de toepassing van de Conjecturaal-Kritiek op d. Tekst d. N. T.*, pp. 278–280.

The Epistle is found, generally speaking, in the same MSS. and Versions as the rest of St. Paul's Epistles. For the Latin Versions the evidence is scanty. No portion of the Epistle is contained in either the Wolfenbüttel (*gue*), Gottweig (r_3), or Freising (r, r_2) Fragments. But quotations from the Latin Fathers, especially for the dogmatic portions, are abundant.

6. *Literature.*—A full and carefully-prepared list of Commentaries on St. Paul's Epistles in general, and on the Epistle to Colossians in particular, is given in the English translation of Meyer's Commentary, *Romans*, pp. xviii.–xxix.; *Colossians*, pp. vii.–xi. Of the ancient commentaries (not reckoning fragments or portions preserved in catenae) the most important would be the following: in Greek, Chrysostom, *Homiliae in Epist. ad Coloss.* ed. Field, Oxon. 1855, trans. by Ashworth in the *Library of the Fathers*, vol. xiv., Oxford, 1843; Theodore of Mopsuestia, Commentary extant in a Latin translation, *Theodori Episc. Mopsuest. in Epist. B. Pauli Comment.* vol. i. ed. Swete, Cambridge, 1880; Theodoret, *Opera*, ed. Migne, *tom.* lxxx.–lxxxv.: in Latin, the commentator commonly called Ambrosiaster (whose identity is still an unsolved enigma: see Marold in *Zeitschrift f. wiss. Theol.* 1884, p. 415 sq.), whose works are bound up with those of Ambrose, ed. Ballerini, tom. iii., Milan, 1877; Pelagius, printed among the works of Jerome, ed. Vallarsi, tom. xi., ed. Migne, tom. xxx. From the Middle Ages we have the compilations of Oecumenius, ed. Migne, tom. cxviii., cxix., and of Theophylact, tom. cxxiii.–cxxvi.; to which must now be added Euthymius Zigabenus, ed. Kalogeras, Athens, 1887. In modern times, to select a few of the most prominent, we have in Germany, besides the well-known commentaries of De Wette, Ewald, Lange, Meyer, the elaborate critical work of Holtzmann mentioned above, and an able but rather prolix commentary by Klöpper, *Der Brief an die Colosser kritisch untersucht*, &c., Berlin, 1882. The last few years have seen several additions of importance to the literature on the Epistle. First came the elaborate articles by Von Soden of which an account has been given. Holtzmann in his *Einleitung* (Freiburg i. B., 1885) states fairly both sides of the problem, but appears to be conscious that his own theory has not been found very convincing. Weiss in his similar work (Berlin, 1886) rejects the interpolation-hypothesis altogether, and defends the genuineness of the Epistle. Weizsäcker, on the other hand, in his survey of the Apostolic age (Freiburg i. B., 1886), pronounces against this, but, able scholar as he is, he shows the weak place in his Teutonic armour, by the suggestion that the Epistle to Philemon is an allegory turning round the significance of the name Onesimus! Pfleiderer (*Urchristenthum*, p. 683; Berlin, 1887) is inclined to have recourse to the same piece of modern Alexandrianism: he leaves it an open question whether any part of the Epistle is genuine. The chief value of his treatment of the Epistle consists in his clear definition of the points of difference between it and the undoubted Epistles. The best and most complete of English commentaries is doubtless that by Bishop Lightfoot, which may, however, be usefully supplemented on the side of close grammatical exegesis by the Commentary of Bishop Ellicott. The editions in the *Speaker's Commentary* (Bishop of Derry), in Ellicott's *Commentary for English Readers* (Dr. Barry), and in Schaff's *Popular Commentary* (Prof. M. B. Riddle), all appeal to a wider public. [W. Sy.]

COME BY. "We had much work to come by the boat" (Acts xxvii. 16). The words περικρατοῖς γενέσθαι are rendered by R. V. "to secure." Lumby (*Glossary of Bibl. Words*, s. n.) quotes from Earle's *Microcosmog.*—"He is loth to come by promotion so dear." [F.]

COMFORTER. See SPIRIT, HOLY.

COMING OF CHRIST. In the prophecies of the Old Testament no distinction is indicated between a first coming of Christ in humility and a second coming in glory. This distinction, however, became from an early time one of the most familiar points of Christian doctrine, and the conflict of the early Church both with Judaism and Gnosticism must have served to emphasize it. Note the inclusion of "the comings" (plur.) in the enumeration of fundamental articles of Christian faith in Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* i. 2, Greek text). We of later days have our attention mainly occupied with the historical Christ, the Redemption already wrought, the preparation of the world for, and the fulfilment of prophecy in, His first Advent. The mind and heart of the Church of the first age, on the other hand, were turned almost more towards the future. In the New Testament the "Coming of Christ" commonly denotes the future coming, without the need for any epithet such as "second" (Matt. xxiv. 3, 27, 37, 39; 1 Cor. xv. 23; 1 Thess. ii. 19, iii. 13, iv. 15, v. 23; 2 Thess. ii. 1, 8; Jas. v. 7, 8; 2 Pet. i. 16 [probably], iii. 4, 12; 1 John ii. 28. The following passages may also be compared: 1 Cor. i. 7; 2 Thess. i. 7; 1 Pet. i. 7, iv. 13; 1 Tim. vi.

14; 2 Tim. iv. 1, 8; Tit. ii. 13); and, while the fact that the Christ has already come is of course constantly in mind, the phrase "the coming of Christ" is very rarely used of that first Advent. The following seem to be the only instances:—Acts vii. 52, xiii. 24 (where it is to be noted that the Greek words employed are ἔλευσις and εἴσοδος, and not one of those used for the Second Advent), 2 Tim. i. 10, which is especially interesting from the fact that the Apostle seems to intend to compare the two "appearings" (cp. *vv.* 10 and 12).

The manner of the return of Christ, as conceived among Christians universally from the first, was such as could properly belong only to a Divine Being. The descriptions of it in the Synoptic Gospels recall the imagery of Daniel vii. The title "the Son of man" is used, and He is to "come with the clouds of heaven" (Matt. xxiv. 30; xxvi. 64, &c.) The same title is not used in the Epistles, but we find it in the mouth of St. James the Just, as it is interesting to observe, in the account of his martyrdom given by Hegesippus (*Fragm. ap.* Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 23). The favourite terms for describing the Coming of Christ in the Epistles convey the idea of its mysteriousness and majesty. They are: παρουσία, translated *coming* (very general in the Epistles, and occurring also in St. Matthew); ἡ ἡμέρα Ἰ. Χ., τ. Κυρ. &c., *the day of J. C., of the Lord*, and even simply ἡ ἡμέρα, *the day* (1 Cor. iii. 13; and cp. Rom. xiii. 12); ἀποκάλυψις, *revelation*; ἐπιφάνεια, translated *appearing* (peculiar to the Pastoral Epistles, except 2 Thess. ii. 8, where it is combined with παρουσία); and lastly the verb φανεροῦσθαι, "to be made manifest" (Col. iii. 4; 1 Pet. v. 4; 1 John ii. 28, iii. 2, &c.).

The first generation or two of Christians looked for a very speedy return of Christ. Evidence of this faith is to be found in the New Testament (1 Cor. vii. 29, 31; xvi. 22 [Maranatha]; Phil. iv. 5; Heb. x. 25, 37; James v. 9; 1 Peter iv. 5, 7). With this expectation are to be contrasted many remarkable parables and sayings of our Lord Himself, in which He indicates a work to be done before His coming which could only be slow and gradual (*e.g.* Matt. xiii. 31–33; Acts i. 8). The disciples, especially in early days, desired signs like the Jews, by which they might know the approach of the end, and in part they were gratified (Matt. xxiv., Mark xiii., Luke xxi.).

For the Millennium, Judgment, and other points connected with the Coming of Christ, and the relation of Christian language on these subjects to that in the Old Testament and in Jewish Apocalyptic and Rabbinic literature, see ESCHATOLOGY. [V. H. S.]

COMMERCE. 1. סַחֲרָה, Gesen. p. 946; *ἐμπορία*; *negotiatio*; from סֹחֵר, *a merchant*, from סָחַר, *travel*, Ezek. xxvii. 15; A. V., *merchandise, traffic*. 2. רֵכֶלָה, Gesen. p. 1289; Ezek. xxvi. 12, *τὰ ὑπάρχοντα*; *negotiationes*; in xxviii. 5, 16, 18, *ἐμπορία*, *negotiatio*, from רָכַל, *travel*.

From the time that men began to live in cities, trade, in some shape, must have been carried on to supply the town-dwellers with necessaries (see Heeren, *Afr. Nat.* i. 462), but it is also clear that international trade must have existed and affected to some extent even the pastoral nomad races, for we find that Abraham was rich, not only in cattle, but in silver, gold, and gold and silver plate and ornaments (Gen. xiii. 2; xxiv. 22, 53); and further, that gold and silver in a manufactured state, and silver, not improbably in coin, were in use both among the settled inhabitants of Palestine and the pastoral tribes of Syria at that date (Gen. xx. 16, xxiii. 16, xxxviii. 18; Job xlii. 11), to whom those metals must in all probability have been imported from other countries (Hussey, *Anc. Weights*, c. xii. 3, p. 193; Kitto, *Phys. Hist. of Pal.*, pp. 109, 110; Herod. i. 215).

Among trading nations mentioned in Scripture, Egypt holds in very early times a prominent position, though her external trade was carried on, not by her own citizens, but by foreigners, chiefly of the nomad races (Heeren, *Afr. Nat.* i. 468, ii. 371, 372). It was an Ishmaelite caravan, laden with spices, which carried Joseph into Egypt, and the account shows that slaves formed sometimes a part of the merchandise imported (Gen. xxxvii. 25, xxxix. 1; Job vi. 19). From Egypt it is likely that at all times, but especially in times of general scarcity, corn would be exported, which was paid for by the non-exporting nations in silver, which was always weighed (Gen. xli. 57; xlii. 3, 25, 35; xliii. 11, 12, 21). These caravans also brought the precious stones as well as the spices of India into Egypt (Ex. xxv. 3, 7; Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.*, ii. 235, 237 [1878]). Intercourse with Tyre does not appear to have taken place till a later period, and thus, though it cannot be determined whether the purple in which the Egyptian woollen and linen cloths were dyed was brought by land from Phoenicia, it is certain that coloured cloths had long been made and dyed in Egypt; and the use, at least, of them adopted by the Hebrews for the Tabernacle as early as the time of Moses (Ex. xxv. 4, 5; Heeren, *Asiat. Nat.* i. 352; Herod. i. 1). The pasture-ground of Shechem appears from the story of Joseph to have lain in the way of these caravan journeys (Gen. xxxvii. 14, 25; Saalschütz, *Hebr. Arch.* 15, l. 159).

It is clear that at the same period trade was carried on between Babylon and the Syrian cities, and also that gold and silver ornaments were common among the Syrian and Arabian races; a trade which was obviously carried on by land-carriage (Num. xxxi. 50; Josh. vii. 21; Judg. v. 30, viii. 24; Job vi. 19).

Until the time of Solomon the Hebrew nation may be said to have had no foreign trade. Foreign trade was indeed contemplated by the Law, and strict rules for morality in commercial dealings were laid down by it (Deut. xxviii. 12, xxv. 13–16; Lev. xix. 35, 36), and the tribes near the sea and the Phoenician territory appear to have engaged to some extent in maritime affairs (Gen. xlix. 13; Deut. xxxiii. 18; Judg. v. 17), but the spirit of the Law was more in favour of agriculture and against foreign trade (Deut. xvii. 16, 17; Lev. xxv.; Joseph. *c. Apion.* i. 12). Solomon, however, organised an extensive trade with foreign countries, but chiefly, at least so far as the more distant nations were concerned, of an import character. He imported linen yarn,

horses, and chariots from Egypt. Of the horses some appear to have been resold to Syrian and Canaanite princes. For all these he paid in gold, which was imported by sea from India and Arabia by his fleets, built under his own orders, but manned chiefly by Phoenicians (Heeren, *As. Nat.* i. 334; 1 K. ix. 26, 27, x. 22–29; Ges. p. 1202). It was by Phoenicians also that the cedar and other timber for his great architectural works was brought by sea to Joppa, whilst Solomon found the provisions necessary for the workmen in Mount Lebanon (1 K. v. 6, 9; 2 Ch. ii. 16).

The fleets used to sail into the Indian Ocean every three years from Elath and Ezion-geber, ports on the Aelanitic gulf of the Red Sea, which David had probably gained from Edom, and brought back gold, silver, ivory, sandal-wood, ebony, precious stones, apes, and peacocks. Some of these may have come from India and Ceylon, and some from the coasts of the Persian Gulf and the E. coast of Africa (2 Sam. viii. 14; 1 K. ix. 26, x. 11, 22; 2 Ch. viii. 17; Herod. iii. 114; Livingstone, *Travels*, pp. 637, 662).

But the trade which Solomon took so much pains to encourage was not a maritime trade only. He built, or more probably fortified, Baalbec and Palmyra; the latter at least expressly as a caravan station for the land-commerce with Eastern and South-eastern Asia (1 K. ix. 18).

After his death the maritime trade declined, and an attempt made by Jehoshaphat to revive it proved unsuccessful (1 K. xxii. 48, 49). [TARSHISH; OPHIR.] We know, however, that Phoenicia was supplied from Judaea with wheat, honey, oil, and balm (1 K. v. 11; Ezek. xxvii. 17; Acts xii. 20; Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 21, § 2; *Vit.* 13), whilst Tyrian dealers brought fish and other merchandise to Jerusalem at the time of the return from the Captivity (Neh. xiii. 16), as well as timber for the rebuilding of the Temple, which then, as in Solomon's time, was brought by sea to Joppa (Ezra iii. 7). Oil was exported to Egypt (Hos. xii. 1), and fine linen and ornamental girdles of domestic manufacture were sold to the merchants (Prov. xxxi. 24).

The successive invasions to which Palestine was subjected, involving both large abstraction of treasure by invaders and heavy imposts on the inhabitants to purchase immunity or to satisfy demands for tribute, must have impoverished the country from time to time (under Rehoboam, 1 K. xiv. 26; Asa, xv. 18; Joash, 2 K. xii. 18; Amaziah, xiv. 13; Ahaz, xvi. 8; Hezekiah, xviii. 15, 16; Jehoahaz and Jehoiakim, xxiii. 33, 35; Jehoiachin, xxiv. 13), but it is also clear, as the denunciations of the Prophets bear witness, that much wealth must somewhere have existed in the country, and much foreign merchandise have been imported; so much so that, in the language of Ezekiel, Jerusalem appears as the rival of Tyre, and through its port, Joppa, to have carried on trade with foreign countries (Is. ii. 6, 16, iii. 11, 23; Hos. xii. 7; Ezek. xxvi. 2; Jonah i. 3; Heeren, *As. Nat.* i. p. 328).

Under the Maccabees Joppa was fortified (1 Macc. xiv. 34), and later still Caesarea was built and made a port by Herod (Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 9, § 6; Acts xii. 19, xviii. 22). Joppa became afterwards a haunt for pirates, and was taken by Cestius; afterwards by Vespasian, and destroyed by him (Strab. xvi. p. 759; Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 18, § 10, iii. 9, § 1). There can be no doubt that in former times the soil of Palestine yielded much more produce than is now the case, and so we find that during the 1st century A.D. Tyre and Sidon depended for supplies of provisions upon the kingdom of Herod Agrippa (Acts xii. 20).

The internal trade of the Jews, as well as the external, was much promoted, as was the case also in Egypt, by the festivals, which brought large numbers of persons to Jerusalem, and caused great outlay in victims for sacrifices and in incense (1 K. viii. 63; Heeren, *Afr. Nat.* ii. 363). The traders in later times were allowed to intrude into the Temple, in the outer courts of which victims were publicly sold for the sacrifices (Zech. xiv. 21; Matt. xxi. 12; John ii. 14).

The places of public market were then, as now, chiefly the open spaces near the gates, to which goods were brought for sale by those who came from the outside (Neh. xiii. 15, 16; Zeph. i. 10).

In the matter of buying and selling great stress is laid by the Law on fairness in dealing. Just weights and balances are stringently ordered (Lev. xix. 35, 36; Deut. xxv. 13–16). Kidnapping slaves is forbidden under the severest penalty (Ex. xxi. 16; Deut. xxiv. 7). Trade in swine was forbidden by the Jewish doctors (Surenhus. *Mischn. Seder Nezikin*, c. 7, vol. iv. 60; Lightfoot, *H. H. on Matt.* viii. 33; Winer, *Handel*; Saalschütz, *Arch. Hebr.* c. 15, 16). [H. W. P.]

COMPASS. The A. V. "fetch a compass" (2 Sam. v. 23; 2 K. iii. 9; Acts xxviii. 13) is rendered by R. V. "make a circuit," *i.e.* to go round about. [F.]

CONANI'AH (כְּוֹנַנְיָהוּ [*Keri*, ed. Baer], *Jehovah hath established*; BA*. Χωνενίας; A.² Χωχενίας; *Chonenias*), one of the chiefs (שָׂרִים) of the Levites in the time of Josiah (2 Ch. xxxv. 9). The same name as CONONIAH.

CONCISION, a word used by St. Paul (Philip. iii. 2, κατατομή) to describe the circumcision to which the Judaizers at Philippi would contemptuously compel the Gentile converts. "This circumcision which they vaunt, is in Christ only as the gashings and mutilations of the idolatrous heathen" (Lightfoot in loco). Such play of words (κατατομή, περιτομή) as is here implied is characteristic of St. Paul (see Lightfoot and *Speaker's Comm.* in loco). [F.]

CONCUBINE. פִּילֶגֶשׁ appears to have been included under the general conjugal sense of the word אִשָּׁה, which in its limited sense is rendered "wife." The positions of these two among the early Jews cannot be referred to the standard of our own age and country; that of concubine being less degraded, as that of wife was, especially owing to the sanction of polygamy, less honourable than among ourselves. The natural desire of offspring was, in the Jew, consecrated into a religious hope, which tended to redeem concubinage from the debasement into

which the grosser motives for its adoption might have brought it. The whole question must be viewed from the point which touches the interests of propagation, in virtue of which even a slave concubine who had many children would become a most important person in a family, especially where a wife was barren. Such was the true source of the concubinage of Nahor, Abraham, and Jacob, which indeed, in the two latter cases, lost the nature which it has in our eyes, through the process, analogous to adoption, by which the offspring was regarded as that of the wife herself. From all this it follows that, save in so far as the concubine was generally a slave, the difference between wife and concubine was less marked, owing to the absence of moral stigma, than among us. Keturah, spoken of in Gen. xxv. 1 as a "wife," appears in 1 Ch. i. 32 as a concubine (cp. Gen. xxv. 6). We must therefore beware of regarding as essential to the relation of concubinage, what really pertained to that of bondage.

The concubine's condition was a definite one, and quite independent of the fact of there being another woman or women having the rights of wife towards the same man. The difference probably lay in the absence of the right of the *libellus divortii*, without which the wife could not be repudiated, and in some particulars of treatment and consideration of which we are ignorant; also in her condition and rights on the death of her lord, rather than in the absence of nuptial ceremonies and dowry, which were non-essential; yet it is so probable that these last did *not* pertain to the concubine, that the assertion of the Gemara (Hierosol. *Chetuboth*, v.) to that effect, though controverted, may be received. The doctrine that a concubine also could not be dismissed without a formal divorce is of later origin—not that such dismissals were more frequent, probably, than those of wives—and negatived by the silence of Ex. xxi. and Deut. xxi. regarding it. From this it seems to follow that a concubine could not become a wife to the same man, nor *vice versâ*, unless in the improbable case of a wife divorced returning as a concubine, which, however, seems against the law of Deut. xxiv. 3, 4. With regard to the children of wife and those of concubine, there was no such difference as our illegitimacy implies; the latter were a supplementary family to the former, their names occur in the patriarchal genealogies (Gen. xxii. 24; 1 Ch. i. 32), and their position and provision, save in the case of defect of those former (in which case they might probably succeed to landed estate or other chief heritage), would depend on the father's will (Gen. xxv. 6). The state of concubinage is assumed and provided for by the Law of Moses. A concubine would generally be either (1) a Hebrew girl bought of her father, *i.e.* a slave, which alone the Rabbis regard as a lawful connexion (Maimon. *Halach-Melakim*, iv.), at least for a private person; (2), a Gentile captive taken in war; (3), a foreign slave bought, or (4) a Canaanitish woman, bond or free. The rights of (1) and (2) were protected by law (Ex. xxi. 7; Deut. xxi. 10), but (3) was unrecognised, although enjoying the authority of the precedent of Hagar, and (4) prohibited. Free Hebrew women also might become concubines. So Gideon's concubine seems to have been of a family of rank and influence in Shechem, and such was probably the state of the Levite's concubine (Judg. viii. 29; ix. 1–3; xx.). The ravages of war among the male sex, or the impoverishment of families, might often induce this condition. The case (1) was not a hard lot. The passage in Ex. xxi. is somewhat obscure, and seems to mean, in brief, as follows:—A man who bought a Hebrew girl as concubine for himself might not treat her as a mere Hebrew slave, to be sent "out" (*i.e.* in the seventh year, v. 2), but might, if she displeased him, dismiss her to her father on redemption, *i.e.* repayment probably of a part of what he paid for her. If he had taken her for a concubine for his son, and the son then married another woman, the concubine's position and rights were secured, or, if she were refused these, she became free without redemption. Further, from the provision in the case of such a concubine given by a man to his son, that she should be dealt with "after the manner of daughters," we see that the servile merged in the connubial relation, and that her children must have been free. Yet some degree of contempt attached to the "handmaid's son" (בֶּן־אָמָה), a term applied reproachfully to the son of a concubine merely in Judg. ix. 18; see also Ps. cxvi. 16. The provisions relating to (2) are merciful and considerate to a rare degree, but overlaid by the Rabbis with distorting comments. In *PSBA.* viii. p. 20 sq. is given in French a contract of marriage from a papyrus of the 27th year of King Psammetichus, on which M. Revillout, the translator, remarks:—"Il ne s'agit là que d'un *mariage servile analogue à celui qu'on connait les juifs*, et dont la minute par toutes ses formules rentre plutôt encore dans le titre légal de *l'esclavage* que dans celui de mariage."

In the Books of Samuel and Kings the concubines mentioned belong to the king, and their condition and number cease to be a guide to the general practice. In particular, royal concubines, from Saul's (Rizpah) inclusively, seem to have belonged to the class (4) above, although prohibited [ELIAM, RIZPAH]. A new king stepped into the rights of his predecessor, and by Solomon's time the custom had approximated to that of a Persian harem (2 Sam. xii. 8, xvi. 21; 1 K. ii. 22). To seize on royal concubines for his use was thus an usurper's first act. Such was probably the intent of Abner's act (2 Sam. iii. 7), and the request on behalf of Adonijah was similarly construed (1 K. ji. 21–24). For fuller information Selden's treatises *de Uxore Hebraeâ* and *de Jure Natur. et Gent.* v. 7, 8, and especially that *de Successionibus*, cap. iii., may with some caution (since he leans somewhat easily to rabbinical tradition) be consulted; also the treatises *Sotah*, *Kidushin*, and *Chetuboth* in the Gemara Hierosol., and that entitled *Sanhedrin* in the Gemara Babyl. The essential portions of all these are collected in Ugolini, vol. xxx. *de Uxore Hebraeâ*. [H. H.]

CONDUIT (תְּעָלָה; *ὑδραγωγός; aquaeductus;* a trench or watercourse, from עָלָה, *to ascend*, Gesen. p. 1022).

1. Although no notice is given either in Scripture or by Josephus of any connexion between the pools of Solomon beyond Bethlehem

and a supply of water for Jerusalem, it seems unlikely that so large a work as the pools would be constructed merely for irrigating his gardens (Eccles. ii. 6); and tradition, both oral and as represented by Talmudical writers, ascribes to Solomon the formation of the original aqueduct by which water was brought to Jerusalem (Maundrell, *Early Trav.* p. 458; Hasselquist, *Trav.* p. 146; Lightfoot, *Descr. Templ.* c. xxiii. vol. i. 612; Robinson, i. 265). As originally constructed, this aqueduct consisted of a well-shaped channel of masonry lined with cement on the sides and bottom; and, though much injured and not usually serviceable for water beyond Bethlehem, it still exists and conveys the water from the sources which supply the pools about two miles S. of Bethlehem. It then passes from the pools in a N.E. direction, and, winding round the hill of Bethlehem on the S. side, is carried sometimes above and sometimes below the surface of the ground, partly in earthen pipes and partly in a channel about one foot square of rough stones laid in cement, till it approaches Jerusalem. There it crosses the valley of Hinnom at the S.W. side of the city on a bridge of nine low arches, at a point above the pool called *Birket-es-Sultân;* then returns S.E. and E. along the side of the valley and under the wall, and, continuing its course along the east side and being carried over the causeway and arch called "Wilson's Arch," terminates in the reservoir beneath the Haram enclosure (*Recovery of Jerus.* pp. 23, 24). It was repaired by Sultan Mohammad Ibn-Kalaûn of Egypt about A.D. 1300 (Williams, *Holy City*, ii. 498; Räumer, *Pal.* p. 280; Robinson, i. 265–267, 345, 347, 476, iii. 247).

2. Pontius Pilate, to the great indignation of the Jews, applied the sacred treasure of the Corban to the work of bringing water by an aqueduct from a distance, which in one place Josephus states to have been 400, but in another 200, stadia from Jerusalem. This application of the treasure gave occasion to a serious disturbance (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 3, § 2; *B. J.* ii. 9, § 4). This aqueduct is probably the same as that still existing which takes its beginning in the *Wâdy Arrûb*, and, passing not far from Tekoa, finally delivers its water into the aqueduct of Solomon. Its total length will thus amount to not less than thirty miles, and not differ greatly from a mean between the two distances given by Josephus (*PEFQy. Stat.*, 1875, p. 71; *Recovery of Jerus.* p. 24). Dr. Barclay, however, thought that the aqueduct of Pilate was on the N. side of the city (*City of Great King*, p. 316).

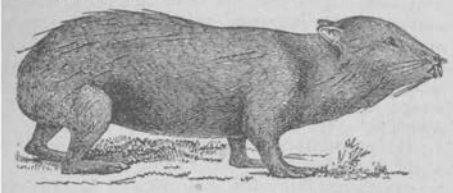
3. Another watercourse derives its supply from a place called the "well of steps," *Bir ed-Durrageé*, in the Wâdy el-Biyar, whence the water is conveyed by a tunnel between three and four miles in length, into which shafts are sunk at intervals from the surface above. Emerging from this tunnel, it follows the side of the hill for about 1800 feet, and is then carried by another tunnel 1700 feet in length, also connected with the ground above by shafts, of which one is 115 feet in depth. Receiving in its course a supply of water from the "sealed fountain," it reaches the Pools of Solomon, the uppermost of which it circumvents, but is then lost, having been probably destroyed by invaders; it reappears at a point above Rachel's tomb, and is carried across the valley by a syphon formed of perforated stone blocks set in rough masonry. Another portion is visible beyond Mar Elyas, near the plain of Rephaim; but though the place at which it entered Jerusalem is not known, it must have been at a point higher than No. 2, and may have been connected with the Tower of Hippicus, and also with the palaces on Mount Zion mentioned by Josephus. It may also have supplied the watercourse of which a portion exists near the Russian Convent, and others of which portions exist within the city. The whole work is one exhibiting in its remaining portions a very high degree of engineering skill (Joseph. *Ant.* xx. §§ 8, 11; *B. J.* ii. 17, § 9, v. 7, § 3; Robinson, iii. 273; Barclay, p. 319; Sir C. Wilson, *Water Supply of Jerus.* pp. 32, 33, 58, 62; *Recovery of Jerus.* pp. 23–52).

4. There is also a very remarkable watercourse conveying water from the so-called Virgin's Pool, *Birket Sitti Maryam*, almost the only natural spring near Jerusalem on the E. side of the city, by a tunnel cut in the rock 1708 feet in length, to the Pool of Siloam. An inscription in Phoenician characters, lately discovered, appears to carry back the construction of this work to a period not later than that of Solomon (*PEFQy. Stat.*, 1881, pp. 141, 154, 155, 157; Robinson, i. 337, 340) or Hezekiah (Driver, *Notes on the Heb. Text of the BB. of Sam.* Introd. pp. xv. xvi.).

5. Among the works of Hezekiah, he is said (1) to have "made a pool and a conduit, and brought water into the city"; (2) to have "stopped the upper watercourse of Gihon, and brought it straight down to the W. side of the city of David" (2 K. xx. 20; 2 Ch. xxxii. 4, 30; see also Is. xxii. 11, and Ecclus. xlviii. 16). It is perhaps this aqueduct of which a large portion was discovered in digging the foundations for the English Church at Jerusalem, running in a direction E. and W. (Robinson, i. 327, 346, iii. 243, 244; *PEFQy. Stat.*, 1875, p. 131). [GIHON; JERUSALEM.] [H. W. P.]

CONEY (שָׁפָן; δασύπους, χοιρογρύλλιος, *v. l.* λαγωόν; *Choerogryllus, hericinaceus, lepusculus*); a gregarious animal of the class Pachydermata, which is found in Palestine, living in the caves and clefts of the rocks, and which has been erroneously identified with the Rabbit or Coney. Its scientific name is *Hyrax syriacus.* The שָׁפָן is mentioned four times in the O. T. In Lev. xi. 5 and in Deut. xiv. 7 it is declared to be unclean, because it chews the cud, but does not divide the hoof. In Ps. civ. 18 we are told "the rocks are a refuge for the conies," and in Prov. xxx. 26 that "the conies are but a feeble folk, yet make they their houses in the rocks." The Hyrax satisfies exactly the expressions in the last two passages; and its being reckoned among the ruminating animals is no difficulty, the hare being also erroneously placed by the sacred writers in the same class, because the action of its jaws resembles that of the ruminating animals. The Arabs call the وبر, שָׁפָן, *wabr;* but among the Southern Arabs we find the term ثفن, *thofun* = *shâphân* (Fresnel in *Asiatic*

Journ. June 1838, p. 514). The Amharic name is *aschkôkô*, under which name the Hyrax is described by Bruce, who also gives a figure of it, and mentions the fact that the Arabs also called it غنم بنى اسرائيل, "sheep of the children of Israel." The derivation of שָׁפָן from the unused root, שָׁפַן, "to hide," chiefly in the earth, is obvious.



Hyrax syriacus. (From a specimen in the British Museum.)

The Hyrax or Coney is one of a group which stands isolated and peculiar among Mammalia. It is neither ruminant nor rodent, but is placed by systematists among the *Ungulata*, near the Rhinoceros; order *Pachydermata*; family *Hyracidæ*. It is a peculiarly African form, and is found throughout the Sinaitic Peninsula generally; it is not uncommon on the hills on both sides of the Dead Sea, and is scarcer throughout the rest of the country, but becomes rare in Galilee. I have seen it near the Ladder of Tyre, and in the gorge of the Leontes, as well as in the rocky wadys near the lake of Galilee. We have no authority for its present existence in Lebanon, though it was formerly recorded from thence, and probably still lingers there. In Galilee it is known by the peasants not as وبر, *wabr*, but as طبسن, *tubsun*, the name they also give to the ichneumon. It is represented by a closely allied species (*Hyrax abyssinicus*) in Abyssinia, and by another rather larger (*Hyrax capensis*) in South Africa. Several varieties of the former species are found in Eastern Africa; but the present species is the only one beyond Africa, nor is it known to extend further into Arabia or Western Asia.

In its timid, cautious habits and defenceless character, referred to in Scripture, it is very like the rabbit, but is scarcely so large. It has a round head, short round ears, and a tail so short that it can scarcely be detected at all. It is marked by a yellow dorsal spot on its otherwise uniformly tawny fur, out of which a few long black hairs stand out all over its body. Its incisor teeth are prominent, chisel-shaped, exactly like those of the hippopotamus. It has no claws, but the four toes of its fore feet and the three of its hind feet are furnished with nails or hoofs, like those of the river monster. Its diet is herbivorous, and it lives exclusively among the rocks in wadys, as Solomon describes it, not generally burrowing, but utilising fissures in the cliffs, where it has its inaccessible home, coming forth to feed only at sunset and dawn. It is not strictly gregarious, but there are generally several in close neighbourhood; and when feeding, a sentry is placed on some commanding outpost, who gives warning of approaching danger by a short squeaking bark, when the company instantly disappear. I have watched the coney in various parts of the country, but very rarely saw it out of its hole during the day, though occasionally I have detected it even at noon, sitting and working its jaws, as though chewing the cud. I have found a nest of dried grass and fur, in which four young were buried like those of a mouse. Though forbidden to the Jews, the coney's flesh is eaten by the Arabs. We found it somewhat like that of the hare, quite dark, but rather dry and hard.

The late Rev. F. W. Holland, the intrepid explorer of the Sinaitic desert, writes: "Though I several times saw single conies in Sinai, I only twice came upon any large number together. Once, when crossing a mountain pass, I was startled by a shrill scream near me, but could see nothing. On my return in the evening, I approached the place cautiously, and saw eight conies out, playing like rabbits. I watched them for some minutes before they saw me. At length one caught sight of me, and immediately uttered its scream, and all at once rushed to their holes. On another occasion I saw about twelve out feeding at a different spot, but on neither occasion did I see any appointed guard. They had runs like rabbits, leading some little distance from their holes." [H. B. T.]

CONFECTION ("after the art of the apothecary"), a compound (Lat. *confectio*) made up by an apothecary (see quotation from Lily's *Euphues* in Lumby's *Glossary of Bibl. Words*, in Eyre and Spottiswoode's *Teachers' Bible*). The word occurs in Ex. xxxv. 35, and is replaced in the R. V. by "perfume (after the art of the perfumer"). [F.]

CONFIRMATION.

I. *The Title*, p. 636.
II. *N. T. Records of Confirmation*, p. 636.
III. *The Gift of Confirmation*, p. 637.
IV. *Subsidiary References to Confirmation–Doctrine*, p. 640.
V. *Subsidiary References to the Administration of Confirmation*, p. 641.
VI. *Literature*, p. 642.

I. *The Title.*—The name Confirmation itself is not found in Holy Scripture, though it is suggested by 2 Cor. i. 21, where the expression ὁ βεβαιῶν ἡμᾶς, "He which stablisheth [or, confirms] us," may perhaps refer to the rite. In early Church literature there are traces of the word with some added qualification, as τὸ μύρον βεβαίωσις τῆς ὁμολογίας (*Apost. Const.* iii. 17); but as an absolute title, without any explanatory clause, it gained general currency somewhat late, and then only in the West. It is, however, a convenient name to use because of its familiarity to English ears, and the Bible itself provides no single word which can take its place.

II. *N. T. Records of Confirmation.*—There are only two express narratives of its actual administration. The first is among the early acts of the Christian Church. "When St. Philip had baptized the converts at Samaria, the Apostles "sent unto them Peter and John: who, when they were come down, prayed for them, that they might receive the Holy Ghost: (for as yet he was fallen upon none of them: only they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus.) Then laid they *their* hands on them, and they

received the Holy Ghost" (Acts viii. 14–17). The second occasion that is related was at Ephesus at a later period. The disciples there, having before received only the imperfect baptism of John, were baptized, under the direction of St. Paul, with the Baptism of the Lord. But, just as at Samaria, there was the need of the further gift of the Spirit. "And when Paul had laid *his* hands upon them, the Holy Ghost came on them" (Acts xix. 1–6).

Four things are clearly to be gathered from these two records.

1. They show that Confirmation is the proper sequel to Baptism, but at the same time something entirely distinct from it. The ministry of the Apostles at Samaria could have nothing to do with remedying defects inherent in Baptism by a Deacon. If St. Philip's Baptisms had not been perfectly valid, the Samaritans would have been baptized again. This they were not. But there was still another and separate gift of the Holy Ghost which they lacked, and this they received "through laying on of the Apostles' hands" (viii. 18). In the other instance no question can be raised as to any possible insufficiency in the Baptisms, since St. Paul was present himself. Therefore the laying on of hands was an additional rite, and not merely the completion of the baptismal ceremony.

2. It may be gathered that the ministration of Confirmation was regarded at first as an apostolic office. Various reasons have been suggested to account for St. Philip's not having performed the rite. The obvious one is that he had not the power. The Apostles might no doubt have bestowed upon others the authority to confirm, but they seem not to have done so. Similarly the administration in later days has usually been confined, directly or indirectly, to the episcopate.

3. The notice that the Apostles at Samaria "prayed *for*" the *people* "that they might receive the Holy Ghost," has sometimes been thought to indicate that prayer is essential to the validity of Confirmation. On another point of ceremonial the testimony is stronger. In both cases mentioned the laying on of hands is spoken of as the external rite which was used. Calvin maintained that this only signified a formal dedication to God for the purpose of receiving the Spirit; and, believing that the Spirit had ceased to come in the primitive manner, he thought the ceremony had grown useless (*Inst.* IV. ch. xix. 6). He was as mistaken about the purpose of the sign as about the cessation of the Holy Spirit's advents. It did not signify a dedication of one person to God by another's instrumentality, but a *gift* from God to man by an ordained administration. "The hands," says Jones, of Nayland, "are the instruments of action and power. If any gift is presented, any assistance offered, or any commission given from one man to another, the hands are the means of communication. The power of the human body is so eminently fixed to the hands, that *hand* and *power* are put for the same thing in the sacred language . . . so that if anything is visibly communicated from God through the ministration of man, no outward sign can express this so properly as the stretching out and laying on of the hands of those persons who act under Him and for Him in a ministerial capacity" (*Essay on Confirmation*). The imposition of hands in Confirmation has been regarded as adopted from our Lord's blessing of children (Matt. xix. 13; Mark x. 13); but the act is too ancient a form of benediction, and too significant in character, to be safely attributed to an isolated precedent. The narratives in the Acts formed the authority upon which the early Church based its adoption of the ceremony, and for a time the usage seems to have been universal. "Do you not know this to be the custom of the Churches," wrote St. Jerome to an adversary, "that after Baptism hands are imposed on the baptized persons, and that the Holy Spirit is invoked upon them? You ask where this is written? In the Acts of the Apostles. Nay, though there was no authority for this in Scripture, the consent of the whole world as to this matter would be a sufficient precept thereof" (*Contra Lucif.* 8).

4. The simple character of the narratives shows that the rite was a familiar one which needed neither apology nor explanation. Hence it may be inferred with certainty that Confirmation was instituted by our Lord Himself. It were incredible that the Apostles should have invented an ordinance, and should have proceeded to administer it as a matter of course, if they had had no warrant from their Master. Calvin himself was constrained to admit this, only rejecting any conclusion as to the permanent meaning or obligation of the rite (*Inst.* IV. ch. xix. 6). It was doubtless one of the "things pertaining to the kingdom of God," concerning which our Lord gave commandment to the Apostles in the interval between the Resurrection and the Ascension.

III. *The Gift of Confirmation.*—The passages in the Acts are explicit that those who were confirmed "received the Holy Ghost." The only questions that arise are in defining exactly what the reception of the Holy Ghost means, and in distinguishing precisely between the gift of the Holy Ghost in Confirmation and in Baptism. These questions must be answered by carefully studying the teaching of Holy Scripture as to the personal bestowal of the Holy Spirit's Presence.

1. Under the Old Covenant there was no pledged gift of the Holy Ghost to individuals. God led the Israelites by the cloud, and the Prophets interpreted this particularly as a leading by the "Spirit" (Is. lxiii. 10–14; Hag. ii. 5). He promised His Presence generally to the Church,—"I will dwell among the children of Israel" (Ex. xxix. 45),—and this was especially fulfilled in the Shechinah of the Temple. But these were gifts to the people in a mass. The outpouring of the Spirit upon separate persons was chiefly restricted to those who, like judges or prophets, were called to special and extraordinary works. Prophecy made it clear that under the Gospel something more was to be looked for. Not only was "the Spirit of the Lord" to rest upon the Messiah for His own office (Is. xi. 2, lxi. 1), but the same Spirit was to be poured upon His servants (xxxii. 15, xliv. 3). The result of His indwelling was to be the very power of resurrection (Ezek. xxxvii. 14). By Joel God said, "I will pour out My Spirit upon all flesh . . . Also upon the servants and upon the handmaids in those days will I

pour out My Spirit," a prophecy which St. Peter declared to be accomplished on the Day of Pentecost (Joel ii. 28, 29; Acts ii. 16–18).

2. The first step towards the fulfilment of these promises was in the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the Manhood of our Lord. After His baptism by St. John the heaven opened, and the Holy Ghost descended in a bodily shape, like a dove, and abode upon Him (Matt. iii. 16; Luke iii. 21, 22; John i. 32). This coming of the Spirit is often taken as if it belonged to the Baptism. However closely connected, the circumstances were evidently distinct. The Baptism was complete, and our Lord had come up out of the water and was in prayer, when the event occurred. Tertullian takes it as a pattern of our Confirmation (*De Bapt.* viii.); and so also do Athanasius (*Cont. Arian.* i. 46) and others of the Fathers (Theoph. *ad loc.*; Hil. can. 4). Optatus goes so far as to speak of the voice of the Father as representing the laying on of hands (*De Schis.* iv. 7). If some appear to connect the descent with the Baptism (*e.g.* Chrys. *In Joan.* Hom. xvii. 2; Jer. *Contra Lucif.*; Aug. *In Joan.* t. vi. 3), it is, generally at least, because Confirmation in their time formed part of the baptismal rite, and the two were spoken of as one.

In consequence of this outpouring of the Holy Spirit, it is said that our Lord was "full of the Holy Ghost" (Luke iv. 1), was "led" or "driven" of the Spirit (Matt. iv. 1; Mark i. 12), and went "in the power of the Spirit" (Luke iv. 14). If it is difficult to comprehend the precise meaning of such expressions as applied to the Incarnate Son of God, it may be remembered that as His Baptism was not for Himself but for us, so also was His Confirmation. St. Augustine, after saying that it is not to be supposed that He was without the Holy Ghost before, adds that "He deigned to prefigure His Body, that is, His Church, in which especially the baptized receive the Holy Spirit" (*De Trin.* xv. xxvi. 46). And so St. Athanasius says, "The Word was not anointed by the Spirit, but our flesh, which He had assumed, was; in order that the unction then received might flow from Him upon all ... Thence did we also begin to receive the unction and the seal" (*Cont. Arian.* i. 46, 47). The descent of the Holy Ghost was, therefore, not only the official consecration or anointing of Christ for the Incarnate ministry (Luke iv. 18), but it was also, for our sakes, the endowing of His Humanity with the peculiar Presence of the Spirit, that through Him it might become the heritage of His people.

3. Our Lord dwelt very emphatically in His last discourses on the promised coming of the Holy Ghost. Its characteristic note corresponded with a point which had attracted the Baptist's attention when the Holy Spirit descended upon Christ after His Baptism. He not only descended, but also abode upon Him (*καταβαῖνον καὶ μένον*, John i. 33). So our Lord says, "I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that He may abide with you for ever" (John xiv. 16). And if, as some critics maintain, ἦ should be read for *μένῃ*, the simpler word "be" gives practically the same sense. It was to be a permanent abiding as distinguished from fitful and transient inspirations. Our Lord proceeded to say of the Spirit, "Ye know Him; for He dwelleth with you, and shall be in you" (*ὅτι παρ' ὑμῖν μένει, καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν ἔσται*, xiv. 17). The Vulgate, without existing authority in Greek MSS., treats both verbs as future (*manebit, erit*), and hence St. Augustine understood the two phrases as equivalent: "He explained what 'He shall dwell with you' meant, when He added the words, 'He shall be in you'" (*In Joan.* t. lxxiv. 5). On the other hand there is considerable support for taking both in the present (*ἐστὶν* for *ἔσται*), but it weighs against this reading that it attributes a kind of Presence of the Spirit to the disciples which other evidence suggests to be reserved for the period after the Session of Christ. The A. V. reading has good MS. authority; and, giving a more intelligible sense, may probably be correct. If so, it affords an indication of the difference between the Holy Spirit's Presence by means of Baptism and by means of Confirmation. Supposing the disciples had already received the Baptism of our Lord [BAPTISM],—however much some of its effects were still in abeyance,—they were in a position between Baptism and Confirmation. What they had then was the personal presence of the Holy Ghost with them, but they were awaiting His individual indwelling. "The Spirit," says Theophylact, paraphrasing the verse, "abides with you; afterwards there shall be something greater, because He shall be in you. For the expression *παρ' ὑμῖν* signifies the external aid which comes from neighbourhood, but the expression *ἐν ὑμῖν* signifies the internal habitation and strengthening." While the reading of the text is doubtful, it would be rash to construct a theory of Confirmation upon it, but at any rate it indicates that the future reception of the Holy Ghost was to have the character of indwelling.

4. The gift of the Holy Ghost was consequent on the completion of Christ's redemptive acts. When our Lord was applying to the Gospel times some of the O. T. Scriptures, it is added, "But this spake He of the Spirit, which they that believe on Him should receive: for the Holy Ghost was not yet *given;* because that Jesus was not yet glorified" (John vii. 39; cp. xvi. 7). Immediately this glorification was accomplished the Holy Ghost came down on the Day of Pentecost and fulfilled completely the old promises of the gift of the Spirit. As the upper room was filled with "a rushing mighty wind," so the Church of Christ which it represented was filled with the indwelling Presence of the Holy Ghost, bringing to it new powers and a new relationship to God. And that which was true of the Church as a body had its counterpart in each individual. The Church was indwelt by the Spirit; so also were its members. As it had been with our Lord after the descent of the Holy Ghost, so according to their capacities was it with His disciples; they were now full of the Holy Ghost. Miraculous as was the character, and vast as was the range of the outpouring, it necessarily contained within it all that could afterwards be given by Confirmation. Some of the Fathers almost identify the two. "The Apostles," says St. Augustine, "laid on hands, and the Holy Ghost came; but when He came to them, who laid hands on them?" (*Serm.* cclxvi. 3). "A hundred and twenty persons were gathered together. No man upon earth laid hands on

them, but the Holy Ghost coming from heaven filled them" (*Cont. Parm.* ii. 34). The laying on of hands may perhaps even have some association with the resting of the visible tongues of fire on the heads of the disciples. The author of the *De Rebaptismate*, in common with many others, saw in this advent of the Spirit the fulfilment of St. John's prophecy of the Baptism "with the Holy Ghost and with fire." There is no reason to confine the Pentecostal gift to the Apostles. "They were all," *i.e.* the hundred and twenty, "with one accord, in one place . . . and it sat upon each of them" (Acts ii. 1, 3). The Apostles might receive special powers for their peculiar work. Possibly the gift of tongues was theirs alone, though there is no indication even of this. The various manifestations of the Spirit's power were but accidental circumstances in different persons. The gift itself was the gift of the Holy Ghost, and this was the common endowment of the Church.

5. It passed rapidly on to others. When St. Peter addressed the converts of the Day of Pentecost and bade them be baptized "for the remission of sins," he added, "And ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost. For the promise is to you and to your children, and to all that are afar off, *even* as many as the Lord our God shall call" (Acts ii. 38, 39). The Baptism for the remission of sins and the gift of the Holy Ghost are two things. The "promise" no doubt refers to both, but very especially to the latter, since it was the promise of the Spirit by Joel that had formed the text of St. Peter's sermon, and the advent of the Spirit that had attracted the wonder of the people. They were now told that when they had been baptized they should themselves receive the gift which they had seen come to others. Whether it was bestowed by the rite of Confirmation, or whether, as perhaps is more likely, it came direct as a continuation of the Pentecostal outpouring, it was something distinct from the grace attributed to Baptism.

If not on this occasion, certainly once the Holy Ghost came, as on the original disciples, without human ritual. It was fitting that the gathering in of the first Gentiles should be marked by the extraordinary manifestations that had attended the Day of Pentecost. Therefore the Spirit descended upon Cornelius and his company without any visible instrumentality (Acts x. 44). St. Peter was there, but not as the administrator of Confirmation. For it was vastly more than Confirmation, though also, as at Pentecost, it must needs have included it. From this point of view it is remarkable that the Holy Ghost fell upon these converts while they were still unbaptized. The peculiar circumstances of the case no doubt account for so strange an inversion of the usual order of grace. But the very singularity of the fact emphasizes the distinction which it implies between the offices of Baptism and Confirmation.

6. Miraculous signs of speaking with tongues accompanied some at least of these first comings of the Holy Ghost, even when administered through the hands of the Apostles in Confirmation (Acts xix. 6). Hence it has been argued that these events are not proper parallels to the Confirmation of later days which can show no similar results. It is maintained by some that the only purpose of the original imposition of hands was to bestow these special powers (see Calvin, *Inst.* IV. ch. xix. 6; Daillé, *De Conf.* I. chs. ix., x.; Lightfoot, *Comm. on Acts*). This contention finds some warrant in early writers. St. Chrysostom, for instance, thought that the Samaritans simply lacked the signs, and that it was to give these that the Apostles laid on hands. But his opinion was inevitably influenced by the fact that, in his own time, imposition of hands had already lost its distinctive place in Confirmation. Holy Scripture itself does not support the view. The object of the apostolic mission to the Christian converts at Samaria is said to have been "that they might receive the Holy Ghost," not that they might prophesy or speak with tongues. These were peculiar manifestations to attest the new grace of the Holy Spirit's advent, but they were not even at first essential accompaniments of it; for St. Paul, appealing to the experiences of the Corinthians, says, "Do all speak with tongues?" (1 Cor. xii. 30). The Fathers in general held that the Apostles' rite was identical with the Confirmation of later days. St. Augustine, contesting the arguments drawn from the cessation of tongues, says that such sensible miracles were "the credentials of a rudimentary faith, and for the extension of the first beginnings of the Church" (*De Bapt.* III. ch. xvi. 21). The need for these ceased. What did not cease was the need for the personal gift of the Holy Ghost. "The ordinary, saving graces of the Spirit," says Charles Leslie, "which work silently, without observation or show, are much preferable and more desirable than the extraordinary gifts of miracles which for a time were necessary at the first propagation of the Gospel" (*Water Baptism*, xi.). "It is true," says Jeremy Taylor, "the gift of tongues doth not remain, but all the greater gifts of the Holy Spirit remain with the Church for ever" (*Discourse on Conf.* ii. 6). These were of permanent importance; the other were temporary proofs of the reality of the Spirit's presence.

7. The conclusion to which the Scriptural evidences lead appears to be that the characteristic grace of Confirmation is the indwelling by the Holy Spirit. Baptism of necessity brings vital relationship with each Person of the Blessed Trinity; and, therefore, one may not restrict the entire method of the Spirit's advent to Confirmation. But there are degrees and measures of union with God. Baptism, for instance, makes a person a member of Christ, and yet there is a different and enhanced measure of union through the reception of His Body and Blood in Holy Communion. So, while there is a true connexion with the Holy Ghost through Baptism, there is another and advanced degree of union through Confirmation. To take Theophylact's phrases, and apply them directly to the difference between the Holy Spirit's operation in Baptism and in Confirmation, the one seems to give "the external aid which comes from neighbourhood;" the other, "internal habitation and strengthening." This definition does adequate justice to the office of the Holy Ghost in both ordinances; it makes a clear connexion, and an equally clear distinction, between the two rites; it gives to Confirmation the importance which it held in

the apostolic system; and it precisely accords with the statement of Holy Scripture that those on whom hands were laid "received the Holy Ghost."

It is often difficult, in patristic literature as well as in the N. T., to disentangle the references to Baptism and Confirmation, because, throughout the whole early period, the two were constantly administered in close conjunction, and usually as portions of the same ceremony. For the most part, however, it may be said that the opinions of the Fathers are in favour of this manner of discriminating between the gifts. Some, when they had occasion to distinguish accurately, were very explicit indeed that the "reception" of the Holy Ghost was not in Baptism but in Confirmation (*e.g.* Tert. *De Bapt.* vi.; Cyp. *Epp.* lxix. 10, lxxii. 1, lxxiii. 6, lxxiv. 7; see at length Mason, *Relation of Confirmation to Baptism*). The teaching of later Western theologians was not so distinct. When Confirmation became severed from Baptism by a great interval of time, the graces which Holy Scripture and the Fathers attributed to the two ordinances together, came naturally to be attributed very much to Baptism alone; and thus there seemed to be left to Confirmation only a general additional gift of spiritual strengthening. The Confirmation grace was then naturally summed up especially in the seven-fold gifts of the Holy Ghost, which represent the fulness of His working within the human soul. Probably this view does not practically differ very materially from the former, since it is only another way of expressing the completeness of the Holy Spirit's Presence and power. But it would seem as though it were more scripturally accurate to regard the strengthening gifts as the result of the Spirit's indwelling, than as themselves covering the whole Confirmation ground. The East, in retaining infant Confirmation, has with it retained the teaching that the personal indwelling Presence of the Holy Spirit is to be distinctly associated with Confirmation (see Macaire, *Théol. Dog.* IV. ch. iii.).

The Scriptural examination, it may be added, gives no opening whatever for the popular subjective idea of Confirmation, which reduces it to little, if anything, more than a renewal of baptismal vows. This notion has simply been derived from a misunderstanding of the modern preface attached to the English Confirmation Service. The original connexion of Confirmation with Baptism, as its complement and immediate sequel, would of itself be sufficient to show that there could in early times have been no place for a renewal of vows which had been taken only a few moments before. But, besides this, Holy Scripture is plain that the essence of Confirmation is not an act of man towards God, but of God towards man. It is a gift which the Bible declares expressly to be the receiving of the Holy Ghost.

IV. *Subsidiary References to Confirmation-Doctrine.*—There are some minor texts in the N. T. which need to be examined, for their bearing on Confirmation, in the light of the passages which speak of it in more unmistakable terms.

1. In our Lord's teaching the first mention of the Holy Spirit's action was to Nicodemus, when He said, "Except a man be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God" (John iii. 5). Some have supposed that this birth of the Spirit is accomplished in Confirmation. St. Cyprian, under the pressure of controversy, interpreted the text as indicating a necessity of being born "of each sacrament;" that is, of both Baptism and Confirmation (*Ep.* lxxii. 1). St. Cyril of Jerusalem also distinguishes between the birth of water and of the Spirit, and associates the latter with an unction administered after Baptism (*Cat.* xxi. 1, 3). Among English divines Jeremy Taylor paraphrases the words thus, "Unless a man be baptized into Christ, and confirmed by the Spirit of Christ," taking the birth of the Spirit to be "a mystery distinct from Baptism" (*Confirmation*, i. 2). The anonymous author of the *De Rebaptismate*, while generally maintaining the same opinion, repudiated the logical deduction that a man could not obtain salvation by Baptism alone (2–6). And, if his view of the text is correct, it seems impossible not to follow him in this minimising of its force. But it must be questioned whether the interpretation can be sustained. The expression ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ Πνεύματος seems to indicate a single action, not two disjointed actions. If they are separated, nothing is apparently left to Baptism but the external rite of water; and the spiritual birth is divided into two parts, possibly taking place at a considerable interval from each other. This destroys the analogy of birth. It would appear, therefore, that a distinction ought to be made between being born of the Spirit and receiving the Spirit, and that the words can, at most, have only an indirect reference to Confirmation.

2. There are some passages in the Epistles which clearly point, in connexion with Baptism, to a second ordinance whereby the Holy Spirit is given, and this must be Confirmation.

In 1 Cor. xii. 13 St. Paul says, "By (ἐν) one Spirit were we *all* baptized into one body ... and were all made to drink ["into," A. V., but εἰς omitted by best MSS.; R. V. "of"] one Spirit." Some take the two clauses as synonymous; but to be baptized by the Spirit and to drink the Spirit are two very different ideas. St. Chrysostom mentions that the second had been interpreted of the Holy Eucharist, an explanation noticed with favour by Cornelius à Lapide, Luther, Calvin, Estius, Wordsworth, and others. "But to me," says St. Chrysostom, "he appears now to speak of that visitation of the Spirit which takes place in us after Baptism and before the mysteries" (*In 1 Cor.* Hom. xxx. 2).

In Tit. iii. 5, 6, St. Paul speaks of "the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost; which He shed on us abundantly through Jesus Christ our Saviour." Many liturgies and commentators take the whole to refer to Baptism, but it would seem that this must be inclusively with Confirmation. Renewal is not a single act like Baptism, but progressive (Rom. xii. 2; 2 Cor. iv. 16) by the Holy Ghost's continued influence.

The typical Baptism of Israel "in the cloud and in the sea" (1 Cor. x. 2) points to a double operation. The sea evidently represents the sacrament of Baptism. The cloud is less appropriate to it. Since its purpose was to guide and protect the people, it was rather the type of

leading by the Holy Ghost (Rom. viii. 14). This would not be confined to Confirmation; but the application of the text being distinctly sacramental, it is reasonable to suppose that St. Paul's allusion is to that rite. The Fathers no doubt often refer the cloud to Baptism, in their comments on the verse, but probably they included Confirmation with it.

A similar distinction is perhaps to be recognised in Heb. vi. 4, where mention is made of enlightening, which early interpretations identified with Baptism, and then of being "made partakers of the Holy Ghost," an expression which corresponds with Confirmation, both in its character and in the place which it holds in the enumeration of the gifts.

3. There are several texts in the Epistles which speak of the indwelling of the Holy Ghost. These must apply very especially to Confirmation if the complete indwelling belongs only to the confirmed. St. Paul calls the Church "an Holy Temple in the Lord: in whom ye also are builded together for an habitation of God through (ἐν) the Spirit" (Ephes. ii. 21, 22). St. Cyprian, in one place, speaks of Baptism as constructing the Temple of God, and of Confirmation as pouring the Spirit upon the Temple (*Ep.* lxxiv. 7). Similar texts are: "Know ye not that ye are the Temple of God, and *that* the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?" "Know ye not that your body is the Temple of the Holy Ghost, *which is* in you, which ye have of God?" (1 Cor. iii. 16, vi. 19). "Ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you. Now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, He is none of his" (Rom. viii. 9: cp. *v.* 11; 2 Tim. i. 14).

4. There are other texts which speak of a special giving of the Holy Ghost in terms suggestive of some ordinance of bestowal. Such are Rom. v. 5; 1 Cor. ii. 12; Gal. iii. 2, 5; Jas. iv. 5; 1 John iii. 24. Although they cannot be restricted to Confirmation, they are useful to illustrate it. In the same way all those texts which refer to the gifts, graces, and strengthening forces of the Holy Ghost relate in part, at least, to Confirmation. When it is realised that Confirmation is the appointed method of conferring the fulness of the Spirit's Presence and power, the Epistles will be found replete with passages which bear more or less directly upon it.

V. *Subsidiary References to the Administration of Confirmation.*—The Epistles afford very few unquestionable references to the actual administration of Confirmation, or to its ritual.

1. Laying on of hands is spoken of in one passage where the chief allusion must be to Confirmation. For in Heb. vi. 1, 2, "the doctrine of Baptisms, and of laying on of hands" (*ἐπιθέσεώς τε χειρῶν*), is mentioned among "the principles of the doctrine of Christ." The close connexion of this "laying on of hands" with "Baptisms," and the fact that it is quoted as a foundation-doctrine, both point to Confirmation. There is a very large consensus of opinion, ancient as well as modern, for so interpreting it. At the same time it may be doubted whether it signifies Confirmation exclusively, seeing how largely imposition of hands was used as a sign of conferring all benedictory graces. An extended meaning in some measure helps the difficulty as to the plural *βαπτισμῶν*, by giving a larger range to the application of the passage. But *ἐπιθέσεως* is in the singular, not like *βαπτισμῶν* in the plural, and therefore seems to refer prominently to some single rite. Considering the close connexion with Baptism, this can only be Confirmation. This being so, it is important to remark that the two ordinances are treated as distinct from each other, but linked together as a single pair of foundation-doctrines.

2. Unction (*χρῖσμα*) is mentioned in the Epistles. St. Paul says, "Now He Which stablisheth us with you in Christ, and hath anointed (*χρίσας*) us, is God" (2 Cor. i. 21). St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, Primasius, Theodoret, St. Anselm, and others, interpret this of Confirmation. Even so cautious a critic as Bishop Westcott applies to Confirmation the texts of St. John: "Ye have an unction (*χρῖσμα*) from the Holy One;" "The anointing which ye received (*τὸ χρῖσμα ὃ ἐλάβετε*) of Him abideth in you" (1 John ii. 20, 27). Dr. Westcott, however, thinks that the ritual use of oil grew out of the expression in the Epistle, and not the expression out of the use. But the language must have been prompted by the symbolic connexion of oil with the Holy Ghost, a connexion founded on O. T. ritual. It is therefore highly probable that the Apostles borrowed the sign as well as the phraseology, and that they themselves employed oil in Confirmation. Hugo of St. Victor and Waldensis, followed by Roman Catholic commentators, assume that the chrism was used at the Samaritan Confirmation, but certainly the Acts give no hint of this. The essential ceremony was then the laying on of hands, and the anointing, when it can first be traced, was a subordinate rite. In itself it is highly significant. It not only expresses symbolically the actual gift of the Spirit, but it also suggests that by Confirmation a person is specially consecrated to the priestly office of a Christian. St. Ambrose likens the Confirmation unction of his day to the unction of consecration in the O. T., and alluding to Ps. cxxxiii. says, "It flows down to Aaron's beard that you may be made a chosen generation, sacerdotal, precious, for we are all anointed with spiritual grace unto the kingdom of God, and unto the priesthood" (*De Myst.* vi. 29, 30). This is a secondary aspect of Confirmation, but one of considerable importance (cp. 1 Pet. ii. 5; Rev. i. 6).

3. The "seal," often with some adjunct, as "of the Lord," or "of the Holy Ghost," became in later days a common title of Confirmation both in East and West. There are three texts which contain the terminology of sealing. St. Paul writes, "In Whom also after that ye believed, ye were sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise" (Ephes. i. 13); and in the same Epistle, "Grieve not the Holy Spirit of God, whereby ye were sealed (*ἐν ᾧ ἐσφραγίσθητε*) unto the day of redemption" (iv. 30). Also, in direct juxtaposition with one of the texts on unction, he says, "Who also sealed us, and gave *us* (*σφραγισάμενος ἡμᾶς καὶ δοὺς*) the earnest of the Spirit in our hearts" (2 Cor. i. 22). Dr. Pusey says, "It is unquestionable that the primary use of the word 'seal,' both among the Fathers and the liturgies, relates

to Baptism." He regards the application of it to Confirmation as an extension of the title, owing to the close connexion of the two rites (*Doct. of Bapt.* p. 153 n., and Note E). Several of the Fathers do, however, apply the term distinctly to Confirmation (Mason, *Relation of Confirmation to Baptism*). It signified the stamping of a person in relationship to God, and was equally applicable to both ordinances. Its particular appropriation to one or the other was a matter of usage. Probably in the Epistles both were included, for both would have been received together by most Christians of those days. It was much later that the expression became specially associated with the act of signing with the chrism. If it has any ritual signification in the N. T., which is doubtful, it must probably allude to the laying on of hands.

4. On the question of the subjects of Confirmation the evidence of the N. T. is only inferential. It may clearly be gathered that the gift holds a position in the spiritual life after Baptism, but in near relation to it. This is shown by the narratives in the Acts, which relate the laying on of hands as the immediate sequel of Baptism, and by the passages in the Epistles which couple Confirmation with Baptism in closely connected phrases. No doubt there are instances of Baptism, even by Apostles, where there is no reference at all to Confirmation, and where therefore it is uncertain whether or no it was conferred on the spot. But it is in favour of supposing that it was rarely postponed, that no exhortation to be confirmed is addressed to anyone in the Epistles. There is also no indication that Confirmation depended on age; and the universal usage of the Church, for some centuries, affords a strong presumption that from the first children were confirmed as the immediate corollary of their Baptism. It is perhaps difficult to know why Western Christendom abandoned the practice. The peculiar grace of Confirmation being a bestowal of the Holy Ghost, there does not seem to be any reason in the nature of things why infants should be incapable of receiving it. No such necessity, however, as that which our Lord attached to Baptism, compelled its early administration, as a Catholic rule. But the Biblical evidence, taken by itself, is certainly on the side of connecting Confirmation as nearly as may be with Baptism.

VI. *Literature.* — Patristic comments are mostly interspersed in the books on Baptism; see Migne's *Pat. Lat.*, Index No. xcvii. Among more special treatises are Cyprian's *Epistles*; Anon., *De Rebaptismate* (Trans. in Clark's Ante-Nic. Lib., *Writings of Cyprian*); Cyril. Hieros. *Catechesis*; Basil, *De Spiritu Sancto.* Later works on Confirmation, from the force of circumstances, usually deal with its ecclesiastical aspects at greater length than the Scriptural evidences. Treatises which minimise its grace are Calvin's *Institutes*, IV. ch. xix. 4–13, and to a less extent Dallaeus (Daillé), *De Confirmatione et Extrema Unctione*, answered by Hammond, *De Confirmatione.* Bellarmin *De Confirmatione* is largely a reply to Protestant essays. See also Trombelli, *Tractatus de Sacramentis*, tom. ix., x.; Macaire (Makary), *Théologie Dogmatique*, trans. from Russian. Among English treatises, Hooker, v. ch. lxvi.; Baxter, *Confirmation*, esp. Prop. 13; Jeremy Taylor's valuable Χρίσις Τελειωτική, *A Discourse of Confirmation*; Jones, of Nayland, *Essay on Confirmation*; Puller, *What is the distinctive grace of Confirmation?*; Grueber, *Rite of Confirmation, a Catechism*; and Mason's *Relation of Confirmation to Baptism.* [W. E.]

CONGREGATION (עֵדָה, קָהָל, from קָהַל, to call = *convocation*; συναγωγή; ἐκκλησία, in Deut. xviii. 16, xxiii. 1; *congregatio, ecclesia, coetus*). This term describes the Hebrew people in its collective capacity under its peculiar aspect as a holy community, held together by religious rather than political bonds. Sometimes it is used in a broad sense as inclusive of foreign settlers (Ex. xii. 19); but, more properly, as exclusively appropriate to the Hebrew element of the population (Num. xv. 15); in each case it expresses the idea of the Roman *civitas* or the Greek πολιτεία. Every circumcised Hebrew (אֶזְרָח; αὐτόχθων; *indigena*; A. V. "born in the land," the term specially descriptive of the Israelite, in opposition to the non-Israelite, Ex. xii. 19; Lev. xvi. 29; Num. ix. 14) was a member of the congregation, and took part in its proceedings, probably from the time that he bore arms. It is important, however, to observe that he acquired no political rights in his individual capacity, but only as a member of a *house*; for the basis of the Hebrew polity was the house, whence was formed in an ascending scale the *family* or collection of houses, the *tribe* or collection of families, and the *congregation* or collection of tribes. Strangers (גֵּרִים) settled in the land, if circumcised, were with certain exceptions (Deut. xxiii. 1 sq.) admitted to the privilege of citizenship, and are spoken of as members of the congregation in its more extended application (Ex. xii. 19; Num. ix. 14, xv. 15). It appears doubtful however whether they were represented in the congregation in its corporate capacity as a deliberative body, as they were not, strictly speaking, members of any house; their position probably resembled that of the πρόξενοι at Athens. The congregation occupied an important position under the Theocracy, as the *comitia* or national parliament, invested with legislative and judicial powers. In this capacity it acted through a system of patriarchal representation, each house, family, and tribe being represented by its head or father. These delegates were named זִקְנֵי הָעֵדָה (πρεσβύτεροι; *seniores*; "elders"); נְשִׂיאֵי עַ׳ (ἄρχοντες; *principes*; "princes"); and sometimes (הָעֵ׳ or) קְרִיאֵי מוֹעֵד (ἐπίκλητοι; *qui vocabantur*, Num. xvi. 2; A. V. "famous in the congregation;" R. V. "called to the assembly"). The number of these representatives being inconveniently large for ordinary business, a further selection was made by Moses of seventy, who formed a species of standing committee (Num. xi. 16). Occasionally indeed the whole body of the people was assembled, the mode of summoning being by the sound of the two silver trumpets, and the place of meeting the door of the Tabernacle, hence usually called the Tabernacle (*i.e.* tent) *of the congregation* (מוֹעֵד, lit. *place of meeting*, Num. x. 3); the occasions of such general assemblies were solemn religious services (Ex. xii. 47; Num. xxv. 6; Joel ii. 15), or to receive new commandments (Ex. xix. 7, 8;

Lev. viii. 4). The elders were summoned by the call of *one* trumpet (Num. x. 4), at the command of the supreme governor or the high priest; they represented the whole congregation on various occasions of public interest (Ex. iii. 16, xii. 21, xvii. 5, xxiv. 1); they acted as a court of judicature in capital offences (Num. xv. 32, xxxv. 12), and were charged with the execution of the sentence (Lev. xxiv. 14; Num. xv. 35); they joined in certain of the sacrifices (Lev. iv. 14, 15); and they exercised the usual rights of sovereignty, such as declaring war, making peace, and concluding treaties (Josh. ix. 15). The people were strictly bound by the acts of their representatives, even in cases where they disapproved of them (Josh. ix. 18). After the occupation of the land of Canaan, the congregation was assembled only on matters of the highest importance. The delegates were summoned by messengers (2 Ch. xxx. 6) to such places as might be appointed, most frequently to Mizpeh (Judg. x. 17, xi. 11, xx. 1; 1 Sam. vii. 5, x. 17; 1 Macc. iii. 46); they came attended each with his band of retainers, so that the number assembled was very considerable (Judg. xx. 2 sq.). On one occasion we hear of the congregation being assembled for judicial purposes (Judg. xx.); on other occasions for religious festivals (2 Ch. xxx. 5, xxxiv. 29); on others for the election of kings, as Saul (1 Sam. x. 17), David (2 Sam. v. 1), Jeroboam (1 K. xii. 20), Joash (2 K. xi. 19), Josiah (2 K. xxi. 24), Jehoahaz (2 K. xxiii. 30), and Uzziah (2 Ch. xxvi. 1). In the later periods of Jewish history the congregation was represented by the Sanhedrin; and the term *συναγώγη*, which in the LXX. is applied exclusively to the congregation itself (for the place of meeting, אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד, is invariably rendered *ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ μαρτυρίου, tabernaculum testimonii*, the word מוֹעֵד being considered = עֵדוּת), was transferred to the places of worship established by the Jews, wherever a certain number of families were collected. [W. L. B.]

The word "congregation" ("in the wilderness") was used as the translation of *ἐκκλησία* (Acts vii. 38) in Tyndale's, Cranmer's, and the Genevan Versions, but the revisers of King James returned to Wycliffe's rendering, and placed "church" in the text (R. V. marg. or, *congregation*). Ecclesia fitly designated Israel *called out* of the heathen world and called together in solemn assembly to receive the Divine Law (see *Speaker's Comm.* on Acts *l. c.*). [F.]

CONI'AH. [JECONIAH.]

CONONI'AH (כּוֹנַנְיָהוּ [*Keri*, ed. Baer], *Jehovah hath established*; B. Χωνενίας [*v.* 13; Χωμενίας, *v.* 12]; A. Χωχενίας; *Chonenias*), a Levite, ruler (נָגִיד) of the offerings and tithes in the time of Hezekiah (2 Ch. xxxi. 12, 13). [CONANIAH.] [W. A. W.] [F.]

CONSECRATION. [PRIEST.]

CONVERSATION (from Lat. *conversor*, "to associate and live with") is never used in the A. V. in the sense in which the word is ordinarily understood to-day, such as "talking together," &c., but expresses *disposition* (Heb. xiii. 5, *ὁ τρόπος*; R. V. marg., *turn* of mind), *citizenship* (Phil. iii. 20, *τὸ πολίτευμα*; so R. V. in text; in marg. or, *commonwealth*), and *manner of life* (Gal. i. 13, *ἡ ἀναστροφή*; so R. V.). Lumby quotes, in illustration of the A. V., a passage from Walton's *Life of Herbert*, "The love of a court conversation drew him often from Cambridge" (*Gloss. of Bible Words*, s. n.). [F.]

CONVOCATION (מִקְרָא, from קָרָא, *vocare*; cp. Num. x. 2; Is. i. 13). This term is applied invariably to meetings of a *religious* character, in contradistinction to *congregation*, in which political and legal matters were occasionally settled. Hence it is connected with קֹדֶשׁ, *holy*, and is applied only to the Sabbath and the great annual Festivals of the Jews (Ex. xii. 16; Lev. xxiii. 2 sq.; Num. xxviii. 18 sq., xxix. 1 sq.). With one exception (Is. i. 13), the word is peculiar to the Pentateuch. The LXX. treats it as an adjective = *κλητός, ἐπίκλητος*; but there can be no doubt that the A. V. and R. V. are correct in their rendering. [W. L. B.]

COOKING. As meat did not form an article of ordinary diet among the Jews, the art of cooking was not carried to any perfection. The difficulty of preserving an animal from putrefaction necessitated its immediate consumption, and hence few were slaughtered except for purposes of hospitality or festivity. The proceedings on such occasions appear to have been as follow:—On the arrival of a guest the animal, either a kid, lamb, or calf, was killed (Gen. xviii. 7; Luke xv. 23), its throat being cut so that the blood might be poured out (Lev. vii. 26); it was then flayed, and was ready either for roasting (צָלָה) or boiling (בָּשַׁל): in the former case the animal was preserved entire (Ex. xii. 46), and roasted either over a fire (Ex. xii. 8) of wood (Is. xliv. 16), or perhaps, as the mention of fire implies another method, in an oven, consisting simply of a hole dug in the earth, well heated, and covered up (Burckhardt, *Notes on Bedouins*, i. 240); the Paschal lamb was roasted by the first of these methods (Ex. xii. 8, 9; 2 Ch. xxxv. 13). Boiling, however, was the more usual method of cooking, both in the case of sacrifices, other than the Paschal lamb (Lev. viii. 31), and for domestic use (Ex. xvi. 23), so much so that בָּשַׁל = *to cook* generally, including even *roasting* (Deut. xvi. 7). In this case the animal was cut up, the right shoulder being first taken off (hence the priest's joint, Lev. vii. 32), and the other joints in succession; the flesh was separated from the bones, and minced, and the bones themselves were broken up (Mic. iii. 3); the whole mass was then thrown into a caldron (Ezek. xxiv. 4, 5) filled with water (Ex. xii. 9), or, as we may infer from Ex. xxiii. 19, occasionally with milk, as is still usual among the Arabs (Burckhardt, *Notes*, i. 63), the prohibition "not to seethe a kid in his mother's milk" having reference apparently to some heathen practice connected with the offering of the first-fruits (Ex. *l. c.*; see a useful summary of opinions on this prohibition in Knobel-Dillmann; xxxiv. 26), which rendered the kid so prepared unclean food (Deut. xiv. 21). The caldron was boiled over a

wood fire (Ezek. xxiv. 10); the scum which rose to the surface was from time to time removed, otherwise the meat would have turned out loathsome (*v.* 6); salt or spices were thrown in to season it (*v.* 10); and when sufficiently boiled, the meat and the broth (מָרָק; ζωμός, LXX.; *jus*, Vulg.) were served up separately (Judg. vi. 19), the broth being used with unleavened bread, and butter (Gen. xviii. 8) as a sauce for dipping morsels of bread into (Burckhardt's *Notes*, i. 63). Sometimes the meat was so highly spiced that its flavour could hardly be distinguished; such dishes were called מַטְעַמִּים (Gen. xxvii. 4; Prov. xxiii. 3). There is a striking similarity in the culinary operations of the Hebrews and Egyptians (Wilkinson's *Anc. Egypt.* i. 174 sq. [smaller

Cooking geese and different joints of meat. (Tomb near the Pyramids.)

ed. 1878]). Vegetables were usually boiled, and served up as pottage (Gen. xxv. 29; 2 K. iv. 38). Fish was also cooked (*ἰχθύος ὀπτοῦ μέρος*; *piscis assi*; Luke xxiv. 42), probably broiled. The cooking was in early times performed by the mistress of the household (Gen. xviii. 6); professional cooks (טַבָּחִים) were afterwards employed (1 Sam. viii. 13, ix. 23). The utensils required were — בִּירִים (*χυτρόποδες*; *chytropodes*), a cooking range, having places for two or more pots, probably of earthenware (Lev. xi. 35); דָּיוֹר (λέβης, *lebes*), a caldron (1 Sam. ii. 14); מַזְלֵג (κρεάγρα; *fuscinula*), a large fork or flesh-hook; סִיר (λέβης; *olla*), a wide open, metal vessel, resembling a fish-kettle, adapted to be used as a wash-pot (Ps. lx. 8), or to eat from (Ex. xvi. 3); קְלָחַת, דּוּד, פָּרוּר, pots probably of earthenware and high, but how differing from each other does not appear; and, lastly, צַלָּחַת, or צְלוֹחִית, dishes (2 K. ii. 20, xxi. 13; Prov. xix. 24, A. V. "bosom," R. V. "dish"). [W. L. B.]

CO'OS (Rec. Text Κῶν; Westcott and Hort, Gebhardt, Κῶ), Acts xxi. 1. [Cos.]

COPPER (נְחֹשֶׁת). This word in the A. V. is always rendered "brass," except in Ezra viii. 27, where "fine copper" is represented in the margin by "yellow or shining brass." But since *brass* is an alloy of copper and *zinc*, and since *zinc* does not seem to have been known to the ancients, *bronze* would be a more accurate rendering in most passages. Beckmann (*Hist. of Inventions*, ii. 33, E. tr.) thinks that the ancient smelters may accidentally have discovered brass from the presence of zinc ore in their materials. If so, its brighter colour and lustre would have made it valuable: see Ezek. i. 4, 7, 27, viii. 2; Rev. i. 15, ii. 18. [See BRASS.] This metal is usually found as pyrites (sulphuret of copper and iron), malachite (carb. of copper), or in the state of oxide, and occasionally in a native state, principally in the New World. It was almost exclusively used by the ancients for common purposes; for which its hard, tough, malleable, elastic and ductile nature rendered it practically available. It is a question whether in the earliest times iron was known (*μέλας δ' οὐκ ἔσκε σίδηρος*, Hes. *Opp. et Dies*, 149; Lucr. v. 1285 sq.). In India, however, its manufacture has been practised from a very ancient date by a process exceedingly simple, and possibly a similar one was employed by the ancient Egyptians (Napier, *Anc. Workers in Metal*, 137). There is no certain mention of iron in the Scriptures; and, from the allusion to בַּרְזֶל as known to Tubal-cain (Gen. iv. 22), some have ventured to doubt whether in that place בַּרְזֶל means iron (Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* ii. 153 [smaller ed., 1878]. Layard, however, shows (*Nineveh*, ii. 415) that iron was known to the ancient Assyrians.

We read in the Bible of copper, possessed in countless abundance (2 Ch. iv. 18), and used for every kind of instrument; as chains (Judg. xvi. 21), pillars (1 K. vii. 15–21), lavers, the great one being called "the copper sea" (2 K. xxv. 13; 1 Ch. xviii. 8), and the other Temple-vessels. These were made in the foundry, with the assistance of Hiram, a semi-Phoenician (1 K. vii. 13), although the Jews were not ignorant of metallurgy (Ezek. xxii. 18; Deut. iv. 20, &c.), and appear to have worked their own mines (Deut. viii. 9; Is. li. 1). In Job xxviii. 2 we read "copper (A. V. and R. V. "brass") is molten out of the stone," or rather "man melteth stone (quartz, spar, &c.) into copper." We read also of copper mirrors (Ex. xxxviii. 8; Job xxxvii. 18), since the metal is sus-

ceptible of brilliant polish (2 Ch. iv. 16); and even of copper arms, as helmets, spears, &c. (1 Sam. xvii. 5, 6, 38; 2 Sam. xxi. 16). The expression "bow of steel" [R. V. "brass"], in Job xx. 24, Ps. xviii. 34, should be rendered "bow of copper," since the term for steel is פְּלֶדֶת (Nah. ii. 3; A.V. *torches*), or בַּרְזֶל מִצָּפוֹן (*northern* iron). They could hardly have applied copper to these purposes without possessing some judicious system of alloys, or perhaps some forgotten secret for rendering the metal harder and more elastic than we can make it.

It has been maintained that the cutting-tools of the Egyptians, with which they worked the granite and porphyry of their monuments, were made of bronze, in which copper was a chief ingredient. They might have been rendered effective by the use of emery, which was known to the ancients. The arguments on this point are found in Wilkinson, ii. 152, &c. [smaller ed. 1878], but they are not conclusive. There seems no reason why the art of making iron and excellent steel, which has been for ages practised in India, may not have been equally known to the Egyptians. The quickness with which iron decomposes will fully account for the non-discovery of any remains of steel or iron implements. For analyses of the bronze tools and articles found in Egypt and Assyria, see Napier, p. 88.

The only place in the A. V. where "copper" is mentioned is Ezra viii. 27, "two vessels of fine copper (R. V. "fine bright brass"), precious as gold" (*cp.* 1 Esd. viii. 57; *σκεύη χαλκοῦ στίλβοντος, διάφορα, ἐπιθυμητὰ ἐν χρυσίῳ; aeris fulgentis;* "vases of *Corinthian* brass," Syr.; "ex orichalco," Jun.), perhaps similar to those of "bright brass" in 1 K. vii. 45; Dan. x. 6. They may have been of orichalcum, like the Persian or Indian vases found among the treasures of Darius (Aristot. *de Mirab. Auscult.*). There were two kinds of this metal: one *natural* (Serv. *ad Aen.* xii. 87), which Pliny (*H. N.* xxxiv. 2, 2) says had long been extinct in his time, but which Chardin alludes to as found in Sumatra under the name Calmbac (Rosenm. *l. c.*); the other *artificial* (identified by some with *ἤλεκτρον*, whence the mistaken spelling *auri*chalcum), which Bochart (*Hieroz.* vi. ch. 16, p. 871 *sq.*) considers to be the Hebrew חַשְׁמַל, a word of uncertain sense, compared by Ebers with the Egyptian *asmal* (Email), and by Fried. Delitzsch with the Assyrian *ĕšmaru* (see MV.[11]. It occurs in Ezek. i. 4, 27, viii. 2; *ἤλεκτρον*, LXX.; *electrum*, Vulg.; A. V. and R. V. [text] "amber," R. V. marg. or, *electrum*; *ἀλλότυπον χρυσίον*, Hesych.; to which Suid. adds, *μεμιγμένον ὑάλῳ καὶ λιθίῳ*). On this substance see Pausan. v. 12; Pliny, xxxiii. 4, § 23. Gesenius considers the *χαλκολίβανον* of Rev. i. 15 to be *χαλκὸς λιπαρὸς* = חַשְׁמַל; he differs from Bochart, and argues that it means merely "smooth or polished brass."

In Jer. vi. 28 the words "they are brass and iron (A. V. and R. V.), they are all corrupters," refer to the comparatively valueless character of the inferior metals.

In Ezek. xxvii. 13 the importation of copper (A. V. and R. V. "brass") vessels to the markets of Tyre by merchants of Javan, Tubal, and Meshech is alluded to. Probably these were the Moschi, &c., who worked the copper-mines in the neighbourhood of Mount Caucasus.

In Ezek. xvi. 36, copper (R. V. marg. Heb. *brass*) is rendered in the A. V. and R. V. (text) by "filthiness," and perhaps, as in Jer. vi. 28, the word is used for what is worthless. The LXX. and the Vulgate, followed by Gesenius, render it "money" (*ἐξέχεας τὸν χαλκόν σου*, LXX.; "effusum est *acs* tuum," Vulg.); but there is no proof that copper money was ever used by the Hebrews.

In 2 Tim. iv. 14 *χαλκεὺς* is rendered "coppersmith," but the term is perfectly general, and is used even for workers in iron (*Od.* ix. 391); *χαλκεύς, πᾶς τεχνίτης, καὶ ὁ ἀργυροκόπος καὶ ὁ χρυσόχοος* (Hesych.).

In the N. T. (Matt. x. 9; Mark xii. 41) *χαλκὸς* is used for money (*χαλκοῦς, τοῦτο ἐπὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀργύρου ἔλεγον*, Hesych.).

The name "copper" is a corruption of "aes *Cyprium*," since the Romans first derived the elementary metal from Cyprus. [F. W. F.]

COPTIC VERSION. [VERSIONS, ANCIENT (EGYPTIAN)].

COR (כֹּר; *κόρος*; *corus*), the largest (about 8¼ bushels) of the dry measures, equivalent to the homer, and perhaps (etymologically) round in shape (1 K. iv. 22 [Hebr. v. 2]; Ezek. xlv. 14; 2 Ch. ii. 9, xxvii. 5). The passage, 1 K. v. 11 [Hebr. v. 25], gives the cor as a fluid—as well as dry—measure; but the text is, according to Thenius, possibly corrupt. [F.]

CORAL (רְאמוֹת, *râmôth*; *μετέωρα*; Symm. *ὑψηλά*; *Ῥαμόθ*; *sericum, excelsa*) occurs as the A. V. and R. V. rendering of the Hebrew *râmôth*, in Job xxviii. 18 only, "No mention shall be made of coral (*ramoth*, margin) or of pearls (R. V. "crystal"), for the price of wisdom is above rubies" (R. V. marg. or, *red coral*; or, *pearls*); and in Ezek. xxvii. 16, where coral is enumerated amongst the wares which Syria brought to the markets of Tyre. The old Versions fail to afford us any clue; the LXX. gives one etymological meaning of the Heb. term "lofty things," *i.e.* "that which grows high," or "like a tree;" the Vulg. in Ezek. (*l. c.*) reads "silk" (conjectures may be seen in Delitzsch and Dillmann *in loco*). "Coral" has decidedly a better claim than any other substances to represent the *râmôth*. The natural upward form of growth of the *Corallium rubrum* is well suited to the etymology of the word. The word rendered "price" in Job xxviii. 18 also denotes "a drawing out;" and there may be a reference to the manner in which coral and pearls were obtained from the sea, either by diving or dredging. At present, Mediterranean corals, which constitute an important article of commerce, are broken off from the rocks to which they adhere by long hooked poles, and thus "drawn out." With regard to the estimation in which coral was held by the Jews and other Orientals, it must be remembered that coral varies in price with us. Fine compact specimens of the best tints may be worth as much as 10*l.* per oz., while inferior ones are perhaps not worth much more than a shilling per lb. Pliny says (*N. H.* xxxii. 2) that the Indians valued coral as the Romans valued pearls. It is possible that the Syrian traders, who, as Jerome remarks (Rosen-

müller, *Schol. in* Ezek. xxvii. 16), would in his day run all over the world "lucri cupiditate," may have visited the Indian seas, and brought home thence rich coral treasures; though they would also readily procure coral either from the Red Sea or the Mediterranean, where it is abundantly found. The coral of the Red Sea and of the Persian Gulf is the finest and most valuable. Coral, as is now well known, is the massive skeleton composed of calcareous particles deposited by myriads of little microscopic polypes or zoophytes, taking various shapes in different species. Millions of these zoophytes unite, and generation after generation deposit their stony cells on the top of their predecessors, till some species have gradually formed vast oceanic islands. Coral, Mr. King informs us, often occurs in ancient Egyptian jewellery as beads and cut into charms. [H. B. T.]

CORBAN (קָרְבָּן; δῶρον; *oblatio;* in N. T. only in Mark vii. 11, κορβᾶν, expl. by δῶρον, and in Vulg. *donum:* used only in Lev. and Num., except in Ezek. xx. 28, xl. 43; in A. V. of O. T. "offering," in R. V. "oblation;" in N. T. [Mark vii. 11] A. V. and R. V. "Corban," *i.e.* "a *gift*" [A. V.], "given *to God*" [R. V.]), an offering to God of any sort, bloody or bloodless, but particularly in fulfilment of a vow. The Law laid down rules for vows, (1) affirmative; (2) negative. By the former, persons, animals, and property might be devoted to God; but, with certain limitations, they were redeemable by money payments. By the latter, persons interdicted themselves, or were interdicted by their parents, from the use of certain things lawful in themselves, as wine, either for a limited or an unlimited period (Lev. xxvii.; Num. xxx.; Judg. xiii. 7; Jer. xxxv.; Joseph. *Ant.* iv. 4, § 4; *B. J.* ii. 15, § 1; Acts xviii. 18, xxi. 23, 24). Upon these rules the traditionists enlarged, and laid down that a man might interdict himself by vow, not only from using for himself, but from giving to another, or receiving from him some particular object whether of food or any other kind whatsoever. The thing thus interdicted was considered as Corban, and the form of interdiction was virtually to this effect:—"I forbid myself to touch or be concerned in any way with the thing forbidden, as if it were devoted by Law;" *i.e.* "let it be Corban." To a certain extent the principle enunciated here was legitimate, and Levy (*Chald. Wörterb. üb. d. Targumim*, s.v. קוּרְבָּן) points out that Lightfoot's strictures (*Hor. Heb.* on Matt. xv. 5) must be received with caution. Nevertheless a person might, by abuse of this principle, exempt himself from assisting or receiving assistance from some particular person or persons, as parents in distress, and in short from any inconvenient obligation. It was with gross abuses of this sort that our Lord found fault (Matt. xv. 5; Mark vii. 11), as annulling the spirit of the Law.

Theophrastus, quoted by Josephus, speaking of foreign oaths, as forbidden by the laws of Tyre, gives Corban as a special instance of this kind; and thus, as Josephus remarks, implies, though he does not point out expressly, the Jewish origin of the word. Josephus calls the treasury in which offerings for the Temple or its services were deposited, κορβανᾶς, as in Matt. xxvii. 6. It was by an act of confiscation of the treasure thus deposited, κορβανᾶς, and applying it to the construction of an aqueduct, that Pilate provoked the indignation of the Jews, and gave occasion to a serious disturbance. Origen, on St. Matthew, quoted by Calmet, says that he had been informed by a Jew, that in order to lay greater pressure on debtors of whom they were suspicious, creditors sometimes transferred, as it were, their debts to the sacred treasury, or to the service of the poor, thus making these objects creditors instead of themselves (but probably, we may add, taking off the Corban thus created against offerings of their own); and further, that some persons excused themselves by a *similar* expedient from contributing to the support of their parents (Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 9, § 4; *Ap.* i. 22; Mishna, Surenhus. *de Votis*, i. 4, ii. 2; Calmet and Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* on Matt. xv. 6; Cappellus, who has a long dissertation on the subject, very full of information, in his note, and Grotius, both of these in *Crit. Sacr.* vol. vi.; Selden, *de Jur. Nat.* vii. 2; Otho, *Lex. Rabb.* p. 673). [ALMS; VOWS; OFFERINGS.] [H. W. P.]

COR'BE (Χορβέ; *Chorbe*), 1 Esd. v. 12. This name apparently takes the place of ZACCAI in the lists of Ezra (ii. 8) and Nehemiah (vii. 14). See *Speaker's Comm.* in loco. [F.]

CORD (עֲבֹת, מֵיתָר, יֶתֶר, חֶבֶל). Of the various purposes to which cord, including under that term rope and twisted thongs, was applied, the following are specially worthy of notice. (1.) For fastening a tent, in which sense מֵיתָר is more particularly used (*e.g.* Ex. xxxv. 18, xxxix. 40; Is. liv. 2). As the tent supplied a favourite image of the human body, the cords which held it in its place represented the principle of life (Job iv. 21 [R. V.], "Is not their tent-cord [A. V. and R. V. marg. "excellency"] plucked up?"; Eccles. xii. 6). (2.) For leading or binding animals, as a halter or rein (Ps. cxviii. 27; Hos. xi. 4), whence to "loosen the cord" (Job xxx. 11) = to free from authority. (3.) For yoking them either to a cart (Is. v. 18) or a plough (Job xxxix. 10). (4.) For binding prisoners, more particularly עֲבֹת (Judg. xv. 13; Ps. ii. 3, cxxix. 4; Ezek. iii. 25), whence the metaphorical expression "bands of love" (Hos. xi. 4). (5.) For bow-strings (Ps. xi. 2) made of catgut: such as are spoken of in Judg. xvi. 7 (יְתָרִים לֵחִים, A. V. and R. V. text "green withs;" *νευραὶ ὑγραί*, but more properly [R. V. marg.] *new* [or moist] *bow-strings*). (6.) For the ropes or "tacklings" of a vessel (Is. xxxiii. 23). (7.) For measuring ground, the full expression being חֶבֶל מִדָּה (2 Sam. viii. 2; Ps. lxxviii. 55; Amos vii. 17; Zech. ii. 1): hence to "cast a cord" = to assign a property (Mic. ii. 5), and cord or line became an expression for an inheritance (Josh. xvii. 14, xix. 9; Ps. xvi. 6; Ezek. xlvii. 13), and even for any defined district (*e.g.* the line, or "region," of Argob, Deut. iii. 4). [CHEBEL.] (8.) For fishing and snaring [FISHING, FOWLING, HUNTING]. (9.) For attaching articles of dress; as the *wreathen chains* (עֲבֹת), which were rather twisted cords, worn by the high-priests (Ex. xxviii. 14, 22, 24; xxxix. 15, 17). (10.) For fastening awnings (Esth. i. 6).

(11.) For attaching to a plummet. The line and plummet are emblematic of a regular rule (2 K. xxi. 13; Is. xxviii. 17); hence to destroy by line and plummet (Is. xxxiv. 11; Lam. ii. 8; Amos vii. 7) has been understood as = regular, systematic destruction (*ad normam et libellam*, Gesen. *Thesaur.* p. 125). It may however be referred to the carpenter's level, which can only be used on a flat surface (cp. Thenius, *Comm.* in 2 K. xxi. 13). (12.) For drawing water out of a well, or raising heavy weights (Josh. ii. 15; Jer. xxxviii. 6, 13). To place a rope on the head (1 K. xx. 31) in place of the ordinary head-dress was a sign of abject submission. The materials of which cord was made varied according to the strength required; the strongest rope was probably made of strips of camel hide as still used by the Bedouins for drawing water (Burckhardt's *Notes*, i. 46). The Egyptians twisted these strips together into thongs for sandals and other purposes (see the illustrations in Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* ii. 331 [smaller ed. 1878]). The finer sorts were made of flax (Is. xix. 9). The fibre of the date-palm was also used (Wilkinson, i. 56); and probably reed and rushes of various kinds, as implied in the origin of the word σχοινίον (Plin. xix. 9), which is generally used by the LXX. as = חֶבֶל, and more particularly in the word אַגְמוֹן (Job xli. 2), which primarily means a reed; in the Talmud (*Erubhin*, fol. 58) bulrushes, osier, and flax are enumerated as the materials of which rope was made; in the Mishna (*Sotah*, i. § 6) the חבל מצרי is explained as *funis vimineus seu salignus*. In the N. T. the term σχοινία is applied to the whip which our Saviour made (John ii. 15), and to the ropes of a ship (Acts xxvii. 32). Alford understands it in the former passage of the rushes on which the cattle were littered; but the ordinary rendering *cords* seems more consistent with the use of the term elsewhere. [W. L. B.]

CORE (Κορέ, N. T. ὁ Κ.; *Core*), Ecclus. xlv. 18; Jude 11. [KORAH, 1.]

CORIANDER (גַּד; κόριον; *coriandrum*). The plant called *Coriandrum sativum* is found in Egypt, Persia, and India (Plin. xx. 82), and has a round tall stalk; it bears umbelliferous white or reddish flowers, from which arise globular, greyish, spicy seed-corns, marked with fine striae. It is much cultivated in the south of Europe, as its seeds are used by confectioners and druggists. The Carthaginians called it γολδ = גַּד (Dioscorid. iii. 64). The etymology is uncertain, though it is not impossible that the striated appearance of the seed-vessels may have suggested a name derived from גָּדַד, *to cut* (Ges.). It is mentioned twice in the Bible (Ex. xvi. 31; Num. xi. 7). In both passages the manna is likened to coriander-seed as to form, and in the former passage as to colour also. [W. D.] [H. B. T.]

CORINTH (Κόρινθος; *Corinthus*). This city is alike remarkable for its distinctive geographical position, its eminence in Greek and Roman history, and its close connexion with the early spread of Christianity.

Geographically its situation was so marked, that the name of its *Isthmus* has been given to every narrow neck of land between two seas. It was called "the bridge of the sea" (Pind. *Nem.* vi. 44 = 67, *Isthm.* iv. 20 = 35), and "the gate of the Peloponnesus" (Xen. *Ages.* 2). No invading army could enter the Morea by land except by this way, and without forcing some of the defences which have been raised from one sea to the other at various intervals between the great Persian war and the struggles of the Turks with the Venetians, or with the modern Greeks during the war of Independence.

But, besides this, the site of Corinth is distinguished by another conspicuous physical feature—viz. the *Acrocorinthus*, a vast citadel of rock, which rises abruptly to the height of 1886 feet above the level of the sea, and the summit of which is so extensive that it once contained a whole town. The view from this eminence is one of the most celebrated in the world. Besides the mountains of the Morea, it embraces those on the northern shore of the Corinthian gulf, with the snowy heights of Parnassus conspicuous above the rest. To the east is the Saronic gulf, with its islands, and the hills round Athens, the Acropolis itself being distinctly visible at a distance of 45 miles. Immediately below the Acrocorinthus, to the north, was the city of Corinth, on a table-land descending in terraces to the low plain, which lies between Cenchreae, the harbour on the Saronic, and Lechaeum, the harbour on the Corinthian gulf.

The situation of Corinth, and the possession of these eastern and western harbours, are the secrets of her history. The earliest impulse to her progress was probably given by the Phoenicians. But at the most remote period of which we have any sure record we find the Greeks established here in a position of wealth (Hom. *Il.* ii. 570; Pind. *Ol.* xiii. 4) and military strength (Thucyd. i. 13). Some of the earliest efforts of Greek ship-building are connected with Corinth; and her colonies to the westward were among the first and most flourishing sent out from Greece. So too in the latest passages of Greek history, in the struggles with Macedonia and Rome, Corinth held a conspicuous place. After the battle of Chaeronea (B.C. 338) the Macedonian kings placed a garrison on the Acrocorinthus. After the battle of Cynoscephalae (B.C. 197) it was occupied by a Roman garrison. Corinth, however, was constituted the head of the Achaean league. Here the Roman ambassadors were maltreated; and the consequence was the utter ruin and destruction of the city (B.C. 146).

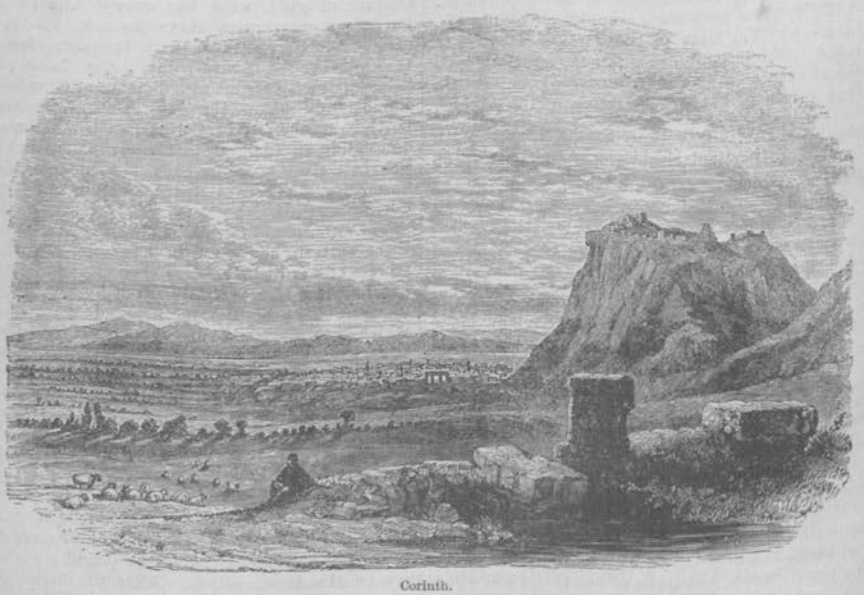
It is not the true Greek Corinth with which we have to do in the life of St. Paul, but the Corinth which was rebuilt and established as a Roman colony. The distinction between the two must be carefully remembered. A period of a hundred years intervened, during which the place was almost utterly desolate. The merchants of the Isthmus retired to Delos. The presidency of the Isthmian games was given to the people of Sicyon. Corinth seemed blotted from the map; till Julius Caesar, in B.C. 46, refounded the city, which thenceforth was called *Colonia Laus Julia Corinthus*. The new city was hardly less distinguished than the old, and it acquired a fresh importance as the metropolis of the Roman province of ACHAIA. We find

GALLIO, brother of the philosopher Seneca, exercising the functions of proconsul here (Achaia was a senatorial province) during St. Paul's first residence at Corinth, in the reign of Claudius.

This residence continued for a year and six months, and the circumstances which occurred during the course of it are related at some length (Acts xviii. 1–18). St. Paul had recently passed through Macedonia. He came to Corinth from Athens; shortly after his arrival Silas and Timotheus came from Macedonia and rejoined him; and about this time the two epistles to the Thessalonians were written (probably A.D. 52 or 53). It was at Corinth that the Apostle first became acquainted with Aquila and Priscilla; and shortly after his departure Apollos came to this city from Ephesus (Acts xviii. 27).

Corinth was a place of great mental activity, as well as of commercial and manufacturing enterprise. Its wealth was so celebrated as to be proverbial; so were the vice and profligacy of its inhabitants. The worship of Venus here was attended with shameful licentiousness. All these points are indirectly illustrated by passages in the two Epistles to the Corinthians, which were written (probably A.D. 57) the first from Ephesus, the second from Macedonia, shortly before the second visit to Corinth, which is briefly stated (Acts xx. 3) to have lasted three months. During this visit (probably A.D. 58) the Epistle to the Romans was written. From the three Epistles last mentioned, compared with Acts xxiv. 17, we gather that St. Paul was much occupied at this time with a collection for the poor Christians at Jerusalem.

There are good reasons for believing that when St. Paul was at Ephesus (A.D. 57) he wrote to the Corinthians an epistle which has not been preserved (see below, p. 654, *c*); and it is almost certain that about the same time a short visit was paid to Corinth, of which no account is given in the Acts.



Corinth.

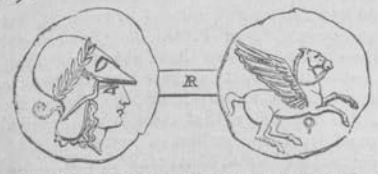
It has been well observed that the great number of Latin names of persons mentioned in the Epistle to the Romans is in harmony with what we know of the colonial origin of a large part of the population of Corinth. From Acts xviii. we may conclude that there were many Jewish converts in the Corinthian Church, though it would appear (1 Cor. xii. 2) that the Gentiles predominated. On the other hand, it is evident from the whole tenor of both Epistles that the Judaising element was very strong at Corinth. Party-spirit also was extremely prevalent, the names of Paul, Peter, and Apollos being used as the watchwords of restless factions. Among the eminent Christians who lived at Corinth were Stephanus (1 Cor. i. 16; xvi. 15, 17), Crispus (Acts xviii. 8; 1 Cor. i. 14), Caius (Rom. xvi. 23; 1 Cor. i. 14), and Erastus (Rom. xvi. 23; 2 Tim. iv. 20). The epistles of Clement to the Corinthians are among the most interesting of the post-apostolic writings.

According to Dion Chrysostom, who died about 117 A.D., Corinth was in his time the most important place in Greece; he also states that it possessed a public library (*Or.* xxxvii. 36, quoted in Bursian's *Geographie von Griechenland*, ii. 14). Another rhetorician, Aristides, who was born in the year of Dion's death, celebrates the fame of Corinth in his oration in praise of Poseidon (*Or.* iii. pp. 36–42, ed. Dindorf). Part of the passage is translated as follows in Stanley's Introduction to St. Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians, p. 6: "At Corinth, you would learn and hear even from inanimate objects; so great are the treasures of literature in every direction, wherever you do but glance, both in the streets themselves and in the colonnades; not to speak of the gymnasia and schools, and the general spirit of instruction and inquiry."

Corinth is still an episcopal see. The cathedral church of St. Nicolas, "a very mean place

for such an ecclesiastical dignity," used in Turkish times to be on the Acrocorinthus. The city has now shrunk to a wretched village, on the old site, and bearing the old name, which, however, is often corrupted into *Gortho*.

Pausanias, in describing the antiquities of Corinth as they existed in his day, distinguishes clearly between those which belonged to the old Greek city and those which were of Roman origin. Two relics of Roman work are still to be seen,—one a heap of brick-work which may have been part of the baths erected by Hadrian, the other the remains of an amphitheatre with subterranean arrangements for gladiators. Far more interesting are the ruins of the ancient Greek temple,—the "old columns, which have looked down on the rise, the prosperity, and the desolation of two [in fact, three] successive Corinths." At the time of Wheler's visit in 1676 twelve columns were standing: before 1795 they were reduced to seven; and further injury was inflicted by an earthquake in 1858. Next to the Heraeum at Olympia, this is the oldest Doric temple in Greece. In 1886 the whole plan of the temple was laid open by Dr. Dörpfeld, and found to have been built upon foundation lines cut in the rock. It is a double temple, with entrances and pronai both east and west (*Mittheilungen*, 1886, quoted, with plan, by Penrose in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, viii. 274).



Silver Stater of Corinth (of the fine style of B.C. 400-338).

Obv., Head of Pallas, to right, wearing helmet bound with olive, and with "bearded serpent" beneath. Rev., Pegasus bridled, to right; below ♀. (*British Museum Catalogue of Coins of Corinth*, pl. iii. 13, 1889).

The fountain of Peirene, "full of sweet and clear water," as it is described by Strabo (viii. 21), is still to be seen on the Acrocorinthus, as well as the fountains in the lower city, of which it was supposed by him and Pausanias to be the source. The walls on the Acrocorinthus were in part erected by the Venetians, who held Corinth for twenty-five years in the 17th century. This city and its neighbourhood have been described by many travellers, but we must especially refer to Leake's *Morea*, iii. 229–304 (London, 1830), and his *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 392 (London, 1846); Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, ii. p. 514 (Gotha, 1851 – 1852); Clark, *Peloponnesus*, pp. 42–61 (London, 1858). There are four German monographs on the subject: Wilckens, *Rerum Corinthiacarum specimen ad illustrationem utriusque Epistolae Paulinae*, Bremen, 1747; Walch, *Antiquitates Corinthiacae*, Jena, 1761; Wagner, *Rerum Corinthiacarum specimen*, Darmstadt, 1824; Barth, *Corinthiorum Commercii et Mercaturae Historiae particula*, Berlin, 1844.

This article would be incomplete without some notice of the Posidonium, or sanctuary of Neptune, the scene of the Isthmian games, from which St. Paul borrows some of his most striking imagery in 1 Cor. and other epistles. This sanctuary was a short distance to the N.E. of Corinth, at the narrowest part of the Isthmus, near the harbour of Schoenus (now *Kalamáki*) on the Saronic gulf. The wall of the enclosure can still be traced. It is of an irregular shape, determined by the form of a natural platform at the edge of a ravine. The fortifications of the Isthmus followed this ravine and abutted at the east upon the enclosure of the sanctuary, which thus served a military as well as a religious purpose. The exact site of the temple is doubtful, and the objects of interest, which Pausanias describes as seen by him within the enclosure, have vanished: but to the south are the remains of the stadium, where the foot-races were run (1 Cor. ix. 24); to the east are those of the theatre, which was probably the scene of the pugilistic contests (*v.* 26); and abundant on the shore are the small green pine-trees (πεύκαι) which gave the fading wreath (*v.* 25) to the victors in the games. An inscription found here in 1676 (now removed to Verona) affords a valuable illustration of the interest taken in these games in Roman times (Boeckh, No. 1104). The French map of the Morea does not include the Isthmus; so that, till 1858, Col. Leake's sketch (reproduced by Curtius) was the only trustworthy representation of the scene of the Isthmian games. But the ground was more minutely examined by Mr. Clark, who in that year gave us a more exact plan. The sacred enclosure has recently become better known, owing to the excavations of the French School. In the immediate neighbourhood of this sanctuary are the traces of the canal, which was begun and discontinued by Nero shortly after the time of St. Paul's first visit to Corinth (*Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geog.*, art. "Corinthus").

His first visit was towards the close of the reign of Claudius; his second, near the beginning of that of Nero. The coins of Corinth under Claudius (A.D. 41–54) include one representing a hexastyle temple on the Acrocorinthus, probably that of Aphrodite mentioned by Pausanias, ii. 5, 1 (*British Museum Catalogue of Coins of Corinth*, plate xvii. 2). One of those under Nero (A.D. 54–68) represents the head of Aphrodite over a galley inscribed with the name of the Corinthian port of Cenchreae, where there was also a temple of that goddess (Pausanias, ii. 2, 3; *Coins of Corinth*, plate xvii. 13); while another of the same reign shows a wreath of parsley surrounding the word ISTHMIA (*ib.* p. 70). The Isthmian games are also commemorated on Roman coins bearing two wrestlers or boxers, an unarmed runner, or a standing athlete holding a palm branch; and a building meant either for a stadium or a hippodrome (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vi. p. 64: "Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias," by Messrs. Imhoof-

Copper Coin of Corinth under Claudius.

Obv. Head of Claudius, to right, with crown of laurel. TI. CLAVD. CAESAR. AVG. P. P. Rev., Hexastyle temple on Acrocorinthus. OCTAVIO LVSCINO COR. In field, TER IIVIR (*iterum duumvir.*)

Blumer and Percy Gardner). In the article just quoted, pp. 59–77 are devoted to the coins of Corinth, and it is observed on p. 59 that "the Roman colonists, entering on a wealth of Greek art and legend, adopted both with enthusiasm, and were very proud of both. There is no other Greek city whereof the coins give us so extensive information on the subject of temples and statues, legends and cults."

[J. S. H.] [J. E. S.]

CORINTHIANS, FIRST EPISTLE TO THE, occupies a position in the N. T. which is unique. It is the first chapter in Ecclesiastical History. Being earlier in date than the Acts and than any Book in the N. T. excepting 1 and 2 Thess., and being more varied in its contents than any other Epistle, it gives us *the first and fullest information that we possess as to the institutions, practices, and ideas of the Church in the apostolic age.* And as the authenticity of the Epistle is impregnable and all but unassailed (see below), the value of the information cannot be overrated. In modern phraseology we may say that this First Epistle consists of a series of *Tracts for the Times* written by a master-hand, while the Second is the *Apologia pro vitâ suâ* of the writer himself. In both Epistles the Apostle appears as the great "director of consciences," indicating the principles of spiritual pathology for all time.

In the following departments we find Church History beginning for us in the First Epistle. (1) In xv. 3, 4 the first germ of a formulated *Creed*, which, brief as it is, twice insists on the harmony between Christ's work of redemption and the Scriptures;—*κατὰ τὰς γραφάς*, as inserted into the Nicene Creed at Constantinople. (2) In xii. 4–27 the first apostolic exposition of the *Unity of the Church.* (3) In i. 13–17 the earliest notice of *Christian Baptism* as the mode of admission into the Church and (by implication) as being in the Divine Name. (4) In xi. 23–34 the first written account of the institution of the *Eucharist* and the earliest directions respecting it. In x. 15–22 the apostolic exposition of its significance, in which, as in the *Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων* (ix.), the Cup precedes the Bread. (5) In xiv. much information about *Public Worship* in its various elements of prayer (14, 15), praise (15, 26), thanksgiving with the general "Amen" (16, 17), preaching and prophesying (24–33, 39). See also xi. 4, 5, 13, 17–20. (6) In xii. 28, 29 the earliest sketch of the *Christian Ministry*, where, as in Ephes. iv. 11 and the *Διδαχὴ* xi.–xv., the difference between itinerant "apostles" and "prophets" and resident "teachers" appears. In the *Διδαχὴ* we have also "Bishops" and "Deacons," but "Bishops" are not yet distinct from "presbyters." (7) In xvi. 2 the earliest notice of the *Observance of Sunday.* (8) In xvi. 20 one of the two earliest notices (1 Thess. v. 26: cp. 2 Cor. xiii. 12; Rom. xvi. 16) of the *Holy Kiss*, which still survives in the liturgies of Oriental churches. (9) In xv. 12–34 the first Christian argument for a *Future State*, preceded (xv. 4–7) by the earliest narrative of the *Resurrection of Christ*, and followed (xv. 35–58) by the earliest Christian description of "the life of the world to come." (10) In v. 3–5 the first form of *Excommunication.* (11) In i. 10–iv. 20 the earliest account of *Ecclesiastical Parties*, in which *σχίσμα* for the first time appears in a moral sense, but of a faction inside the Church, not of a separation from it. (12) In vi. 2–5 apostolic sanction for the first time given to *Christian Courts of Law.* (13) In iii. 1, 2 the principle of *Economy* or *Reserve* in teaching for the first time stated. (14) The Epistle as a whole lays the foundations of *Christian Casuistry*, by which small details and apparently conflicting duties are judged upon great and comprehensive principles.

I. The AUTHENTICITY of the four great Epistles of St. Paul—1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, and Romans — is more certain than that of any ancient writing. The criticism which assails it stultifies itself. Bruno Bauer in his *Kritik d. Paulinischen Briefe* (Berlin, 1850) was until lately almost alone in questioning it. But he has now been followed by the Dutch writer A. D. Loman both elsewhere and in his *Quaestiones Paulinae;* and a statement of the main evidence is rendered necessary. These Epistles are the front bulwarks of the faith, and their strength should be widely known. Even if the rest of the N. T. could be shown to be forgeries of the 2nd century, the evidence for the Crucifixion and Resurrection of Christ, and for miracles, would still remain ample in these four letters, written by one who was himself converted by the evidence, and addressed to those who had full opportunity of exposing it, had it been false. Even F. C. Baur asserts that "there has never been the slightest suspicion as to authenticity cast on these four Epistles; and they bear so incontestably the character of Pauline originality, that there is no conceivable ground for the assertion of critical doubts in their case" (*Paulus*, Stuttg. 1845, t. ii. *Einleit.*; Eng. tr. i. p. 246).

The *External Evidence for* 1 *Cor.* begins with the earliest Christian literature outside the N. T. Clement of Rome (*c.* A.D. 95) writes: "Take up the Epistle of the blessed Paul the Apostle. What wrote he first unto you in the beginning of the Gospel? Of a truth he charged you in the Spirit concerning himself and Cephas and Apollos, because that even then ye had made parties" (xlvii.),—earliest instance of the N. T. writer being quoted by name (cp. 2 Pet. iii. 15) and of the special use of "blessed" (cp. Rev. xiv. 13). If 1 Cor. was publicly read at Corinth, in spite of its strong condemnation of the Corinthians, they must have been convinced of its authority. Cp. xlviii. *sub fin.* with 1 Cor. x. 24, xxxviii. with 1 Cor. xii. 12–27, xlix. with 1 Cor. xiii., xxiv. with 1 Cor. xv., and the quotation in xxxiv. with that in 1 Cor. ii. 9. In the *Διδαχὴ τ. δώδεκα ἀποστ.* (A.D. 90–130) cp. iii. *sub fin.* with 1 Cor. xii. 6, 10, and ix. with 1 Cor. x. 16, xi. 27; also x. with 1 Cor. xvi. 22, and xvi. with 1 Cor. xv. 52. Ignatius (*c.* A.D. 112) in *Eph.* xviii. has echoes of 1 Cor. i. 18, 23, 24, and a rough citation from i. 20, and in *Rom.* v. an almost exact citation from 1 Cor. iv. 4. Cp. *Eph.* ii. *sub fin.* with 1 Cor. i. 10, which the interpolator of Ignatius inserts more fully. Polycarp (*c.* A.D. 95–155) in *Phil.* xi. quotes half 1 Cor. vi. 2 as *καθὼς Παῦλος διδάσκει*, and in ch. v. abbreviates 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10. Cp. ch. ii. with 1 Cor. vi. 14. Justin Martyr (*c.* A.D. 147) in *Trypho* xxxv. quotes from

1 Cor. xi. 19. Athenagoras (*c.* A.D. 177) in *de Res. Mort.* xviii. quotes part of 1 Cor. xv. 55 as *κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον*. Irenaeus (A.D. 140–202) quotes it upwards of 60 times, frequently naming St. Paul and sometimes the Corinthians. Where the allusion is quoted as from an "Elder" the evidence may be dated as A.D. 140 or earlier. These Elders were "disciples of the Apostles." *Haer.* IV. xxvii. 3 is the earliest passage in which the Epistle is named; in *ad Corinthios*, 12 verses of 1 Cor. x. are quoted (see Werner, *Der Paulinismus des Irenaeus*, Leipzig, 1889). Clement of Alexandria (fl. 180–211) quotes it nearly 150 times, sometimes by name, as *ἐν τῇ προτερᾷ πρὸς Κορ. ἐπιστ.* (*Paed.* i. 42). Tertullian (fl. 195–210) quotes it 400 or 500 times, and sometimes names it, as *Paulus in primâ ad Corinthios*. Among heretical writers Basilides (*c.* A.D. 125) certainly knew it, and Marcion (*c.* A.D. 140) admitted it (possibly in a garbled form) to his very limited Canon. The Muratorian Canon states that St. Paul "wrote twice to the Corinthians and Thessalonians for their correction;" and again, "he wrote first to the Corinthians to forbid heretical schism." This ample evidence is by no means all that might be cited from all parts of Christendom between A.D. 90 and 220.

Nor is the *Internal Evidence* less conclusive: whether we regard the characteristic energy of the language, which caused Tertullian to say that this letter was written with gall and not with ink, Jerome and Erasmus to compare St. Paul's words to thunder and lightning, and Luther to delare that they are "not dead words, but living creatures and have hands and feet;" or consider the numerous coincidences, most of which *must* be undesigned, between this Epistle and other parts of the N. T. (see Table below). Nothing so completely in harmony with all that we know from other sources respecting the character and life of St. Paul, and the condition of Corinth in his time, could have been invented.

Nor can the *Integrity* of the Epistle be impugned. No MS. or Version throws doubt on any chapter or even verse. The whole Epistle is contained in the Uncials ℵABD, and, excepting vii. 19–ix. 6 and xiii. 9–xv. 39, in the fragmentary C. Irenaeus quotes from every chapter excepting iv., xiv., and xvi. Tertullian (*adv. Marc.* v. v.–x.) goes through it chapter by chapter to the end of xv.

II. The PLACE and TIME are approximately given in xvi. 8: "I will tarry at *Ephesus* until *Pentecost*." It was written, therefore, in or near Ephesus and before Pentecost, in a year which cannot be determined with certainty, but which was probably A.D. 57 (see Table of different views in Farrar's *St. Paul*, ii. p. 624). The ancient foot-note, rightly omitted from R. V., states that it "was written from Philippi;" an error which probably arose from a misunderstanding of xvi. 5, as if *Μακεδονίαν γὰρ διέρχομαι* meant "For I am at this moment passing through Macedonia." How could "the churches of Asia" (xvi. 19) send a greeting from Philippi? From Ephesus, the chief Church, they would naturally do so. The exact time of year was probably Easter. The Passover seems to have suggested the imagery in v. 6, 7; xv. 20, 23; xvi. 15. Nowhere else in St. Paul does *πάσχα* occur, nor *ἀπαρχὴ* so frequently. Cp. the repeated appeals to Christ's Resurrection (xv. 4, 12, 15, 17, 20), of which at Easter the Apostle would be full. The period in St. Paul's life can be determined with some definiteness. He was twice in Ephesus: once at the close of his second missionary journey after his first and long visit of eighteen months at Corinth (Acts xviii. 19), and again for two and a half or three years (Acts xix. 1, 10; xx. 31) on his third missionary journey. The letter cannot have been written during the first stay at Ephesus. Apollos had not yet arrived there (Acts xviii. 25): and when the Epistle was written Apollos had reached Ephesus, had been instructed there by Aquila and Priscilla, whom St. Paul had brought *thither* from Corinth (Acts xviii. 19), had been *to* Corinth to water what Paul had planted (Acts xix. 1; 1 Cor. iii. 6), and had returned (1 Cor. xvi. 12). It was, therefore, during St. Paul's second and long stay at Ephesus, and probably near the end of it, that the letter was written. Timothy had already started for Macedonia on his way to Corinth (1 Cor. iv. 17); and his departure with Erastus took place shortly before the uproar of Demetrius, immediately after which Paul left Ephesus (Acts xx. 1). In the Acts the writing of the letter must be placed between xix. 22 and 23.

III. The PERSONS ADDRESSED are always a consideration of the utmost importance in studying St. Paul's writings. He commonly dictated his letters (xvi. 21; Rom. xvi. 22; Gal. vi. 11; Col. iv. 18; 2 Thess. iii. 17): and as he dictates he is "present in spirit" (v. 3) with those whom he addresses. They are before him, not as distant correspondents, but as a present audience. With his eyes closed to all around him, he sees them alone, with their difficulties and frailties, their claim upon his sympathy, and their need of his firmness. He hears their rejoinders to his rebukes and entreaties, and he replies to them again. He does not write, but speak. The result is a compound of oratory, conversation, and correspondence, which is unique in literature. No Epistles illustrate this result more completely than those to the Corinthians, and in studying them we must keep the persons addressed in them, paragraph by paragraph, steadily in view.

Although Athens still remained the chief representative of Greek intellect and culture, Corinth in a single century of existence had become the political and commercial capital of Greece, and as such was the seat of the Proconsul Gallio (Acts xviii. 12). Hence "the Church of God that is in Corinth" represents all Christians in the whole Roman province of Achaia (2 Cor. i. 1). The light of this brilliant *totius Graeciae lumen*, quenched by Mummius (B.C. 146), had been rekindled by Julius Caesar (B.C. 46) as *Colonia Julia* or *Laus Julia Corinthus*. Under the auspices of this reputed son of Venus it soon recovered its former prosperity and more than its former licentiousness. The worship of Aphrodite assumed enormous proportions; and her temple became a centre round which the abominations of Greece, of Rome, and of the East found a home and intensified one another. Contemporary literature abounds with passages which show that this new Corinth was a by-word for moral corruption. It was at Corinth

that the Apostle's ghastly catalogue of heathen vices (Rom. i. 21–32) was penned. It was of heathen society in Corinth that he declared that it was wholly made up of those to whom such vices were habitual (1 Cor. v. 10). It was from such vices that the Corinthian Christians had been rescued (vi. 10, 11). Their peril in this direction is the chief motive of the Epistle, the crisis of which breaks with a crash in v. 1, 2: "It is actually reported," &c.

The city had other characteristics besides its licentiousness. Its inhabitants consisted of (1) *Greeks*, attracted to the restored city by sentiment for an historic site and the love of something new. (2) *Italians*, descendants of the freedmen planted there by Caesar. Most of the Corinthian names in the N. T. (1 Cor. i. 14, 16; xvi. 17; Rom. xvi. 21, 23; Acts xviii. 8, 17) seem to be of servile origin. (3) *Adventurers* from all parts of the Mediterranean, including many *Jews* who had settled there for trading purposes. With almost all of these St. Paul, as an Hellenist, a Roman citizen, and a Hebrew of Hebrews, had some point of contact. The Greek element contributed intellectual and political activity of a debased kind; the restlessness without the earnestness of old Greek speculation; and that spirit of faction which had proved the ruin of Hellas (i. 10–17; iii. 1–9, 21, 22; xi. 18). Schools and other instruments of culture abounded, and the Corinthians prided themselves on their knowledge and acuteness. Hence the frequent mention of γνῶσις (i. 5; viii. 1–11; xii. 8; xiii. 2, 8; xiv. 6) and σοφία (i. 17–30; ii. 1–7, 13; iii. 19; xii. 8). Cp. 2 Cor. i. 12; ii. 14; iv. 6; vi. 6; viii. 7; x. 5; xi. 6. The settlers from other countries exhibited the characteristics of mixed emigrants, who commonly part with their own national virtues in exchange for the national vices of all the rest, and end in self-seeking godlessness. In morals the Jews were no doubt on a higher level. But with them religion had become so stereotyped, bigoted, and self-satisfied, that there was more hope of the dissolute heathen than of them.

Add to these facts three others. A city barely a century old could have no aristocracy. Its upper classes owed their elevation mainly to wealth, and the whole tone of the population was *democratic*. It was in such a society that congregations, in which each exhibited his spiritual gifts without order or respect of persons (xii.; xiv.), women set custom at defiance (xi. 5–15; xiv. 34, 35), and an indecent scramble took place at the public meals connected with the Eucharist (xi. 17–34), became possible. Again, the wealthy classes were not manufacturers, but *traders*. They lacked the education of the producer, and had only the shrewdness of the money-getter. The works of art for which old Corinth had been famous were dug up from ruins and tombs, not to be copied, but to be sold. They were a city of shopkeepers. Lastly, there were all the demoralising influences of a thriving *seaport*—a double seaport (*bimaris Corinthi*). In moral degradation it was Paris and Liverpool combined. To sum up:—Licentiousness of the grossest kind, great mental activity and intellectual pride, a democratic spirit devoid of reverence, commercial energy absorbed in money-getting;—such was the combination into which St. Paul had introduced the leaven of the Gospel (iii. 6; iv. 15); such were the elements out of which the first great Gentile Church was formed (vi. 11); and such were still the surroundings of that Church when this letter was written (v. 10). Certainly to speak of "the *Church of God* that is in *Corinth*" involved a startling and a glorious paradox (Bengel).

Almost certainly St. Paul was the first Christian who ever set foot in Corinth. Aquila was still a Jew when Paul took up his abode with him; and it was their common trade, not their common faith, which in the first instance drew them together (Acts xviii. 23). The planting of Christianity in this unpromising soil was absolutely the work of St. Paul (1 Cor. iii. 6, 10). The Corinthian Christians were his children in Christ (iv. 15): and while Aquila and Priscilla were probably the first Jewish converts, Stephanas and his household were the first Gentiles who accepted the Gospel in Achaia (xvi. 15; i. 16).

IV. The OCCASION of the Epistle would seem to have been threefold. (*a*) Members of the household of Chloe (i. 11) had brought reports of the factions and other evils. Whether Chloe was a Corinthian, whose relations or slaves were visiting Ephesus, or an Ephesian whose relations or slaves had been visiting Corinth, is uncertain. (*b*) Independently of her household, St. Paul seems to have heard of the monstrous case of incest; possibly from those mentioned in xvi. 17. This is the chief occasion of the letter: for Timothy had already been sent (iv. 17) to deal with the factions. From one or both of these sources Paul had also heard of litigation before heathen judges (vi. 1), disputes in public worship and even at the Eucharist (xi. 18–34), and erroneous doctrine touching the Resurrection (xv.). Besides this (*c*) the Corinthians themselves had written to consult the Apostle (vii. 1). This letter seems to have been self-satisfied in tone, containing no confession of the existing scandals. Quotations from it, some of them made sarcastically, may perhaps be traced in "All things are lawful" (vi. 12; x. 23); "It is good," &c. (vii. 1); I also (as well as you) "have the Spirit of God" (vii. 40); "We all have knowledge" (viii. 1); "Why is my liberty," &c. (x. 29); "Ye remember me in all things" (xi. 2); "Jesus is anathema; Jesus is Lord" (xii. 3); "The collection for the saints" (xvi. 1). In several cases the apparent quotation is followed by a "but," as much as to say, "What you state is very true, but there is much to be said on the other side."

V. The CONTENTS of the Epistle are as various as the evils reported and the questions asked. The strictures on the evils are somewhat mingled with the answers to the questions: but on the whole the evils are discussed first. The tender-hearted Apostle gets the most painful part of his duty done as quickly as may be, but not without kindly words first. After the usual *Salutation* and *Thanksgiving* (i. 1–9) he takes the two worst scandals, the *Factions* (i. 10–iv. 20) and *Impurity* (iv. 21–vi. 20). In discussing the latter he says they are not to judge the heathen as to this sin; and this leads him to condemn them for allowing the heathen to judge them as to much less important things (vi. 1–9).

Then (vii. 1–xiv. 20) he answers the Corinthians' questions respecting *Marriage* (vii.); *Heathen Feasts* (viii. 1–xi. 1), about which his decision is an advance on that of the Jerusalem Council (Acts xv. 20, 29); *Public Worship* and *Spiritual Gifts* (xi. 2–xiv. 40). Lastly (xv.) he expounds the doctrine of *the Resurrection*. The letter closes with personal *Charges* and *Salutations* (xvi.). Of the Sosthenes included in the opening address (i. 1) nothing is known. Eusebius (*H. E.* I. xii. 1) makes him one of the Seventy. That he was the ruler of the Corinthian synagogue, beaten by the Jews in Gallio's court (Acts xviii. 17), is improbable. The name was a common one.

The following table of coincidences between the Epistle and other Books of the N. T., especially the Acts, will illustrate its contents and also show the strength of this side of the internal evidence as to its authenticity.

The Acts.	1 *Corinthians.*
xvi. 6, 7, 9. [Paul is thrice preternaturally directed to visit Europe.]	ii. 1. When I came unto you, I came not with excellency of speech or of wisdom (as at Athens), proclaiming to you the mystery of God.
xviii. 1. He departed from Athens and came to Corinth.	
xviii. 11. He dwelt there a year and six months, teaching the word of God among them.	ix. 1. Are not ye my work in the Lord?
xviii. 19. They came to Ephesus, and he left them (Aquila and Priscilla) there.	xvi. 19. Aquila and Priscilla salute you.
xviii. 21. He set sail from Ephesus.	
xix. 1. While Apollos was at Corinth, Paul . . . came to Ephesus.	iii. 6. Apollos watered.
xix. 9. When some were hardened and disobedient, speaking evil of the Way.	xvi. 9. There are many adversaries.
	xv. 32. I fought with beasts at Ephesus.
xix. 20. So mightily grew the word of God and prevailed.	xvi. 9. A great door and effectual is opened unto me.
xix. 21. Paul purposed in the spirit, when he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia, &c.	xvi. 5. I will come unto you, when I shall have passed through Macedonia.
xix. 22. Having sent into Macedonia . . . Timothy and Erastus.	iv. 17. I sent unto you Timothy.
	xvi. 10. If Timothy come.
xx. 2. He came into Greece.	iv. 19. I will come to you shortly.
xx. 34. These hands ministered unto my necessities.	iv. 11, 12. Even unto this hour . . . we toil, working with our own hands.
xxi. 26. Purifying himself with them.	ix. 20. To the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews.
xvi. 1. Circumcised him because of the Jews.	
xxii. 14. See the Righteous One.	ix. 1. Have I not seen Jesus our Lord?
	xv. 9. He appeared to me also.
xxiii. 1. I have lived before God in all good conscience.	iv. 4. I know nothing against myself.
xxiv. 17. I came to bring alms to my nation and offerings.	xvi. 3. Them will I send to carry your bounty to Jerusalem; and if it be meet for me to go also, they shall go with me.
xviii. 8. Crispus, *the ruler of the synagogue*, believed.	i. 14. I baptized none of you save Crispus
Rom. xvi. 23. Gaius, *my host*.	and Gaius.
1 Cor. xvi. 15. The house of Stephanas . . . *the first-fruits of Achaia.*	i. 16. I baptized also the household of Stephanas.
1 Tim. iv. 12. Let no man despise *thy youth*.	xvi. 10. Let no man despise him.

The last four coincidences are specially interesting. They show in the most incidental way *why* St. Paul made an exception in favour of Crispus, Gaius, and Stephanas, and *why* he was afraid that the Corinthians might despise Timothy.

The Epistle contains some special *difficulties*. *a*. The number and character of the factions (i. 12). *b*. The meaning of iii. 12–15. *c*. ἔγραψα ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ (v. 9). *d*. μᾶλλον χρῆσαι (vii. 21). *e*. ἀκολουθούσης πέτρας (x. 4). *f*. ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους (xi. 10). *g*. γένη γλωσσῶν (xii. 10, 28; xiii. 1; xiv. 2, 4, 16, 19). *h*. οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν (xv. 29). Of these eight only the first three can be noticed here. For the remainder see Commentaries, esp. Ellicott.

a. Considering the small amount of information given us respecting *the Factions*, the amount written about them is amazing. We must separate St. Paul's brief statements and slight hints from the masses of theory which have been spun out of them, especially regarding the party about which we know little more than the name, the so-called "Christ party." Six points may be considered as fairly certain. (1) *The whole Corinthian Church was involved.* Ἕκαστος ὑμῶν λέγει implies that there was hardly anyone who did not attach himself to one name or another. (2) The factions originated partly in the invariably occurring *differences between Jewish and Gentile Christians*, partly in the invariably *factious spirit of the Greek race*. There is no modern parallel. To gain an idea of the intensity of feeling, we must imagine Irish Romanists and Orangemen sharing in the same public worship. (3) *The factions are mentioned in chronological order.* At first all were disciples of *Paul*. When he left and *Apollos* came, some disparaged the simplicity of the Apostle (i. 17; ii. 1–5) in comparison with the learning and eloquence of the brilliant Alexandrian (Acts xviii. 24, 25, 28). Then certain other teachers arrived with letters of commendation (2 Cor. iii. 1), probably from Jerusalem, who cast a doubt upon the Apostleship of Paul (1 Cor. ix. 1–5; 2 Cor. xii. 12) and exalted *Cephas* and themselves in opposition to him (2 Cor. xi. 5; xii. 11). Finally, yet another party, dissenting from those who had elected human leaders, degraded the Name of *Christ* into a party cry. (4) *These parties received no sanction from the teachers with whose names they made free.* St. Paul condemns all parties alike. Apollos remains at St. Paul's side and declines to return to Corinth while this crisis continues. Paul, who once did not shrink from resisting Peter to the face (Gal. ii. 11), says not one word against him here: and this shows that Peter had no sympathy with those whom Paul here condemns for making Cephas a party name.

That Peter was ever in Corinth is very doubtful. Dionysius of Corinth (Eus. *H. E.* II. xxv. 8) may be drawing a baseless inference from 1 Cor. i. 12, or (if he is correct) must refer to a visit at some later period. (5) *The number of factions was four*, not three or two. That the last clause of i. 12 means "But I, Paul, am of Christ," is utterly improbable. And that it refers to neutrals, who protested against all divisions, is against the whole context. The Apostle would at once have commended such neutrals, had they existed. No such commendation lurks in iii. 22, 23: "Ye are Christ's" is addressed to the whole body, not to any one section. Indeed 2 Cor. x. 7 is conclusive. It is aimed against those who in some exclusive sense claimed to be "of Christ;" and 2 Cor. xi. 13 seems aimed against their leaders. And this may be the meaning of *μεμέρισται ὁ χριστὸς* in i. 13: "The Christ has been made a part." He who ought to be all in all has been degraded to a fraction (see *Speaker's Comm.*). The attractive theory of Schmidt and Baur that there were only two factions, that of Paul and Apollos on one side, and that of Cephas and Christ on the other, does not bear close inspection. Unlike John xix. 25, the grouping does not suggest two pairs. There was much more at work than the difference between the progress claimed by Paul in the interests of the Gentiles and the conversatism maintained by other Apostles in sympathy with the Jews. That Paul and Apollos were excellent friends (iii. 5; iv. 6; xvi. 12) is indubitable. But it is scarcely less so that real dissension existed between the admirers of Paul and the admirers of Apollos (i. 17–28; ii. 1–6; iii. 4). Clement of Rome (xlvii.) omits the "Christ party" because it would not suit his argument. But if there were virtually only two factions, he ought to have omitted the Apollos party as well; all the more so, as its omission would have improved his argument. His mention of it is strong evidence of its distinctness. Perhaps the strangest theory of all is that the only real parties were those of Paul and of Apollos; "that Cephas is introduced only to vary the illustration; and that Christ is added to crown the absurdity of such mischievous partisanship." (6) *St. Paul abstains from attributing particular doctrines to particular parties.* It will be our wisdom to do the same. He condemns on the one hand certain schismatical factions, on the other certain erroneous doctrines and practices. But he nowhere assigns any of the latter to any one of the former. It was unnecessary and perhaps impossible to do so. Some evils would be common to two, three, or all four of the parties. It is easy to see that some of the evils would be prevalent chiefly among Gentile converts, others chiefly among Jewish: and on the whole the First Epistle treats mainly of the former, the Second mainly of the latter. But we need not go beyond these broad facts. Ingenious speculations unsupported by evidence are not worth the time which the study of them consumes.

St. Paul's rebukes were effectual. These factions soon died out. Clement of Rome writes of them as past, and contrasts them with existing dissensions of quite another kind. Evidently they had never created a schism.

b. As to the difficult passage iii. 12–15, all that can be pointed out here is that its imagery is taken from Corinth as St. Paul knew it. Of the city destroyed by Mummius only what was solid had survived the conflagration. Foundations and "costly stones" remained, while everything which had been run up in "wood" and thatch of "hay" and "stubble" had been consumed.

c. There is no reasonable doubt that v. 9 refers to a *lost epistle* written before our 1 Cor. Excepting a possible misapprehension of the meaning of *νῦν* (v. 11), nothing but *à priori* dislike to admitting the loss of a letter from a leading Apostle to a leading Church, would make interpreters hesitate. This may be met by another *à priori* consideration. No two places equally far apart were in more constant communication than Ephesus and Corinth. Is it likely that a Church of such importance and so critically situated as Corinth would be left by St. Paul, while at Ephesus, without either a visit or a letter for three years? In point of fact he gave both (see next article). We know, even without John xx. 25, that thousands of our Lord's spoken words have not been preserved. Is it surprising that some of His Apostles' written words have perished? It is to the last degree improbable that the Apostles wrote nothing, either to Churches or individuals, but what has come down to us. See Lightfoot, *Philippians*, 2nd ed. p. 136; Jowett, *Epp. of St. Paul*, 2nd ed. p. 195. On the apocryphal epistle to the Corinthians see below.

VI. In STYLE 1 Cor. should possibly be ranked first among St. Paul's writings. Probably no such thought was in his mind: but the letter might convince the fastidious Greeks that in clearness of thought and power of language he was no way inferior to the eloquent Apollos. Chapters xiii. and xv. are among the most sublime passages, not only in the Bible, but in literature. Several other portions are of the noblest type of eloquence: *e.g.* the characteristics of heavenly wisdom (ii. 6–16; iii. 18–23); the limits of personal liberty (vi. 12–20); the impassioned appeal in ch. ix. The whole letter conveys a profound impression of lofty thoughts expressed in lofty language.

The following words and phrases are *peculiar to this Epistle in the N. T.*: *μωρία* (i. 18, 21, 23; ii. 14; iii. 19), *φημί* (vii. 29; x. 15, 19; xv. 50), *ἄγαμος* (vii. 8, 11, 32, 34), *καταχρᾶσθαι* (vii. 31; ix. 18), *σύμφορος* (vii. 35; x. 33), *ἀκατάλυπτος* (xi. 5, 13), *κομᾶν* (xi. 14, 15), *ἐνεργήματα* (xii. 6, 10), *ἑρμηνεία* (xii. 10; xiv. 26), *χοικός* (xv. 47, 48, 49), *λογία* (xvi. 1, 2), *οἱ ἄρχοντες τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου* (ii. 6, 8), *ἡ σοφία τοῦ κόσμου τούτου* (i. 20; iii. 18). There is a large number of *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα*, of which those relating to the Eucharist are specially interesting: *τὸ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας* (x. 16), *ποτήριον κυρίου* (x. 21), *τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ κυρίου* (xi. 27), *τράπεζα κυρίου* (x. 21), *κυριακὸν δεῖπνον* (xi. 20), *κοινωνία τοῦ αἵματος, τοῦ σώματος* (x. 16). Among others are *πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων* (ii. 7), *τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ κόσμου* (ii. 12), *γυμνιτεύειν* (iv. 11), *περίψημα* (iv. 13), *ἐπισπᾶσθαι* (vii. 18), *εἰδωλεῖον* (viii. 10), *πυκτεύω* (ix. 26), *περιπερεύεσθαι* (xiii. 4), *ἔκτρωμα* (xv. 8), *βιπὴ ὀφθαλμοῦ* (xv. 52), *ἀνδρίζεσθαι* (xvi. 13), *Μαρὰν ἀθά* (xvi. 22).

There are *thirty quotations from the O. T.*, of which nineteen are given as such,—a number

exceeded by no Epistle, excepting Romans and Hebrews; and even in Hebrews the *range* of quotation is not so wide. Eleven books are quoted: Isaiah eight times, Psalms four or five, Deuteronomy four, Genesis four, Exodus two or three times, Numbers one or two, Zechariah one or two; Job, Jeremiah, Hosea, Malachi, each once. Nowhere else in the N. T. is Job explicitly quoted (iii. 19: cp. Phil. 19; 1 Thess. v. 22; 2 Thess. ii. 8; Luke i. 52). In some cases (x. 6 and xi. 25) we cannot be sure from which of two Books the quotation comes. In eight cases (vi. 16; ix. 9; x. 7, 20, 21, 26; xv. 32, 45) the quotation is in exact agreement with the LXX. In fourteen (i. 19, 31; ii. 16; v. 7, 13; x. 5, 6, 22; xi. 7, 25; xiii. 5; xv. 25, 27, 47) there is almost exact, or at least substantial agreement with the LXX. In four (i. 20; iii. 19; xiv. 25; xv. 54) the quotation follows the Hebrew. In three (ii. 9; xiv. 21; xv. 55) it differs considerably from both. In one (iii. 20) it agrees almost exactly with both. These facts show that, although St. Paul was familiar with both the Hebrew and the Greek of the O. T., yet as a rule he quotes from the LXX. In his writings, quotations which agree with the Hebrew against the Greek are comparatively rare.

The Epistle contains one of the three quotations from classical literature made by St. Paul (xv. 33; Tit. i. 12; Acts xvii. 28). That the parable of the body and its members (xii. 12–27) was suggested by that of Menenius Agrippa (Livy, ii. 32) is not likely.

In the following passages there are *various readings* of much interest:—ii. 1, *μυστήριον* and *μαρτύριον*: iii. 1, *σαρκίνοις* and *σαρκικοῖς*: v. 6, *οὐ καλὸν* and *καλόν*: vi. 20, insertion of *et portate* in some Latin authorities, and of *ἐν τῷ πνεύματι ὑμῶν ἅτινά ἐστιν τοῦ θεοῦ* in some Greek: vii. 3, 5, *τὴν ὀφειλὴν* and *τὴν ὀφειλομένην εὔνοιαν*, *σχολάσητε* and *σχολάζητε*, *ἦτε* and *συνέρχεσθε*, with the insertion of *καὶ νηστείᾳ καί*, seem to show the influence of ascetic views: vii. 33, 34, punctuation: viii. 7, *συνηθείᾳ* and *συνειδήσει*: ix. 1, transposition of clauses: xi. 10, *ἐξουσίαν* and *κάλυμμα, velamen*: xi. 24, insertion of *κλώμενον*: xi. 29, insertion of *ἀναξίως*: xiii. 3, *καυθήσωμαι* and *καυχήσωμαι*: xv. 5, *δώδεκα* and *ἕνδεκα*: xv. 47, insertion of *ὁ κύριος*: xv. 51, several important variations.

The Epistles to the Corinthians abound in *figures of language*, some of which are very characteristic of St. Paul's style. Some think that their frequency in his writings indicates that he had attended lectures in Greek rhetoric at Tarsus. (The references in this paragraph are not exhaustive: in some cases many other instances might be cited.) Accumulation of participles: 1 Cor. viii. 12; xv. 58; 2 Cor. iv. 8, 9, 10, 13, 14; of synonyms, 2 Cor. vi. 14–16. Alliteration: 2 Cor. vii. 4; viii. 22; ix. 5, 8, 10, 13. Anacoluthon: 1 Cor. iv. 2, 6, 7, 8; xii. 28; 2 Cor. i. 7; vii. 5; ix. 10–13; xi. 23–27. Antithesis: 1 Cor. i. 18, 21; iii. 2; iv. 10, 18; viii. 1; xiii. 2. Aposiopesis: 1 Cor. ix. 15; 2 Cor. vii. 12. Asyndeton: 1 Cor. xiii. 4–8; xiv. 26; xv. 43, 44; 2 Cor. viii. 23; x. 16; xi. 20; xii. 10; xiii. 11. Chiasmus: 1 Cor. iii. 17; viii. 13; xiii. 2; 2 Cor. ix. 6; x. 12; xii. 9, 20. Climax: 1 Cor. xiii. 1–3; 2 Cor. vii. 11; xi. 22, 23. Constructio ad sensum: 1 Cor. vii. 36. Constructio praegnans: 1 Cor. xi. 18; xv. 54; 2 Cor. x. 5; xi. 3. Contrast of prepositions: 1 Cor. xi. 12; xii. 8; 2 Cor. iv. 17; viii. 3; x. 3, 13. Epanaphora: 1 Cor. i. 26; v. 8; xii. 8–10; xiii. 7, 8; xvi. 19, 20; 2 Cor. vii. 2, 4, 11. Erotesis: 1 Cor. i. 13; ii. 11; iii. 16; iv. 7; v. 6, 12; vi. 9, 15, 16, 19; 2 Cor. xii. 17, 18; xiii. 5. Euphemism: 1 Cor. v. 1, 2; vii. 3; 2 Cor. vii. 11. Irony: 1 Cor. iv. 8; viii. 1; 2 Cor. xi. 16; xii. 13. Litotes: 1 Cor. xi. 17, 22. Oratio variata: 1 Cor. vii. 13; xiv. 1; 2 Cor. viii. 23; xi. 23–28. Oxymoron: 2 Cor. vi. 9, 10, 14; viii. 2; xii. 5, 9, 10. Parallelism: 1 Cor. vii. 16; x. 23; xi. 4, 5; xii. 4, 6, 15–17; xiii. 8–12; xv. 21, 42–49, 53, 54; 2 Cor. vii. 4, 5; xiii. 4. Parenthesis: 1 Cor. xvi. 15; 2 Cor. ii. 5; v. 7; vi. 2; ix. 4; xi. 21, 23; xii. 2, 3. Paronomasia: 1 Cor. ii. 13; iii. 17; vii. 31; xi. 29, 31, 32; xiv. 10; 2 Cor. iii. 2; iv. 8; v. 4; vi. 10; vii. 10; viii. 22; x. 12; xi. 2. Pronouns demonstrative inserted for emphasis before *ὅτι* and the like: 1 Cor. i. 12; vii. 26; xv. 50; 2 Cor. i. 12; ii. 1, 9; v. 14; viii. 20; x. 7, 11; xiii. 10. Pronouns personal (*ὑμῶν*) inserted between the article and the noun—peculiar to St. Paul: 1 Cor. vii. 35; ix. 12; xvi. 17; 2 Cor. i. 6; vii. 7, 15; viii. 13, 14; xii. 19; xiii. 9. Repetition of conjunctions: 1 Cor. ii. 3; iii. 22; v. 11; xiv. 6; 2 Cor. vii. 11; xii. 12, 21; of emphatic words: 1 Cor. ii. 6, 13; x. 1–4; xi. 3–5; xii. 4–6; xiii. 2, 9, 10, 11; xv. 21; 2 Cor. ii. 16; vi. 12; vii. 2, 4; x. 12; of prepositions: 1 Cor. i. 10; ii. 3; v. 8; xiv. 6; xv. 52; 2 Cor. vi. 4–8; xi. 23, 27; xii. 10; of the relative: 1 Cor. ii. 7. Transposition for emphasis: 1 Cor. ii. 6; iii. 2; vi. 4; ix. 10; x. 13; 2 Cor. ii. 4; ix. 7; x. 3; xii. 7. Zeugma: 1 Cor. iii. 2. *Τοῦ* with infin. to express design: 1 Cor. ix. 10; x. 13; xvi. 4; 2 Cor. i. 8; viii. 11. *Εἰς* or *πρὸς* to express design or result: 1 Cor. viii. 10; ix. 18; x. 6; xi. 22, 33; 2 Cor. i. 4; iii. 13; iv. 4; vii. 3; viii. 6.

VII. The BEARER OF THE LETTER is not known. From xvi. 12 it would seem as if the Apostle had wished that Apollos should undertake this office. The spurious foot-note assigns it to Stephanas, Fortunatus, Achaicus, and Timothy. This is impossible as regards Timothy, who had already started for Macedonia and Corinth (iv. 17; xvi. 10, 11; Acts xix. 22), but may be true of the rest (xvi. 17, 18). It is, however, more probable that the bearer was Titus (cp. 2 Cor. viii. 16–24 and xii. 18 with 1 Cor. xvi. 12). See Lightfoot in Camb. *Journal of Class. and Sacr. Philol.* ii. 201, 202, June 1855; Macknight, *Transl. of the Apost. Epp.* i. 451, 674; ii. 2, 7, 124; Stanley on 1 Cor. xvi. 12.

VIII. Two APOCRYPHAL EPISTLES connected with 1 Cor. are preserved in Armenian; one from the Corinthians to St. Paul, and one from him in reply. They are demonstrably spurious and are of little interest. Text published by Wilkins, 1715; by P. Masson with Latin version, 1715; by Whiston, 1719; by Whiston's sons with Greek and Latin versions, 1736. The English translation of Father Aucher and Lord Byron is given in Moore's *Life of Lord Byron*, vi. 274, and in Stanley; and a summary in *Dict. of Christ. Biog.* ii. 168. These Armenian forgeries do not represent the letters alluded to in 1 Cor. vii. 1 and v. 9. The Corinthian letter does not ask the questions answered by St. Paul in vii.–

xiv., and the reply gives no warning about associating with fornicators. Their chief value is as contrasts to genuine documents. Such clumsy imitations of apostolic writings indirectly attest the authenticity of the canonical Epistles (see Ullmann in *Heidelberg. Jahrb.*, 1823).

IX. BIBLIOGRAPHY.—Literature covering *both* 1 and 2 Cor. will be noticed at the close of the next article. Few have treated of 1 Cor. singly: of the Fathers none; of the Reformers only Peter Martyr [Vermigli], 1551, and Melanchthon, 1561: the latter includes some chapters of 2 Cor. Crell (Socinian), 1635; John Lightfoot, 1664; Sahl, 1778; F. A. W. Krause, 1791; Heydenreich, 1825–27. All these are in Latin: their full titles will be found in Meyer's Preface to 1 Cor. English: John Colet, tr. and ed. by J. H. Lupton, Bell and Daldy, 1874; T. T. Shore in Ellicott's *Comm.* ii., Cassells; T. S. Evans in *Speaker's Comm.* iii., Murray, 1881,—excellent; T. C. Edwards, Hamilton and Adams, 1885; C. J. Ellicott, Longmans, 1887. German: Maier (Romish), Freiburg, 1857. Dutch: Til, Amsterdam, 1731. French: F. Godet, Neuchatel, 1886–1887 (Eng. tr., T. and T. Clark). On special portions: Vitringa on difficult passages, Franeq. 1784; Gratama on cap. vii., Groning. 1846; Gurlitt on cap. xi., Hamb. 1817; Hengel on cap. xv., Silvae Ducis, 1851: all four in Latin. On the Factions: Pott, *De sectis Eccl. Cor.*, Gott. 1824; Baur, *Tüb. Zeitschr.*, 1831 (the opening chapter of the Tübingen theory), 1836; Jaeger, *Br. P. n. Kor. aus d. Gesichtsp. d. vier Parth.*, Tüb. 1838; Schenkel, *De Eccl. Cor. factionibus turbata*, Basil. 1838; Kniewel, *Eccl. Cor. dissensiones*, Gedan. 1841; Becker, *Parth. in d. Gem. z. Kor.*, Altona, 1842; Räbiger, *Untersuchungen über d. Br. an d. Kor.*, Breslau, 1847;—Beyschlag, *De Eccl. Cor. factione Christiana*, Hal. 1861; *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1865, p. 217; 1871, p. 635; *Zeitschr. f. wissensch. Theol.*, 1864, p. 155; 1865, p. 241; 1869, p. 398; 1871, p. 112; 1872, p. 200;—Schaff, *Hist. of Apost. Church*, Edinb. 1854, pp. 285–291. On the Tongues: Hilgenfeld, *Glossolalie in d. alt. Kirche*, Leipz. 1850; Reuss, *La Glossolalie, chapitre de psychologie évangélique* in *Strassb. Revue de Théol.* 1851; Rossteuscher (Irvingite), *Gabe d. Sprachen im apost. Zeit.*, Marburg, 1855; Maier, *Glossolalie des apost. Zeit.*, Freiburg, 1855;—Articles in *Stud. u. Krit.* by Bleek, 1829, 1830; by Kling, 1839; by Wieseler, 1838, 1860; in *Dict. of Bible*, 1st ed., by Plumptre;—Notes in Schaff, *Church Hist.* 2nd ed. i. 234–242. In the *Expositor*, 1st Series, i. 142, 237, are dissertations on 1 Cor. vi. 1–7, vii.; in iii. 355 on 1 Cor. v. 1–5, 13; in x. 321 on 1 Cor. vii. 14; in xi. 20 on 1 Cor. xi. 10: in 2nd Series, viii. 241, on 1 Cor. x. 21; in viii. 128 on 1 Cor. xv.: also Godet in 3rd Series, 1885. In W. Sewell's *Microscope of N. T.*, Rivingtons, 1878, are notes on 1 Cor. vi. 12, xv. 29, 30. In Field's *Otium Norvicense*, iii., Oxford, 1881, pp. 101–111, are valuable notes on ii. 2, 3, iii. 5, iv. 6, 11, v. 1, vi. 4, 7, 11, 15, vii. 16, ix. 27, x. 13, xi. 22, xiii. 5, 7, xiv. 8, xv. 8, xvi. 22. [A. P.]

CORINTHIANS, SECOND EPISTLE TO THE, is the first chapter in Ecclesiastical Biography, as 1 Cor. is the first in Ecclesiastical History. It is in part the Apostle's autobiography, the *Apologia pro vitâ suâ*. For many details of his life it is our only source of information; and in all respects is most important for giving insight into his character and mode of working. In no other letter are the traces of conflicting emotions more evident: on none is the strength of his character, both in its tenderness and its sternness, impressed more clearly. Love and thankfulness gain the upper hand in the first half; indignation and severity in the second. Of the three episodes in his conflict with Judaizing opponents we have here the first. In 2 Cor. x.–xii. 10 he asserts his full apostolic authority. In Galatians he declares that Gentiles have no need of circumcision. In Romans he shows that Jew and Gentile alike have need of faith to be saved.

I. The AUTHENTICITY of 2 Cor. is as impregnable as that of 1 Cor., which reflects much of its strength upon its companion. But the independent evidence is ample.

External.—The apparent reminiscences in Clement of Rome, Ignatius, and Hermas cannot be relied upon; and Polycarp vi. 1 may come direct from Prov. iii. 4 rather than through 2 Cor. viii. 21. But Irenaeus quotes 2 Cor. repeatedly, and several times by name: *Apostolus ait in epistola secunda ad Corinthios* (IV. xxviii. 3); *In secunda quae est ad Corinthios dicens* (v. iii. 1). Cp. IV. xxvi. 4, xxix. 1, xxxvi. 6; v. xiii. 4. See Werner, *Der Paulinismus des Irenaeus*, Leipzig, 1889. He quotes from chaps. ii., iii., iv., v., xiii. Athenagoras (*de Res. Mort.* xviii.) quotes part of v. 10. Theophilus of Antioch shows knowledge of it. Clement of Alexandria quotes it more than forty times, and from every chapter, excepting i. and ix. Tertullian (*adv. Marc.* xi. xii.) runs through it, and elsewhere quotes it over seventy times: see esp. *de Pud.* xiii. Cyprian quotes from every chapter excepting i. and x. Of heretical writers Basilides knew it, and Marcion admitted it to his mutilated Canon. It is contained in the Muratorian Fragment.

Internal Evidence is equally strong, whether we consider the characteristic energy and tenderness, or the harmonies with the Acts and the other Epistles, esp. 1 Cor. The following coincidences will repay study: 2 Cor. ii. 13 with 1 Cor. xvi. 5 and Acts xx. 1; 2 Cor. i. 8 with Acts xix. 30; 2 Cor. i. 19 with Acts xviii. 5; 2 Cor. xi. 25 with Acts xiv. 19.

The *Integrity* of the Epistle has been assailed, but on very insufficient grounds. All that is required to account for the difference of tone in different parts is the reasonable supposition that it was not all written at one sitting, and possibly not all at one place. It may have been composed in sections, as St. Paul journeyed towards Corinth. Fresh news may have influenced him and changed the affection of the first part (i.–viii.) into the sternness of the last (xi.–xiii.). Or he began by thinking of the Corinthians, who as a Church were dutiful to him, and passed on to address the Judaizing minority and their leaders, who slandered and resisted him. Those who deny the integrity are by no means agreed as to how the Epistle is to be dissected. Semler and Weisse divide it into three letters. Weber and Hausrath into two. Emmerling and Ewald regard vi. 14–vii. 1 as an after-insertion by St. Paul or some one else. See Reuss, *Hist. of the Sacred Scriptures of N. T.*, Eng. tr., p. 94. MSS.

and Versions lend no support to these disintegrating views. Irenaeus quotes from ix. 15, 16 and xiii. 7–9 as *secunda ad Corinthios* (IV. ch. xxviii. 3; v. ch. iii. 1). Tertullian and Clement make no distinction.

II. The PLACE and TIME can be fixed within narrow limits. St. Paul was in *Macedonia* (viii. 1; ix. 2); but that he was at Philippi, as stated in the ancient foot-note (B, Peshitto), cannot be determined. From viii. 1–5 we should infer that he was leaving Macedonia for Greece rather than entering it from Asia. He left Ephesus about Pentecost (1 Cor. xvi. 8), probably A.D. 57; went to Troas, where he hoped to meet Titus with news from Corinth; and after waiting in vain for him went on to Macedonia (ii. 12, 13), where Titus met him (vii. 5, 6). For all this we must allow several months, but not more; for the letter was evidently written soon after the meeting with Titus, and was sent to Corinth by him (viii. 6). Hence the latter part of a year, which is probably A.D. 57, is the date of this Epistle.

III. The OCCASION is the reception of news from Corinth, especially as to the way in which the former letter had been received. Did this news come exclusively from Titus? Probably Timothy, who left Ephesus before 1 Cor. was written (iv. 17), and is again with St. Paul when he writes 2 Cor. (i. 1), had brought some information. St. Paul expected that 1 Cor. would reach Corinth before Timothy (xvi. 10). Yet nothing is said in 2 Cor. about news brought by him. Hence four hypotheses. 1. Timothy may have returned to the Apostle without going to Corinth at all. This is very improbable. In that case St. Paul would have explained Timothy's non-appearance; all the more so as the hostile party at Corinth would have made capital out of it (i. 17). 2. Between our two Epistles St. Paul may have sent a letter of stern reproof, in which were contained his comments on the news brought by Timothy. This is gratuitous. Such passages as 1 Cor. iii. 1–3; iv. 7, 8, 18, 19; v. 1, 2; vi. 1, 8–10 are quite severe enough to explain St. Paul's anxiety about their effect; and his silence about Timothy's report can be better explained. 3. Timothy may have left Corinth *before* 1 Cor. arrived. 4. More probably it arrived before he left, and the news brought by him about his reception is not mentioned in 2 Cor. because (*α*) he is joint-writer of the letter (i. 1), and (*β*) the news brought by Titus was more pressing.

IV. The CONTENTS are not quite so varied as those of the longer Epistle, but the changes of subject are even more abrupt. After the usual *Salutation* and *Thanksgiving* (i. 1–11), he discusses the *News brought by Titus* (i. 12–vii. 16). Secondly, the *Collection for the Churches in Judaea* (viii. 1–ix. 15), about which he was most anxious, because (*a*) it was a means of uniting Jewish and Gentile Christians, and (*b*) it proved to the Jewish Christians how real was his union with them, in spite of his dissent from their views. Thirdly, *his Apostolical Authority* (x.–xii. 13), followed by farewell *Warning* and *Blessing* (xii. 14–xiii. 13). The benediction is more full than in any other letter, and from the earliest times has been used in the service of the Church (*Apost. Const.* VIII. chs. v. 5; xii. 3). There are various digressions, of which the most important is the comparison of *the Minister of the O. T. and the Minister of the N. T.* (iii.), and the most abrupt that on *Intercourse with Heathen* (vi. 14–vii. 1).

The key-note of the first part is "comfort in affliction:" παράκλησις occurs eleven times and θλῖψις nine times in i.–ix.; neither of them in x.–xiii. The key-note of the latter part is "boasting in weakness:" καυχᾶσθαι occurs seventeen times, ἀσθενεῖν seven and ἀσθένεια six times, in x.–xiii.; καυχᾶσθαι thrice, the others not at all, in i.–ix.

The Epistle contains some special *difficulties*. *a.* The translation and meaning of iii. 18: *b.* of v. 15: *c.* οἱ ὑπερλίαν ἀπόστολοι (xi. 5; xii. 11). *d.* The allusion in xi. 14. *e.* The "revelation" in xii. 2–4. *f.* The σκόλοψ τῇ σαρκί (xii. 7), for which see Lightfoot, *Galatians*, pp. 186–191. *g.* The number of St. Paul's visits to Corinth. Only the last can be noticed here. *g.* That St. Paul was *thrice* in Corinth, twice before writing 1 and 2 Cor. and once afterwards, is clear from the following passages. (1) τρίτον ἐλθεῖν in xii. 14 and τρίτον ἔρχομαι in xiii. 1. (2) ἐν λύπῃ ἐλθεῖν in ii. 1 cannot refer to his first visit, which was full of joy and success. There must have been a sad visit since then; and to this fact ταπεινώσῃ με in xii. 21 also points. (3) ὡς παρὼν τὸ δεύτερον in xiii. 2 means "as *I did* when I was present the second time." (4) 1 Cor. xvi. 7 seems to imply a previous *short* visit: "I do not wish to hurry away again at once, *as I did before*." If so, this cannot refer to the first visit, which lasted eighteen months (Acts xviii. 11). This second and sad and probably short visit would be made during the three years spent mainly at Ephesus. The silence of the Acts respecting this visit presents no difficulty when we remember how few of the events enumerated in 2 Cor. xi. 23–27 are recorded by St. Luke.

V. The STYLE of this Epistle has not been so universally admired as that of the First. The Greek is hard. Both narrative and sentences are often involved and broken. There is throughout a want of ease and smoothness. The thoughts, in the main as noble as in the earlier letter, are less beautifully expressed. There are no passages of such lofty eloquence as 1 Cor. xiii. and xv. The oratory is powerful, not because of the language, but in spite of it. The intensity of the conflicting feelings under which it was written has shattered rhythm and arrangement. But it leaves an impression of reality and authority which more studied diction might have weakened. One feels in every sentence that the writer is speaking straight from his heart, that heart on which "Corinth" is inscribed (iii. 2; vii. 3). In spite of the joy which pervades the first half, there are signs that the letter was written when he was suffering much from his chronic malady. He feels under "sentence of death" (i. 9; iv. 10–12, 16; v. 4), and is fighting against intense depression (i. 6; iv. 8, 9; v. 2; vii. 4).

The following words and phrases are *peculiar to this Epistle in the N. T.*: κάλυμμα (iii. 13, 14, 15, 16), ἀνακαλύπτειν (iii. 14, 18), φωτισμός (iv. 4, 6), σκῆνος (v. 1, 4), ἐπενδύεσθαι (v. 2, 4), ἐκδημεῖν and ἐνδημεῖν (v. 6, 8, 9), ἀγρυπνία (vi. 5; xi. 27), ἁγνότης (vi. 6 [xi. 3]), ἀπὸ πέρυσι (viii. 10; ix. 2), συμπέμπειν (viii. 18, 22),

προσαναπληροῦν (ix. 12; xi. 9), εἰς τὰ ἄμετρα (x. 13, 15), ὑπερλίαν (xi. 5; xii. 11), καταναρκᾶν (xi. 9; xii. 13, 14), προαμαρτάνειν (xii. 21; xiii. 2). The number of ἅπαξ λεγόμενα is large: among them are εὐχαριστεῖσθαι (i. 11), καπηλεύειν (ii. 17), συστατικός (iii. 1), παλαιὰ διαθήκη (iii. 14), κατοπτρίζεσθαι (iii. 18), ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου (iv. 4), ὁ ἔξω ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος (iv. 16), βελίαρ (vi. 15), μολυσμός (vii. 1), κατὰ βάθους (viii. 2), προκαταρτίζειν (ix. 5), ὀχύρωμα (x. 4), ψευδαπόστολος (xi. 13), ἄγγελος φωτός (xi. 14), ἐθνάρχης (xi. 32), σαργάνη (xi. 33), τρίτος οὐρανός (xii. 2), σκόλοψ (xii. 7), ἄγγελος σατανᾶ (xii. 7).

There are *twenty or more quotations from the O. T.*, of which nine are given as such; and ten or twelve books are quoted: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Deuteronomy, 2 Samuel, Psalms, Proverbs, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hosea, Amos; but the citations from the last three occur in places where the quotation is compound, or where the precise source is uncertain: iii. 3 from Ex. xxxi. 18, xxxiv. 1; Prov. iii. 3, vii. 3; Jer. xxxi. 33; Ezek. xi. 19, xxxvi. 26: vi. 16 from Lev. xxvi. 11; Ezek. xxvii. 27: vi. 17 from Is. lii. 11; Jer. li. 45; Ezek. xx. 41: vi. 18 from 2 Sam. vii. 8, 14; Hos. i. 10; Is. xliii. 6; Amos iv. 13: and ix. 10 from Is. lv. 10; Hos. x. 12. In six cases (iv. 13; vi. 2; viii. 15; ix. 9, 10; xi. 3) there is exact agreement with the LXX. In four (viii. 21; ix. 7; x. 17; xiii. 1) the agreement is close. Quotations which agree with the Hebrew against the LXX. are rare (vi. 17). Like most Hellenist Jews, St. Paul commonly used the LXX., though quite at home in the Hebrew text.

The following *various readings* are of special interest: i. 12, ἁγιότητι and ἁπλότητι: i. 18, ἔστιν and ἐγένετο: iii. 3, καρδίαις and καρδίας: iii. 13, τέλος and πρόσωπον: iii. 17, Westcott and Hort conjecture κύριον for Κυρίου: vii. 8, βλέπω, βλέπω γάρ, *videns* (βλέπων): x. 12, several: xi. 3, omission of καὶ τῆς ἁγνότητος: xi. 6, several: xii. 1, several, and punctuation: xii. 7, omission of διό, and punctuation.

For *figures of language* see the preceding article.

Two points of special interest are suggested by this Epistle. (1) The *personal appearance of the Apostle* is indicated as being so mean as to give a handle to his opponents (x. 10; cp. 1 Cor. ii. 3); and the "stake [thorn] in the flesh" (xii. 7) probably aggravated this. The descriptions of him in the *Acta Pauli et Theclae* (*c.* A.D. 200), the *Philopatris* of the Pseudo-Lucian (*c.* 350), John Malalas (*c.* 600), and Nicephorus Callisti (*c.* 1350), are quoted by Conybeare and Howson (chap. vii. *sub fin.*) and Farrar (ii. Excursus xi.). They all represent him as bald and with an aquiline nose, and most add that he stooped. (2) His *habit of teaching without payment* was evidently another handle for his enemies (xi. 7–12; cp. 1 Cor. ix. 18, x. 33). Gratuitous instruction was in accordance with the best Greek traditions (Plato, *Sophist*, 223, 224; Arist. *de Soph. El.* i.; Xen. *Mem.* I. vi. 13), which made it the mark of a Sophist to teach for pay. But just as the Sophists could retort that the philosophers did not dare to ask for money, because they knew that what they taught was worthless, so his opponents declared that St. Paul did not dare to take the wages of an Apostle (1 Thess. ii. 6; 2 Thess. iii. 8, 9), because he knew that he was not an Apostle.

VI. The BEARERS OF THE LETTER were Titus and two others, who may have been Trophimus and Tychicus. But "the brother whose praise in the Gospel is spread through all the churches" has also been conjectured to be Barnabas, Silas, Luke, Mark, or Erastus; and "our brother whom we have many times proved earnest in many things," to be Epaenetus, Apollos, Luke, Zenas, Sosthenes, or Timothy.

That the letter was in the main successful we infer (1) from the tranquil tone which pervades the letter to the Romans written from Corinth a few months later; (2) from the absence of information to the contrary. The Corinthian Church had its faults, but not outrageous ones, when Clement of Rome wrote to it *c.* A.D. 95. Hegesippus (*c.* 160) says that he found it continuing in the true faith, and was himself refreshed there in it (Eus. *H. E.* IV. xxii. 1, 2). And its Bishop Dionysius (*c.* 170) was so universally respected that heretics thought it worth while to garble his pastoral letters, in order to seem to have his sanction for their views (Eus. *H. E.* IV. xxiii. 12).

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CORMORANT. The representative in the A. V. of the Hebrew words *kâath* (קָאַת) and *shâlâc* (שָׁלָךְ), and of the latter in the R. V. As to the former, see PELICAN.

Shâlâc (*καταράκτης*; *mergulus*; *nycticorax*?) occurs only as the name of an unclean bird in Lev. xi. 17; Deut. xiv. 17. The word has been variously rendered (see Bochart, *Hieroz.* iii. 24), but some sea-bird is generally understood to be denoted by it. There is some difficulty in identifying the *καταράκτης* of the LXX.; but we may dismiss the Solan goose (*Sula bassana*) advocated by Oedman, Michaelis, Rosenmüller, and others, as it exists neither in the Red Sea nor the Eastern Mediterranean. As little claim has the Caspian Tern (*Sterna Caspia*) suggested by Col. H. Smith, which is only a rare straggler on the Syrian coast in winter. Still more impossible is the *catarrhactes*, or skua of modern naturalists, a native of our far northern seas. Our translators (A. V. and R. V.) were probably not far wrong in thus rendering "cormorant" (so MV.[11]). The common cormorant (*Phalacrocorax carbo*) is very plentiful on the coast, on the Sea of Galilee, and all down the Jordan. It comes up all the streams on the coast, while on these latter, as on the Litany and the Kishon, another species, the pygmy cormorant (*Phalacrocorax pygmaeus*), is common. Vast colonies of the latter breed in the Lake of Antioch. The common cormorant and a third species are equally abundant in Egypt. These birds are too well known to require further description. [H. B. T.]

CORN (בָּר). The most common kinds were wheat, חִטָּה; barley, שְׂעֹרָה; spelt, כֻּסֶּמֶת (R. V.; wrongly rendered "rye" by A. V. in Ex. ix. 32 and Is. xxviii. 25, and in Ezek. iv. 9, "fitches," marg. or, *spelt*), or in plur. form כֻּסְּמִים; and millet, דֹּחַן: oats are mentioned only by rabbinical writers. The word שׁוֹרָה, rendered "principal," as an epithet of *wheat*, in the A. V. of Is. xxviii. 25, is now usually taken (with R. V.) to mean "in rows." [AGRICULTURE.] Corn crops are still reckoned at twentyfold what was sown, and were anciently much more. "Seven ears on one stalk" (Gen. xli. 22) is no unusual phenomenon in Egypt at this day. The many-eared stalk is also common in the wheat of Palestine, and it is of course of the bearded kind. The "heap of wheat set about with *lilies*" (which probably grew in the field together with it) may allude to a custom of so decorating the sheaves (Cant. vii. 2). Wheat (see 2 Sam. iv. 6) was stored in the house for domestic purposes—the "midst of the house" meaning the part more retired than the common chamber where the guests were accommodated. It is at present often kept in a dry well, and perhaps the "ground corn" of 2 Sam. xvii. 19 was meant to imply that the well was so used. From Solomon's time (2 Ch. ii. 10, 15), *i.e.* as agriculture became developed under a settled government, Palestine was a corn-exporting country, and her grain was largely taken by her commercial neighbour Tyre (Ezek. xxvii. 17; cp. Amos viii. 5); and continued to be so much later (Acts xii. 20). "Plenty of corn" was part of Jacob's blessing (Gen. xxvii. 28; cp. Ps. lxv. 13). The "storehouses" mentioned in 2 Ch. xxxii. 28 as built by Hezekiah, were, perhaps, built in consequence of the havoc made by the Assyrian armies (cp. 2 K. xix. 29); without such protection the country in its exhausted state would have been at the mercy of the desert marauders.

Grain crops were liable to יֵרָקוֹן, "mildew," and שִׁדָּפוֹן, "blasting" (see 1 K. viii. 37), as well as of course to fire by accident or malice (Ex. xxii. 6; Judg. xv. 5); see further under AGRICULTURE. Some good general remarks will be found in Saalschutz, *Archäol. der Hebr.* c. 10, §§ 6, 11, 12. [H. H.]

CORNELIUS (*Κορνήλιος*; *Cornelius*), a centurion stationed at Caesarea, and belonging

[a] This seems the general word for corn as it grows. An ear is שִׁבֹּלֶת; standing corn is קָמָה; the word for grain in its final state as fit for food is בָּר, apparently from the same word, בֹּר, *pure*: comp. the Arab. بُرّ, *wheat*, and بَرّ, *pure*, i.e. as sifted. שֶׁבֶר (from שָׁבַר, *to break*) means "grist." "Parched corn," useful for provisions, as not needing cookery, is קָלִי and קָלִיא; cp. the Arab. قَلْي, *to fry*. "Pounded wheat," רִיפוֹת, 2 Sam. xvii. 19; Prov. xxvii. 22.

to the Italian cohort [ARMY: II. ROMAN]. Cornelius is an important character, as being one of the first to receive Christian Baptism without circumcision, and apparently the first uncircumcised convert who was received (with his household) into full Christian fellowship. It is noticeable in this regard that the accusation against St. Peter (Acts xi. 3) was not for baptizing Cornelius, but for eating with him. And it is probable that the eunuch already baptized by Philip was uncircumcised (De Wette in loco). However, the coincident Divine visions granted to Cornelius and St. Peter, the prominence given to the story, the employment of St. Peter in the matter, and his reference to it (Acts xv. 7, 8), all show that the event was an epoch in the history of the Church. But although Cornelius was certainly uncircumcised, and therefore not a full proselyte, he is nevertheless represented as in a near and friendly relation to Judaism ("well reported of by all the nation of the Jews," Acts x. 22). Besides the circumcised proselytes (such as Nicolas of Antioch, Acts vi. 5), there was another class of proselytes described as "fearers" or "worshippers of God" (*φοβούμενοι* or *σεβόμενοι τὸν Θεόν*. See Schürer, *Jewish People*, § 31, who in his second edition controverts his own previous view that these "fearers of God" correspond to the "sojourner proselytes" [תּוֹשָׁב, Lev. xxv. 35], or in later Rabbinical language to the "proselytes of the gate." See, however, Hamburger, *RE. Talmud.*, art. *Proselyten*). Authorities differ as to the requirements made of these persons. But they were liberally dealt with, and the result of this liberality was the attachment to Judaism in a loose way of vast multitudes of "half Jews." On their numbers, importance, and belief, see Hausrath, *Zeit. der Apost. I. Die Proselyten*, and Schürer, *Jewish People*, § 31. To the strictest section of these half-proselytes Cornelius belonged. It was from their ranks that the Christian Church was mainly recruited, and the importance of Cornelius is that he leads the way. The terms in which he is described (Acts x. 2) resemble those applied to his class throughout the Book of the Acts. No distinction can safely be drawn between "one that feared God" (Acts x. 2) and "one that worshipped God" (Acts xviii. 7), for in Acts xiii. the persons addressed by St. Paul as "Ye that fear God" (*v.* 16) are (in *v.* 43) described as devout proselytes. For the action of St. Peter in the matter of Cornelius, see PETER. The centurion's personal character appears in the narrative as marked by devotion (Acts x. 2, 22), zeal for the welfare of others (x. 24), humility (x. 25), and teachableness (x. 33). The gift of the Holy Ghost in the case of Cornelius and his friends preceded Baptism and the laying on of hands, and formed St. Peter's justification for baptizing uncircumcised persons. Their hearts were cleansed by faith (Acts xv. 9), and they received the Spirit by their faith, not by circumcision (cp. Gal. iii. 2: "Received ye the Spirit by the works of the law or by the hearing of faith?").

According to Jerome (*adv. Jovin.* i. p. 301) Cornelius built a church at Caesarea. A later legend (*Menol. Graec.* i. 129) makes him Bishop of Scamandros, where he miraculously caused a temple to fall on his persecutors, and then delivered and converted them. [E. R. B.]

CORNER. The פֵּאָה, or "corner," *i.e.* of the field, was not allowed (Lev. xix. 9) to be wholly reaped. It was a right of the poor to carry off what was so left, and this was a part of the maintenance from the soil to which that class was entitled. Similarly the gleaning of fields and fruit trees [GLEANING], and the sheaf accidentally left on the ground, were secured to the poor and the stranger by the Law (xxiii. 22; Deut. xxiv. 19–21); so too the spontaneous produce of the Sabbatical year was left for the poor, and, so far as observed, would make it for them a year of plenty (Ex. xxiii. 11). To these provisions the words of Ps. lxviii. 10, 11, "Thou hast prepared of Thy goodness for the poor," in connexion with the words the "gracious rain upon Thine inheritance," just before, may perhaps refer. These seem to us, amidst the sharply-defined legal rights of which alone civilization is cognizant, loose and inadequate provisions for the relief of the poor. But custom and common law had probably ensured their observance (Job xxiv. 10) previously to the Mosaic enactment, and continued for a long but indefinite time to give practical force to the statute. Nor were the "poor," to whom appertained the right, the vague class of sufferers whom we understand by the term. On the principles of the Mosaic polity every Hebrew family had a hold on a certain fixed estate, and could by no ordinary and casual calamity be wholly beggared. Hence its indigent members had the claims of kindred on the "corners," &c., of the field which their landed brethren reaped. Similarly the "stranger" was a recognised dependant; "within thy gates" being the description expressive of his sharing, though not by any tie of blood, the domestic claim; but unable to hold any land which formed part of the heritage of Israel. There was thus a further security for the maintenance of the right in its definite and ascertainable character. Neither do we, in the earlier period of the Hebrew polity, closely detailed as its social features are, discover any general traces of agrarian distress and the unsafe condition of the country which results from it—such, for instance, as is proved by the banditti of the Herodian period. David, a popular leader (1 Sam. xviii. 30; xxi. 11), could only muster from four to six hundred men out of all Judah, though "every one that was in distress, in debt, and every one that was discontented," came unto him (1 Sam. xxii. 2; xxv. 13). Further, the position of the Levites, who had themselves a similar claim on the produce of the land, but no possession in its soil, would secure their influence as expounders, teachers, and in part administrators of the Law, in favour of such a claim. In the later period of the Prophets their constant complaints concerning the defrauding of the poor (Is. x. 2; Ezek. xviii. 12, 22, 29; Amos ii. 6, v. 11, viii. 6[a])

[a] The two latter passages, speaking of "taking exactions of wheat" from the poor, and of selling "the refuse (מֻפָּל) of the wheat," *i.e.* perhaps the gleaning, seem to point to some special evasion of the harvest laws.

seem to show that such laws had lost their practical force. Still later, under the Scribes, minute legislation fixed one-sixtieth as the portion of a field which was to be left for the legal "corner"; but provided also (which seems hardly consistent) that two fields should not be so joined as to leave one corner only where two should fairly be reckoned. The proportion being thus fixed, all the grain might be reaped, and enough to satisfy the regulation was subsequently separated from the whole crop. This "corner" was, like the gleaning, tithe-free. Certain fruit trees—*e.g.* nuts, pomegranates, vines, and olives—were deemed liable to the law of "the corner." Maimonides indeed lays down the principle (*Constitutiones de donis pauperum*, cap. ii. 1) that whatever crop or growth is fit for food, is kept, gathered all at once, and carried into store, is liable to that law. A Gentile holding land in Palestine was not deemed liable to the obligation. As regards Jews an evasion seems to have been sanctioned as follows:—Whatever field was consecrated to the Temple and its services, was held exempt from the claim of the poor: an owner might thus consecrate it while the crop was on it, and then redeem it, when in the sheaf, to his own use. Thus the poor would lose the right to the "corner." This reminds us of the "Corban" (Mark vii. 11). For further information, see under AGRICULTURE.

The treatise *Peah*, in the Mishna, may likewise be consulted, especially ch. i. 2–6, ii. 4, 7, the above-quoted treatise of Maimonides, and a paper "On the Poor Laws of the Hebrews" by Dr. S. Louis, *PSBA.* 1883, p. 95. [H. H.]

CORNER-STONE (אֶבֶן פִּנָּה; λίθος γωνιαῖος, or ἀκρογωνιαῖος; *lapis angularis*; also רֹאשׁ פִּנָּה, Ps. cxviii. 22; κεφαλὴ γωνίας; *caput anguli*), a quoin or corner-stone, of great importance in binding together the sides of a building. Some of the corner-stones in the ancient work of the Temple-foundations are 17 or 19 feet long, and 7½ feet thick (Robinson, i. 286). Corner-stones are usually laid sideways and endways alternately, so that the end of one appears above or below the side-face of the next. At Nineveh the corners are sometimes formed of one angular stone (Layard, *Nin.* ii. 254). The expression in Ps. cxviii. 22 is by some understood to mean the coping or ridge, "coign of vantage," of a building; but as in any part a corner-stone must of necessity be of great importance, the phrase "corner-stone" is sometimes used to denote any principal person, as the princes of Egypt (Is. xix. 13), and is thus applied to our Lord, Who, having been once rejected, was afterwards set in the place of the highest honour (Is. xxviii. 16; Matt. xxi. 42; 1 Pet. ii. 6, 7; Grotius on Ps. cxviii. and Ephes. ii. 20; Harmer, *Obs.* ii. 356). [H. W. P.]

CORNET occurs in the A. V. of the Bible for the first time in Exod. xix. 13, where it is given in the margin as the equivalent of *Yobel* (יובל). In 2 Sam. vi. 5 it is used as the translation of *Mena'ane'im* (מנענים) [CYMBALS]. It is found four times in the text of that Version as the equivalent of *Shophar* (שופר)—viz. 1 Ch. xv. 28, 2 Ch. xv. 14, Ps. xcviii. 6, and Hos. v. 8. It also stands four times for *Qarno* (קרנא) in Dan. iii. 5, 7, 10, and 15.

Cornet is closely related, as is known, to the Greek κέρας, but springs immediately from the Latin *cornu*. Both the Greek and Latin are, no doubt, derived from the Hebrew *Qeren* (קרן). This (*Qeren*) is the *genus*, *Yobel* and *Shophar* being two *species* of it; so that while every *Yobel* and *Shophar* are a *Qeren*, a *Qeren* is not necessarily a *Yobel* or a *Shophar*.

Cornet, as a mere musical instrument, has in the course of its development undergone so many changes (the material is now in most cases not even horn, but wood or metal) that, in the ordinary sense of the word, at present, its legitimate place is a *Dictionary of Music*, rather than a *Dictionary of the Bible*. In this article, however, the cornet will be treated in a politico-religious sense, *i.e.* as the equivalent of the practically synonymous terms *Yobel* and *Shophar*. As such, the cornet is the representative of the historical past of the Jewish people, of their religious present, and of their anxiously looked-for glorious future—the glorious future mediately of the whole human race.

I. *The historical past of the Jewish people.*

According to tradition, the horns of the ram which was caught in the thicket and offered by Abraham as a burnt offering instead of the intended human victim (Isaac; Gen. xxii. 13) were a distinct prefiguration of the part which the cornet, or ram's horn (*Shophar*), would later on play in the religious and political destinies of the children of Israel (Jacob), who sprang from Isaac and Abraham.

(1.) The *Shophar* sounded at the giving of the Law on Sinai (Ex. xix. 16, &c.), which was the consummation of the nation's deliverance from the material bondage in Egypt. The Law was to be to them the means of freeing themselves from the worst of all servitudes—sin (Ex. xx. 2, 3, 20, and elsewhere). There is no freedom except in the Law, and nobody is free except one who engages in the study and execution of the Law (*Qinyan Hattorah*, 2).*

(2.) The *Shophar* resounded every fifty years (in the year of Jubilee), when property sold "for ever" returned to its original owner or family, and every servant sold "for ever" to his master became absolutely free (Lev. xxv. 9, 10, 41).

(3.) The *Shophar* resounded and Jericho fell at its blast; the first city of the Holy Land which the Israelites had attacked and taken (Josh. vi. 20).

(4.) When Ehud had slain Eglon, Israel's ruthless oppressor for eighteen years, the defeat of Moab, which secured to Israel a peace of eighty years, was brought about by the sounding of the *Shophar* (Judg. iii. 12–30).

(5.) The *Shophar* played a most important part in the battle between Gideon and the Midianites (*do.*, vii. 19, 22).

(6.) When, after the death of the first king of Israel, the servants of the two rival houses threatened to annihilate one another, Joab at the solicitation of Abner stayed the internecine war by the blowing of the *Shophar* (2 Sam. ii. 28).

* See Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers* (Cambridge, 1877, p. 114).

(7.) When the Two Tables of the Covenant were being removed to Zion, David and all the house of Israel brought up the Ark of the Lord containing them, with shouting and the sound of the *Shophar* (2 Sam. vi. 15; 1 Ch. xv. 28).

(8.) When, after the unsuccessful rebellion of Absalom, which was to be inaugurated by the *Shophar* (2 Sam. xv. 10), there arose a more formidable enemy against David—Sheba ben Bichri—both the rebel's temporary success and his final defeat were proclaimed by the *Shophar* (*do.*, xx. 1, 22).

(9.) When David's divinely-appointed successor—Solomon—ascended the throne, in opposition to his usurping brother Adonijah, all the people shouted, "May King Solomon live!" amidst the sounding of the *Shophar* (1 Kings i. 39).

(10.) When great and public calamities (defeat by the enemy, want of rain, famine, pestilence, &c.) befell the inhabitants of any part of Palestine, a fast and an assembly were proclaimed, and in the ceremonies connected therewith a solemn part was the sounding of the *Shophar* (Joel ii. 1–17; Amos iii. 6; Mishnah *Ta'anith*, ii. iii.).

(11.) When the overthrow of the Jewish polity is described, the catastrophe is given by Zephaniah (i. 16) in the words, "A day of *Shophar* and alarm;" and by Jeremiah (iv. 19) as, "Thou hast heard, O my soul, the sound of the *Shophar*, the alarm of war."

(12.) The rebuilding of the feeble walls of Jerusalem (destined one day to become mighty fortifications), at which every one worked with one hand whilst holding a weapon with the other, was only successfully protected by Nehemiah's sentinel calling together, when necessary, the separated workmen by the sound of the *Shophar* (Neh. iv. 11–14, A. V. 17–20).

II. *The religious present of the Jews.*

(1.) The Rabbanites (in contradistinction to the so-called Scriptural Jews) sound the cornet on the first and second days of the seventh month. It is true that in the whole of the Hebrew Scriptures is not found the distinct mention of a *Shophar* for the purpose of celebrating that day (or those days) as day (or days) of sounding the alarm. On the contrary, from Num. x. 10 it would appear that the alarm was to be sounded on the first day of the seventh month, even as on other solemn occasions, by the trumpets of silver mentioned (v. 2). Yet not only is there a sure and absolutely trustworthy tradition that in the second Temple there was a *Shophar* sounded (Mishnah *Rosh Hasshanah*, iii. 3) besides the silver trumpets (חֲצֹצְרוֹת), which stood in connexion with the offerings of the sacrifices on new moons, &c., but there can be little doubt that this practice was observed in the first Temple also. It is certainly a mistake to think that Joel (ii. 15) refers to blowing the *Shophar* on New Year,[b] that the fast spoken of there alluded to the Day of Atonement, and that the solemn assembly referred to the Festival mentioned in Lev. xxiii. 36. It is impossible that this should be the meaning of the verse. In the first instance the absence of the definite article (*Shophar*) precludes the possibility of such an interpretation, and, more than this, the whole context shows that it refers to the calamity of the locusts. The Prophet, however, could not have used the figure he employs if the *Shophar* had not sounded on such days. But we have absolute proofs that the first day of the seventh month was not treated as an ordinary new moon. We find that this day is one of the Seven Holy Convocations, &c., the name of which (New Year) people, totally and absolutely ignorant of the spirit of the Bible, say is a later invention. A few words will suffice. It is true that Moses commanded *Nisan* or *Abib* to be observed as the first month of the religious year. But there must have been a New Year apart from that observed in his days as a religious one. This New Year in the times of Moses coincided with the beginning of the natural year. For what else does he mean by the expressions בצאת השנה (Ex. xxiii. 16) and תקופת השנה (*do.*, xxxiv. 22)? What else did and could he mean by appointing the first of the seventh month as a Day of Memorial and Sounding the Alarm, the tenth day of that month as the Day of Atonement, the fifteenth, &c., as the Feast of Tabernacles, and the twenty-second thereof as the Day of Solemn Assembly?

(2.) The *Shophar* is also sounded at the going out of the Day of Atonement. This is not prescribed by the letter of the Bible; but if not by the letter, it is certainly prescribed by the spirit. For it is the proclamation of freedom from the yoke of sin, the wages of which is death! (cp. I. (2) above.)

(3.) The same is the case as regards the Seventh Day of Tabernacles, which day was already observed with special solemnity, cabbalistic rites, and mystic invocations in the times of the second Temple (Mishnah, *Sukkah*, iv. 5). There can be no doubt whatever that these ceremonies were accompanied by the sounding of the *Shophar*. The Sepharadic Jews preserve this practice still, although they do not sound the *Shophar* on that day as Sepharadic, but as cabbalistic, Jews, since they, if not necessarily cabbalists themselves, are the disciples and followers of cabbalistic teachers.

(4.) All Jews, however, Sepharadic or Ashkenazic, cabbalistic or non-cabbalistic, sound the *Shophar* every morning of the week-days of the month of *Elul* (the month preceding New Year); and all the Sepharadim, and some of the Ashkenazim, as disciples of cabbalists, sound it in the evening too. This custom is not very old; it is not even known to the Talmuds and Midrashim.

(5.) The sounding of the *Shophar* on occasions of full and extreme Excommunication is to heighten the solemnity (*Pireqe* of Rabbi Eli'ezer, cap. xxxviii.).

(6.) It is customary among the Sepharadic Jews to sound the *Shophar* on occasion of the burial of a *Chakham* (Chief Rabbi or Rabbi).

[b] It is commonly held that Rab Se'adyah Gaon in his *Siddur* gave ten reasons for sounding the *Shophar* on New Year; but this is a mistake. The writer of these lines inspected the Bodleian MS. (Uri 261), and found no traces of this treatise. Cp. *Encycl. Brit.*[9] xxi. 121, note 4. That such a little treatise was known and ascribed in the 14th century to a famous Rab Se'adyah is certainly true; but this must have been another Rab Se'adyah (probably the commentator on Daniel).

III. *The anxiously looked-for glorious future of the Jews, and mediately the glorious future of the whole human race.*

These promises are twofold: to the living and to the dead.

(1.) The Prophets do not merely promise an ingathering of the dispersed of Israel from any of the nations whither they had been driven, but, along with it, a regeneration of the whole human race. This glorious future is closely connected with the sounding of the *Shophar*. The Prophet whose prophecies are all consolation, Isaiah of the first Temple, says (xxvii. 13), "On that day a great *Shophar* shall be sounded," &c. The same says the prophet who is all Messianic, Zechariah of the second[c] Temple (ix. 14), "And the eternal God will blow in the *Shophar*."

(2.) But the day of the resurrection of the dead, the day of judgment, the day of awarding salvation or condemnation, will be marked by the sounding of the *Shophar*. This idea is not only an old tradition current among the Jews (Josephus, *Hades*, 5); but is distinctly embodied in the Greek Scriptures, which fact in itself would be sufficient evidence that it was Jewish. For Paul, the Apostle to the Gentiles, a "Hebrew of the Hebrews," speaks in his First Epistle to the Corinthians (xv. 52) of the "last trump," by which he, of course, means the last sound of the *Shophar*. But the Hebrew Scriptures themselves, as far as they teach resurrection, intimate thus much, though only by hints (Is. xviii. 3[d]). Cp. the Targum (*do.*, xlii. 11), and the two sublime poetical pieces[e] attached to the "*Shopharoth*" in the Ashkenazic Ritual. [S. M. S.-S.]

COS (Κῶς, now *Stanchio* or *Stanko*). This small island has several interesting points of connexion with the Jews. It is specified, in the edict which resulted from the communications of Simon Maccabaeus with Rome, as one of the places which contained Jewish residents (1 Macc. xv. 23). Josephus, quoting Strabo, mentions that the Jews had a great amount of treasure stored there during the Mithridatic war (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 7, § 2). From the same source we learn that Julius Caesar issued an edict in favour of the Jews of Cos (*ibid.* 10, § 15). Herod the Great conferred many favours on the island (Joseph. *B. J.* i. 21, § 11); and an inscription in Böckh (No. 2502) associates it with Herod the tetrarch. St. Paul, on the return from his third Missionary Journey, passed the night here, after sailing from MILETUS. The next day he went on to RHODES (Acts xxi. 1). The proximity of Cos to these two important places, and to CNIDUS, and its position at the entrance to the Archipelago from the east, made it an island of considerable consequence. It was celebrated for its light woven fabrics and for its wines,—also for a temple of Aesculapius, to which a school of physicians was attached, and which was virtually, from its votive models, a museum of anatomy and pathology. The Emperor Claudius bestowed upon Cos the privilege of a free state (Tac. *Ann.* xii. 61). The chief town (of the same name) was on the N.E., near a promontory called Scandarium; and perhaps it is to the town that reference is made in the Acts (*l. c.*). There is a monograph on Cos by Küster (*De Co Insula*, Halle, 1833), and a very useful paper on the subject by Col. Leake (in the *Trans. of the Royal Soc. of Literature*, vol. i., second series). An account of the island will be found in Clarke's *Travels*, vol. ii. pt. i. pp. 196–213, and vol. ii. pt. ii. pp. 321–333; but the best description is in Ross, *Reisen nach Kos, Halicarnassus, u. s. w.* (Halle, 1852), with which his *Reisen auf den Griech. Inseln* should be compared, vol. ii. (1843), pp. 86–92, vol. iii. (1845), pp. 126–139. Cp. also Rayet, *Mém. sur l'île de Kos*, Arch. des Miss. III. iii. p. 37 sq. (1876). [J. S. H.] [J. E. S.]

Tetradrachm of Cos (Phoenician ? talent). Obv., Head of young Hercules to right. Rev., KΩIoN / MoΣXIΩN, crab and bow in case, all within dotted square.

CO'SAM (Κωσάμ; *Cosan*, a name that occurs nowhere else either in the O. T. or N. T., and is of doubtful etymology), son of Elmodam, and fifth before Zorobabel, in the line of Joseph the husband of Mary, Luke iii. 28. [GENEALOGIES OF CHRIST.] [A. C. H.]

COTTON (כַּרְפַּס; κάρπασος, τὰ καρπάσινα, Esth. i. 6, where the Vulg. has *carbasini coloris*, as if a colour[a] [A. V. and R. V. text "green"],

[c] It is quite true that some modern critics, being led by the mention of Ephraim and other terms in it, assign this and several other chapters to an earlier Zechariah of the First Temple. But a single-minded and real critic will soon discover that the corruption is not in the text, but in the over-estimated and shallow criticisms upon the text, and that the mention of Ephraim and Philistine cities, &c., is no more out of place in a prophet of the early times of the Second Temple (Zechariah) than in a prophet of the Exile (Ezekiel). Moreover, the mention of Yavan, on the principle of the critics, would rather point to the Syro-Grecian times than to those of the First Temple.

[d] The verse before us was evidently translated by tradition: "All ye inmates of corruption (תבל = "putrefaction," from בלה, to fade, to rot; cp. *ibidem*, li. 6, where this verb is specially applied to the perishableness of the earth), and ye that dwell in the earth (*i.e.* the dead; cp. *ibidem*, xxvi. 19, where the very noun שכני occurs) will see it when a banner is lifted up on the mountains, and ye will hear it when a *Shophar* is sounded."

[e] It will have been seen from note [b], that it was a mistake to ascribe the Ten Reasons for sounding the *Shophar* on New Year to Rab Se'adyah, the Gaon (10th century), and that the author of these interesting paragraphs was a much later Rab Se'adyah (13th century). But the poetical pieces just mentioned, in which these Ten Reasons are embodied, are hundreds of years older than the Gaon.

[a] So חוּר, "white" in A. V., is probably not a colour, but a stuff, possibly silk: cp. Arab حرير, *hareer*, "silk." The סְדִינִין, "sheets," marg. *shirts*,

and not a material [R. V. marg. *cotton*], were intended). There is a doubt whether under שֵׁשׁ, *Shesh*, in the earlier, and בּוּץ, *Bûtz*, in the later books of the O. T., rendered in the A. V. by "white linen," "fine linen," &c., cotton may have been included as well. Both *Shesh* and *Bûtz* are said by Gesen. (*s. v.*) to be from roots signifying originally mere whiteness; a sense said also to inhere in the word בַּד (perhaps Arab. *abyad*, ابيد, "white"), used sometimes instead of and sometimes together with *Shesh* to mean the fabric. In Ezek. xxvii. 7, 16, שֵׁשׁ, *Shesh*, is mentioned as imported into Tyre from Egypt, and *Bûtz* as from Syria. Each is found in turn coupled with אַרְגָּמָן (*purpura*), in the sense of "purple and fine linen," *i.e.* the most showy and costly apparel (cp. Prov. xxxi. 22 with Esth. viii. 15). The dress of the Egyptian priests, at any rate in their ministrations, was without doubt of linen (Herod. ii. 37), in spite of Pliny's assertion (xix. 1, 2) that they preferred cotton. Yet cotton garments for the worship of the temples is said to be mentioned in the Rosetta Stone (Wilkinson, *A. E.* ii. 74 [1878]). Linen was the material of the Jewish ephod and other priestly attire, in which we cannot suppose any carelessness to have prevailed. If, however, a Jew happened to have a piece of cotton cloth, he probably would not be deterred by any scruple about the *heterogenea* of Deut. xxii. 11 from wearing that and linen together. There is, however, no word for the cotton *plant* (like פִּשְׁתָּה for flax) in the Hebrew, nor any reason to suppose that there was any early knowledge of the fabric.

The Egyptian mummy swathings also, many of which are said to remain as good as when fresh from the loom, are decided, after much controversy and minute analysis, to have been of linen, and not cotton. The very difficulty of deciding, however, shows how easily even scientific observers may mistake, and, much more, how impossible it would have been for ancient popular writers to avoid confusion. Even Greek naturalists sometimes clearly include "cotton" under λίνον. The same appears to be true of ὀθόνη, ὀθονίον, and the whole class of words signifying white textile vegetable fabrics. The proper Oriental name for the article כַּרְפַּס (said to occur with slight variation in Sansk. and other Oriental languages[b]) is Grecised in the LXX. by καρπάσινα. From the same word, with which either their Alexandrian or Parthian intercourse might familiarize them, the Latins borrowed *carbasus*, completely current in poetical use in the golden and silver period of Latinity, for sails, awnings, &c. Varro knew of tree-wool on the authority of Ctesias, contemporary with Xenophon. The Greeks, through the commercial consequences of Alexander's conquests, must have known of cotton cloth, and more or less of the plant. Amasis indeed (about B.C. 540) sent as a present from Egypt a corslet κεκοσμημένον χρυσῷ καὶ ἐρίοισι ἀπὸ ξύλου (Herod. iii. 47), which Pliny says was still existing in his time in a temple at Rhodes, and that the minuteness of its fibre had provoked the experiments of the curious.[c] Cotton was manufactured and worn extensively in Egypt, but extant monuments give no proof of its growth, as in the case of flax, in that country (Wilkinson, *A. E.* ii. pp. 50, 88 [1878]); indeed, had it been a general product, we could scarcely have missed finding some trace of it on the monumental details of ancient Egyptian arts, trades, &c.; but, especially, when Pliny (A.D. 75) asserts that cotton was then grown in Egypt, a statement confirmed by Julius Pollux (a century later), we can hardly resist the inference that, at least as a curiosity and as an experiment, some plantations existed there. This is the more likely since we find the cotton-*tree* (*Gossypium arboreum*, less usual than, and distinct from, the cotton *plant*, *Goss. herbac.*) is mentioned still by Pliny as the *only remarkable* tree of the adjacent Ethiopia; and since Arabia, on its other side, appears to have known cotton[d] from time immemorial, to grow it in abundance, and in parts to be highly favourable to that product. In India, however, we have the earliest records of the use of cotton for dress; of which, including the starching of it, some curious traces are found as early as 800 B.C., in the Institutes of Manu; also (it is said, on the authority of Prof. Wilson) in the Rig Veda, 105, v. 8. For these and some other curious antiquities of the subject, see Royle's *Culture and Commerce of Cotton in India*, pp. 117–122.

Cotton is *now* both grown and manufactured in various parts of Syria and Palestine, and, owing probably to its being less conductive of heat, seems preferred for turbans and shirts to linen; but there is no proof that, till they came in contact with Persia, the Hebrews generally knew of it as a distinct fabric from linen, whilst the negative proof of language and the probabilities of fact offer a strong presumption that, if they obtained it at all in commerce, they confounded it with linen under the terms *Shesh* or *Bûtz*. The greater cleanliness and durability of linen probably established its superiority over cotton for sepulchral purposes in the N. T. period, by which time the latter must have been commonly known, and thus there is no reason for assigning cotton as the material of the ὀθόνια and ἐντάφια of which we read. For the whole subject, see Yates's *Textrinum Antiquorum*, pt. i. chap. vi. and App. D. [H. H.]

COUCH. [BED.]

COUNCIL. **1.** (*συνέδριον*) the great council of the Sanhedrin, which sat at Jerusalem. [SAN-

of A. V., R. V. "linen garments," Judg. xiv. 12, 13, and "fine linen" (A. V. and R. V.), Is. iii. 23, is perhaps a form of the same word as σινδών, "linen cloth," Mark xiv. 51.

[b] *Kurpasa* or *kurpasum* is the Sansk. *Kupas* in Hindoo means the cotton rose or pod with seed, which in the Bengalee is *kapasee*, and in the Bombay dialect, *kapoos*.

[c] So Burckhardt (*Trav. Nub.* App. iii. p. 515, note) mentions "a species of cuirass made of quilted cotton" as still worn by certain tribes adjacent to the Nile.

[d] Arab. *Coton*, قطن, means: 1, any annual; 2, anything between two leaves; 3, the well-known "cotton" plant. This evolving of the special from the general sense seems to indicate that the name "cotton" is originally Arabic; though it may be true that the plant is indigenous in India.

HEDRIN.] **2.** (*συνέδρια*, Matt. v. 22, x. 17; Mark xiii. 9) the lesser courts, appointed by the Great Sanhedrin, of which there were two at Jerusalem, and one in each town of Palestine. The constitution of these courts varied; according to Talmudical writers, the number of judges was twenty-three in places where there was a population of 120, though three could act under special circumstances. Evidently the number varied according to the size of the town (Mishn. *Sanhedr.* 1 § 6. Cp. Riehm, *HWB.* s. n. "Gerichtswesen;" Ginsburg in Kitto's *Cyclop. of Bibl. Liter.* s. n. "Sanhedrin"). Josephus, however, mentions probably the usual practice, that the court, as constituted by Moses (Deut. xvi. 18; cp. *Ant.* iv. 8, § 14; *B. J.* ii. 20, § 5), consisted of seven judges, each of whom had two Levites as assessors; and in the reform which Josephus carried out in Galilee, he appointed seven judges for the trial of minor offences (*B. J.* ii. 20, § 5). These courts of justice met twice a week (Mondays and Thursdays), usually in a room adjoining the synagogue, and dealt not only with civil offences, but such capital cases as did not come within the jurisdiction of the Great Sanhedrin. To this latter body the judges referred any decision disputed among themselves (cp. Hamburger, *RE.* Abth. ii. s.n. "Synhedrion"). **3.** *συμβούλιον* (Acts xxv. 12), a kind of jury or privy council, consisting of assessors (*consiliarii*, Suet. *Tib.* 33, 55), who assisted Roman governors in the administration of justice and other public matters. [W. L. B.] [F.]

COURT, an open enclosure, applied in the A. V. most commonly to the enclosure of the Tabernacle and the Temple. The Hebrew word invariably used for the former is *Chatzer*, חָצֵר, from a root, חָצַר, to surround (Ges. p. 512. See, amongst others, Ex. xxvii. 9 to xl. 33; Lev. vi. 16; Num. iii. 26, &c.). The same word is also most frequently used for the "courts" of the Temple, as 1 K. vi. 36, vii. 8; 2 K. xxiii. 12; 2 Ch. xxxiii. 5; Ps. xcii. 13, &c. In 2 Ch. iv. 9 and vi. 13, however, a different word is employed, apparently, for the same places—*Azârah*, עֲזָרָה, from a root of similar meaning to the above (cp. the Arab. and Assyr. equivalents given in MV.[11]). This word also occurs in Ezek. xliii. 14, 17, 20; xlv. 19 (A. V. and R. V. "settle"), but perhaps with a different force. *Chatzer* also designates the court of a prison (Neh. iii. 25; Jer. xxxii. 2, &c.), of a private house (2 Sam. xvii. 18), and of a palace (2 K. xx. 4; Esth. i. 5, &c.). In Amos vii. 13, where the Hebrew word is *Beth* = a "house" (so R. V.), the A. V., perhaps desirous of using a term applicable specially to a king's residence, reads "court." [HOUSE; TABERNACLE; TEMPLE.]

The word *Chatzer* is very often employed for the enclosures of the villages of Palestine (see the list in MV.[11]), and under the form of Hazer or Hazor frequently occurs in the names of places in the A. V. [HAZER; VILLAGE.]

In Matt. xxvi. 69 (*v.* 58 may be doubtful), Mark xiv. 66 (perhaps also *v.* 54) and xv. 16, John xviii. 15, *αὐλή* should be rendered, as in R. V. "court," *i.e.* the quadrangle around which the house or palace of the high-priest was built, and not "palace" or "hall" (A. V.). Peter himself was not in the room of the palace where the Saviour was on trial, as the English reader would be led to suppose, but was in the court outside. [PETER.] Cp. *B. D.* American edition. [G.] [W.]

COU'THA (Κουθά; *Phusa*), 1 Esd. v. 32. There is no name corresponding with this in the lists (printed in parallel columns in *Speaker's Comm.* l. c.) of Ezra and Nehemiah. [F.]

COVENANT. There can be no doubt that the English word "covenant," by which it is almost invariably rendered in A. V., conveys an accurate idea of the Hebrew word בְּרִית in the O. T. The two words, however, are not proper equivalents. A covenant (*convenire*, *conventus*) is a coming together or agreement. "A covenant is a mutual consent and agreement entered into between persons, whereby they stand bound each to other to perform the conditions contracted and indented for. And thus a covenant is the very same thing with a contract or bargain" (Bp. Hopkins, ii. 302). "Sunt item pacta, quae sine legibus observantur ex conventu" (Cic. *ad Heren.* 2 *b*). But בְּרִית, whichever we accept of the derivations of it which have been suggested, describes properly some accessory of the covenant, rather than the covenant itself. It is derived by Gesenius from the unused root בָּרַת, *i. q.* בָּרָה, "to cut," and taken to mean primarily "a cutting," with reference to the custom of cutting or dividing animals in two, and passing between the parts in ratifying a covenant (Gen. xv.; Jer. xxxiv. 18, 19). Hence the expression "to cut a covenant" (כָּרַת בְּרִית, Gen. xv. 18, or simply כָּרַת, with בְּרִית understood, 1 Sam. xi. 2) is of frequent occurrence (cp. *ὅρκια τέμνειν*, *τέμνειν σπονδάς*, *icere*, *ferire*, *percutere foedus*). Buxtorf derives it from בָּרָה in the sense of "to choose," or "select:" "quia eliguntur personae inter quas, et res ac conditiones propter quas foedus initur" (cp. Assyr. in MV.[11]). Professor Lee suggests (*Heb. Lex.* s. v. בְּרִית) that the proper signification of the word is *an eating together*, or *banquet*, from the meaning "to eat," which the root בָּרָה sometimes bears, because among the Orientals to eat together amounts almost to a covenant of friendship. This view is supported by Gen. xxxi. 46, where Jacob and Laban eat together on the heap of stones which they have set up in ratifying the covenant between them. It affords also a satisfactory explanation of the expression "a covenant of salt" (בְּרִית מֶלַח, *διαθήκη ἁλός*, Num. xviii. 19; 2 Ch. xiii. 5), when the Eastern idea of eating salt together is remembered. If, however, any other derivation of בְּרִית be adopted, this expression may be explained by supposing salt to have been eaten or offered with accompanying sacrifices on occasion of very solemn covenants, or it may be regarded as figurative, denoting, either, from the use of salt in sacrifice (Lev. ii. 13; Mark ix. 49), the sacredness, or, from the preserving qualities of salt, the perpetuity of, the covenant. But, whatever be its derivation, the usage of the word clearly shows, as has been said, that it means a covenant or compact.

When, however, we pass to the N. T., a difficulty arises from the fact that *διαθήκη*, which was chosen by the LXX. to represent בְּרִית (*συνθήκη* is used in Wisd. i. 16; 1 Macc. x. 26;

2 Macc. xiii. 25), is sometimes rendered *covenant* and sometimes *testament* in A. V. The introduction of this new word, conveying a new idea, viz. that of *a will* or *bequest*, is probably due to the Vulgate, which, having used *testamentum* occasionally (*foedus* or *pactum* more commonly, and often interchangeably. Gen. ix.; xvii.; Ex. vi. 4, 5, &c.) for בְּרִית (Num. xiv. 44; Ps. cv. [civ.] 8, 10) and for διαθήκη in the Apocr. (Ecclus. xi. 21, xvii. 10; 1 Macc. i. 16, &c.), adopt it exclusively as the rendering of διαθήκη in N. T. But it may well be doubted whether there is any necessity for a second word to be introduced, and whether it would not have been better to retain the one word *covenant* throughout the Bible. The meaning of διαθήκη having been fixed in the O. T. by its constant employment by the LXX. as the equivalent of בְּרִית, which never means *testament* or *will*, but always *covenant* or *agreement* (can it be shown that the Jews of O. T. times practised the testamentary disposition of property at all?), it is only reasonable to suppose that the N. T. writers, themselves familiar, and writing for the most part for readers who were familiar, with the Greek O. T., should use the word with the same meaning. Moreover, in the majority of instances it is the same thing which has been called a *covenant* in the O. T., which is presented to us again in the N. T.; and it is obviously confusing that it should appear under a new name. "The ark of the covenant," with which we are conversant in the O. T. (Num. x. 33; 1 Sam. iv. 3; Jer. iii. 16), becomes in the N. T., now "the ark of the covenant" (Heb. ix. 4), and now "the ark of the testament" (Rev. xi. 19), its Greek name, however (ἡ κιβωτὸς τῆς διαθήκης), remaining unchanged, though the Vulgate has led the way to the variation by its indifferent use of *arca foederis* (Num. x. 33) and *arca testamenti* (Jer. iii. 16) in the O. T. "The blood of the (old) *covenant*" (Exod. xxiv. 8; cp. Zech. ix. 11) becomes (though here, too, not uniformly, Heb. x. 29; xiii. 20) in a passage of great importance, the "blood of the new *testament*" (Matt. xxvi. 28, R. V. "of the covenant"). The inspired Books which gradually were added to the first inspired Book of which we have mention, "The Book of the *Covenant*" (Exod. xxiv. 7), and to which in the aggregate the Apostle gives its name, describing the writings by the great central fact to which they have reference, become in our English Bibles "The old *testament*" (2 Cor. iii. 14, R. V. "covenant"); and the same inaccuracy is consequently introduced into our common title of the later Scriptures. There is, however, one passage in the N. T. in which it has been thought absolutely necessary to use *testament*, as the exponent of διαθήκη. "For where διαθήκη is" (so the passage reads in the Revised Version, if we leave the crucial word for the moment untranslated), "there must of necessity be the death of him that made it. For a διαθήκη is of force where there hath been death: for doth it ever avail while he that made it liveth?" (Heb. ix. 16, 17). Now, no doubt, if this statement could be looked upon as an independent proposition, apart from the Epistle and the context in which it occurs, the rendering of διαθήκη by *testament* would be quite satisfactory. The disposition of a man's property, under the form of a will or testament, cannot take effect till his death. It was under that form that Christ (ὁ διαθέμενος) bequeathed, as it were, the benefits and conditions of His disposition to His Church, for it was by His death, and by His death only, that they became effectual. But when we regard this short paragraph, no longer as an isolated proposition, but as a portion of a treatise, and a link in a chain of argument, the difficulty of this rendering of διαθήκη becomes at once apparent. The general usage of the writer, and, indeed, as we have seen, of the sacred writers throughout, is against it. Excluding the passage under consideration, the word occurs no fewer than twelve times in this Epistle (vii. 22; viii. 6, 8, 9 *bis*, 10; ix. 4 *bis*; x. 16, 29; xii. 24; xiii. 30). In all these places its unquestioned meaning is *covenant*. In the passage before us it occurs in all six times; twice in the short paragraph above quoted, twice immediately before, and twice immediately after it. Both before and after, it can only mean *covenant*. Why then should it not have the same meaning in the paragraph itself, which forms a part of a continuous argument? Because, it is replied, it is not true that, in the case of such covenants as are here in view, "The death of him who made" them is necessary to their validity. It was God Who made them (ὁ διαθέμενος. Cp. ἡ διαθήκη ἣν διαθήσομαι, x. 16), but it was man who died and whose blood was shed, in the person of the sacrifice by which the covenant was ratified. Therefore, it is alleged, we must needs understand here a testament or will by this word διαθήκη. But how does the change help us? If with the Revised Version we read *covenant* both times in v. 15, and again in vv. 18, 20, and *testament* in vv. 16, 17, the argument would appear to proceed as follows: "Christ is the Mediator of a new διαθήκη, and He died for the redemption of the transgressions that were under the old διαθήκη, v. 15. By διαθήκη I of course mean what we Jews always understand by it (and in that sense, indeed, I have used it frequently already in this letter), viz. a *covenant*. But the reason why I say *he died*, in connexion with the old διαθήκη, or *covenant*, is that where there is a διαθήκη—supposing, that is, that it assumes the form of a *testament* or will, for only in that case, and not when it is of the nature of a *covenant*, is the allegation true—there must of necessity be *the death* of him that made it, v. 16. For a διαθήκη, if and if only it be a *testament*, is of force where there hath been death: for doth it ever avail while he that made it liveth? v. 17. Wherefore, because the death of him who made it is necessary to the validity of a *testament*, even the first—I leave you to supply the word—was not dedicated without blood, v. 18. But if, as you must needs do, you supply *testament*, I shall instantly correct you by reference to the historical fact and the actual expression used by Moses, 'The blood of the *covenant*,' vv. 19, 20." In short, unless the statements of vv. 16, 17 apply to διαθήκη, in whichever of the two senses, covenant or testament, it is employed, the argument breaks down. But if they do so apply, then the necessity for a second and (to biblical usage) foreign meaning of the word ceases. But then, too, the difficulty connected with ὁ διαθέμενος remains.

With a view to meet this difficulty, it has been proposed to render *ἐπὶ νεκροῖς*, "over, or in the case of, dead sacrifices," and *ὁ διαθεμένος*, "the mediating sacrifice" (Scholefield's *Hints for an improved Translation of the N. T.*). Ebrard and others would restrict the statement of *v.* 16 to the O. T. idea of a covenant *between man and God*, in which man, as guilty, must always be represented by a sacrifice with which he was so completely identified, that in its person he (*ὁ διαθεμένος*, the human covenanter) actually died. Mr. Wratislaw, under the somewhat startling title of "God's death in Christ," maintains that "in sacrifices, ratifying treaties and covenants, the contracting party or parties were considered as dying, *in respect of the treaty or covenant*, in the sacrificed victim or victims, and thus retaining no power of changing their minds in respect of that particular treaty or covenant. Thus God," he adds, "binds Himself through a sacrifice to Abraham in Gen. xv. 17, and, by passing symbolically between the pieces of the victims, declares Himself to have suffered a symbolical death in them in respect of His covenant and promise, which is therefore unalterable."

In its biblical meaning of a compact or agreement between two parties, the word is used— 1. *Improperly, of a covenant between God and man.* Man not being in any way in the position of an independent covenanting party, the word is evidently used in this case by way of accommodation. Strictly speaking, such a covenant is quite unconditional, and amounts to a promise (Gal. iii. 15 sq., where *ἐπαγγελία* and *διαθήκη* are used almost as synonyms), or act of mere favour (Ps. lxxxix. 28, where חֶסֶד stands in parallelism with בְּרִית) on God's part (Is. lix. 21). Thus the assurance given by God after the Flood, that a like judgment should not be repeated, and that the recurrence of the seasons, and of day and night, should not cease, is called a covenant (Gen. ix.; Jer. xxxiii. 20). In Gen. xv. 17, it is God alone, as represented by the "smoking furnace," and the "burning lamp," Who passes between the pieces, as though He were the sole contracting party in the covenant, which accordingly takes the form of a free gift, *v.* 18. Generally, however, the form of a covenant is maintained, by the benefits which God engages to bestow being made by Him dependent upon the fulfilment of certain conditions which He imposes on man. Thus the covenant with Abraham was conditioned by circumcision (Acts vii. 8), the omission of which was declared tantamount to a breach of the covenant (Gen. xvii.); the covenant of the priesthood, by zeal for God, His honour and service (Num. xxv. 12, 13; Deut. xxxiii. 9; Neh. xiii. 29; Mal. ii. 4, 5); the covenant of Sinai, by the observance of the ten commandments (Ex. xxxiv. 27, 28; Lev. xxvi. 15), which are therefore called "Jehovah's covenant" (Deut. iv. 13), a name which, as has been said, was extended to all the Books of Moses, and probably to the whole body of Jewish canonical Scriptures (2 Cor. iii. 14, 15). This last-mentioned covenant, which was renewed at different periods of Jewish history (Deut. xxix.; Josh. xxiv.; 2 Ch. xv. xxiii. xxix. xxxiv.; Ezra x.; Neh. ix. x.), is one of the two principal covenants between God and man. They are distinguished as old and new (Jer. xxxi. 31–34; Heb. viii. 8–13; x. 16), with reference to the order, not of their institution but of their actual development (Gal. iii. 17); and also as being the instruments respectively of bondage and freedom (Gal. iv. 24). The latter of these covenants is thought by some to be represented in Gal. iii. under a twofold aspect, as being a covenant between the First and Second Persons of the blessed Trinity (*v.* 16 and *v.* 20, as explained by Scholefield, Ellicott, &c.), and also a covenant, conditioned by faith in Christ, between God and man (see Bp. Hopkins's *Works*, vol. ii. pp. 299–398, and Witsius *on the Covenants*, for the theology of the subject). Consistently with this representation of God's dealings with man under the form of a covenant, such covenant is said to be confirmed in conformity to human custom by an oath (Deut. iv. 31; Ps. lxxxix. 3), to be sanctioned by curses to fall upon the unfaithful (Deut. xxix. 21), and to be accompanied by a sign (אוֹת), such as the rainbow (Gen. ix.), circumcision (Gen. xvii.), or the Sabbath (Ex. xxxi. 16, 17).

2. *Properly, of a covenant between man and man*, i.e. a solemn compact or agreement, either between tribes or nations (1 Sam. xi. 1; Josh. ix. 6, 15), or between individuals (Gen. xxxi. 44), by which each party bound himself to fulfil certain conditions, and was assured of receiving certain advantages. In making such a covenant God was solemnly invoked as witness (Gen. xxxi. 50), whence the expression "a covenant of Jehovah" (בְּרִית יְהוָה, 1 Sam. xx. 8, cp. Ezek. xvii. 19), and an oath was sworn (Gen. xxi. 31); and accordingly a breach of covenant was regarded as a very heinous sin (Ezek. xvii. 12-20). A sign (אוֹת) or witness (עֵד) of the covenant was sometimes framed, such as a gift (Gen. xxi. 30), or a pillar or heap of stones erected (Gen. xxxi. 52). The marriage compact is called "the covenant of God," Prov. ii. 17 (see Mal. ii. 14). The word "covenant" came to be applied to a sure ordinance, such as that of the shewbread (Lev. xxiv. 8); and is used figuratively in such expressions as a covenant with death (Is. xxviii. 18), or with the wild beasts (Hos. ii. 18). The phrases אַנְשֵׁי בְרִית, בַּעֲלֵי בְרִית "lords or men of one's covenant," are employed to denote confederacy (Gen. xiv. 13; Obad. *v.* 7). [T. T. P.]

COVERING. The word (כְּסוּת) occurs in the much-disputed verse, Gen. xx. 16.

A. V.	R. V.
"And unto Sarah he said, Behold, I have given thy brother a thousand pieces of silver: behold, he is to thee a covering of the eyes, unto all that are with thee, and with all other: thus she was reproved."	"And unto Sarah he said . . . it (*i.e.* the thousand pieces of silver) is for thee a covering of the eyes to all that are with thee; and in respect of all thou art righted."

Modern criticism (cp. Dillmann[5] and Delitzsch [1887]) accepts by preference the meaning given by the R. V. The present of money would have the effect on all with regard to Sarah that they should not notice what had occurred (see *QPB.*[2] in *loco*). [F.]

COW. The Heb. words בָּקָר, עֶגְלָה, and שׁוֹר have been treated of under BULL. The A. V.

renders by "cow," both בָּקָר, in Ezek. iv. 15, and שׁוֹר in Lev. xxii. 28; Num. xviii. 17, where the feminine gender is required by the sense. In Job xxi. 10 and Is. xi. 7, the A. V. has "cow" as the rendering of פָּרָה, the fem. form of פַּר, "a bullock." [W. D.]

COZ (קוֹץ, *a thorn*; B. Κωέ, B*b ?A. Θεκωέ; *Cos*), a man among the descendants of Judah (1 Ch. iv. 8). The name also occurs as that of a Levite in 1 Ch. xxiv. 10; Ezra ii. 61; Neh. iii. 4, 21, vii. 63, with the article prefixed; and in the first of these passages the name is rendered HAKKOZ both by A. V. and R. V., and by R. V. in the remainder. [F.]

COZ'BI (כָּזְבִּי, *lying, deceitful*; B. Χασβεί, AF. -ι; Jos. Χοσβία; *Cozbi*), a Midianite woman, daughter of Zur, one of the chiefs of the nation (Num. xxv. 15, 18). Her idolatrous shamelessness with Zimri is mentioned in connexion with the plague at Shittim. [F.]

CRACKNELS (נְקֻדִּים, of uncertain etymology; A. κολλυρίς; the passage is absent from B.; *crustula*), part of the present which Jeroboam's wife took to the prophet Ahijah when she went to inquire the issue of her child's sickness. The English word represents a kind of biscuit, so called from the *crackling* sound made when it is broken (cp. Lumby, "Glossary of Bible Words," *s. n.* in Eyre and Spottiswoode's *Variorum Teachers' Bible*). [F.]

CRANE (סוּס or סִיס, *sûs* or *sis*; χελιδών; *Pullus hirundinis, hirundo*). There can be little doubt that the A. V. is incorrect in rendering *sûs* by "crane," which bird is probably intended by the Hebrew word *'âgûr*, translated "swallow" by the A. V., but rightly "crane" by the R. V. [SWALLOW.] Mention is made of the *sûs* in Hezekiah's prayer (Is. xxxviii. 14), "Like a *sûs* or an *'âgûr* so did I twitter;" and again, in Jer. viii. 7, these two words occur in the same order, "The *sis* and the *'âgûr* observe the time of their coming;" from which passage we learn that both birds were migratory. According to the testimony of most of the ancient Versions, *sûs* denotes "a swallow." It would appear that the translators of the A. V. have simply in the two passages in which the words occur interchanged the rendering, and that instead of "crane and swallow" we should read with the R. V. "swallow" (or rather "swift," as will be seen below) "and crane." In neither passage, however, is the meaning at all affected by the correction. Two facts in the natural history of the crane are referred to,—its loud voice, and its migratory habits. It is well known in Palestine, but only visits the plains and cultivated districts at the period of migration, passing on after a few days, with the exception of a few pairs, which remain to breed in the marshy plains of Huleh (Merom) and the Upper Jordan. In winter vast flocks of cranes resort to certain well-known roosting-places in the southern desert, which are whitened by their droppings like some sea-fowls' rock. I have visited two of these stations, one south-east of Beersheba, and another near Gerar, south of Gaza. Clouds of these enormous birds quite darken the air towards evening. Their roosting-place is an isolated knoll, secure on all sides from ambush. Their whooping and trumpeting enlivened the watches of the night, and till dawn we could hear flocks passing overhead on their way to their quarters close by. The note is a powerful clear trumpeting, not chattering, and is by the Arabs called "bellowing." In January in three several years I have observed the cranes in these desert winter-quarters. About the end of March they pass over the Holy Land. The Rev. F. W. Holland noticed that on the 22nd of March he saw twelve miles south of Tor an immense flock of cranes crossing the Red Sea from Africa, and appearing to stretch across the whole breadth of the sea. Again, on the 13th of April, three days south of Beersheba, a flock of more than 2,000 going north passed over his head, and in the beginning of May he saw several smaller flocks crossing the desert from Akabah. Before the introduction of drainage, the crane visited England in summer, but has long since become extinct.

סוּס or סִיס, *sûs* or *sis*, according to most Versions, is rendered "swallow." It is, however, really "swift," the two birds having a certain external resemblance, and being often confused by inaccurate observers ignorant of natural history. They are, however, widely different in everything but habits, the swallow being a passerine bird, the swift one of the *Picariae*, a fissirostral bird. There would be a difficulty in explaining the two passages, if the swallow were intended; for in the first place, though the swallow in Palestine is a migrant, as with us, it is only partially so, and many swallows remain all winter in the maritime plains and Jordan valley, though their number is increased tenfold at the commencement of spring. Again, the soft twittering melody of the swallow could hardly be taken as an appropriate illustration of the cry of anguish or grief. There is another word, דְּרוֹר, *derór*, which is universally admitted to represent the swallow. But the swift, *Cypselus apus*, meets all the conditions. While the swallow is only a partial, the swift is a regular migrant, returning in myriads every spring, and so suddenly, that while one day not a bird can be seen in the country, on the next they have overspread the whole land, and fill the air with their shrill cry. This note too—the well-known harsh, constantly repeated scream, as of anguish or pain—exactly suits the prophet's metaphor, for the wail of the suffering king. This interpretation is confirmed by the vernacular Arabic, in which the swift is always distinguished as *soos*, a name never applied to the swallow. The word does not appear, so far as I am aware, in classical Arabic, but it is the invariable designation of the swift in Syria, and is doubtless in its origin onomatopoetic, and derived from the Hebrew. The identity of Hebrew and vernacular Arabic may be taken as conclusive, when considered in the light of the context of the passages quoted. [H. B. T.]

CRA'TES (Κράτης; Vulg. translates *praelatus est*), governor of the Cyprians (ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν Κ.), who was left in charge of the "castle" of Jerusalem (?), during the absence of Sostratus, in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes (2 Macc. iv. 29). [W. A. W.]

CREDITOR. [LOAN.]

CRESCENS (Κρήσκης; *Crescens*), a companion of St. Paul, who is mentioned as having left him to go to Galatia (2 Tim. iv. 10). The question arises, Which Galatia is meant, the eastern or the western, Asiatic Galatia or European Gaul? Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 4), the gloss Γαλλίαν in ℵ, C, and other authorities, favour European Gaul. See art. GALATIA, and Lightfoot, *Galatians*,[3] pp. 2 and 31, note. Nothing more is known of Crescens, but the churches of Vienne and Mayence claim him as their traditional founder. [E. R. B.]

CRETE (Κρήτη; *Creta*), the modern *Candia*. This large island, which closes in the Greek Archipelago on the S., extends through a distance of 140 miles between its extreme points of Cape SALMONE (Acts xxvii. 7) on the E., and Cape Criumetopon beyond PHOENICE or Phoenix (*v.* 12) on the W. The breadth is comparatively small, the narrowest part (called an isthmus by Strabo, x. p. 475) being near Phoenix. Though extremely bold and mountainous, this island has very fruitful valleys, and in early times it was celebrated for its hundred cities (Virg. *Aen.* iii. 106). Crete has a conspicuous position in the mythology and earliest history of Greece, but a comparatively unimportant one in its later history. It was reduced (B.C. 67) by the Romans under Metellus, hence called Creticus, and united in one province with Cyrenaica, which was at no great distance (Strabo, x. 475) on the opposite coast of Africa [CYRENE]. It is possible that in Tit. iii. 1 there may be an implied reference to a turbulent condition of the Cretan part of the province, especially as regarded the Jewish residents.

It seems likely that the Cretans and the Jews were early acquainted with each other. The story in Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 2), that the Jews were themselves of Cretan origin, may be accounted for by supposing a confusion between the Philistines and the Jews, and by identifying the Cherethites of 1 Sam. xxx. 14, 2 Sam. viii. 18, Ezek. xxv. 16, Zeph. ii. 5, with Cretan emigrants. In the last two of these passages they are expressly called Κρῆτες by the LXX., and in Zeph. ii. 6 we have the word Κρῆτη. Whatever conclusion we may arrive at on this point, there is no doubt that Jews were settled in the island in considerable numbers during the period between the death of Alexander the Great and the final destruction of Jerusalem. Gortyna seems to have been their chief residence; for it is especially mentioned (1 Macc. xv. 23) in the letters written by the Romans on behalf of the Jews, when Simon Maccabaeus renewed the treaty which his brother Judas had made with Rome. [GORTYNA.] See 1 Macc. x. 67. At a later period Josephus says (*Ant.* xvii. 12, § 1; *B. J.* ii. 7, § 1) that the Pseudo-Alexander, Herod's supposed son, imposed upon the Jews of Crete, when on his way to Italy. And later still, Philo (*Leg. ad Cai.* § 36) makes the Jewish envoys say to Caligula that all the more noted islands of the Mediterranean, including Crete, were full of Jews. Thus the special mention of Cretans (Acts ii. 11) among those who were in Jerusalem at the great Pentecost is just what we should expect.

No notice is given in the Acts of any more direct evangelisation of Crete; and no absolute proof can be adduced that St. Paul was ever there before his voyage from Caesarea to Puteoli; though it is quite possible that he may have visited the island in the course of his residences at Corinth and Ephesus. For the speculations which have been made in reference to this point, we must refer to what is written in the articles on TITUS, and TITUS, EPISTLE TO.

The circumstances of St. Paul's recorded visit were briefly as follows. The wind being contrary when he was off CNIDUS (Acts xxvii. 7), the ship was forced to run down to Cape Salmone, and thence under the lee of Crete to the insecure roadstead of FAIR HAVENS, which was near a city called LASAEA (*v.* 8). Thence, after some delay, an attempt was made, on the wind becoming favourable, to reach Phoenice for the purpose of wintering there (*v.* 12); but a sudden gale from the N.E. [WINDS] coming down from the high ground of Crete (κατ' αὐτῆς), in the neighbourhood of Mount Ida, and such as is still common, drove the ship to the little island of CLAUDA (*vv.* 13–16; R. V. Cauda), whence she drifted to Malta. It is impossible to say how far this short stay at Fair Havens may have afforded opportunities for preaching the Gospel at Lasaea or elsewhere.

The next point of connexion between St. Paul and this island is found in the Epistle to Titus. It is evident from Tit. i. 5, that the Apostle himself was here at no long interval of time before he wrote the letter. We believe this to have been between the first and second imprisonments. In the course of the letter (Tit. i. 12) St. Paul adduces from Epimenides, a Cretan sage and poet (θεῖος ἀνήρ, Plat. *Legg.* i. 642), a quotation in which the vices of his countrymen are described in dark colours. The truth of what is said by Epimenides is abundantly confirmed by the passages collected (iv. 10) in Meursius's great work on Crete (Meursii *Opera*, Florence, 1744, vol. iii.); but the description is no longer true (Tozer, p. 75). He has also a chapter (iv. 4) on the early Christian history of the island. Titus was much honoured in the island during the Middle Ages. Phoenix or Phoenice (Acts xxvii. 12) had its own bishops at an early period, and one of them was present at the second Council of Nicaea (A.D. 787). The church at Gortyna, now in ruins and not later than the 4th or 5th century (Tozer, p. 65), bears his name. The cathedral of Megalo-Castron or Candia was delicated to him: and his name was the watchword of the Cretans when they fought against the Venetians, who themselves seem to have placed him above St. Mark in Candia, when they became masters of the island. See Pashley's *Travels in Crete*, i. pp. 6, 175 (London, 1837). In addition to this valuable work, see Hoeck's *Kreta* (Göttingen, 1829); some papers translated from the Italian, and published by Mr. E. Falkener in the second volume of the *Museum of Classical Antiquities* (London, 1856); Spratt, *Travels and Researches in Crete* (1865); Perrot, *L'ile de Crète* (1887); Strobl, *Kreta, eine geograph.-histor. Skizze* (1875–7); Tozer, *Islands of the Aegean* (1890). [J. S. H.] [J. E. S.]

CRETES (Κρῆτες; *Cretes*; R. V. *Cretans*). Acts ii. 11. Inhabitants of Crete. In Tit. i. 12 the term used is Cretians. [CRETE.]

CRETIANS (Κρῆτες; *Cretenses*; R. V. *Cre-*

tans). Tit. i. 12; in the subscription to the epistle, Titus is said to have been ordained "the first Bishop of the Church of the Cretians." Inhabitants of Crete. [CRETE; CRETES.] [G.]

CRIB. The translation (Job xxxix. 9; Is. i. 3) of אֵבוּס, a word applied to the stall itself (Prov. xiv. 4) as well as to the place in which the food was kept. In shape it was probably a box or trough of stone such as is still in use (cp. Thomson, *Land and Book*, ii. 97, quoted in *D. B.* Amer. ed. *s. n.*). [F.]

CRIMSON-WORM. The Hebrew *tôlá'*, תּוֹלַע, is translated "crimson" by our Versions in Is. i. 18, "Though they be red like crimson." In other passages it is rendered "scarlet." But it means literally "worm," from the root תָּלַע (MV.[11] *to eat*, and so in Assyr.). Sometimes *shânî*, שָׁנִי, "red," is added, but more usually *tôlá'* stands alone, it being clear from the context that not the worm, but the colour obtained from it, is intended. The production of dyes is among the most ancient of arts, and was early practised by the Phoenicians, who long monopolised especially the red-purple from the shell-fish *Murex brandaris*, and the crimson from the cochineal insect. The dye was procured from a well-known homopterous insect, *Coccus ilicis*, or cochineal, of which, in its final or *imago* stage, the male is winged and the female wingless, and double the size of her partner. From the female alone is the colour obtained. The insect, about the size of a haw, attaches itself to the underside of the leaf, or to the twigs of the Syrian holmoak, on which it fed in the larva stage, from whence the pupa was gathered and dried for use. It is very common in Palestine, and is still occasionally used as a dye, though it has lost its commercial value from the introduction of a much more prolific, and therefore profitable, species, *Coccus cacti*, which, along with the smooth cactus on which it feeds, has been introduced from America, and is now found in all the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, having generally supplanted the *Coccus ilicis*. The Arabic name of the cochineal is قرمز, *kermez*, from which, through various languages, our word "crimson" is derived. [H. B. T.]

CRISPING PINS. The A. V. translation of חֲרִיטִים (Is. iii. 22), though it and R. V. render the word "bags" in 2 K. v. 23. The rendering of the R. V. (*Is. l. c.*) "satchels" (*QPB.*[3] "purses") represents more nearly the reticules of the Hebrew ladies supposed to be alluded to by the Prophet (see Delitzsch[4] and Dillmann[5] in loco). [F.]

CRISPUS (Κρίσπος; *Crispus*), a Jew of Corinth bearing a Latin name. Lightfoot (*Hor. Hebr.* in loc.) mentions a parallel. Both Crispus (Acts xviii. 8) and another Corinthian, Sosthenes (Acts xviii. 17), have the title of ruler of the synagogue (ἀρχισυνάγωγος). By comparison of Mark v. 22 and Acts xiii. 15 it seems to have been sometimes given to more than one of the leading elders, and not strictly confined to their president. His conversion appears to have been a turning-point in the history of St. Paul's work at Corinth. The Apostle's preaching met with nothing but resistance from the Jews. He then turned to the Gentiles and settled in the house of Justus. At this point comes the conversion of Crispus and his household, and thenceforward the work is abundantly successful. The critical moment of Crispus' conversion, and his position, probably account for St. Paul having baptized him with his own hands (1 Cor. i. 14). Gaius and the household of Stephanus shared the distinction with Crispus, and in both these cases there is afterwards evidence of special zeal and special services rendered (Rom. xvi. 23; 1 Cor. xvi. 15). [E. R. B.]

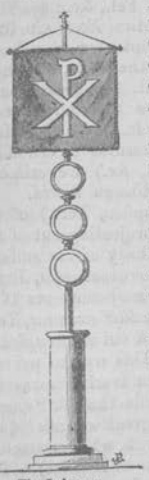
CROSS (σταυρός, σκόλοψ). Except the Latin *crux* there was no word definitively and invariably applied to this instrument of punishment. The Greek word σταυρὸς is derived from ἵστημι, and properly, like σκόλοψ, means merely a stake (Hom. *Od.* xiv. 11; *Il.* xxiv. 453). Hence Eustathius defines σταυροὶ to be ὀρθὰ καὶ ἀπωξυμμένα ξύλα, and Hesych. οἱ καταπεπηγότες σκόλοπες, χάρακες. The Greeks use the word to translate both *palus* and *crux*; e.g. σταυρῷ προσδεῖν in Dio Cass. (xlix. 22) is exactly equivalent to the Latin *ad palum deligare*. In Livy even *crux* means a mere stake (*in tres sustolli cruces*, xxviii. 29), just as *vice versâ* the Fathers use σκόλοψ, and even *stipes* (*de stipite pendens*) of a cross proper. In consequence of this vagueness of meaning, impaling (Herod. ix. 67) is sometimes spoken of, loosely, as a kind of crucifixion, and ἀνασκολοπίζειν is nearly equivalent to ἀνασταυροῦν; *alii per obscoena stipitem egerunt, alii brachia patibulo explicuerunt*, Sen. *Consol. ad Marc.* xx.; and *Ep.* xiv. Other words occasionally applied to the cross are *patibulum* and *furca*, pieces of wood in the shape of Π (or Υ) and Λ respectively (*Dig.* 48, tit. 13; Plaut. *Mil. Gl.* ii. 47; and in Sall. fr. *ap.* Non. iv. 355, *patibulo eminens adfigebatur* seems clearly to imply crucifixion). After the abolition of this mode of death by Constantine, Trebonianus substituted *furcâ figendos* for *crucifigendos*, wherever the word occurred. More generally the cross is called *arbor infelix* (Liv. i. 26; Sen. *Ep.* 101), or *lignum infelix* (Cic. *pro Rab.* 3); and in Greek ξύλον (Deut. xxi. 22). The Fathers in controversy used to quote the words ὁ Κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου (Ital. *Dominus regnavit a ligno*), from Ps. xcvi. 10, as a prophecy of the Cross (see Just. Mart. *Dial.* § 73; Tert. *c. Marc.* iii. 19; Aug. *Enarratt. in Psalm.* ad loc.); but these words are *adulterina et Christianâ devotione addita*: though Genebrardus thought them a prophetic addition of the LXX., and Agellius conjectures that they read עֵץ for אָוֶן (Schleusner's *Thes.*). The Hebrews had no word for a cross more definite than עֵץ, "wood" (Gen. xl. 19, &c.), and so they called the transverse beams שְׁתִי וְעֵרֶב, "warp and woof" (Pearson, *On the Creed*, art. iv.), like ξύλον δίδυμον, LXX. *Crux* is connected with *crucio*, and is often used proverbially for what is most painful (as *summum jus, summa crux*, Colum. i. 7; *quaerere in malo crucem*, Ter. *Phorm.* iii. 3, 11), and as a nickname for villains (*Quid ais, crux?* Plaut. *Pen.* ii. 5, 17). Rarer terms are ἴκριον (Euseb. viii. 8), σάνις (?), and *gabalus* (Varro *ap.* Non. ii. 373; Macrinus *ap.* Capitol. *Macr.* 11). This last word is derived

from גָּבַל, *terminavit*, because a cross or stake was used for a boundary-mark.

As the emblem of a slave's disgrace and a murderer's punishment, the cross was naturally looked upon with the profoundest horror, and closely connected "with the ideas of pain, of guilt, and of ignominy" (Gibbon, ii. 153; *Nomen ipsum crucis absit non modo a corpore civium Romanorum, sed etiam a cogitatione, oculis, auribus.* Cic. *pro Rab.* 5). But after the celebrated vision of Constantine (Euseb. *V. Const.* i. 27–30), he ordered his friends to make a Cross of gold and gems, such as he had seen, and "the towering eagles resigned the flags unto the Cross" (Pearson). Thus "the tree of cursing and shame" "sat upon the sceptres and was engraved and signed on the foreheads of kings" (Jer. Taylor, *Life of Christ*, III. xv. 1). The new standards—

> "In quibus effigies crucis aut gemmata refulget,
> Aut longis solido ex auro praefertur ab hastis."
> (Prudent. *in Symm.* ii. 464 sq.)

were called by the name Labarum, and may be seen engraved in Baronius (*Ann. Eccl.* A.D. 312, No. 36), or represented on the coins of Constantine the Great and his nearer successors. The Labarum is described in Euseb. (*V. Constant.* i. 25; cp. Sozom. *H. E.* i. 4), and, besides the pendent cross, supported the celebrated embroidered monogram of Christ (Gibbon, ii. 154; *Transversâ X litterâ, summo capite circumflexo*, Caecil.), which was also inscribed on the shields and helmets of the legions:—

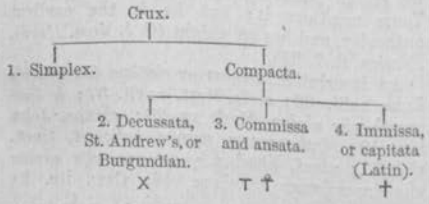


The Labarum.
(From a coin in the British Museum.)

> "Christus purpureum gemmanti tectus in auro
> Signabat labarum; clypeorum insignia Christus
> Scripserat, ardebat summis crux addita cristis."
> (Prudent. *l. c.*)

Nay, the *σύμβολον σωτήριον* was even more prominently honoured; for Jerome says, *Regum purpuras et ardentes diadematum gemmas patibuli Salvatoris pictura condecorat* (*Ep. ad Laetam*). See further in Du Cange, *s. v.* Labarum.

We may tabulate thus the various descriptions of cross (Lips. *de Cruce*, i.; Godwin's *Moses and Aaron*):—



1. The *crux simplex*, or bare stake "of one single piece without transom," was probably the original of the rest. Sometimes it was merely driven through the man's chest, but at other times it was driven longitudinally, *διὰ ῥάχεως καὶ νώτου* (Hesych. *s. v. σκόλοψ*), coming out at the mouth (Sen. *Ep.* xiv.; *Consol. ad Marc.* 20), a method of punishment called *ἀνασκινδύλευσις*, or *infixio*. The *affixio* consisted merely of *tying* the criminal to the stake (*ad palum deligare*, Liv. xxvi. 13), from which he hung by his arms: the process is described in the little poem of Ausonius, *Cupido crucifixus*. Trees were naturally convenient for this purpose, and we read of their being applied to such use in the Martyrologies. Tertullian also tells us (*Apol.* viii. 16) that to punish the priests of Saturn, Tiberius *in eisdem arboribus, obumbratricibus scelerum, votivis crucibus explicuit* (cp. Tac. *Germ.* xii., *Proditores et transfugas arboribus suspendunt*). How far the expression "accursed tree" is applicable under this head is examined under the word CRUCIFIXION.

2. The *crux decussata*, X, is called St. Andrew's Cross, although on no good grounds, since, according to some, he was killed with the sword; and Hippolytus says that he was crucified upright, *ad arborem olivae*. It is in the shape of the Greek letter X (Jerome, *in Jer.* xxxi.; *X littera et in figurâ crucem, et in numero decem demonstrat*, Isidor. *Orig.* i. 3). Hence Justin Martyr (*Dial. c. Tryph.* p. 200) quotes Plato's expression, *ἐχίαζεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ πάντι*, 'with reference to the Cross. The Fathers, with their usual luxuriant imagination, discover types of this kind of Cross in Jacob's blessing of Joseph's sons, *χέρσιν ἐνηλλαγμέναις* (cp. Tert. *de Baptismo*, viii.); in the anointing of priests "decussatively" (Sir T. Browne, *Garden of Cyrus*); for the Rabbis say that kings were anointed *in formâ coronae, sacerdotes autem* כמין כי, *ad modum Chi*, i.e. *ad formam X Graecorum* (Schoettgen's *Hor. Hebr. et Talm.* ii. 486); and in the crossing of the hands over the head of the goat on the day of Atonement (Targ. *Jonath. ad Lev.* xvi. 21, &c.).

3. The *crux commissa*, or St. Anthony's Cross, T (so called from being embroidered on that saint's cope, Mrs. Jameson's *Sacred Art*, i. xxxv.), was in the shape of a T. Hence Lucian, in his amusing *Δίκη φωνηέντων*, jocosely derives *σταυρός* from *Ταῦ (ἀπὸ τούτου . . καὶ τῷ τεχνήματι τῷ πονηρῷ τὴν πονηρὰν ἐπωνυμίαν συνελθεῖν)*, and makes mankind accuse it bitterly for suggesting to tyrants the instrument of torture (*Jud. Vocal.* 12). This shape is often alluded to as "the mystical Tau" (*Garden of Cyrus; nostra autem T species crucis*, Tert. *adv. Marc.* iii. 22; Jer. *in Ezech.* ix., &c.). It is known as the patibulary or Egyptian cross, but seems to be of Phoenician origin (see Ezek. ix. 4; Didron, *Ann. Archéol.* xxvi. xxvii.; and cp. Tert. *adv. Marc.* iii. 22). As that letter happens to stand for 300, opportunity was given for more elaborate trifling; thus the 300 cubits of the ark are considered typical (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi.; S. Paullin. *Ep.* ii.); and even Abraham's 318 servants. Since 318 is represented by *τιή*, the Fathers deduced *τὸν μὲν Ἰησοῦν ἐν τοῖς δύσι γράμμασιν καὶ ἐν ἑνὶ τὸν σταυρόν* (Barnab. *Ep.* ix.; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. § 11; Ambros. *Prol. in l. i. de Fide*; Pearson [art. iv.] *on the Creed*, in whose notes these passages are quoted).

A variety of this cross (the *crux ansata*, "crosses with circles on their heads") is found "in the sculptures from Khorsabad and the ivories from Nimrod. M. Lajard (*Observations sur la Croix ansée*) refers it to the Assyrian symbol of divinity, the winged figure in a circle; but Egyptian antiquaries quite reject the theory" (Layard's *Nineveh*, ii. 213, note). In the Egyptian sculptures, a similar object, called a *crux ansata*, is constantly borne by divinities, and is variously called "the key of the Nile" (Dr. Young in *Encycl. Britan.*; Creuzer, *Symbolik*, pp. 168, 169), "the character of Venus;" and more correctly (as by Lacroze) "the emblem of life." Indeed this was the old explanation (ἑρμηνευθεῖσαν σημᾶναι ταύτην γραφὴν Ζωὴ ἐπερχομένη, Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* vii. 15; so too Ruffinus, ii. 29, who says it was one of the "*ieratικal vel sacerdotales litterae*"). "The Egyptians thereby expressed the powers and motion of the spirit of the world, and the diffusion thereof upon the celestial and elemental nature" (Sir T. Browne, *Gard. of Cyrus*). This too was the signification given to it by the Christian converts in the army of Theodosius, when they remarked it on the temple of Serapis, according to the story mentioned in Suidas. The same symbol has been also found among the Copts, and (perhaps accidentally) among the Indians and Persians.

4. The *crux immissa* (or Latin cross, †) differed from the former by the projection of the δόρυ ὕψηλον (or *stipes*) above the κέρας ἐγκάρσιον, or *patibulum* (Euseb. *de V. Constant.* i. 31). That this was the kind of Cross on which our Lord died is obvious (among other reasons) from the mention of the "title" as placed *above* our Lord's head, and from the almost unanimous tradition; it is repeatedly found on the coins and columns of Constantine. Hence ancient and modern imagination has been chiefly tasked to find symbols for this sort of Cross, and has been eminently successful. They find it typified, for instance, in the attitude of Moses during the battle of Rephidim (Ex. xvii. 12), saying that he was bidden by the Spirit, ἵνα ποιήσῃ τύπον σταυροῦ καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος πάσχειν (Barnab. *Ep.* 12; Just. Mart. *Dial. c. Tryph.* 89; *habitus crucis*, Tert. *adv. Marc.* iii. 18). Firmic. Maternus (*de Errore*, xxi.) says that Moses made a Cross of his rod, *ut facilius impetraret quod magnopere postularet, crucem sibi fecit ex virgâ*. He also fantastically applies to the Cross expressions in Hab. iii. 3-5; Is. ix. 6, &c. Other supposed types are Jacob's ladder (Jer. *Com. in Ps.* xci.; *Dominus innixus scalae Christus crucifixus ostenditur*, August. *Serm. de Temp.* lxxix.); the paschal lamb, pierced by transverse spits (σχηματιζόμενον ὁμοίως τῷ σχήματι τοῦ σταυροῦ ὀπτᾶται, Just. M. *Dial. c. Tryph.* xl.); and "the Hebrew Tenupha, or ceremony of their oblations waved by the priest into the four quarters of the world after the form of a cross" (Vitringa, *Obs. Sacr.* ii. 9; Schoettgen, *l. c.*). A truer type (John iii. 14) is the elevation (יְקִימוּהוּ, Chald.) of the fiery serpent (Num. xxi. 8, 9). For some strange applications of texts to this figure see Cypr. *Testim.* ii. xx. sq. In Matt. v. 18, ἰωτα ἓν ἢ μία κεραία is also made to represent a Cross (Ι ἐστι τὸ ὀρθὸν ξύλον καὶ κεραία τὸ πλάγιον, Theophyl. in loc., &c.). To the four ἄκρα of the Cross they also applied the ὕψος καὶ βάθος καὶ πλάτος καὶ μῆκος of Ephes. iii. 18 (as Greg. Nyss. and Aug. *Ep.* 120); and another of their fancies was that there was a mystical significance in this δόρυ τετράπλευρον (Nonn. *in Joh.* xix. 18), because it pointed to the four corners of the world (*Quatuor inde plagas quadrati colliqit orbis*, Sedul. iii.). In all nature the sacred sign was found to be indispensable (κατανοήσατε πάντα ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ εἰ ἄνευ τοῦ σχήματος τούτου διοικεῖται, Just. M. *Apol.* i. 72), especially in such things as involve dignity, energy, or deliverance; as the actions of digging, ploughing, &c., the human face, the *antennae* of a ship in full sail, &c. *Aves quando volant ad aethera signum crucis assumunt. Homo natans, vel orans, formâ crucis utitur* (Jer. *in Marc.* xi.). *Signa ipsa et cantabra et vexilla quid aliud quam inauratae cruces sunt?* (Min. Fel. *Oct.* xxix.). Similar analogies are repeated in Firm. Maten. *de Errore*, xxi.; Tert. *adv. Nat.* i. 12; *Apol.* 16; *de Coron. Mil.* 3: and, in answer to the sneers of those to whom the Cross was "foolishness," these analogies were considered sufficient proof that *signo crucis aut ratio naturalis nititur aut vestra religio formatur* (Min. Fel., &c.: see Tillemont, vii. 8–16; Baronius, *Ann. Eccl.* A.D. 326). The types adduced from Scripture were valuable to silence the difficulties of the Jews, to whom, in consequence of Deut. xxi. 22 (ἐπικατάρατος ὁ σταυρούμενος), the Cross was an especial "stumbling-block" (Tert. *adv. Jud.* ix.). Many such fancies (*e.g.* the harmlessness of cruciform flowers, the southern cross, &c.) are collected in *Communications with the Unseen World*.

Besides the four ἄκρα (*apices*, Tert.) of the cross, was a fifth (πῆγμα), projecting out of the central stem, on which the body of the sufferer rested (ἐφ' ᾧ ἐποχοῦνται οἱ σταυρούμενοι, Justin Mart. *Dial.* 91, who [*more suo*] compares it to the horn of a rhinoceros; *sedilis excessus*, Tert. *adv. Nat.* i. 12; *ubi requiescit qui clavis affigitur*, Iren. *adv. Haeres.* i. 12). This was to prevent the weight of the body from tearing away the hands, since it was impossible that it "should rest upon nothing but four great wounds" (Jer. Taylor, *Life of Christ*, iii. xv. 2, who erroneously quotes the δόρυ τετράπλευρον of Nonnus). This projection is probably alluded to in the famous lines of Maecenas (*ap.* Sen. *Ep.* 101):—

> "Vita dum superest bene est;
> Hanc mihi *vel acutâ*
> *Si sedeam cruce*, sustine."

Ruhkopf (ad loc.) so explains it, and it is not so probable that it refers to ἀνασκινδύλευσις as Lipsius thinks (*de Cruce*, i. 6). Whether there was also a ὑποπόδιον or support to the feet (as we see in pictures), is doubtful. Gregory of Tours mentions it; but he is the earliest authority, and has no weight (G. J. Voss. *Harm. Passion.* ii. 7, 28).

An inscription, *titulus* or *elogium* (ἐπιγραφή, Luke xxiii. 38; αἰτία, Matt. xxvii. 37; ἡ ἐπιγραφὴ τῆς αἰτίας, Mark xv. 26; τίτλος, John xix. 19; *Qui causam poenae indicavit*, Suet. *Cal.* 32; πίναξ, Euseb.; γράμματα τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς θανατώσεως δηλοῦντα, Dio Cass. liv. 3, πτυχίον ἐπίγραμμα ἔχον, Hesych. לוּחַ), was generally placed above the person's head, and

briefly expressed his guilt, as *οὗτός ἐστιν Ἄτταλος ὁ χριστίανος* (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1), *Impia locutus parmularius* (Suet. *Dom.* x.), and generally was carried before the criminal (*praecedente titulo*, Suet.). It was covered with white gypsum, and the letters were black; hence Sozomen calls it *λεύκωμα* (*H. E.* ii. 1), and Nicephorus a *λευκὴ σάνις* (*H. E.* viii. 29). But Nicquetus (*Tit. Sanct. Crucis*, i. 6) says it was white with red letters.

A common tradition assigns the perpetual shiver of the aspen to the fact of the Cross having been formed of its wood. Lipsius, however (*de Cruce*, iii. 13), thinks it was of oak, which was strong enough, and common in Judea. Few will attach any importance to his other reason, that the relics appear to be of oak. The legend to which he alludes,

> "Pes crucis est cedr ıs, corpus tenet alta cupressus,
> Palma manus retinet, titulo laetatur oliva,"

hardly needs refutation. It must not be overlooked that crosses must have been of the meanest and readiest materials, because they were used in such marvellous numbers. Thus we are told that Alexander Jannaeus crucified 800 Jews (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 14, § 2); Varus 2000 (*id.* xvii. 10, § 10); Hadrian 500 a day; and Titus so many that *χωρά τε ἐνελείπετο τοῖς σταυροῖς καὶ σταυροὶ τοῖς σώμασιν* (Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* vi. 28), where Reland rightly notices the strange retribution, "so that they who had nothing but 'crucify' in their mouth, were therewith paid home in their own bodies" (Sir T. Browne, *Vulg. Err.* v. 21). In Sicily, Augustus crucified 600 (Oros. vi. 18).

It is a question whether tying or binding to the cross was the more common method. In favour of the first are the expressions *ligare* and *deligare*; the description in Ausonius (*Cupido Crucif.*); the Egyptian custom (Xen. *Ephes.* iv. 2); the mention by Pliny (xxviii. 11) of *spartum e cruce* among magical implements; and the allusion to Crucifixion noted by the Fathers in John xix. 24 (Theophyl. *ad loc.* and Tert. *Tunc Petrus ab altero cingitur cum cruci astringitur*). On the other side we have the expression *προσηλοῦσθαι*, and numberless authorities (Sen. *de Vit. Beatâ*, xix.; Artemidor. *Oneirocr.* in several passages; Apul. *Met.* iii. 60; Plaut. *Mostel.* ii. 1, 13, *et passim*). That our Lord was *nailed*, according to prophecy, is certain (John xx. 25, 27, &c.; Zech. xii. 10; Ps. xxii. 16; *Foderunt manus meas et pedes, quae propria atrocitas crucis*, Tert. *adv. Marc.* iii. 19, &c.; *ὤρυξαν*, LXX.; Aquil. *ἴσχυναν*; although the Jews vainly endeavour to maintain that here כָּאַר, "like a lion," is the true reading. Sixt. Senensis, *Bibl. Sanct.* viii. 5, p. 640). It is, however, extremely probable that both methods were used at once: thus in Lucan (vi. 547 sq.) we have mention both of *nodos nocentes* and of *insertum manibus chalybem*; and Hilary (*de Trin.* x.) mentions together *colligantum funium vincula et adactorum clavorum vulnera*. We may add that in the crucifixion (as it is sometimes called, Tert. *adv. Marc.* i. 1, cp. Manil. *de Androm.* v.) of Prometheus, Aeschylus, besides the nails, speaks of a *μασχαλιστήρ* (*Prom.* 79). When either method was used alone, the tying was considered more painful (as we find in the Martyrologies), since it was a *diutinus cruciatus*.

It is doubtful whether three or four nails were employed. The passage in Plaut. *Most.* ii. 1, 13, is, as Lipsius (*de Cruce*, ii. 9) shows, indecisive. Nonnus speaks of the two feet (*ὁμοπλοκέες*) being fastened with *one* nail (*ἄζυγι γόμφῳ*), and Gregory Nazianzen (*de Christ. pat.*) calls the Cross a *ξύλον τρίσηλον*: hence on gold and silver Crosses the nails were represented by *one* ruby or carbuncle at each extremity (Mrs. Jameson, *l. c.*). In the "invention" of the Cross, Socrates (*H. E.* i. 17) only mentions the hand-nails; and that only two were found is argued by Winer (s. v. *Kreuzigung*) from the *τὰ μέν, τὰ δέ* (instead of *τοὺς μέν*) in Theodor. *H. E.* i. 17. Romish writers, however, generally follow Gregory of Tours (*de Glor. Mart.* vi.) in maintaining that *four* nails were used, which may also be implied by the *plural* in Cypr. *de Passione* (*clavis . . . pedes terebrantibus*), who also mentions three more, used to nail on the title. Cyprian is a very good authority, because he had often been a witness of executions. There is a monograph on the subject by Corn. Curtius (*de clavis dominicis*, Antw. 1670). What has been said sufficiently disproves the calumny against the Albigenses in the following very curious passage of Lucas Tudensis (ii. *contra Albig.*): *Albigenses primi pinxerunt imaginem crucifixi uno clavo simul utrumque pedem configente, et virginem Mariam Monoculam; utrumque in derisionem: sed postea prior figura retenta est, et irrepsit in vulgarem famam* (quoted by Jer. Taylor, *l. c.*). On the supposed fate of the nails, see Theodor. *H. E.* i. 17. Constantine fastened one as a *φυλακτήριον* on his horse's bridle, and one (Zonaras says *some*) on the head of the statue which he intended to be the palladium of Constantinople, and which the people used to surround with lighted torches (Mosheim, *Eccl. Hist.* ii. 1, 3, and notes). The *clavus pedis dextri* is shown at Trèves (Lips. ii. 9, note).

The story of the so-called "invention of the Cross," A.D. 326, is too famous to be altogether passed over. Besides Socrates and Theodoret, it is mentioned by Rufinus, Sozomen, Paulinus, Sulp. Severus, and Chrysostom, so that Tillemont (*Mém. Ecc.* vii.) says that *nothing can be more certain*; but, even if the story were not so intrinsically *absurd* (for among other reasons it was a law among the Jews that the cross was to be burnt, Otho, *Lex. Rab.* s. v. *Supplicia*), it would require far more probable evidence to outweigh the decisive silence of Eusebius (*Vit. Const.* iii. 26 sq.) in his account of the visit of Helena to Jerusalem. It clearly was to the interest of the Church of Rome to maintain the belief, and encourage the story of the miraculous multiplication of "the wood of the true Cross," because the sale of fragments was extremely profitable. The story itself is too familiar to need repeating. To this day the supposed title, or rather fragments of it, are shown to the people once a year in the church of Sta. Croce in Gerusalemme at Rome. On the capture of the true Cross by Chosroes II., and its rescue by Heraclius, with even the seals of the case unbroken, and the subsequent sale of a large fragment to Louis IX., see Gibbon, iv. 326, vi. 66. Those sufficiently interested in the subject may see further accounts in Baronius (*Ann. Ecc.* A.D. 326, No. 42–50), Jortin, and

Schmidt (*Problem. de Crucis Dominicae Inventione*, Helmst. 1724); and "On the fate of the true Cross," a paper read by Lord Mahon before the Society of Antiquaries, Feb. 1831 (cited by Dean Milman). Even Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech.* iv. 10) says that fragments of the true Cross had found their way all over the world.

It is an interesting and remarkable fact that Clement of Alexandria does not mention the Cross among Christian symbols worn on signet rings, &c., when he mentions the ship, the dove, the fish, the anchor, the harp (*Paed.* iii. 11, § 59); and except in the disguised forms of the monogram of Christ and the *Gammadias*, they do not occur in the earliest frescoes of the Catacombs. The Latin Cross is first found on the tomb of Galla Placidia, A.D. 451. Even when the adoption of the Cross by Constantine began to make it a public and recognised symbol, it was set with gems and wreathed with flowers, and regarded as an emblem of exultation and triumph, not of defeat and agony. The early Christians did not regard the Atonement exclusively from the point of view of the propitiatory Blood, but as including every act of the Divine drama, from the Incarnation to the Session at the right hand of the Father.

It was not till the 6th century that the *emblem* of the Cross became the *image* of the Crucifix. As a symbol the use of the Cross was frequent in the early Church (Orig. *c. Cels.* ii. 47; *frontem crucis signaculo terimus*, Tert. *de Cor. Mil.* iii.: cp. *Apol.* 16; *Ad Nat.* i. 12). It was not till the 2nd century that any particular efficacy was attached to it (Cypr. *Testim.* ii. 21, 22; Lact. *Inst.* iv. 27; cp. Ambr. *de obit. Theodos.* 46; Sozom. *H. E.* ii. 3, &c.; Mosheim, ii. 4, 5). On its subsequent worship by the Church of Rome, which passed insensibly from προσκύνησις to λατρεία, see Jer. Taylor's *Diss. from Popery*, i. ch. ii. 7, 12; and on the use of the sign in our Church, Hooker's *Eccl. Pol.* v. 65. Some suppose an allusion to the custom in Ezek. ix. 4 (Pole, *Synops.* ad loc.; Gesen., *s. v.* תָּו; *signum spec. cruciforme*, Sixt. Sen. ii. p. 120).

Besides the noble monograph of Lipsius, *de Cruce* (from which we have largely borrowed, and which quotes so many authorities that it has been a mine of erudition for later writers), there are works by Salmasius (*de Cruce*, Epp. 3); Kippingius (*de Cruce et Cruciariis*, Brem. 1671); Bosius (*de Cruce triumphante et gloriosâ*, Antwerp, 1617); Gretser (*de Cruce Christi*); and Bartholinus (*Hypomneumata de Cruce*). Very much may also be gleaned from the learned notes of Bishop Pearson (*On the Creed*, art. iv.). Other authorities are cited or alluded to in the article itself. [CRUCIFIXION.] Further details respecting the use of the Cross, its adoration, and "the invention of the Cross," do not belong to our subject. They will be found fully treated in the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*.

On the history of the Cross as a Christian symbol, see Didron, *Iconographie;* Binterim, *Denkwürdigkeiten;* De Rossi, *De titulis Christ. Carthaginiensibus;* St. Laurent and Martigny, in Didron's *Annales Archéologiques*, xxvi., &c. The Fathers recognised that it entered into heathen as well as Christian symbolism. See Minuc. Fel. *Octav.* 29; Tert. *Apol.* 16; *Ad Nat.* i. 12. [F. W. F.]

CROWN (עֲטָרָה). This ornament, which is both ancient and universal, probably originated from the fillets used to prevent the hair from being dishevelled by the wind. Such fillets are still common, and they may be seen on the sculptures of Persepolis, Nineveh, and Egypt; they gradually developed into turbans, which by the addition of ornamental or precious materials assumed the dignity of mitres or crowns (Jos. *Ant.* iii. 7, § 7). The use of them as ornaments was probably suggested by the natural custom of encircling the head with flowers in token of joy and triumph. ("Let us crown ourselves with rosebuds," Wisd. ii. 8; 3 Macc. vii. 16; Judith xv. 13, and the classical writers, *passim;* Winer, *s. v. Kränze*). The Jews only borrowed the use of garlands at banquets from the Greeks in post-biblical times. The first crown was said to have been woven for Pandora by the Graces (cp. στέφανος χαρίτων, Prov. iv. 9 = στέφανος τῶν πνευματικῶν χαρισμάτων, Lex. Cyr.). According to Pherecydes, Saturn was the first to wear a crown; Diodorus says that Jupiter was first crowned by the gods after the conquest of the Titans. Pliny, Harpocration, &c., ascribe the earliest use of crowns to Bacchus, who gave to Ariadne a crown of gold and Indian gems, and assumed the laurel garland after his conquest of India. Leo Aegyptius attributes the invention to Isis, whose wreath was cereal. These and other legends are collected by Tertullian (*de Coronâ militis*, § 7) from the elaborate treatise on crowns by Claud. Saturnius (*praestantissimus in hâc materiâ commentator*). Pliny also has much to say about them (*H. N.* xvi. 3 sq., xxi. 3 sq.). Another tradition says that Nimrod was the first to wear a crown, the shape of which was suggested to him by a cloud (Eutychius Alexandr. *Ann.* i. p. 63). Tertullian (*ubi supra*, § 7) argues against all kinds of garlands as unnatural and idolatrous. He is, however, singularly unsuccessful in trying to disprove the countenance given to them in Scripture, where they are constantly mentioned. He says, *Quis . . . episcopus invenitur coronatus?* (chap. 9). But both the ordinary priests and the high-priest wore "crowns." The common mitre (מִגְבָּעָה, κίδαρις, Ex. xxviii. 37, xxix. 6, &c.; ταινία, Jos.; στρόφιον δ οἱ ἱερεῖς φοροῦσι, Hesych.) was a πῖλος ἄκωνος, forming a sort of linen *taenia* or crown (στεφάνη), Jos. *Ant.* iii. 7. The מִצְנֶפֶת (βυσσίνη τιάρα) of the high-priest (used also of a regal crown, Ezek. xxi. 26) was much more splendid (Ex. xxviii. 36. See Knobel-Dillmann in loco). It was "an ornament of honour, a costly work, the desires of the eyes, goodly and beautiful" (Ecclus. xlv. 12). In Lev. viii. 9 it is called "the holy crown," which however Ewald renders "the (sign of) consecration," from the Tetragrammaton inscribed on it (Sopranes, *de re Vest. Jud.*, p. 441). It had a second fillet of blue lace (ἐξ ὑακίνθου πεποικιλμένος, the colour being chosen as a type of heaven), and over it a golden diadem (נֵזֶר, Ex. xxix. 6), "on which blossomed a golden calyx like the flower of the ὑοσκύαμος" (Jos. *Ant.* iii. 7, § 6). The gold band (צִיץ, LXX. πέταλον, Orig. ἱλαστήριον) was tied behind with blue lace (embroidered with flowers), and being two fingers broad, bore the inscription (not in bas-relief, as

Abarbanel says) "Holiness to the Lord" (cp. Rev. xvii. 5; Braunius, *de Vest. Sacerd.* ii. 22; Maimon. *de Apparatu Templi*, ix. 1; Reland, *Antiq.* ii. 10; Carpzov. *Appar. Crit.* p. 85; Jos. *B. J.* v. 5, § 7; Philo, *de Vit. Mosis*, iii. 519). Some suppose that Josephus is describing a later crown said to have been given by Alexander the Great to Jaddua (Jennings' *Jew. Ant.* p. 158); but more probably he is simply adopting the assertions of the Rabbis, for in the Bible the only distinction between the high-priest's "crown" and the simple turban of the other priests consisted in the addition of the gold plate. The use of the crown by priests and in religious services was universal, and perhaps the badge belonged at first "rather to the *pontificalia* than the *regalia*." Thus Q. Fabius Pictor says that the first crown was used by Janus *when sacrificing*. "A striped head-dress and queue," or "a short wig, on which a band was fastened, ornamented with an asp, the symbol of royalty," was used by the kings of Egypt in religious ceremonies (Wilkinson's *Anc. Egypt.* ii. 324, smaller ed. [1878]). The crown worn by the kings of Assyria was "a high mitre ... frequently adorned with flowers, &c., and arranged in bands of linen or silk. Originally there was only one band, but afterwards there were two, and the ornaments were richer" (Layard, ii. 320, and the illustrations in Jahn, *Arch.*, Germ. edit., part i. vol. ii. tab. ix. 4 and 8).

Crowns worn by Assyrian kings. (From Nimroud and Kouyunjik.)

There are several words in Scripture for a crown besides those mentioned; as פְּאֵר (A. V. "tire," "bonnet," "ornament," "beauty"), the head-dress of bridegrooms, Is. lxi. 10 (R. V. "garland"), *μίτρα*, LXX.; Baruch v. 2; Ezek. xxiv. 17 (*τρίχωμα*), and of women, Is. iii. 20 (*ἐμπλόκιον?*); צְפִירָה (A. V. "morning;" R. V. "doom," in marg. *the turn* or the *crowning time*, Ezek. vii. 7, lit. "circle"), a head-dress of great splendour (Is. xxviii. 5, A. V. and R. V. "diadem"); לְוִיָּה, a wreath of flowers (*στέφανος*), Prov. i. 9, iv. 9, Is. xxviii. 1; צָנִיף, a common tiara or turban, Job xxix. 14, Is. iii. 23 (but LXX. *διπλοΐς, θέριστρον*). The words נֵזֶר, כֶּתֶר, and כַּרְבְּלָא are spoken of under DIADEM. The general word is עֲטָרָה, and we must attach to it the notion of a costly *turban* interwoven with pearls and gems of great value, which often form aigrettes for feathers, as in the crowns of modern Asiatic sovereigns. Such was probably the crown, which with its precious stones weighed a talent, taken by David from the king of Ammon at Rabbah and used as the state crown of Judah (2 Sam. xii. 30). Some groundlessly suppose that, being too heavy to wear, it was *suspended* over his head. The royal crown was sometimes buried with the king (Schickard, *Jus Reg.* vi. 19, p. 421). Idolatrous nations also "made crowns for the head of their gods" (Ep. Jer. 9).

The Jews boast that three crowns were given to them: כתר תורה, the crown of the Law; כתר כהונה, the crown of priesthood; and כ' מלכות, the royal crown; better than all which is כתר שם טוב, the crown of a good name (Carpzov. *Apparat. Critic.* p. 60; Otho, *Lex. Talm.* s. v. *Corona*).

Στέφανος is used in the N. T. for every kind of crown; but *στέμμα* only once (Acts xiv. 13) for the garlands used with victims. In the Byzantine Court the latter word was confined to the *imperial* crown (Du Fresne, *Gloss. Graec.* p. 1442). The use of funeral crowns is not mentioned in the Bible.

In Rev. xii. 3, xix. 12, allusion is made to "*many* crowns" worn in token of extended dominion. Thus the kings of Egypt used to be crowned with the "pshent" or *united* crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt (Wilkinson, *A. E.* i. 257, 269; ii. 323, 325 [1878]; cp. Layard, ii. 320); and Ptolemy Philometor wore *two* diadems, one for Europe and one for Asia. Similarly the three crowns of the Papal tiara mark various accessions of power: the first corona was added to the mitra by Alexander III. in 1159; the second by Boniface VIII. in 1303; and the third by Urban V. in 1362.

The laurel, pine, or parsley crowns given to victors in the great games of Greece are finely alluded to by St. Paul (1 Cor. ix. 25; 2 Tim. ii. 5, &c.). They are said to have originated in the laurel-wreath assumed by Apollo on conquering the Python (Tert. *de Cor. Mil.* 7, 15). "Crown" is often used figuratively in the Bible (Prov. xii. 4, xvii. 6; Is. xxviii. 5; Phil. iv. 1, &c.). The term is also applied to the rims of altars, tables, &c. (Ex. xxv. 25, &c.; Deut. xxii. 8, *ποιήσεις στεφάνην τῷ δώματί σου. Projectura coronarum*, Vitr. ii. 8, Plin. xxxvi. 24; *Angusti muri corona*, Q. Curt. ix. 4, 30). The ancients as well as the moderns had a *coin* called "a crown" (*τὸν στέφανον ὃν ὀφείλετε*, 1 Macc. xiii. 39, x. 29, E. V. "Crown-tax;" *v.* Suid. *s. v. στεφανικὸν τέλεσμα*). [DIADEM.]

The chief writers on crowns are Paschalius (*de Coronis*, libri x.) and Meursius (*de Coronâ*, Hafniae, 1671). For others, see Fabricius, *Bibl. Ant.* xiv. 13. Full accounts of ancient Pagan crowns and garlands will be found in the *Dict. of Gk. and Rom. Antiquities;* and of more modern imperial crowns and wreaths, in the *Dict. of Christian Antiquities.* [F. W. F.]

CROWN OF THORNS (*στέφανος ἐξ ἀκανθῶν*, Matt. xxvii. 29). Our Lord was crowned with thorns in mockery by the Roman soldiers. The object seems to have been insult, and not the infliction of pain as has generally been supposed. The Rhamnus or Spina Christi, although abundant in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, cannot be the plant intended, because its thorns are so strong and large that it could not have been woven (*πλέξαντες*) into a wreath. The large-leaved acanthus (bear's-foot) is totally unsuited for the purpose. Had the acacia been intended, as some suppose, the phrase would

have been ἐξ ἀκάνθης. Obviously some small flexile thorny shrub is meant; perhaps *cappares spinosae* (Reland's *Palestin.* ii. 523). Hasselquist (*Travels*, p. 288) says that the thorn used was the Arabian *Nabk* (*Zizyphus Spina-Christi*). "It was very suitable for their purpose, as it has many sharp thorns which inflict painful wounds; and its flexible, pliant, and round branches might easily be plaited in the form of a crown." It also resembles in colour the rich dark green of the triumphal ivy-wreath, which would give additional pungency to its ironical purpose (Rosenmüller, *Botany of Script.* p. 202, Eng. ed.). The name of "Christ's-thorn" is also given to the Arabic *Sumûr* (*Paliurus aculeatus*), which is common in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. On the Empress Helena's supposed discovery of the crown of thorns, and its subsequent fate, see Gibbon, ii. 306, vi. 66, ed. Milman. [F. W. F.]

CRUCIFIXION (σταυροῦν, ἀνασταυροῦν, σκολοπίζειν, προσηλοῦν [and, less properly, ἀνασκινδυλεύειν]; *cruci* or *patibulo affigere, suffigere*, or simply *figere* [Tert. *de Pat.* iii.], *cruciare* [Auson.] *ad palum alligare, crucem alicui statuere, in crucem agere, tollere*, &c.: the sufferer was called *cruciarius*). The variety of the phrases shows the extreme commonness of the punishment, the invention of which is traditionally ascribed to Semiramis. It was in use among the Egyptians (as in the case of Inarus, Thuc. i. 30; Gen. xl. 19 [as usually understood]), the Phoenicians and Carthaginians (as in the case of Hanno, &c., Val. Max. ii. 7; Sil. Ital. ii. 344), the Persians (Polycrates, &c.; Herod. iii. 125, iv. 43; Esth. vii. 10, σταυρωθήτω ἐπ' αὐτό, LXX. *v.* 9), the Assyrians (Diod. Sic. ii. 1), Scythians (Id. ii. 44), Indians (Id. ii. 18; Winer, s. v. *Kreuzigung*), Germans (possibly, Tac. *Germ.* 12), and it was very frequent from the earliest times (*reste suspendito*, Liv. i. 26) among the Greeks and Romans. Cicero, however, refers the introduction of this punishment, not (as Livy does) to the early kings, but to Tarquinius Superbus (*pro Rab.* 4). Aurel. Victor calls it *Vetus veterrimumque* (*an teterr.?*) *patibulorum supplicium*. Both κρεμᾶν and *suspendere* (Ov. *Ibis*, 299) refer to death by *crucifixion;* thus, in speaking of Alexander's crucifixion of 2000 Tyrians, ἀνεκρέμασεν in Diod. Sic. answers to the *Crucibus affixus*, Q. Curt. iv. 4.

Whether this mode of execution was known to the ancient Jews is a matter of dispute, on which Winer quotes a monograph by Bormitius. It is asserted to have been so by Baronius (*Annal.* I. xxxiv.), Sigonius (*de Rep. Hebr.* vi. 8), &c., who are refuted by Casaubon (*c. Baron. Exerc.* xvi.; Carpzov. *Apparat. Crit.* p. 591). The Hebrew words said to allude to it are תָּלָה (sometimes with the addition of עַל הָעֵץ; hence the Jews in polemics call our Lord תלוי, and Christians עובדי תלוי, "worshippers of the crucified") and יָקַע, both of which in A. V. and R. V. are generally rendered "to hang" (2 Sam. xviii. 10; Deut. xxi. 22; Num. xxv. 4; Job xxvi. 7); for which σταυρόω occurs in the LXX. (Esth. vii. 10), and *crucifixerunt* in the Vulg. (2 Sam. xxi. 6, 9). The Jewish account of the matter (in Maimonides and the Rabbis) is, that the exposure of the body tied to a stake by its hands (which might loosely be called crucifixion) took place *after* death (Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr. in Mati.* xxvii. 31; Otho, *Lex. Rab.* s. v. *Supplicia;* Reland, *Ant.* ii. 6; Sir T. Browne, *Vulg. Errors*, v. 21). Even the placing of a head on a single upright pole has been called crucifixion. This custom of crucifixion *after death* (which seems to be implied in Deut. xxi. 22, 23) was by no means rare; men were *first* killed or stunned in mercy (Cic. *Verr.* ii. 45; Suet. *Jul. Caes.* 74; Herod. iii. 125; Plut. *Cicom.* 38). According to a strange story in Pliny (xxxvi. 15, § 24), it was adopted by Tarquin, as a post mortem disgrace, to prevent the prevalence of suicide. It seems on the whole that the Rabbis are correct in asserting that *this* exposure is intended in Scripture, since the Mosaic capital punishments were four (viz. the sword, Ex. xxi. 14, cp. 1 K. ii. 31; strangling, Num. xxv. 4; fire, Lev. xx. 14; and stoning, Lev. xx. 27). Philo indeed says (*de leg. spec.*) that Moses adopted crucifixion as a murderer's punishment because it was the *worst* he could discover; but the passage in Deut. (xxi. 23) does not prove his assertion. Probably therefore the Jews borrowed crucifixion (in the proper sense) from the Romans (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 6, § 2; *de Bell. Jud.* ii. 12, § 6; *Vit.* 75, &c.), although there may have been a few isolated instances of it before (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 14, § 2).

It was unanimously considered the most horrible form of death, worse even than burning, since the "cross" precedes "burning" in the law-books (Lips. *de Cruc.* ii. 1). Hence it is called *crudelissimum teterrimumque supplicium* (Cic. *Verr.* v. 66), *extrema poena* (Apul. *de Aur. Asin.* x.), *summum supplicium* (Paul. *Sent.* v. tit. xxi., &c.); and to a Jew it would acquire factitious horror from the curse in Deut. xxi. 23. Among the Romans also the degradation was a part of the infliction, since it was especially a *servile supplicium* (Tac. *H.* iv. 11; Juv. vi. 218; Hor. *Sat.* i. 3, 8, &c.; Plaut. *passim*), so that even a freedman was exempt from it (Cic. *pro Rab.* 5); or if it was ever applied to freemen, it was only in the case of the vilest criminals, thieves, &c. (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 10, § 10; *Bell. Jud.* v. 11, § 1; Paul. *Sent.* v. tit. xxiii.; Lamprid. *Alex. Sev.* 23). Exemption from this form of punishment was the privilege of every Roman citizen by the *jus civitatis* (Cic. *Verr.* ii. 1, 3). Our Lord was condemned to it by the popular cry of the Jews (Matt. xxvii. 23, as often happened to the early Christians) on the charge of sedition against Caesar (Luke xxiii. 2), although the Sanhedrin had previously condemned him on the totally distinct charge of blasphemy. Hundreds of Jews were crucified on this charge, as by Florus (Jos. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 14, § 9) and Varus, who crucified 2000 at once (*Ant.* xvii. 10, § 10).

We now purpose briefly to sketch the steps of the punishment, omitting only such parts of it as have been already detailed under CROSS.

The scarlet robe, crown of thorns, and other insults to which our Lord was subjected were illegal, and arose from the spontaneous petulance of the brutal soldiery (cp. Tac. *Ann.* xv. 44, "et pereuntibus addita *ludibria*"). But the punishment properly commenced with scourging, after the criminal had been stripped; hence in

the common form of sentence we find "summove, lictor, *despolia*, verbera," &c. (Liv. i. 26. For this there are a host of authorities: Liv. xxvii. 13, xxxiii. 36; Q. Curt. vii. 11; Luc. *de Piscat.* 2; Jer. *Comment. ad Matt.* xxvii. 26, &c.). Scourging was inflicted not with the comparatively mild *virgae*, but the more terrible *flagellum* (Hor. *Sat.* i. 3; 2 Cor. xi. 24, 25), which was not used by the Jews (Deut. xxv. 3). Into these scourges the soldiers often stuck nails, pieces of bone, &c. (the μάστιξ ἀστραγαλωτὴ mentioned by Athenaeus, p. 153 a; Luc. *Asin.* 38, &c.; *flagrum pecuinis ossibus catenatum*, Apul. *Met.* 8). This was done to heighten the pain, which was often so intense that the sufferer died under it (Ulp. *de Poenis*, lib. viii.). The scourging generally took place at a column, and the one to which our Lord was supposed to have been bound was seen by Jerome, Prudentius, Gregory of Tours, &c., and is still shown at several churches among the relics. In our Lord's case, however, this infliction seems neither to have been the legal scourging after the sentence (Val. Max. i. 7; Jos. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 14, § 9), nor yet the examination by torture (Acts xxii. 24), but rather a scourging *before* the sentence, to excite pity and procure immunity from further punishment (Luke xxiii. 22; John xix. 1); and if this view be correct, the φραγέλλωσας in Matt. xxvii. 26 is retrospective, as so great an anguish could hardly have been endured *twice*. How severe it was is indicated in prophecy (Ps. xxxv. 15; Is. l. 6). Vossius considers that it was partly legal, partly tentative (*Harm. Pass.* v. 13). In the spurious *Acts of Pilate* it is said that forty blows were given, but that is a mere confusion of the Roman with the Jewish custom.

The criminal carried his own cross, or at any rate a part of it (Plut. *de iis qui sero*, &c. 9; Artemid. *Oneirocr.* ii. 61; John xix. 17; *Patibulum ferat per urbem, deinde affigatur cruci*, Plaut. *Carbonar.*). Hence the term *Furcifer*,—cross-bearer. This was prefigured by Isaac carrying the *wood* in Gen. xxii. 6, where even the Jews notice the parallel; and to this the Fathers fantastically applied the expression in Is. ix. 6, "the government shall be upon his shoulder" (Septimius, *c. Jud.* 12; Aug. *Serm.* 71; Theodoret, Procopius, &c. ad loc.). Criminals were sometimes scourged and goaded on the way (Plaut. *Mostel.* i. 1, 52). "In some old figures we see our Lord described with a table appendent to the fringe of his garment, set full of nails and pointed iron" (Jer. Taylor, *Life of Christ*, iii. xv. 2. *Haerebas ligno quod tuleras:* Cypr. *de Pas.* p. 50). [SIMON OF CYRENE.]

The place of execution was outside the city ("post urbem," Cic. *Verr.* v. 66; "extra portam," Plaut. *Mil. Gl.* ii. 4, 6; 1 K. xxi. 13; Acts vii. 58; Heb. xiii. 12; and in camps, "extra vallum"), often in some public road (Quinct. *Decl.* 275) or other conspicuous place like the Campus Martius (Cic. *pro Rabirio*), or some spot set apart for the purpose (Tac. *Ann.* xv.). This might sometimes be a hill (Val. Max. vi.); it is, however, merely tradition to call Golgotha a *hill;* in the Evangelists it is called τόπος [CALVARY]. Arrived at the place of execution, the sufferer was stripped naked (Artemid. *Oneirocr.* ii. 58), the dress being the perquisite of the soldiers (Matt. xxvii. 35; *Dig.* xlviii. 20, 6); possibly not even a cloth round the loins was allowed him; at least among the Jews the rule was "that a man should be stoned naked," where what follows shows that "naked" must *not* be taken in its restricted sense. We may be sure, however, that the *Acts of Pilate* preserve a traditional fact when they say of our Lord περιέζωσαν αὐτὸν λέντιον (*Act. Pilat.* 10). The cross was then driven into the ground, so that the feet of the condemned were a foot or two above the earth (in pictures of the Crucifixion the Cross is always much too large and high), and he was lifted upon it (*agere, excurrere, tollere, ascendere in crucem;* Prudent. περὶ στεφ.; Plaut. *Mostel.* '*Crucisalus;*' Id. *Bacch.* 2, 3, 128; ἀνῆγον, ἦγον, ἦγον εἰς ἄκρον τέλος, Greg. Naz.), or else stretched upon it on the ground, and then lifted with it, to which there seems to be an allusion in a lost prophecy (?) quoted by Barnabas (*Ep.* 12), ὅταν ξύλον κλιθῇ καὶ ἀναστῇ (Pearson *on Creed*, art. iv.). The former method was the commoner, for we often read (as in Esth. vii. 10, &c.) of the cross being erected beforehand, *in terrorem*. Before the nailing or binding took place (for which see CROSS), a medicated cup (*sopor*, Plin. xx. 18; Sen. *Ep.* 83) was given out of kindness to confuse the senses and deaden the pangs of the sufferer (Prov. xxxi. 6), usually *of* οἶνος ἐσμυρμισμένος or λελιβανωμένος, as among the Jews (Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr. ad Matt.* xxvii.), because myrrh was soporific. This merciful alleviation our Lord refused that His senses might be clear (Matt. xxvii. 34; Mark xv. 23. Maimon. *Sanhed.* xiii.). St. Matthew calls it ὄξος (or οἶνος, ℵ, B, D, K, L, &c.) μέτα χολῆς (חֹמֶץ), an expression used in reference to Ps. lxix. 21, but not strictly accurate. This mercifully intended draught must not be confounded with the spongeful of vinegar (or *posca*, the common drink of Roman soldiers, Spart. *Hadr.*; Plaut. *Mil. Gl.* iii. 2, 23), which was put on a hyssop-stalk and offered to our Lord in mocking and contemptuous pity (Matt. xxvii. 48; Luke xxiii. 36); this He barely tasted to allay the agonies of thirst (John xix. 29).

Our Lord was crucified between two "malefactors" or "brigands" (then so common in Palestine, Jos. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 6, &c.), according to prophecy (Is. liii. 12); and was watched according to custom by a party of four soldiers (John xix. 23) with their centurion (κουστωδία, Matt. xxvii. 66; *miles qui cruces asservabat*, Petr. *Sat.* iii. 6; Plut. *Vit. Cleom.* 38), whose express office was to prevent the removal of the body. This was necessary from the lingering character of the death, which sometimes did not supervene even for three days, and was at last the result of gradual benumbing and starvation (Euseb. *H. E.* viii. 8; Sen. *Prov.* 3). But for this guard, the sufferers might have been taken down and recovered (as in the case of Sandokes: Herod. vii. 194), as was actually done in the case of a friend of Josephus, though only one survived out of *three* to whom the same θεραπεία ἐπιμελεστάτη was applied (*Vit.* 75). Among the Convulsionnaires in the reign of Louis XV. women would be repeatedly crucified, and even remain on the cross three hours; we are told of one who underwent this torture twenty-three times (*Encycl. Metr.* s. v. *Cross*). The pain consisted almost entirely in the *nailing*, and not more than a basonful of blood was lost. Still

we cannot believe from the Martyrologies that Victorinus (crucified head-downwards) lived three days, or Timotheus and Maura nine days. For description of the conduct of men who were being crucified, see Cic. *Verr.* v. 62; Justin, xxii. 7; Sen. *de Vit. beat.*, 19; Jos. *B. J.* viii. 6, § 4; Keim, *Jesu von Nazara*, III. ii. 431. Fracture of the legs (Plaut. *Poen.* iv. 2, 64) was especially adopted by the Jews to hasten death (John xix. 31), and it was a mitigation of the punishment, as was observed by Origen (*in Matt.*; cp. Sen. *Ep.* 101). It was sometimes even purchased as a privilege (Cic. *Verr.* ii. 45). But the unusual rapidity of our Lord's death (ἐξέπνευσεν, Mark xv. 37, Luke xxiii. 46; ἀφῆκεν τὸ πνεῦμα, Matt. xxvii. 50; παρέδωκεν τὸ πνεῦμα, John xix. 30) was due to the depth of His previous agonies (which appears from His inability to bear His own Cross far) and to His mental anguish (Schoettgen, *Hor. Heb.* vi. 3; *de pass. Messiae*); or it may be sufficiently accounted for by the rupture of the heart which is believed to have been the physical cause of His death (Stroud, *The Physical Cause of the Death of Christ*, 1871; Dr. S. Haughton, quoted in *Speaker's Commentary*, add. note on 1 John v. 6, pp. 349, 350). There is no need to explain the "giving up the ghost" as an actual miracle (Heb. v. 7?), or to say with Cyprian, *Praevento carnificis officio, spiritum sponte dimisit* (*adv. Demetr.*), though beyond all doubt the mode and the moment of Christ's death were in accordance with His own Divine will—*quia voluit, quando voluit, quomodo voluit* (Aug. Cp. Is. liii. 7 [Vulg. *Oblatus est quia ipse voluit*]). Still less can the common cavil of infidelity be thought noteworthy, since had our Lord been in a swoon the piercing of His pericardium (proved by the appearance of lymph and blood) would have ensured death (see Eschenbach, *Opusc. Med. de Servatore non apparenter sed vere mortuo*, and Gruner, *de morte Christi non synoptică*, quoted by Jahn in the *Arch. Bibl.*). Pilate *expressly satisfied* himself of the actual *death* by questioning the centurion (Mark xv. 44); and the omission of the breaking of the legs in this case was the fulfilment of a type (Ex. xii. 46). Other modes of hastening death were by lighting fires under the cross (hence such nicknames as *Sarmentitii* and *Semaxii*, Tert. *Apolog.* 50), or by letting loose wild beasts on the crucified (Suet. *Ner.* 49).

Generally the body was suffered to rot on the cross (Cic. *Tusc. Q.* i. 43; Sil. Ital. viii. 486), by the action of sun and rain (Herod. iii. 12), or to be devoured by birds and beasts (Gen. xl. 19; Apul. *de Aur. Asin.* 6; Hor. *Ep.* i. 16, 48; Juv. xiv. 77). Sepulture was as a rule forbidden, though it might be granted as a special favour or on grand occasions. But in consequence of Deut. xxi. 22, 23, an express national exception was made in favour of the Jews (Matt. xxvii. 58; cp. Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* iv. 5, § 2).

Having thus traced the whole process of crucifixion, it only remains to speak of the manner of death, and the kinds of physical suffering endured, which we shall very briefly abridge from the treatise of the physician Richter (in Jahn's *Arch. Bibl.*). These were: 1. The unnatural position and violent tension of the body, which caused a painful sensation from the least motion. 2. The nails being driven through parts of the hands and feet which are full of *nerves* and *tendons* (and yet at a distance from the heart), create the most exquisite anguish. 3. The exposure of so many wounds and lacerations brings on inflammation, which tends to become gangrene, and every moment increases the poignancy of torment. 4. In the distended parts of the body more blood flows through the arteries than can be carried back into the veins: hence too much blood finds its way from the aorta into the head and stomach, and the blood-vessels of the head become pressed and swollen. The general obstruction of circulation which ensues causes an internal excitement, exertion, and anxiety, more intolerable than death itself. 5. The inexpressible misery of *gradually increasing* and lingering anguish. To all which we may add, 6. Burning and raging thirst. And thus we see that the terrible death which the Lord Jesus endured for our salvation involved all that pain and death *can* have of ghastly and horrible,—dizziness, cramp, hunger, thirst, sleeplessness, traumatic fever, tetanus, mortification of wounds, publicity of shame, long continuance of torment.

This accursed and awful mode of punishment was happily abolished by Constantine (Sozom. *H. E.* i. 8; Aurel. Vict. *Const.* 41), probably towards the end of his reign (see Lips. *de Cruce*, iii. 15), although it is curious that we have no more *definite* account of the matter. "An edict so honourable to Christianity," says Gibbon, "deserved a place in the Theodosian code, instead of the indirect mention of it which seems to result from the comparison of the 5th and 18th titles of the 9th book" (ii. 154, note).

An explanation of the other circumstances attending the Crucifixion belongs rather to a commentary than a dictionary. On the types and prophecies of it, besides those adduced, see Ep. Barnab. 11, 12; Just. Mart. *Apol.* i. 54; *Dial.* 86–91, 97; Cypr. *Testim.* ii. 20, &c. On the resurrection of the saints, see Lightfoot *ad Matt.* xxvii. 52 (there is a monograph by Gebaverius —*Dissert. de Resur. sanctorum cum Christo*). On other concomitant prodigies, see Schoettgen, *Hor. Hebr. et Talmud.* vi. 3, 8. [DARKNESS; CROSS.] The chief authorities are quoted in the article, and the *ancient* ones are derived in part from Lipsius; of whose most interesting treatise, *de Cruce*, an enlarged and revised edition, with notes, would be very acceptable. On the points in which our Lord's Crucifixion differed from the ordinary Jewish customs, see Otho, *Lex. Rabbinicum*, s. v. *Supplicia*; Bynaeus, *de Morte Jesu Christi*; Vossius, *Harm. Passionis*; Carpzov. *Apparat. Crit.* p. 591 sq., &c. [F. W. F.]

CRUSE, a word employed in the A. V., apparently without any special intention, to translate three distinct Hebrew words.

1. *Tzappachath*, צַפַּחַת (from צָפַח, a root with the idea of width; cp. *ampulla*, from *amplus*). Some clue to the nature of this vessel is perhaps afforded by its mention as being full of water at the head of Saul when on his night-expedition after David (1 Sam. xxvi. 11, 12, 16), and also of Elijah (1 K. xix. 6). In a similar case in the present day (cp. Thomson, *Land and Book*, ii. 21) this would be a globular vessel

of blue porous clay—the ordinary Gaza pottery—about 9 inches in diameter, with a neck of about 3 inches long, a small handle below the neck, and opposite the handle a straight spout, with an orifice about the size of straw, through which the water is drunk or sucked. The form is common also in Spain, and will be familiar to many from pictures of Spanish life. A similar globular vessel probably contained the oil of the widow of Zarephath (1 K. xvii. 12, 14, 16). For the "box" or "horn" in which the consecrated oil was carried on special occasions, see OIL.

2. The noise which these vessels make when emptied through the neck is suggestive of the second term, *Bukbook*, בַּקְבּוּק, probably like the Greek *bombulos*, *βόμβυλος*, an onomatopoietic word. This is found but twice—a "cruse of honey" (1 K. xiv. 3, R. V. marg. *bottle*); and an "earthen bottle" (Jer. xix. 1).

3. Apparently very different from both these is the other term, *Tzelachah*, צְלָחָה (in pl. only, צְלָחוֹת; found also in the forms צְלָחִית and צַלַּחַת, from a root צלח, of uncertain meaning, cp. Ges. *Thes.* and MV.[11]). This was probably a flat metal saucer of the form still common in the East. צְלָחִית occurs in 2 K. ii. 20, "cruse;" צְלָחוֹת in 2 Ch. xxxv. 13, "pans;" צַלַּחַת in 2 K. xxi. 13, "dish;" and in Prov. xix. 24, xxvi. 15, where R. V. rightly translates "dish;" in A. V. the figure is obscured by the choice of the word "bosom." [G.] [W.]

CRYSTAL, the representative in the A. V. of the Hebrew word *zecûcith* (זְכוּכִית), in the R. V. "glass," and of *kerach* (קֶרַח) in the A. V. and R. V.

1. *Zecûcith* (*ὕαλος*; *vitrum*) occurs only in Job xxviii. 17, where wisdom is declared to be more valuable than "gold and the crystal." Notwithstanding the different interpretations of "rock crystal," "glass," "adamant," &c., that have been assigned to this word, there can, we think, be very little doubt that "glass" is intended (so R. V.). The old Versions and paraphrases are in favour of this interpretation. The Targum has *zegougitha*, by which the Talmudists understand "glass." The Syriac has *zagugitto*; the Arabic *zujaj*, i.e. "glass." Schultens (*Comment. in Job.* l. c.) conjectures that the words *zâhâb ûzecûcith* (זָהָב וּזְכוּכִית) are a hendiadys to denote "a valuable glass or crystal goblet," or "a glass vessel gilt with gold," such a one perhaps as that which Nero is reported to have broken to pieces in a fit of anger (Pliny, *N. H.* xxxvii. 2). Cary (Job, *l. c.*) translates the words "golden glass;" and very aptly compares a passage in Wilkinson (*Anc. Egypt.* ii. 61, [1878]), who, speaking of the skill of the Egyptians in making glass, says that "they had even the secret of introducing gold between two surfaces of glass, and in their bottles a gold band alternates within a set of blue, green, and other colours." It is very probable that the *zecûcith* of Job (*l. c.*) may denote such a work of art as is referred to in this quotation. [GLASS.]

2. *Kerach* (*κρύσταλλος*; *crystallum*) occurs in numerous passages in the O. T. to denote "ice," "frost," &c.; but once only (Ezek. i. 22; R. V. marg. *ice*), as is generally understood, to signify "crystal:" "And the likeness of the firmament . . . was as the colour of the magnificent crystal." The ancients supposed rock-crystal to be merely ice congealed by intense cold; whence the Greek word *κρύσταλλος*, from *κρύος*, "cold" (see Pliny, *N. H.* xxxvii. 2). The similarity of appearance between ice and crystal caused no doubt the identity of the terms to express these substances. The A. V., following the Vulg., translates the epithet (הַנּוֹרָא) "terrible" in Ezek. (*l. c.*): the word might perhaps be rendered "splendid." It has the same meaning as the Latin *spectabilis*. The Greek *κρύσταλλος* occurs in Rev. iv. 6, xxii. 1. It may mean either "ice" or "crystal." Indeed there is no absolute necessity to depart from the usual signification of the Hebrew *kerach* in Ezek. (*l. c.*). The upper vault of heaven may well be compared to "the astonishing brightness of ice" (see Harris, *Dict. Nat. Hist. of Bible*, art. "Crystal"). [W. H.]

CUBIT. [MEASURES.]

CUCKOO (שַׁחַף, *shachaph*; *λάρος*; *larus*), in the A. V. "cuckow," in the R. V. "sea-mew." It is difficult to conjecture how the rendering "cuckoo" has become adopted in all English versions from that of Coverdale, A.D. 1535, down to the A. V. There is no authority for it elsewhere. Cuckoos are certainly well known in Palestine, where two species are common, *Cuculus canorus*, or common cuckoo, and *Oxylophus glandarius*, the great spotted cuckoo. They are known to the Arabs, and probably were to the Hebrews, as to the Greeks, by the same name as among ourselves, for the most unobservant of peoples have always recognised the note of the cuckoo. The Hebrew word *shachaph* occurs only in Lev. xi. 16 (Knobel-Dillmann, *Möwe*), and in Deut. xiv. 15, as the name of some unclean bird. Bochart (*Hieroz.* iii. 1) has attempted to show that *Shachaph* denotes the *Cepphus*. The *κέπφος* of Aristotle (*Anim. Hist.* viii. 5, § 7; ix. 23, § 4), Nicander (*Alexipharm.* 165), and other Greek writers, has been identified by Schneider with the storm-petrel (*Thalassidroma pelagica*). Had this writer identified it with "Petrel" generally, instead of limiting it to one species, and that the smallest, and very rare in the Mediterranean, he would have been more in harmony with all the ancient Versions, and have been probably correct. The petrel family, including under the term the shearwater and storm-petrels, are abundant on the Syrian coast. The Scholiast on Aristophanes (*Plutus*) describes the *Cepphus* as a light kind of gull. Suidas, under the word *κέπφος*, says, "It is a bird like a gull, light of body, and sails over the waves." The notion held by the ancients that the *Cepphus* lived on the foam of the sea, points also to the shearwater, which will well answer to Suidas' definition of *κέπφος*. The two most common species in the Eastern Mediterranean are the Mana shearwater (*Puffinus anglorum*) and the Mediterranean shearwater (*Puffinus kuhli*). These birds, especially the former, may be seen all day long passing in countless flocks up and down the Dardanelles,

and are never seen to rest or pause on the water, but ceaselessly glide within a few inches of the surface whether the sea be smooth or rough. They are popularly believed by the Moslems to be the souls of the lost, and are consequently known to the Franks as the "âmes damnées." During the late autumn and winter the shearwaters and petrels appear to live altogether out at sea. In spring they resort to cliffs and banks on the shore, and breed in burrows which they scoop out of the soil about one or two feet deep. The folly ascribed to the bird, whence the Greek verb κεπφόομαι, "to be easily deceived" (see LXX. in Prov. vii. 22), may have some foundation in the fact that these birds when on the nest will allow themselves to be taken by the hand. It is very possible that not only the petrel but also the gull tribe, equally or rather more abundant on the coast and on the inland lakes, are also included in the Hebrew *shachaph*, and the etymology which (according to some) points to some "slender" bird would also suit this inclusion. The most common species are the magnificent Eagle-Gull (*Larus ichthyaetus*), Black-headed Gull (*L. ridibundus*), Common Gull (*L. canus*), Yellow-legged Herring Gull (*L. cachinnans*), and Lesser Black-backed Gull (*L. fuscus*). [H. B. T.]

CUCUMBERS (קִשֻּׁאִים, *kishshuim*; οἱ σίκυοι; *cucumeres*). This word occurs twice, in Num. xi. 5, as one of the good things of Egypt for which the Israelites longed, and *mikishah*, "a garden of cucumbers," Is. i. 8. There is no doubt as to the meaning of the Hebrew word, which is found with a slight variation in the Arabic, Syriac, Aethiopic, &c., to denote the plant now under consideration (see Celsius, *Hierob.* ii. 247). Egypt produces excellent cucumbers, melons, &c. [MELON], the *Cucumis chate* being, according to Hasselquist (*Trav.* p. 258), the best of its tribe yet known. This plant grows in the fertile earth around Cairo after the inundation of the Nile. The fruit, which is somewhat sweet and cool, is eaten, says Hasselquist, by the grandees and Europeans in Egypt as that from which they have least to apprehend. Prosper Alpinus (*Plant. Aegypt.* xxxviii. p. 54) speaks of this cucumber as follows: —"The Egyptians use a certain kind of cucumber which they call *chate*. This plant does not differ from the common kind, except in size, colour, and tenderness; it has smaller, whiter, softer, and rounder leaves, and the fruit is longer and greener than ours, with a smooth soft rind, and more easy of digestion." Forskål (*Flor. Aegypt.* p. 168) states that the *Cucumis chate*, which he says is called by the Arabs *Abdellavi* or *Adjûr*, is the commonest fruit in Egypt, planted over whole fields. The *C. chate* was once cultivated in England and called "the round-leaved Egyptian melon." Besides the *Cucumis chate*, the common cucumber (*C. sativus*), of which the Arabs distinguish a number of varieties, is common in Egypt. This grows with the water-melons; the poor people boil and eat it with vinegar; the richer people fill it with spiced mincemeat, in which form it is a favourite and universal dish throughout the East. Both *Cucumis chate* and *C. sativus* are now grown in great quantities in Palestine: on visiting the Arab school in Jerusalem (1858) I observed that the dinner which the children brought with them to school consisted, without exception, of a piece of barley-cake and a raw cucumber, which they ate rind and all.

The prophet Isaiah (i. 8) foretells the desolation that was to come upon Judah and Jerusalem in these words:—"The daughter of Zion is left as a cottage (R. V. "booth") in a vineyard, as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers, as a besieged city." The cottage or lodge here spoken of is a rude temporary shelter, erected in the open grounds where vines, cucumbers, gourds, &c., are grown, in which some lonely man or boy is set to watch, either to guard the plants from robbers, or to scare away the foxes and jackals from the vines. It is a very rude affair. Four poles are stuck in the ground, planks are bound across their tops, and on these are entwined boughs cut from the oleanders by the watercourses; while others, and often bits of matting, are worked in so as to form a slight shelter for the occupant. Dr. Thomson (*The Land and the Book*, p. 361) well illustrates this passage of Scripture, and brings out its full force. The woodcut which he gives of the lodge at Butaiha represents such a shelter as is alluded to above: by and by, when the crop is gathered and the lodge forsaken, the "poles will fall down or lean every way, and the green boughs with which it is shaded will be scattered by the winds, leaving only a ragged sprawling wreck—a most affecting type of utter desolation."

Lodge in Garden of Cucumbers.

Job, speaking of the passing prosperity of the wicked, compares it to one of these lodges: "He buildeth his house as the moth and as a booth that the keeper maketh" (xxvii. 18, R. V.).

It is curious to observe that the custom of keeping off birds, &c., from fruit and corn by means of a scarecrow is as old as the time of Baruch (vi. 70): "As a scarecrow (προβασκάνιον) in a garden of cucumbers keepeth nothing, so are their gods of wood," &c.

The cucumber (*Cucumis sativa*) is a trailing annual plant, belonging to the family *Cucurbitaceae*. Its native country is unknown, as it has been cultivated in all the warm countries of the Old World from time immemorial. In the Jordan valley the cucumber is ripe in March, but in the higher parts of Palestine the cucumbers are set in the ground after the barley has been taken off, should the latter rains have been sufficient to enable the fields to be tilled. On the Plain of Gennesaret, and elsewhere where it is possible, the cucumber fields are artificially

irrigated. Near Kedes (Kadesh Naphtali) hundreds of acres are devoted to cucumbers for the Damascus market. [W. H.] [H. B. T.]

CUMMIN (כַּמּוֹן, *cammôn*; κυμῖνον; *cyminum*; Arab. كمون, *cammûn*). A well-known plant in Mediterranean countries, belonging to the natural order *Umbelliferae* (*Cuminum sativum*. Linn.), cultivated in Palestine, and probably indigenous, though it has not been noticed there in a wild state. It is twice mentioned in Scripture. "Doth he not . . . scatter the cummin? . . . For the fitches are not threshed with a threshing instrument, neither is a cart wheel turned about upon the cummin, but the fitches are beaten out with a staff, and the cummin with a rod" (Is. xxviii. 25, 27). So small and tender a seed would be destroyed or crushed if threshed like corn, or even if beaten with a staff, like the stouter husks of the fitches (*Nigella sativa*). The same mode of beating out the cummin is still practised, while the corn is *trodden* out with oxen. What is called the seed of the cummin is really the fruit enclosing the seeds. Our Lord also (Matt. xxiii. 23) mentions cummin along with mint and anise, as one of the insignificant garden herbs, about the tithing of which the scribes and Pharisees were punctilious. Cummin is used in the East very much as caraway seeds among ourselves, as an economical spice, mixed with the dough; and also often boiled in the various dishes and stews. It is mentioned by Apicius in his Art of Cooking, i. 32, &c. It was also used medicinally as a stimulant, "Condimentorum omnium stomachi fastidiis cuminum amicissimum" (Plin. xix. 8). Athenaeus speaks of it as a condiment with salt. Κυμινοπρίστης was a proverbial epithet among the Greeks for a mean and stingy fellow (see Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 528). [H. B. T.]

CUNNING, a term applied to Esau as a hunter (Gen. xxv. 27) and to David as a harpist (1 Sam. xvi. 16), and also to work (Ex. xxvi. 1). It means skilful (A. S. *cunnan* = to know). Cp. "cunning in music and the mathematics" (Shakespeare, *Taming of the Shrew*, ii. 1, 56, quoted in Lumby's *Glossary of Bible Words* in Eyre and Spottiswoode's *Variorum Bible*). [F.]

CUP. The chief words rendered "cup" in the A. V. are, 1. גָּבִיעַ; ποτήριον; *calix*: 2. קְשָׂוֹת, only in plural; σπονδεῖα; *crateres*: 3. גָּבִיעַ; κόνδυ; *scyphus*: see also further the words BASIN, BOWL. The cups of the Jews, whether of metal or earthenware, were possibly borrowed, in point of shape and design, from Egypt and from the Phoenicians, who were celebrated in that branch of workmanship (*Il.* xxiii. 743; *Od.* iv. 615, 618). Egyptian cups were of various shapes, either having handles or without them. In Solomon's time all his drinking vessels were of gold, none of silver (1 K. x. 21). Babylon is compared to a golden cup (Jer. li. 7).

Assyrian cups from Khorsabad and Nimroud may be seen figured in Layard (*Nin.* ii. 303, 304; *Nin. and Bab.* pp. 186, 190, 192), some perhaps of Phoenician workmanship, from which source both Solomon and the Assyrian monarch possibly derived both their workmen and the works themselves. The cups and other vessels brought to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar may thus have been of Phoenician origin (Dan. v. 2).

On the bas-reliefs at Persepolis many figures are represented bearing cups or vases which may fairly be taken as types of the vessels of that sort described in the Book of Esther (Esth. i. 7; Niebuhr, *Voyage*, ii. 106; Chardin, *Voyages*, viii. p. 268, pl. lviii.). The great laver, or "sea," was made with a rim like the rim of a cup (*Côs*), "like the flower of a lily" (1 K. vii. 26), a form which the Persepolitan cups resemble (Jahn, *Arch.* § 144). The common form of modern Oriental cups is represented in the drawing below.

Assyrian cup with handle. (Layard, ii. 303.)

Assyrian drinking-cup. (Layard, ii. 304.)

The use of gold and silver cups was introduced into Greece after the time of Alexander (Athen. vi. 229–30; xi. 446, 465; Birch, *Anc. Pott.*, ii. 109). The cups of the N. T., ποτήρια, were often no doubt formed on Greek and Roman models. They were sometimes of gold (Rev. xvii. 4. Cp. *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq.*, art. PATERA). [H. W. P.]

Modern Egyptian drinking-cups, one-fifth of the real size. (Lane.)

CUP-BEARER (מַשְׁקֶה; οἰνοχόος; *pincerna*), an officer of high rank with Egyptian, Persian, Assyrian, as well as Jewish monarchs. The chief cup-bearer, or butler, to the king of Egypt was the means of raising Joseph to his high position (Gen. xl. 1–21, xli. 9). The name of Rabshakeh, who was sent by Sennacherib to Hezekiah, used to be taken as equivalent to רַב שָׁר הַמַּשְׁקִים or chief of the cupbearers in the Assyrian court (2 K. xviii. 17; Ges. p. 1225), but it seems more probable that the latter part, *šhâkêh*, is the Hebraized form of the Assyrian *šâḳ(é)*, and that he was in reality a chief commander of the army (Schrader, *KAT.*² in loco). Herod the Great had an establishment of eunuchs, of whom one was a cup-bearer (Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 8, 1). Nehemiah was cup-bearer to Artaxerxes Longimanus, king of Persia (Neh. i. 11, ii. 1). Cup-bearers are mentioned among the attendants of Solomon (1 K. x. 5; cp. Layard, *Nin.* ii. 324, 326). [H. W. P.]

CURTAINS. The Hebrew terms translated in the A. V. by this word are three:

1. *Yereeoth*, יְרִיעֹת; the ten "curtains" of fine linen, &c., each 28 cubits long and 4 wide, and also the eleven of goats' hair, which covered the Tabernacle of Moses (Ex. xxvi. 1–13; xxxvi. 8–17). The charge of these curtains and of the other textile fabrics of the Tabernacle was laid on the Gershonites (Num. iv. 25). Having this definite meaning, the word came to be used as a synonym for the Tabernacle—its transitoriness and slightness; and is so employed in the sublime speech of David, 2 Sam. vii. 2 (lit. "the curtain" collectively [Driver in loco]) and 1 Ch. xvii. 1. In a few later instances the word bears the more general meaning of the sides of a tent; as perhaps in the beautiful figure of Is. liv. 2 (where "habitations" [A. V. and R. V.] may be "tabernacles," מִשְׁכְּנוֹת, poetic word for "tents"); Jer. iv. 20, x. 20 (where "tabernacle" and "tent" are both one word, אֹהֶל = tent [R. V.]); in Ps. civ. 2 (where "stretch," נֹטֶה, is the word usually employed for extending a tent). Also specially in the case of nomadic people, Jer. xlix. 29; Hab. iii. 7; Cant. i. 5 (of the black hair-cloth of which the tents of the real Bedoueen are still composed).

2. *Masac*, מָסָךְ; the "hanging" for the doorway of the Tabernacle (Ex. xxvi. 36, 37, xxxv. 15, xxxvi. 37, xxxix. 38, xl. 5; Num. iii. 25, iv. 25): and also for the gate of the court round the Tabernacle (Ex. xxvii. 16, xxxv. 17, xxxviii. 18, xxxix. 40, xl. 33; Num. iii. 26, iv. 26). Amongst these the rendering "curtain" occurs but once (Num. iii. 26); while "hanging" is shared equally between *Masac* and a very different word—*Kelá*, קֶלַע. The idea in the root of *Masac* seems to be of shielding or protecting (סכך; Ges. p. 951). If this be so, the *Masac* may have been not a curtain or vei but an awning to shade the entrances—a thing natural and common in the fierce sun of the East (see one figured in Fergusson's *Nineveh and Persepolis*, p. 184). But the nature of this and the other textile fabrics of the Tabernacle will be best examined under TABERNACLE.

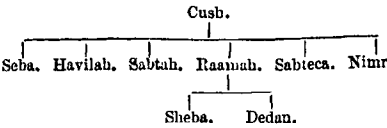
Besides "curtain" and "hanging," *Masac* is rendered "covering" in Ex. xxxv. 12, xxxix. 34, xl. 21; Num. iv. 5; 2 Sam. xvii. 19; Ps. cv. 39; Is. xxii. 8.

3. *Dók*, דֹּק. There is nothing to guide us to the meaning of this word. It is found but once (Is. xl. 22; R. V. marg. *gauze*), in a passage founded on the metaphor of a tent. [G.] [F.]

CUSH (כּוּשׁ; Αἰθιοπία, Αἰθίοπες; *Aethiopia*); a Benjamite mentioned only in the title of Ps. vii. It is a personal name of uncertain meaning (in later Hebrew, a *spindle*, Delitzsch[3] in loco). Cush was a follower of Saul and an enemy to David, like Doeg and others. The Jewish interpreters considered the name symbolic; Cush was an Ethiopian, black in character. [F.]

CUSH (כּוּשׁ; Ἀβ. Χουσεί; *Chusi*), a Benjamite mentioned only in the title of Ps. vii. It is a personal name of uncertain meaning (in later Hebrew, a *spindle*, Delitzsch[3] in loco). Cush was a follower of Saul and an enemy to David, like Doeg and others. The Jewish interpreters considered the name symbolic; Cush was an Ethiopian, black in character. [F.]

CUSH (כּוּשׁ; Χούς; *Chus* [Gen. x. 6–8; 1 Ch. i. 8–10]; Αἰθιοπία, Αἰθίοπες; *Aethiopia*); CUSHITE (כּוּשִׁי, Αἰθίοψ, *Aethiops*; pl. כּוּשִׁים, כֻּשִׁיִּים; fem. כּוּשִׁית). Cush occurs in the table of Noah's descendants as first in order of the sons of Ham, afterwards in the Bible as a geographical and ethnographical term. The following is the list of the descendants of Cush in the table:—



In the list of the sons of Shem we find Sheba and Havilah under the sons of Joktan. In the list of Abraham's descendants by Keturah, his son Jokshan is called the father of Sheba and Dedan (Gen. xxv. 3).

Havilah thus occurs twice, Sheba three times, and Dedan twice, in the genealogies. Moreover all three names are used in other places in the Bible in a geographical sense. Though the Noachian list contains names held with reason to be those of individuals, yet it is primarily ethnographical, dividing the descendants of Noah under the three great groups of fair, dark, and tawny, and then giving their geographical distribution [though this is denied by Delitzsch, p. 200 (1887)]. The names are mainly those of countries, or nations and tribes. Consequently the occurrence of the same name in two sections of the list, or in another list, may mean the settlement of the same territory by different tribes. In support of this view it may be mentioned that the names which are tribal in form do not occur more than once, unlike names which are undoubtedly used elsewhere for territories.

It is now possible to consider the great difficulty of this article, whether there was a two-fold settlement of the Cushites, or an Eastern and Western Cush or Ethiopia. Of the Western Cush, or Ethiopia above Egypt, there has never been any doubt. The existence of an Eastern Cush has been questioned. The notices in the Bible do not speak of an Eastern Cush by name, but they indicate Cushites in the East, and this evidence is rather to be looked for in the distribution of the descendants of Cush than the more direct mention of Cush and the Cushites. Most remarkable in this reference is the notice as to Nimrod the son of Cush, that "the beginning of his kingdom" was in Chaldaea, and that afterwards he moved into Assyria and there founded Nineveh and other cities; the other rendering, which attributes the Assyrian foundations to Asshur, being not tenable (Gen. x. 10–12). Zerah the Cushite and the Cushites of his army may have been Kassites, as seems to have been the case with the dynasty then ruling Egypt—the 22nd; but that the Kassites were Cushites is merely an etymological hypothesis. The Arabians that were near the Cushites (2 Ch. xxi. 16) probably afford an indication of Eastern Cushites, for we can scarcely suppose these Arabians to have come from the extreme south of the peninsula facing Ethiopia. The Cushan of Habakkuk (iii. 7) is evidently the king of Mesopotamia, Cushan-rishathaim; the first element, which is perhaps not Hebrew, being omitted for the sake of the rhythm. [CUSHAN-RISHATHAIM.]

If a Western Cush has a distinct nominal preponderance in the Biblical notices, so that Schrader (*Cuneiform Inscrr. and the O. T.* i. p. 69 *sq.*) does not believe in any Babylonian settlement, the geographical indications offered by a study of the list in Genesis, compared with later mentions, indicate a wide extension of the

* Mentioned last, distinctively.

race, Southern Arabia bridging over the chasm between Ethiopia and Chaldaea. Cush may be limited to Africa, but not so the Cushites. Seba indeed appears to be African, but the Havilah of the list, Sheba, and Dedan seem to be Arabian, Sheba at least corresponding to Arabia Felix or Yemen. There is a certainty that Sheba, or the Sabaeans, had a northern extension, and this would account for the northern settlements of Dedan and the Northern Havilah. Whether the Havilah mentioned in the description of Paradise is to be taken for the Northern Havilah is a hard problem, dependent for its working on the credit which we give to the Egyptian tradition which would place Paradise in Arabia Felix, a tradition not unsupported by Arab legend.

The Egyptian direct evidence simply points to Cush in the form Kesh as the race and territory of the blacks, usually represented as Negroes, but sometimes with the modified features and lighter colour of the Nubians. The people of Southern Arabia and the opposite Ethiopian coast are portrayed with traits similar to those of the Egyptians.

The evidence of the inscriptions and monuments of Chaldaea and the neighbouring countries is in favour of the theory of an Eastern Cush. No doubt the present attitude of scholars is much more cautious in the attempt to distinguish a distinct Cushite population in Susiana than was formerly the case. The problem has become more difficult with more ample knowledge, yet there is a general consent that there was such a Cushite population. Thus Oppert, carefully distinguishing the mountain tribe of the Cosseans from the Kassu of Susiana, or Cissians who spoke a Turanian language, yet admits that there is in the Kussu, spoken of in the texts of Susa, a possible relation to the African Cushites (*Acad. des Inscr.: Comptes Rendues*, 1888, pp. 223–225). Maspero more positively accepts the theory, adopted or originated by Lepsius in his *Nubische Grammatik*, according to which the Cushites reached Ethiopia by crossing the Red Sea (*Hist. Anc.*[4] p. 105).[b] This theory, as stated by Lepsius, seeks to establish the linguistic affinity of the great belt of dark but not black races which stretches from India south of the Vindhyas through Southern Persia and Arabia, through Ethiopia and north of the Great Desert as far as the Atlantic.

Ethnography has lent its aid to this theory in the remarkably black complexion attributed to the Susian soldiers in the Achaemenian wall enamels of Susa, a piece of evidence confirmed by a very early representation of a Susian king discovered by M. Dieulafoy. It may also be remarked, that in the Assyrian reliefs the type of the Susianians is similar to that of the Babylonians, but further removed from the Shemite type of the Assyrians.

In this problem, as in many others, the antiquity and accuracy of Genesis x. are evident, but it will probably be long before all the details will be determined. [R. S. P.]

CUSHAN-RISHATHA'IM (כּוּשַׁן רִשְׁעָתַיִם; *Χουσαρσαθαίμ*; *Chusarsathaim*), a king of Mesopotamia (Aram-Naharaim) who oppressed Israel for eight years during the time of the Judges (Judg. iii. 8). The seat of his dominion was probably the district of Babylonia just north of Babylon, extending from the Euphrates to the boundary of Elam. As this name has not been, as yet, found in the cuneiform inscriptions, it is very likely that the king who bore it ruled over the wandering Arameans of Northern Babylonia; and, the power of both Assyria and Babylonia being at this time at a very low ebb, made himself greatly feared in all the districts around. A great many Aramaean tribes are mentioned by Tiglath-pileser III., king of Assyria, in his annals. [T. G. P.]

CU'SHI (כּוּשִׁי; BA. *Χουσεί*; *Chusi*), a name occurring more than once in the O. T. **1.** One of the ancestors of Jehudi, a man about the court of king Jehoiakim (Jer. xxxvi. 14). **2.** Father of Zephaniah the Prophet (Zeph. i. 1). **3.** (With the article, הַכּוּשִׁי, *i.e.* "the Cushite" [R. V.], "the Ethiopian;" *ὁ Χουσί*; *Chusi.*) A man apparently attached to Joab's person, but unknown and unaccustomed to the king, as may be inferred from his not being recognised by the watchman, and also from the abrupt manner in which he breaks his evil tidings to David, unlike Ahimaaz, who was well aware of the effect they were sure to produce. That Cushi was a foreigner —as we should infer from his name—is also slightly corroborated by his ignorance of the ground in the Jordan valley—"the way of the 'Ciccar'"—by knowing which Ahimaaz was enabled to outrun him. The running of Ahimaaz may, however, have been of a style peculiar and well known, and by which he was recognised a long way off by the watchman. [W. L. B.]

CU'THAH or CUTH (כּוּתָה, כּוּת; [B. *Χουνθά*, A. *Χουά* (*v.* 24)], BA. *Χούθ* [*v.* 30]; *Jos. Χούθος*; *Cutha*), a city a little to the east of Babylon, now Tell-Ibrahim, whence Shalmaneser brought colonists into Samaria (2 K. xvii. 24, 30). These Cutheans, mingling with the Sepharvites and others whom the Assyrian king had sent also to Samaria, became the progenitors of the Samaritans; who, according to Josephus, were even called Cutheans by the Jews. The Semitic Babylonian form of the name is Kûtû, semiticised from the Akkadian *Gudua.* It was an important city, and seems, in olden times, to have had two rivers or canals, one called the river of Cuthah (being probably that of which Josephus speaks, and which probably flowed eastwards, towards Persia) and the other called the "old river" or "canal," flowing through or near the city. The patron god and goddess of the city were Nergal and Laz, whose temple was restored by Nebuchadnezzar. Shalmaneser II., king of Assyria, occupied the city, and offered sacrifices in the temples, when he went to help Marduk-šum-iddin against his rebellious brother. Sennacherib claims also to have subjugated the inhabitants. There was also a city called "the city of the river of Cuthah," situated, probably, on the river of Cuthah above mentioned, with which, perhaps, the real Cuthah was sometimes confounded. [T. G. P.]

[b] It is true that Maspero characterises the Cushites as white, by which he must mean fair (*l. c.*), and as Shemite (p. 161).

CUTTING OFF FROM THE PEOPLE. [EXCOMMUNICATION.]

CUTTINGS [IN THE FLESH]. (1. שְׂרָטָה, *s. f.* שָׂרַט, *s. m.*, both from שָׂרַם [Ges. p. 1339], *to cut:* 2. גְּדֻדוֹת, from גָּדַד, *inuro;* ἐντομίδες; *incisurae* [Jer. xlviii. 37; Ges. p. 264]: 3. קַעֲקַע, *s.*, from קוּעַ, *engrave* [Gesen. p. 1208]; γράμματα στικτά; *stigmata*). The prohibition (Lev. xix. 28) against marks or cuttings in the flesh for the dead must be taken in connexion with the parallel passages (Lev. xxi. 5; Deut. xiv. 1), in which shaving the head with the same view is equally forbidden. But it appears from Jer. xvi. 6, 7, xli. 5, that some outward manifestation of grief in this way was not wholly forbidden, or was at least tolerated. The ground, therefore, of the prohibition must be sought elsewhere, and will be found in the superstitious or inhuman practices prevailing among heathen nations. A notion apparently existed that self-inflicted baldness or mutilation had a propitiatory efficacy in respect of the manes of the dead, perhaps as representing, in a modified degree, the solemnity of human or animal sacrifices. Herodotus (iv. 71) describes the Scythian usage in the case of a deceased king, for whose obsequies not fewer than six human victims, besides offerings of animals and other effects, were considered necessary. An extreme case of funereal bloodshed is represented on the occasion of the burial of Patroclus, when four horses, two dogs, and twelve Trojan captives are offered up (*Il.* xxiii. 171, 176). Together with human or animal sacrifices at funerals, and after these had gone out of use, the minor propitiatory acts of self-laceration and depilation continued (*Il.* xxiii. 141; *Od.* iv. 197; Virg. *Aen.* iii. 67, with Servius *ad loc.* xii. 605; Eurip. *Alc.* 425; Seneca, *Hippol.* v. 1176, 1193). Plutarch says that some barbarians mutilate themselves (*de Consol. ad Apollon.* p. 113, vol. vi. Reiske). He also says that Solon, by the advice of Epimenides, curtailed the Athenian practice in this respect (*Solon*, 12–21, vol. i. pp. 184, 194). Cicero quotes a law of the Twelve Tables to the same effect: "mulieres genas ne radunto" (*de Leg.* ii. 23).

Such being the ancient heathen practice, it is not surprising that the Law should forbid similar practices in every case in which they might be used or misconstrued in a propitiatory sense. "Ye shall not make cuttings *for* (*propter*) the dead," לָנֶפֶשׁ (Lev. xix. 28; Ges. p. 731; Spencer, *de Leg. Hebr.* ii. ch. xix. 404, 405. Cp. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, i. 304–6).

But the practice of self-mutilation as an act of worship belonged also to heathen religious ceremonies not funereal. The priests of Baal, a Syrian and also an Assyrian deity, cut themselves with knives to propitiate the god "after their manner" (1 K. xviii. 28). Herodotus says that the Carians, who resided in Europe, cut their foreheads with knives at festivals of Isis; in this respect exceeding the Egyptians, who beat themselves on these occasions (Herod. ii. 61). This shows that the practice was not then at least an Egyptian one. Lucian, speaking of the Syrian priestly attendants of this mock deity, says, that using violent gestures they cut their arms and tongues with swords (Lucian, *Asinus*, c. 37, vol. ii. 102, Amst.; *de Dea Syr.* ii. 658, 681; cp. Ezek. viii. 14). Similar practices in the worship of Bellona are mentioned by Lucan (*Phars.* i. 560), and are alluded to by Aelius Lampridius (*Comm.* p. 209), by Tertullian (*Apol.* 9), and Lactantius (*Div. Instit.* i. c. 21, 29, Paris). Herodotus, speaking of means used for allaying a storm, uses the words ἔντομα ποιοῦντες, which may mean cutting the flesh, but more probably offering human sacrifices (Herod. vii. 191, ii. 119, with Schweighäuser's note: see also Virg. *Aen.* ii. 116; Lucr. i. 85).

The prohibition, therefore, is directed against practices prevailing not among the Egyptians whom the Israelites were leaving, but among the Syrians, to whom they were about to become neighbours (Selden, *de Diis Syris*, Syn. ii. c. 1).

Practices of self-mutilation, whether propitiatory or simply funereal, *i.e.* expressive of highly excited feeling, are to be found among the modern Persians on the occasion of the celebration of the death of Hoseyn, at which a man is paraded in the character of the saint, with points of lances thrust into his flesh. At funerals also in general the women tear their hair and faces. The Circassians express grief by tearing the flesh of their foreheads, arms, and breasts. The Mexicans and Peruvians offered human sacrifices both at funerals and festivals. The Gosáyens of India, a class of Brahminical friars, endeavour in some cases to extort alms by gashing their limbs with knives. Among the native negro African tribes also the practice appears to prevail of offering human sacrifices at the death of chiefs (Chardin, *Voyages*, vi. 482, ix. 58, 490; Olearius, *Travels*, p. 237; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* ii. 59; Prescott, *Mexico*, i. 53, 63; *Peru*, i. 86; Elphinstone, *Hist. of India*, i. 116; Strab. xv. 711 et seq.; Niebuhr, *Voyages*, ii. 54; Livingstone, *Travels*, pp. 318, 588; *Col. Ch. Chron.* No. cxxxi. p. 179; Muratori, *Anecd.* iv. 99, 100).

But there is another usage contemplated more remotely by the prohibition, viz. that of printing marks (στίγματα), tattooing, to indicate allegiance to a deity, in the same manner as soldiers and slaves bore tattooed marks to indicate allegiance or adscription. This is evidently alluded to in the Revelation of St. John (xiii. 16, xvii. 5, xix. 20, χάραγμα ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς τῆς δεξιᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων), and, though in a contrary direction, by Ezekiel (ix. 4), by St. Paul (Gal. vi. 17), in the Revelation (vii. 3), and perhaps by Isaiah (xliv. 5) and Zechariah (xiii. 6). Lucian, speaking of the priests of the Syrian deity, says, στίζονται πάντες, οἱ μὲν ἐς καρπούς, οἱ δὲ ἐς αὐχένας, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε, ἅπαντες Ἀσσύριοι στιγματοφορέουσι (*de Dea Syr.* ii. p. 684). A tradition, mentioned by Jerome, was current among the Jews, that king Jehoiakim bore on his body marks of this kind which were discovered after his death (Spencer, *de Leg. Hebr.* ii. ch. xx. 410). Philo, quoted by Spencer, describes the marks of tattooing impressed on those who submitted to the process in their besotted love for idol-worship, as being made by branding (σιδήρῳ πεπυρωμένῳ, Philo, *de Monarch.* i. 819; Spencer, p. 416). The Arabs, both men and women, are in the habit of tattooing their faces and other parts of the body, and the members of Brahminical sects in India are distinguished

by marks on the forehead, often erroneously supposed by Europeans to be marks of caste (Niebuhr, *Descr. de l'Ar.* 58; *Voyages*, i. 242; Wellsted, *Arabia*, ii. 206, 445; Olearius, *Travels*, 299; Elphinstone, *India*, i. 195). [H. W. P.]

CY'AMON (Κυάμων; *Chelmon*), a place named only in Judith vii. 3, as lying in the plain (αὐλών, E. V. "valley") over against (ἀπέναντι) Esdrelom. If by "Esdrelom" we may understand Jezreel, this description answers to the situation of *Tell Keimûn*, JOKNEAM, a conspicuous hillock, beneath the eastern end of Carmel, overlooking the Kishon and the great plain (Rob. iii. 114; Van de Velde, i. 330; *PEF. Mem.* ii. 48, 69). The place was known to Eusebius (*OS.*[2] p. 272, 66, *s. n.* Καμμωνὰ) and Jerome (*OS.*[2] p. 144, 20, s. n. *Cimona*), and is mentioned by them as 6 miles from Legio on the road to Ptolemais. They identify it with CAMON, the burial-place of Jair the Gileadite. It has been suggested (Hackett, *s. v.* in *D. B.* Amer. ed.) that Cyamon may be *Fûleh*, on the east side of the plain of Esdraelon. Cyamon (Κυαμὼν) and Fûleh both mean *a bean* or place of beans, and so may represent an earlier name (פּוֹל, פּוּל) of that signification. Räumer (*Palästina*, 154) identifies Cyamon with *Fûleh*. [G.] [W.]

CYMBALS (מצלתים) occurs eleven times in the Book of Chronicles alone (besides occurring in Ezra, in Nehemiah, and in the Apocrypha). It is identical with the somewhat older word *Tzeltzelim* (צלצלים) of 2 Sam. vi. 5, to which it is lexicographically, though not grammatically, related. The primitive biblical root to which both words belong is צל, "to touch gently," or to touch even only imaginarily (cp. צל, "shadow"). The developed root, however, with or without reduplication, signifies everywhere "to touch roughly," "to clash."

The dual form of *Metziltayim*[a] points at once to the mode of construction of this musical instrument, which is made of two plates of metal (במצלתים נחשת, 1 Ch. xv. 19). Closely related to the cymbal were the *Mena'anc'im* (מנענעים), which word is, by mistake, given in the A. V. (2 Sam. vi. 5) as "cornets," but rightly translated in the R. V. "castanets." [CORNET; JONATH ELEM RECHOKIM.] [S. M. S.–S.]

Eunuch playing on Cymbals. (Kouyunjik.)

[a] Akin to this word is the *Metzilloth* (מצלות) of Zech. xiv. 20, which is not a neck-ornament of a horse, as Ibn Ezra and Qimchi believed, but a pendant from the forehead down between the eyes, as the Talmud already explained it (Babli *Pesachim*, leaf 50*a*).

CYPRESS (תִּרְזָה, *tirzâh*; ἀγριοβάλανος, A., Aq., and Theod.; *ilex*). The Hebrew word is found only in Is. xliv. 14, "He heweth him down cedars and taketh the *tirzah* and the oak." In the R. V. *tirzah* is rendered "holm tree." Besides the cypress, the "beech," the "holm-oak" (*Quercus pseudococcifera*), and the "fir" have been proposed; but there is nothing in the etymology of the Hebrew name, or in the passage where it occurs, to guide us to the tree intended. The word is derived from a root which means "to be hard," a quality which obviously suits many kinds of trees. Celsius (*Hierob.* ii. 269) believes the "ilex" or "holm-oak" is meant; the prickly-leaved ilex being one of the most common trees in Palestine. With respect to the claims of the cypress (*Cupressus sempervivens*), which, at present at all events, is found cultivated only in the lower levels of Syria, it must be granted that they are unsupported by any authority. Van de Velde's cypress is the *Juniperus excelsa*, which is also the cypress of Pococke; and which grows higher upon Lebanon than any other tree except the cedar. "The juniper," says Sir J. D. Hooker, "is found at the height of 7,000 feet, on Lebanon, the top of which is 10,500 feet or so." The true cypress is a native of the Taurus. The Hebrew word points to some tree with a hard grain, and this is all that can be positively said of it. But if it be assumed that the carpenter went to the mountains for his timber, the tall juniper would be the most natural tree to name along with the cedar and the oak, they being the three arboreal features of Lebanon and its spurs. Our own conviction is that the *tirzâh* and *berôsh* stand for the juniper and the pine, *Juniperus excelsa* and *Pinus halepensis*, the only question being which of the two each Hebrew word represents. [W. H.] [H. B. T.]

CYP'RIANS (Κύπριοι; *Cyprii*). Inhabitants of the island of Cyprus (2 Macc. iv. 29). At the time alluded to (that is, during the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes), they were under the dominion of Egypt, and were governed by a viceroy who was possessed of ample powers, and is called in the inscriptions στρατηγὸς καὶ ναύαρχος καὶ ἀρχιερεῦς ὁ κατὰ τὴν νῆσον (cp. Boeckh, *Corp. Insc.* Nos. 2619, 2622, 2624, p. 417; Cesnola's *Cyprus, Jour. of Hell. Studies*, ix. 225, 229, 234, 235, 242). Crates, one of these viceroys, was left by Sostratus in command of the castle, or acropolis, of Jerusalem while he was summoned before the king. [J. E. S.]

CYPRUS (Κύπρος). This island was in early times in close commercial connexion with Phoenicia; and there is little doubt that it is referred to in such passages of the O. T. as Ezek. xxvii. 6. [CHITTIM.] Josephus makes this identification in the most express terms (Χέθιμα . . . Κύπρος αὕτη νῦν καλεῖται; *Ant.* i. 6, § 1;

so Epiphan. *Haer.* xxx. 25). Possibly Jews may have settled in Cyprus before the time of Alexander. Soon after his time they were numerous in the island, as is distinctly implied in 1 Macc. xv. 23. The first notice of it in the N. T. is in Acts iv. 36, where it is mentioned as the native place of Barnabas. In Acts xi. 19, 20 it appears prominently in connexion with the earliest spreading of Christianity, first as receiving an impulse among its Jewish population from the persecution which drove the disciples from Jerusalem, at the death of Stephen, and then as furnishing disciples who preached the Gospel to Gentiles at Antioch. Thus, when Paul was sent with Barnabas from Antioch on his first missionary journey, Cyprus was the first scene of their labours (Acts xiii. 4–13). Again, when Paul and Barnabas separated and took different routes, the latter went to his native island, taking with him his relative Mark, who had also been there on the previous occasion (Acts xv. 39). Another Christian of Cyprus, Mnason, called "an old disciple," and therefore probably an early convert, is mentioned in Acts xxi. 16. The other notices of the island are purely geographical. On St. Paul's return from the third missionary journey, they "sighted" Cyprus, and sailed to the south of it on the voyage from Patara to Tyre (*ib.* 3). At the commencement of the voyage to Rome, they sailed to the northward of it, on leaving Sidon, in order to be under the lee of the land (Acts xxvii. 4), and also in order to obtain the advantage of the current, which sets northerly along the coast of Phoenicia, and westerly with considerable force along Cilicia.

All the notices of Cyprus contained in ancient writers are diligently collected in the great work of Meursius (Meursii *Opera*, vol. iii. Flor. 1744). Situated in the extreme eastern corner of the Mediterranean, with the range of Lebanon on the east, and that of Taurus on the north, distinctly visible, it never became a thoroughly Greek island. Its religious rites were half Oriental [PAPHOS], and its political history has almost always been associated with Asia and Africa. Cyprus was a rich and productive island. Its fruits and flowers were famous. The mountains also produced metals, especially copper. This circumstance gives us an interesting link between this island and Judaea. The copper mines were at one time farmed to Herod the Great (Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 4, § 5), and there is a Cyprian inscription (Boeckh, No. 2628) which seems to refer to one of the Herods. The history of Cyprus is briefly as follows:—After being subject to the Egyptian king Amasis (Herod. ii. 182) it became a part of the Persian empire (*ib.* iii. 19, 91), and furnished ships against Greece in the expedition of Xerxes (*ib.* vii. 90). For a time it was subject to Greek influence, but again became tributary to Persia. After the battle of Issus, it joined Alexander, and after his death fell to the share of Ptolemy. In a desperate sea-fight off SALAMIS at the east end of Cyprus (B.C. 306), the victory was won by Demetrius Poliorcetes; but the island was recovered by his rival, and afterwards it remained in the power of the Ptolemies, and was regarded as one of their most cherished possessions. It became a Roman province (B.C. 58) under circumstances discreditable to Rome. At first its administration was joined with that of Cilicia, but after the battle of Actium it was separately governed. In the first division it was made an imperial province (Dio Cass. liii. 12). From this passage and from Strabo (xiv. p. 683) it has been supposed by some, as by

Copper Coin of Cyprus, under Emp. Claudius.

Obv. [CL]AVDIVS. CAESA[R]. Head of Emp. to left. Rev. ΕΠΙ ΚΟΜΙΝΙΟΥ Π[ΡΟΚΛ]ΟΥ ΑΝΘΥΠΑ ΚΥΠΡΙΩΝ.

Baronius, that St. Luke used the word ἀνθύπατος (*proconsul*), because the island was still connected with Cilicia; by others, as by Grotius and Hammond, that the Evangelist employs the word in a loose and general manner. But, in fact, Dio Cassius himself distinctly tells us (*ib.* and liv. 4) that the emperor afterwards made this island a senatorial province; so that St. Luke's language is in the strictest sense correct. Further confirmation is supplied by coins and inscriptions, which mention other *proconsuls* of Cyprus not very remote from the time of SERGIUS PAULUS (Engel's *Kypros*, i. 459–463; Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, ch. v.; Cesnola, *Cyprus*, pp. 420, 423; *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, ix. 243). The governor appears to have resided at Paphos on the west of the island. Under the Roman empire a road connected the two towns of Paphos and Salamis, as appears from the Peutinger Table. One of the most remarkable events in this part of the history of Cyprus was a terrible insurrection of the Jews in the reign of Trajan, which led to a massacre, first of the Greek inhabitants, and then of the insurgents themselves (Milman, *Hist. of Jews*, iii. 111, 112; Mommsen's *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, ii. 221). In the 9th century Cyprus fell into the power of the Saracens. In the 12th it was in the hands of the Crusaders, under the English king Richard I.

Some of the results of archaeological research during the present century may here be noticed. In 1846 an interesting bas-relief presented to the Cyprian princes in B.C. 707 by "Sargon, the king of Assyria" (Is. xx. 1), was found in a garden near Larnaka, and is now in the Berlin Museum. "It is still the most valuable of all Cyprian statues, being in admirable preservation, and bearing upon itself its own history in a long cuneiform inscription" (R. Hamilton Lang, *Cyprus*, p. 329).

In 1869, while digging out an ancient temple at Dali (*Idalium*), Mr. Lang discovered two treasures of silver coins belonging to the six or seven distinct kingdoms which, we know from other sources, once existed in the island, the earliest of these coins being probably about the middle of the 6th century B.C. (*Numismatic Chronicle*, xi. N. S. 1871; Vaux, *Ancient Cities, &c., of Asia Minor*, p. 167). He also dis-

covered a bilingual inscription in Cypriote and Phoenician writing which supplied the key to the ancient Cyprian alphabet. The characters, which closely resemble those of the Lycian alphabet, have little or no resemblance to Greek characters, but the words are much the same as those used by the early Greeks. The Cyprian writing strongly confirms the statement of the Old Testament Scriptures, in which Kittim is named among the sons of Javan (Gen. x. 4), thus implying that the inhabitants of Cyprus were of Javanian (Ionian) and not Semitic origin (Lang, *l. c.* pp. 5–8, 333 sq.). Javan, in the form

Slab of Sargon, in Berlin Museum. (From Cesnola's *Cyprus*, p. 47.)

Yavnan or *Yunan*, is the term descriptive of Cyprus in the cuneiform inscription of Sargon, about B.C. 709 [JAVAN]. Mr. Lang's discoveries were even surpassed in extent and in varied interest by those of General di Cesnola at Golgos, Salamis, Palaeopaphos, Soli, Amathus, and Curium (*The Antiquities of Cyprus*, 1873; *Cyprus, its Ancient Cities*, 1877; *Salaminia*, 1882). In 1888 organised research in Cyprus was undertaken, by means of public subscriptions in England, and grants from the Hellenic Society and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, by Messrs. D. G. Hogarth, M. R. James, R. Elsey, and E. A. Gardner (Director of the British School of Archaeology in Athens): an account of their excavations at PAPHOS may be found in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, ix. 143–271.

Materials for the description of Cyprus are supplied by Pococke (1745) and Von Hammer, *Topographische Ansichten gesammelt auf einer Reise in die Levant*, Vienna, 1811). But see especially Engel's *Kypros*, Berlin, 1843, and Ross's *Reisen nach Kos, Halikarnassos, Rhodos, u. der Insel Cypern*, Halle, 1852; *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geog.*, art. "Cyprus;" Wetzer u. Welte's *Kirchen-Lexicon*,[2] art. "Cypern"; Unger and Kotschy, *Die Insel Cypern*, Vienna, 1866; Palma di Cesnola's works, noted above; Von Löher, *Cypern*, ed. 3, Leipzig, 1879; R. Hamilton Lang, *Cyprus*, 1878; S. W. Baker, *Cyprus as I saw it in* 1879; G. Colonna-Ceccaldi, *Monuments antiques de Chypre*, &c., Paris, 1882. For a short account of the researches of Lang and Cesnola, see Vaux, *Greek Cities*, &c., pp. 166–171. The Engl. Ordn. Map of Cyprus was published in 1887.

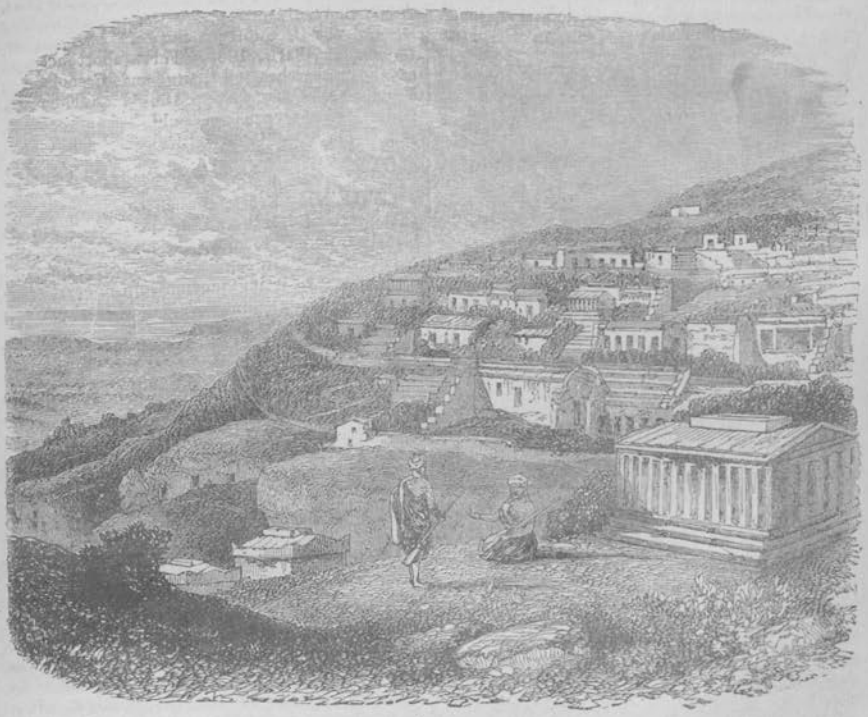
[J. S. H.] [J. E. S.]

CYRAMA, 1 Esd. v. 20. [CIRAMA.]

CYRE'NE (Κυρήνη), the principal city of that part of Northern Africa which was anciently called Cyrenaica, and also (from its five chief cities) Pentapolitana. This district was that wide projecting portion of the coast (corresponding to the modern *Tripoli*) which was separated from the territory of Carthage on the one hand, and that of Egypt on the other. Its surface is a table-land descending by terraces to the sea; and it was celebrated for its climate and fertility. It is observable that the expression used in Acts ii. 10, "the parts of Libya about (κατὰ) Cyrene," exactly corresponds with a phrase used by Dio Cassius (Λιβύη ἡ περὶ Κυρήνην, liii. 12), and also with the language of Josephus (ἡ πρὸς Κυρήνην Λιβύη: *Ant.* xvi. 6, § 1). [LIBYA.]

The points to be noticed in reference to Cyrene as connected with the N. T. are these: that, though on the African coast, it was a Greek city; that the Jews were settled there in large numbers, and that under the Romans it was politically connected with Crete, from which it is separated by no great space of sea. The Greek colonisation of this part of Africa under Battus began as early as B.C. 631; and it became celebrated not only for its commerce, but for its physicians, philosophers, and poets. After the death of Alexander the Great, it became a dependency of Egypt. It is in this period that we find the Jews established there with great privileges. Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, introduced them, because he thought they would contribute to the security of the place (Joseph. *c. Apion.* ii. 4): they became a prominent and influential class of the community (*Ant.* xiv. 7, § 2); and they afterwards received much consideration from the Romans (xvi. 6, § 5). See 1 Macc. xv. 23. We learn from Josephus (*Life*, 76) that soon after the Jewish war they rose against the Roman power. Another insurrection in the reign of Trajan led to great disasters, and to the beginning of the decay which was completed under the Mohammedans. It was in the year B.C. 75 that the territory of Cyrene (having previously been left to the Romans as a legacy by Apion, son of Ptolemy Physcon) was reduced to the form of a province. On the conquest of Crete (B.C. 67) the two were united in one province, and together frequently called Creta-Cyrene. Under Constantine they were again separated. [CRETE.]

The notices above given of the numbers and position of the Jews in Cyrene (confirmed by Philo, who speaks of the diffusion of the Jews, ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς Λιβύην καταβαθμοῦ μέχρι τῶν ὁρίων Αἰθιοπίας, *adv. Flacc.* p. 523) prepare us for the frequent mention of the place in the N. T. in connexion with Christianity. Simon, who bore our Saviour's cross (Matt. xxvii. 32; Mark xv. 21; Luke xxiii. 26), was a native of Cyrene. Jewish dwellers in Cyrenaica were in Jerusalem at Pentecost (Acts ii. 10). They even gave their name to one of the synagogues in Jerusalem (*ib.* vi. 9). Christian converts from Cyrene were among those who contributed actively to the formation of the first Gentile church at Antioch (*ib.* xi. 20), and among those who are specially mentioned as labouring at Antioch when Barnabas and Saul were sent on their missionary journey is Lucius of Cyrene (*ib.* xiii. 1), traditionally said to have been the



Cyrene.

first Bishop of his native district. Other traditions connect Mark with the first establishment of Christianity in this part of Africa.

Tetradrachm (Attic talent) of Cyrene.

Obv. Sacred silphium plant. Rev. ΚΥΡΑ. Head of bearded Jupiter Ammon to the right.

The antiquities of Cyrene have been illustrated in a series of recent works. See Della Cella, *Viaggio da Tripoli*, &c., Genoa, 1819; Pacho, *Voyage dans la Marmarique, la Cyrénaïque*, &c., Paris, 1827–1829; Thrige, *Res Cyrenenses*, Hafn. 1848; Beechey, *Expedition to explore the North Coast of Africa*, &c., London, 1828; Barth, *Wanderungen durch das Punische u. Kyrenäische Küstenland*, Berlin, 1849; Hamilton, *Wanderings in North Africa*, London, 1856; *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geog.*, art. "Cyrene;" Smith and Porcher, *Hist. of recent Discoveries at Cyrene*, pp. 117 sq. (1864). [J. S. H.]

CYRE'NIAN (Κυρηναῖος; *Cyrenaeus*), a native or inhabitant of CYRENE. Cp. 2 Macc. ii. 23; Matt. xxvii. 32; Mark xv. 21; Luke xxiii. 26; Acts vi. 9, xi. 20, xiii. 1.

CYRE'NIUS (Κυρήνιος; Κύρεινος, B*; *Cyrinus*). P. Sulpicius Quirinus is mentioned in Luke ii. 2 under the Grecised form Cyrenius. The facts of his life will be given first, and then St. Luke's statement will be examined.

I. His life is thus briefly sketched by Tacitus on the occasion of his public funeral. "Quirinus had no connexion with the old patrician family of the Sulpicii, sprung as he was from the municipality of Lanuvium. By activity in the field and an eager discharge of duty he won the consulship under Augustus, and afterwards gained the honours of a triumph by capturing throughout Cilicia the forts of the Homona-

denses. Appointed as rector to C. Caesar, who then had the province of Armenia, he had sought the favour of Tiberius during the residence of the latter at Rhodes. This was now stated by Tiberius in the senate. The emperor praised the services of Quirinus to him, accusing Lollius, to whom he sought to attribute the origin of C. Caesar's malice and ill-will. But the emperor alone dwelt with pleasure on the memory of Quirinus; others thought of the peril into which he had brought Lepida, of his old age sullied by avarice and dreaded for its power" (Tac. *Ann.* iii. 48). To this must be added the statement of Josephus, that when Archelaus was deposed and Judaea made dependent on Syria, Quirinus, a man of consular rank, was sent to assess Syria and to sell the property of Archelaus (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 13, § 5). Everything beyond this is more or less hypothetical, but Zumpt's minute investigations make it probable that the victory of Quirinus over the Homonadenses implies as a necessary condition a previous tenure of the government in Syria, preceding by about ten years that mentioned by Josephus (Zumpt, *Geb.* p. 71).

II. The "taxing." The statement of Luke ii. 2 runs thus in the R. V.: "This was the first enrolment made when Quirinius was governor of Syria." It is pretty clear in the Greek that πρώτη (first) is an emphatic word, and that a main object of St. Luke is to distinguish this enrolment as the first from some subsequent enrolment. Such an object would sufficiently account for the parenthesis (*v.* 2) being inserted. We know that St. Luke was aware of another enrolment by his mention of it (Acts v. 37). He there connects an enrolment with the insurrection of Judas. We know from Josephus (see above) that a census was carried out by Quirinus, and that it was followed by an insurrection. St. Luke seems here (ii. 2) to say, "I do not mean that later one, but an earlier one." At this point the difficulty arises. The later census did undoubtedly take place when Quirinus was legate of Syria. But St. Luke seems to imply that *both* did. Yet our Lord's Birth occurred before the death of Herod the Great, and Quirinus' first government of Syria (supposed by Zumpt) cannot have then begun. We know from Josephus that Varus was legate till after Herod's death, and that Sentius Saturninus preceded Varus. With our present information it is impossible to escape from this difficulty, though Zumpt's explanation, given below, is perhaps just admissible. But even if it should be acknowledged that on present information it appears as if St. Luke is inaccurate in dating the first as well as the second census in the legateship of Quirinus, yet the web of the narrative is not thereby affected. Such a concession is a very different matter from the assertion that no such first census ever took place, and consequently that the reason given for Joseph's journey and the journey itself are unhistorical (Keim, *Jesus of N.* ii. p. 104 sq.). The grounds of this assertion must be considered.

(1) Herod the Great was an ally, not a subject of Rome, and would not have been thus interfered with. But Herod paid tribute to Rome (Wieseler, *Stud. Krit.* 1875, p. 541), and may well have had to comply with a request for a census. This is the view of Sieffert (art. *Schatzung*, Herzog, *RE.*[2]), who in other respects freely criticises the Gospel narrative. Two important passages on the position of Herod are Jos. *Ant.* xv. 10, § 3, and Appian, *B. C.* v. 75. Zumpt will not admit the relevancy of the case of the Clitae (Tac. *Ann.* vi. 41).

(2) It is further objected that (*a*) there is no mention in early sources of a general census of the Roman world, or even of the provinces at this time, and that the evidence of more than one census of *Roman citizens* by Augustus does not bear in any way on the point in question. Admitting this, Zumpt has proved that there are historical grounds for the probability of a general census by Augustus, dating perhaps in its inception from B.C. 27, when the senatorial and imperial provinces were divided. The words "in those days" (Luke ii. 1) do not pretend to fix the date with exactness (see Zumpt, *Geb.* p. 159). Further we must take into account the statements of Cassiodorus, Isidorus, and Suidas (Zumpt, *Geb.* pp. 149–155), whatever they may be worth; and Riess warmly defends against Schegg the testimony of Orosius (*Hist. Rom.* vi. 22).

(*b*) There is also silence as to such a census in Judaea. Josephus does not mention it, and is held by Schürer (*Neutest. Zeitgesch.*[1] p. 277) to describe the census after the banishment of Archelaus as something unprecedented. Against this may be set the statement of Tertullian[e] that it did take place.

Maintaining then against Keim and others the fact of a census before Herod's death, we still have left the difficulty that St. Luke dates it in the legateship of Quirinus. It will be proper to mention some of the explanations which have been suggested, though, as already stated, none are convincing. Two of them arise out of the history, and two out of the verbal exegesis of the passage.

1. *Historical.*—(*a*) The first census was ordered by Sentius Saturninus (as stated by Tertull. *l. c.*), and only completed under Quirinus in his first term of office after Herod's death. This supposes the work to have lingered on under three governors,—Saturninus, Varus, and Quirinus (Zumpt, *Geb.* pp. 220–1).

(*b*) The first census was ordered by Quirinus, who was in the East before Herod's death as rector to C. Caesar. Saturninus was then properly the legate of Syria, but Quirinus from his position as "rector" had an authority which superseded that of the legate (Riess, *Geburtsjahr*, p. 71, and *Nochmals Geburtsjahr*, pp. 64–5).

2. *Exegetical.*—(*a*) The first of these links itself to Zumpt's explanation given above, but is by no means essential to it. Ἐγένετο (lit. "was" or "took place") is held to mean "took effect," "was completed," and to carry on the story to a later date than the going forth of the edict (cp. parallel use of ἐγένετο, Acts xi. 28). This interpretation is supposed to be strengthened by taking πρώτη closely with ἐγένετο, and translating "first took effect" (*tum demum facta est*). Admitting that πρώτη may stand for πρῶτον, this rendering is never-

e "Sed et census constat actos sub Augusto nunc in Judaea per Sentium Saturninum" (Tert. *adv. Marc.* iv. 19). On this see Zumpt, p. 218 sq

theless untenable. Even πρῶτον ἐγένετο could not mean "first took effect," in the sense of "did not take effect until." And a further objection, if it were needed, lies in the probable omission of ἡ before ἀπογραφή (see Westcott and Hort, *N. T.*, Notes on Select Readings), which obliges αὕτη to be taken separately as the subject of the verb (see Winer, ed. Moulton, § 18, 4, n. 1). It may be added that it is hard to make any use of such an explanation without drawing an unwarrantable distinction of meaning between the cognate verb and substantive: between Joseph going to enrol himself (ἀπογράφεσθαι), supposed to mean a preliminary step, and the enrolment (ἀπογραφή), supposed to mean the taxation.

(*b*) The second explanation is equally untenable. Resting on the use of πρῶτος (first) in a comparative sense in such passages as John i. 15, it translates "this taxing took place *before* Quirinus was governor of Syria." But πρώτη is here followed by the genitive of a participle as well of a noun, which makes all the difference. The great names alleged for this view—Ewald, Wieseler, and others—can give no probability to an interpretation according to which, as Sieffert justly says, the Evangelist would have expressed himself as unintelligibly as possible.

The controversy involves a number of intricate collateral questions of history, chronology, and archaeology, such as the dates of Herod's reign and our Lord's birth, Roman provincial government, and the position of the subject kingdoms, the genuineness of the Orsato inscription, and the interpretation of the Tiburtine, numismatic questions, and the like. Hence the modern literature of the subject is very large. A good list of works is given at the end of Sieffert's art. *Schatzung* in Herzog,[2] to which the writer is indebted, as well as to Schürer, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*[1] p. 262 sq.; Keim, *Jesus of Nazara* (tr.), vol. ii. pp. 114–122; and on the other side, Riess, *Geburtsjahr Christi*, and *Nochmals Geburtsjahr Christi*. But the principal authority on the subject is the masterly essay of A. W. Zumpt, *Das Geburtsjahr Christi*, Leipzig, 1869, which, whether its conclusions are justified or not, states all the data with clearness and impartiality. [E. R. B.]

CYRUS (כֹּרֶשׁ or כּוֹרֶשׁ, *Koresh*; Old Persian, *Kurush* [*K'-u-r'-u-sh*]; Semitic Babylonian, *Kuraš*, *Kurraš*, *Kuraŝu*, and *Kurrašu*; Gr. Κῦρος, originally supposed [so Ctesias *apud* Plut. *Artax.* c. 1] to be from the Persian *khor* [خور, هور], "the sun"—an etymology now regarded as impossible, it being evidently from the root *kuru*, from which the name of the river Kur is derived), according to the Greeks (Herod. i. 107; Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 2, 1), the son of Cambyses, a Persian of the royal family of the Achaemenidae, and Mandane, daughter of Astyages. This accords with Cyrus's own statement (cylinder-inscription), in which he says: "I am Kuraš, king of multitudes, the great king, the mighty king, king of Babylon, king of Sumeri and Akkadi (Shinar and Accad), king of the four regions, son of Kambuzia (Cambyses), the great king, the king of the city of Anšan, grandson of Kuraš (Cyrus), the great king, the king of the city of Anšan, great-grandson of Šišpiš (Teispes), the great king, the king of the city of Anšan." According to the well-known legend, Astyages, in consequence of a dream, which was interpreted to portend that his grandson should be master of all Asia, designed the death of the infant, and immediately after its birth consigned it to Harpagus, his confidential attendant, with strict orders to kill it. Harpagus, wishing not to commit this crime, delivered the child to a herdsman named Mithradates, who was to expose it, and satisfy Harpagus of its death. Whilst the herdsman was in the city, his wife brought forth a still-born child. This they substituted for the royal infant, whom they brought up as their own. He seems at first sight not to have been called Cyrus, but Agradates (Strabo, xv. p. 729). It is said (Herod. i. 114) that his real parentage was discovered by the imperious spirit which he displayed. He was made king by the boys of the village in their sports; and one, the son of a noble Median, who had disobeyed his commands, he caused to be severely scourged. Complaint was made to Astyages, who sent for Cyrus, and recognised him as his daughter's son. Astyages forgave the herdsman, but took a fearful revenge on Harpagus, inviting him to a banquet, and there serving up to him, with circumstances of the most refined cruelty, the flesh of his own son. As for Cyrus, Astyages, by advice of the Magians, concluded that he had nothing to fear from him, the dreams having been fulfilled by the boy's having been king in sport. Cyrus was sent to his parents, and whilst he was there Harpagus ingratiated himself with him by means of presents, and urged him by letter to avenge himself upon Astyages for his attempt to kill him. Cyrus followed this advice, and, exciting still more the discontent under which the Persians were labouring, gathered an army. Astyages sent a force against Cyrus, and was betrayed by Harpagus, who joined the Persians with a large portion of his army. A second engagement afterwards took place, in which Astyages was taken prisoner, near Parsagadae (*Murgh-Aub*, Strabo, xv. 730), 549 B.C. Both Nabonidus (cylinder-inscription) and Cyrus (annals of the reign of Nabonidus) mention this conflict, but they seem to refer to one engagement only. Nabonidus says: "In the beginning of my long reign a dream was shown to me. Marduk, the great lord, and Sin, the illuminator of heaven and earth, stood on each side. Marduk spake with me: 'Nabonidus, king of Babylon, come up with the horses of thy chariot, build the walls of É-ḫulḫul, and have the seat of Sin, the great lord, set within it.' Reverently I spoke to the lord of the gods, Marduk: 'I will build that house of which thou speakest. The Umman-Manda (Medes) besieged it, and strong was their might.' Marduk spoke with me: 'The Umman-Manda, of which thou speakest; they, their country, and the kings going by their side, shall not exist.' When the third year arrived, he caused Cyrus, king of the land of Anzan, his young servant, to march against them with his little army; he caused him to destroy the vast Umman-Manda; Ištuwegu (Astyages), king of the Umman-Manda, he captured, and took his treasures to his (own) country." The statement in the annals (6th year of Nabonidus) is as follows: "[Astyages]

gathered [his army], and went against Cyrus, king of Anšan, to capture (him), and ... Astyages' army revolted against him and made him prisoner and delivered him to Cyrus. Cyrus [went] to the land of Ecbatana, his royal city, [and] carried off from Ecbatana silver, gold, furniture, goods [and merchandise], and took to Anšan the furniture (and) goods which he had taken." These two accounts, one composed by scribes during the reign of Cyrus in Babylon, and possibly under his direction, and the other written by orders of Nabonidus, probably give as fair an account of Cyrus's first step towards empire as could be expected. It will be noted that these accounts, that of Nabonidus included, both call Cyrus king of *Anšan* or *Anzan*, a name which is explained in the Assyrian lists as being equivalent to Elam.[a] He had therefore already attained to royal rank. Cyrus is said to have treated Astyages well, and kept him until his death.

During the next two years (548–547 B.C.), Cyrus was probably consolidating the conquests which he had made, by reducing to obedience the few cities of Media which still held out for Astyages. The next year (546 B.C.) Cyrus gathered his army, and crossed the Tigris below Arbela, to attack a petty king in that neighbourhood, whom he seems to have taken prisoner, carrying off also treasure and other valuables. In the year 545 B.C., also, Elamites seem to have gone into Akkad for some purpose (*Annals of Nabonidus*). Judging from the way in which Nabonidus speaks of Cyrus, calling him "the young servant of Merodach," it is not unlikely that Cyrus was acting in concert with him, or at least at his request. It was probably about this time that Cyrus defeated Croesus, and conquered Lydia. He afterwards prepared to attack the Greek cities of Asia Minor. Leaving that region, he returned to Ecbatana, taking Croesus with him, but he had no sooner gone than the states which had formed the Lydian empire revolted, but the whole of Asia Minor was afterwards reduced to submission by Harpagus, after a long and obstinate resistance. In the meanwhile Cyrus was engaged in subduing the nations of Upper Asia, sparing none. He then turned his attention to Babylonia, to which country, with a large army and in great state, he marched in the year 538 B.C. A battle was fought at Opis in the month Tammuz, and Sippara was captured on the 14th of the same month without fighting. Nabonidus, king of Babylon, fled; and two days after, Gobryas, governor of Gutium, entered Babylon, with the army of Cyrus, without fighting.[b] Nabonidus was captured and taken thither. On the 3rd of Marcheswan Cyrus himself came to Babylon. He promised peace to Babylon, and Gobryas, his governor, appointed governors in that city. The images of the gods, which Nabonidus had taken to Babylon, were returned to their shrines. The son of the king [see BELSHAZZAR] died on the 11th of Marcheswan, and there was mourning for him throughout the country. This being over, Cambyses, son of Cyrus, celebrated a festival on the 14th of Nisan, in the temple Ê-nig-sig-kalarna. There is no mention, in the official account, of any of the many engineering feats which Cyrus is said to have performed—passing the Gyndes, one of the tributaries of the Tigris, by diverting its water into a large number of small channels; besieging Babylon, and taking the city after a long time by diverting the course of the Euphrates, so that his soldiers were able to enter by the bed of the river. It is not at all unlikely, however, that something of this kind was done, in which case Cyrus would naturally have made use of the many water-channels and irrigation works already in existence, extending them, and otherwise making them more suitable for his purpose. The conquest of Babylon must be regarded as one of his greatest military exploits, opening the way for still greater designs. According to Herodotus, Cyrus next conquered the Massagetae, a people dwelling beyond the Araxes. He offered to marry Tomyris, the widowed queen of this people, but she refused him. The war which followed ended with the death of Cyrus in battle (529 B.C.), after a reign of twenty-nine (Herodotus) or thirty years. He had ruled over Media for eleven, and over Babylonia (and Assyria) for nine years. According to the Babylonian contract-tablets, Cambyses, his son, was associated with him on the throne during the last year of his reign.[c]

The account of Ctesias differs considerably from that of Herodotus on some points. According to him, Cyrus and Astyages, king of the Medes, were not related. When Cyrus made the conquest of Media, Astyages fled to Ecbatana, and was there concealed by his daughter Amytis, and her husband, Spitamus, whom, with their children, Cyrus would have put to torture, had Astyages not discovered himself. Astyages was put in fetters, but was afterwards set free by Cyrus, who honoured him as a father, and, having put Spitamus to death for telling a falsehood, married the widow of the latter, Amytis, daughter of Astyages. Ctesias says that Cyrus made war with the Bactrians, and also with the Sacae, in which Cyrus was taken prisoner, but afterwards ransomed. Cyrus met his death, according to Ctesias, from a wound received when in battle with the Derbices.

Xenophon's account also differs from that of Herodotus. He says that Cyrus was brought up at the court of Astyages, and afterwards served in Media under Cyaxares, his uncle, son and successor of Astyages; that he conquered the Armenians, the Chaldeans, and the Assyrians, as general of Cyaxares, who allowed him to assume the power and state of an independent sovereign at Babylon; that he married the daughter of Cyaxares, and at last died quietly in his bed, after dividing his empire between his two sons, and giving a discourse to his children, recommending brotherly affection, piety, virtue,

[a] Also pronounced *Aššan*, assimilated from *Anšan* or *Ansan*. Cyrus is also called king of Persia in the annals.

[b] Cyrus himself, in his cylinder-inscription, also says that he entered Babylon "without fighting and battle" (see below).

[c] Cyrus, in his cylinder-inscription, says that all the kings, from the upper sea to the lower sea, and all the kings of Phoenicia, brought their valuable tribute to him at Babylon, and kissed his feet. Further excavations in the East will probably bring to light other records concerning Cyrus's conquests.

&c. Diodorus agrees, for the most part, with Herodotus, but says that Cyrus was taken prisoner by the Scythian queen (apparently meaning Tomyris), who, however, crucified or impaled him.

There is hardly any doubt that all the accounts of the Greek historians are more or less drawn from the legends which were current about Cyrus at the time they wrote. In the time of Herodotus he was already regarded as the national hero of Persia, and his history had received various popular embellishments (Herod. i. 95; cp. iii. 18, 160; Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 2, 1). Xenophon, indeed, has gone so far as to make him the hero of a romance, giving him all the virtues which it was possible for a man at that period to possess. The Babylonian Chronicle or Annals, however, probably give, as far as they go, the most trustworthy account of his exploits. Taking this as a standpoint, it seems certain that Herodotus is the most trustworthy of all the historians outside of Cyrus's own dominions. It may safely be said, however, that Cyrus was a brave, talented, generous, and liberal-minded ruler.

Cyrus's policy in every case was conciliation, and self-identification with the national feelings, aspirations, and religion of the nations which he conquered. Under his rule contentment was to be found everywhere. The Babylonians did not find fault with him; and the Jews became even enthusiastic over him. Cyrus, in his cylinder-inscription, writes as if he were a Babylonian. He speaks of the anger of the gods in consequence of the dues to the temples not being paid, and the evil which was done. "The gods

Tomb of Cyrus at *Murgh-Aub*, the ancient Pasargadae.

left their seats in anger against him who had sent them down to Šu-anna" (Nabonidus had caused many of the images of the divinities to be taken to Babylon, or "Šu-anna"). "Whose hands (Merodach) holds, Cyrus, king of Anšan, his name he called, and he proclaimed his name to the kingdom of the whole world (*kullata naphar*); the Gutî[d] and the whole of the Uman-Manda (the Medes) submitted to his feet. The people of the black head, whom he (Merodach) had caused his hands to capture, with righteousness and justice he constantly visited them .... He commanded him to go to his city Babylon; he caused him to take the road to Babylon—like a friend and a companion he went by his side .... Without fighting and battle he caused him to enter into Šu-anna; he guarded his city, Babylon; with the wretch (?) Nabonidus, the king who did not fear him, he filled his hand (*i.e.* delivered him as prisoner to Cyrus).[e] The people of Babylon, all of them, the whole of Šumer and Akkad, prince and ruler, gathered unto him, and kissed his feet." Cyrus even calls himself the worshipper of Merodach, and invokes the god to approach him, his son Cambyses, and his people, favourably. He sent back the gods of Assur, Agade (the city of Akkad), Abnunag, Zamban, Mê-Turnu, Dûr-îli, &c. &c., to their places, and founded for them "lasting seats;" and the gods of Šumir and Akkad, which Nabonidus, "to the anger of the lord of the gods," had brought to Šu-anna, he restored to their places with peace, by command of the lord of the gods, Merodach. Of course, it is highly probable that Cyrus did not really feel any reverence for these, to him, foreign deities, but he certainly allowed ceremonies to be performed, and inscriptions to be written, in his name, in praise and worship of the gods of Babylon, especially Merodach. It is difficult to reconcile this with the monotheistic tone of his proclamation ordering the rebuilding of the Temple of Jerusalem (2 Ch. xxxvi. 23; Ezra i. 2, v. 13, iv. 3), but it is not improbable that Merodach, the chief god of the Babylonians, was, with him, the only god—another name for the Supreme Being. It is perhaps in this way that we can make

[d] Another form of the word Gutium, a tribe of which Gobryas was governor (see above).

[e] Nabonidus, when in captivity, probably changed his opinion about Cyrus being the servant of Merodach.

his reference to "the LORD, the God of heaven," agree. Cyrus, besides giving orders for the rebuilding of the Temple, returned the vessels of the house of the LORD which Nebuchadnezzar had taken away (Ezra i. 7), and made a grant to bring cedar-trees from Lebanon (Ezra iii. 7); but he did as much for the Babylonians, in restoring their temples, and bringing back the images of their gods to their shrines. Still, there must have been great sympathy between the Jews and their new ruler, as likely as not arising out of similarity of religious belief, and this it probably was that caused Isaiah (xliv. 28) to recognise in him a "shepherd" of the Lord, an "anointed" king (מָשִׁיחַ, Messiah; τῷ χριστῷ μοῦ; *Christo meo*, Is. xlv. 1)—a title which seemed to later writers to invest him with the dignity of being, in some sense, a type of Christ himself (Hieron. *Comm. in Is.* xlv. 1). Whatever his religious opinions may have been, it is certain that he was a just and generous ruler, guarding the rights and privileges of his subjects in such a way that his reign may be regarded, in a certain sense, as having been a distinct advance in a barbarous age. [T. G. P.]

D

DA'BAREH (דָּבְרַת, *pasture*; B. Δεββά, A. Δεβράθ; *Dabereth*, R. V. *Daberath*), Josh. xxi. 28. This name, incorrectly spelt in the A. V., should be DABERATH (R. V.). [G.] [W.]

DABBA'SHETH (דַּבֶּשֶׁת; B. Βαιθάραβα, A. Δαβάσθαι; *Debbaseth*, R. V. *Dabbesheth*), a town on the boundary of Zebulun (Josh. xix. 11 only). The name signifies a *hump* (Gesen., Fürst) as of a camel (cp. Is. xxx. 6), and possibly indicates that the town was on a hill; cp. Josephus' statement (*B. J.* iv. 1, § 1) with regard to the origin of the name Gamala. The place is unknown (Dillmann²). Conder has suggested (*PEF Qy. Stat.* 1883, pp. 134–138) as a possible identification *Kh. ed-Dabsheh*, a ruin on the left bank of *W. el-Kurn* (*PEF. Mem.* i. 174). Tristram, however (*Bible Places*, 252), identifies it with *Kh. ed-Duweibeh* on Mt. Carmel; Knobel with *Jebâta* on the north side of the plain of Esdraelon. [G.] [W.]

DA'BERATH (with the art. in Josh. הַדָּבְרַת; B. Δαβειρώθ, A. Δαβράθ; in Chron. by double copying, B. τὴν Δεβερὶ καὶ τὴν Δαβώρ; *Dabereth*), a town on the boundary of Zebulun (Josh. xix. 12), named as next to Chisloth-Tabor. In the list of Levitical cities, however, in 1 Ch. vi. 72, and in Josh. xxi. 28 (where the name in the original is the same, though in the A. V. "Dabareh"), it is stated as belonging to Issachar. It is no doubt the Dabaritta (Δαβαρίττων κώμη) mentioned by Josephus (*B. J.* ii. 21, § 3; and *Vit.* 61) as being in the great plain, on the border of Galilee. It is the Δαβειρὰ of Eusebius and the *Dabira* of Jerome (*OS.*² pp. 149, 19; 257, 53), and is there stated to be on Mt. Tabor, in the district of Diocaesarea. William of Tyre (xxii. 13) has "Buria juxta Naim urbem antiquissimum." Under the name of *Debûrieh* it still lies at the western foot of Tabor (*PEF. Mem.* i. 363). A tradition mentioned by Van de Velde (ii. 374) makes this the scene of the miracle on the lunatic child performed by our Lord after His descent from the Mount of Transfiguration (Matt. xvii. 14). But this probably took place far away. [G.] [W.]

DA'BRIA, one of the five swift scribes who recorded the visions of Esdras (2 Esd. xiv. 24; cp. *vv.* 37, 42). [F.]

DACO'BI (A. Δακουβί, B. om.; *Accuba*), 1 Esd. v. 28. [AKKUB.] [B. F. W.]

DADDE'US or **SADDE'US** (1 Esd. viii. 45 [LXX. *v.* 44, B. Λααδαῖος, A. Δολδαῖος], 46 [LXX. *v.* 45, B. Λοδαῖος, A. Δολ-]), captain "in the place of the treasury" (see *Speaker's Comm.* n. in loco). In Ezra viii. 17 the name is IDDO. [F.]

DAGGER. [ARMS, i. 1.]

DAGON (דָּגוֹן; Δάγων) was originally a god of the Accado-Sumerian population of pre-Semitic Chaldaea, in whose language the name signified "the exalted one." In the inscriptions he is associated with Ana, the Sky-god, "Ana and Dagan" being coupled together. The two names were borrowed by the Semitic Babylonians under the forms of Anu and Dagan, and handed on by them to their kinsfolk further west. The Assyrian texts speak of the worship of the two gods at Kharran, the Haran of Genesis (xi. 31); and proper names like Anah (Gen. xxxvi. 2, 24), or Beth-Anoth (Josh. xv. 59) and Beth-Dagon (Josh. xv. 41), show that they were reverenced in Canaan. Here, however, Dagon superseded his companion Anu. He became one of the chief deities of the Philistines, his most famous temples being at Gaza (Judg. xvi. 21–30) and Ashdod (1 Sam. v. 5, 6; 1 Ch. x. 10). The latter temple was destroyed by Jonathan during the Maccabaean wars (1 Macc. x. 83–4, xi. 4; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 4, § 5). Temples or high-places must also have been erected to him in Caphar-Dagon, "the village of Dagon" near Jamnia, and Beth-Dagon in Judah (Josh. xv. 41) and Asher (Josh. xix. 27). The Beth-Dagon of Judah is mentioned by Sennacherib, as being near Joppa and under the rule of the king of Ashkelon.

We learn from 1 Sam. v. 4 that the god was represented in human form with head and hands. The belief that his body terminated in the tail of a fish arose from a mistaken etymology of the name from the Heb. דָּג, "a fish." The fish-god, however, was not Dagon, but the water-god Ea; and a seal in the British Museum, on which is the figure of a deity with human head and hands and the tail of a fish, states that it represents "the god of pure life," a title of Ea. At the same time Babylonian mythology seems to have identified Ea and Dagon in the person of Odakon (Ὡδάκων), one of the fabulous creatures who rose from the waters of the Persian Gulf in the antediluvian period.

In Phoenicia (and therefore presumably Philistia also) the name of the god was connected with the word דָּגָן, "corn," and is accordingly rendered into Greek by Σίτων in the fragments of Philo Byblius. In consequence of this etymology Dagon became the god of agriculture,

and was compared with the Ζεὺς ἀρότριος of the Greeks (Philo Bybl. *ap.* Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* i. 10; Sanchon. p. 32). This explains the gift of five golden field-mice sent by the Philistines as "a trespass-offering" to the God of Israel, the field-mouse being destructive to corn. It was therefore regarded as the symbol of a deity who had overthrown the image and brought plague upon the worshippers of Dagon, the god of agriculture. A Phoenician cylinder obtained by Mr. Greville Chester, and now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, bears the name of "Baal-Dagon" in Phoenician characters of the 7th century B.C. The name is accompanied by rude representations of a goat or gazelle standing on its hind-legs, an altar and "grove" or symbol of the goddess Asherah, the winged solar disk, stars and a fly (?). But there is no reference to a fish or water. It may be added that, according to Phoenician mythology as reported by Philo Byblius, Dagon was the offspring of the Heaven and Earth and the brother of El Betylos (or Beth-el) and Atlas (cp. J. Menant, *Le Mythe de Dagon* in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, xi. pp. 295–301; and Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures on the Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 188–9). [A. H. S.]

DAISAN (B. Δαισάν, A. Δεσάν; *Desanon*), 1 Esd. v. 31; *i.e.* REZIN (Ezra ii. 48), by the common confusion of R, ר, and D, ד. [F.]

DALAI'AH (דְּלָיָה; Δαλαιά, A. Δαλαιά; *Dalaia*), the sixth son of Elioenai, a descendant of the royal family of Judah (1 Ch. iii. 24). [F.]

DALMANU'THA (Δαλμανουθά), a place on the shore of the Sea of Galilee (Mark viii. 10). The name has been derived from בית דאלמנותא, Beth-dalmanutha, *the house of widowhood*, and also from צלמון, Zalmon (Lightfoot, ii. 307–9), but incorrectly. For Dalmon an Aramaean might perhaps have said Ṭalmon, but not Zalmon.

Jesus, leaving the district of Tyre and Sidon, passed "through the midst of the borders (district) of Decapolis," which lay almost entirely east of the Jordan, to the close neighbourhood of the Sea of Galilee; there He fed the four thousand, and then, entering a boat, "came into the parts of Dalmanutha," or, according to Matt. xv. 39, "into the coasts of Magdala" (R. V. the borders of Magadan); after a brief stay, He again entered the boat, and crossed the lake "to the other side" (Mark viii. 13; cp. Matt. xvi. 5), apparently to Bethsaida (Mark viii. 22). The sequence is clear: Jesus starts from the eastern shore of the Sea of Galilee, crosses to the W. shore, and afterwards recrosses to Bethsaida near the mouth of the Jordan. Dalmanutha was probably a village near MAGDALA, now *Mejdel*, at the S. end of the plain of Gennesareth, and it is perhaps represented by one of the small mounds on the shore of the lake. Tristram (*Bible Places*, p. 263) and others have identified Dalmanutha with *'Ain el-Bârideh*, about one and a half miles from *Mejdel* on the road to Tiberias, but the distance between the two places seems too great. Thomson (*Land and the Book*, p. 393), adopting the reading Magadan—a place which, according to Eusebius (*OS.*[2] p. 277, 81), was near Gerasa—would identify it with a ruined site called *Dalhamia*, or *Dalmamia*, on the *Yarmuk*, but this would be south of the lake and some distance from its shore. Schwarz (p. 150) states that in the Jer. Tal. *Demai*, ii. 2, "a cave of Teliman" (טלימאן) is named; this he identifies with Talmanutha, which he says was another name of Migdol. Neubauer, however, places this cave in the neighbourhood of Caesarea Maritima (*Géog. du Talmud*, p. 268). [W.]

DALMA'TIA (Δαλματία), a mountainous district on the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea, extending from the river Naro in the S. to the Savus in the N. It formed a portion of the Roman province of Illyricum subsequently to Tiberius' expedition, A.D. 9 (cp. Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwalt.* i. 141, &c.). St. Paul sent Titus there (2 Tim. iv. 10): he himself had preached the Gospel in its immediate neighbourhood (Rom. xv. 19), for the boundaries of Illyricum and Dalmatia were not well defined, and the two names were used by St. Paul in a general sense (cp. Conybeare and Howson's *Life and Epp. of St. Paul*,[4] ii. 127). [W. L. B.] [F.]

DALPHON (דַּלְפוֹן; Δελφών, some MSS. καὶ ἀδελφών; *Delphon*), the second of the ten sons of Haman; killed by the Jews on the 13th of Adar (Esth. ix. 7). [W. A. W.] [F.]

DA'MARIS (Δάμαρις; *Damaris*), an Athenian woman converted by St. Paul (Acts xvii. 34). The Greek text does not support the view of Chrysostom (*Sacerd.* iv. 7) that she was the wife of Dionysius, who is mentioned with her. The name is probably another form of Δάμαλις (heifer), which occurs as a proper name. λ and ρ are interchangeable: cp. θεοκόλος for θεοκόρος and βουκόλος, αἰγικορεύς (Lob. *Phryn.* pp. 179, 652). [E. R. B.]

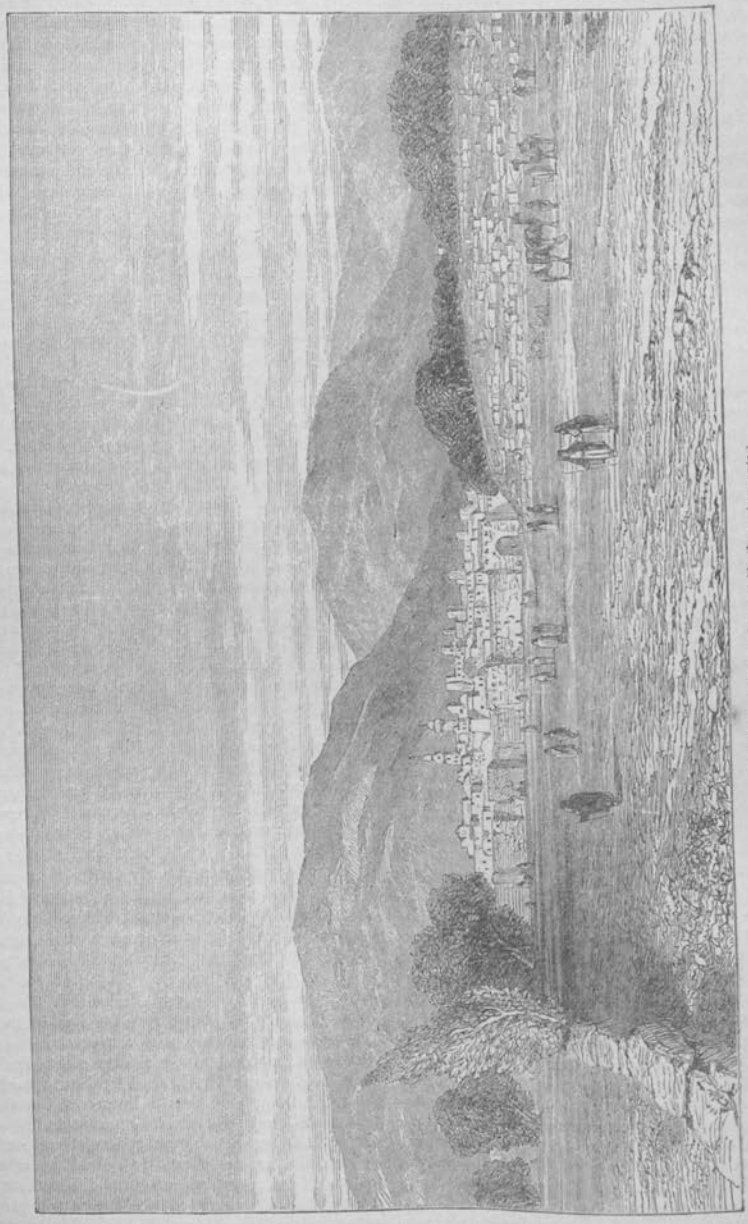
DAMAS'CUS (דַּמֶּשֶׂק; دمشق الشام; Δαμασκός; *Damascus*) is one of the most ancient, and has at all times been one of the most important, of the cities of Syria. It is situated in a plain of vast size and of extreme fertility, which lies east of the great chain of Anti-Libanus, on the edge of the desert. This fertile plain, which is nearly circular, and about 30 miles in diameter, is due to the river *Barada*. This stream, starting from two important fountains high up in the centre of Anti-Libanus, forces its way through the chain, running for some time among the mountains, till suddenly it bursts through a narrow cleft upon the open country east of the hills, and diffuses fertility far and wide. "From the edge of the mountain-range," says a modern traveller, "you look down on the plain of Damascus. It is here seen in its widest and fullest perfection, with the visible explanation of the whole secret of its great and enduring charm, that which it must have had when it was the solitary seat of civilisation in Syria, and which it will have as long as the world lasts. The river is visible at the bottom, with its green banks, rushing through the cleft; it bursts forth, and as if in a moment scatters over the plain, through a circle of 30 miles, the same verdure which had hitherto been confined to its single channel. . . . Far and wide in front extends the level plain, its horizon bare.

its lines of surrounding hills bare, all bare far away on the road to Palmyra and Bagdad. In the midst of this plain lies at your feet the vast lake or island of deep verdure, walnuts and apricots waving above, corn and grass below; and in the midst of this mass of foliage rises, striking out its white arms of streets hither and thither, and its white minarets above the trees which embosom them, the city of Damascus. On the right towers the snowy height of Hermon, overlooking the whole scene. Close behind are the sterile limestone mountains—so that you stand literally between the living and the dead" (Stanley, *S. and P.*, p. 410). Another writer mentions among the produce of the plain in question "walnuts, pomegranates, figs, plums, apricots, citrons, pears, and apples" (Addison's *Dam. and Palmyra*, ii. 92). Olive-trees are also a principal feature of the scene. Besides the main stream of the *Barada*, which runs directly through the town, supplying its public cisterns, baths, and fountains, a number of branches are given off to the right and to the left, which irrigate the meadows and corn-fields, turning what would otherwise be a desert into a garden. The *Barada*, giving off numerous streams, flows on towards the east for about 15 miles, when it separates, and pours its waters, when not exhausted by evaporation, into two small marshes, which lie upon the verge of the desert. On its way from the mountains to the city, the *Barada* runs through a verdant meadow, the *Ager Damascenus*, now called *El-Merj*. On either side the ground rises, somewhat abruptly, in terraces; and here, by the margin of the meadow, flow two of the seven rivers that are drawn off from the parent stream. The river on the right is the *Nahr*[a] *Banias*, pronounced *Abanias* by the *fellahîn*, the ABANA of the Bible; that on the left is the *Nahr Taûra*, a name that takes the place of PHARPAR in the Arabic Version. Foundations of houses and other remains show that the city once extended far beyond its present limits, in the direction of the gorge from which the *Barada* issues. Here, in the prosperous period of the Syrian kingdom, the villas of the wealthy were probably situated, embosomed in luxuriant foliage amidst which ever sparkled the clear cold waters of the two streams that were "better than all the rivers of Israel." (Dr. W. Wright, *MS. Notes.*)

According to Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6) Damascus was founded by Uz, the son of Aram, and grandson of Shem. It is first mentioned in Scripture in connexion with Abraham, whose steward was a native of the place (Gen. xv. 2. This is probably the sense, but the translation is disputed. Cp. *QPB*[3]). We may gather from the name of this person, whom Moslem tradition claims as the founder, as well as from the statement of Josephus, which connects the city with the Aramaeans, that it was a Semitic settlement. According to a tradition preserved in the native writer, Nicolaus, Abraham stayed for some time at Damascus, after leaving Charran and before entering the Promised Land, and during his stay was king of the place (see Delitzsch [1887] and Dillmann in loco). "Abraham's name was," he says, "even in his own day familiar in the mouths of the Damascenes, and a village was shown where he dwelt, which was called after him" (*Fr.* 30). This last circumstance would seem, however, to conflict with the notion of Abraham having been king, since in that case he would have dwelt in the capital. Damascus is not mentioned again in the Bible until the time of David, when "the Syrians of Damascus came to succour Hadadezer, king of Zobah," with whom David was at war (2 Sam. viii. 5; 1 Ch. xviii. 5). On this occasion David "slew of the Syrians twenty-two thousand men;" and in consequence of this victory became completely master of the whole territory, which he garrisoned with Israelites. "David put garrisons in Syria of Damascus; and the Syrians became servants to David, and brought gifts" (2 Sam. viii. 6). Nicolaus of Damascus said that the name of the king who reigned at this time was Hadad; and he ascribes to him a dominion, not only over Damascus, but over "all Syria except Phoenicia" (*Fr.* 31). He noticed his *attack* upon David; and related that many battles were fought between them, the last, wherein he suffered defeat, being "*upon the Euphrates.*" According to this writer, Hadad the first was succeeded by a son, who took the same name, as did his descendants for ten generations. But this is irreconcilable with Scripture. It appears that in the reign of Solomon, a certain Rezon, who had been a subject of Hadadezer, king of Zobah, and had escaped when David conquered Zobah, made himself master of Damascus, and established his own rule there (1 K. xi. 23–5). He was "an adversary to Israel all the days of Solomon . . . and he abhorred Israel, and reigned over Syria." Afterwards the family of Hadad appears to have recovered the throne, and a Benhadad, who is probably the Hadad III. of Nicolaus, a grandson of the antagonist of David, is found in league with Baasha, king of Israel, against Asa (1 K. xv. 19; 2 Ch. xvi. 3), and afterwards in league with Asa against Baasha (1 K. xv. 20). He made a successful invasion of the Israelite territory in the reign of that king; and in the reign of Omri he not only captured a number of Israelite cities which he added to his own dominions, but even seems to have exercised a species of lordship over Samaria itself, in which he acquired the right of "making himself streets" (1 K. xx. 34; cp. Nic. D. *Fr.* 31, *ad fin.*). He was succeeded by his son, Hadad IV. (the BEN-HADAD II. of Scripture, and the Ben-idri of the Assyrian inscriptions), who came at the head of thirty-two subject kings against Ahab, and laid siege to Samaria (1 K. xx. 1). The attack was unsuccessful; and was followed by wars, in which victory declared itself unmistakably on the side of the Israelites; and at last Benhadad was taken prisoner, and forced to submit to a treaty whereby he gave up all that his father had gained, and submitted in his turn to the suzerainty of Ahab (xx. 13–34). The terms of the treaty were perhaps not observed. At any rate three years afterwards war broke out afresh, through the claim of Ahab to the city of Ramoth-Gilead (1 K. xxii. 1–4). The defeat and death of Ahab at that place (*vv.* 15–37) seems to have enabled the Syrians of Damascus to resume the

[a] In poetry and common conversation the descriptive term *Nahr*, "river," the same word used by Naaman the Syrian, is always applied to each of the seven canals of Damascus (Dr. W. Wright, *MS. Notes*).

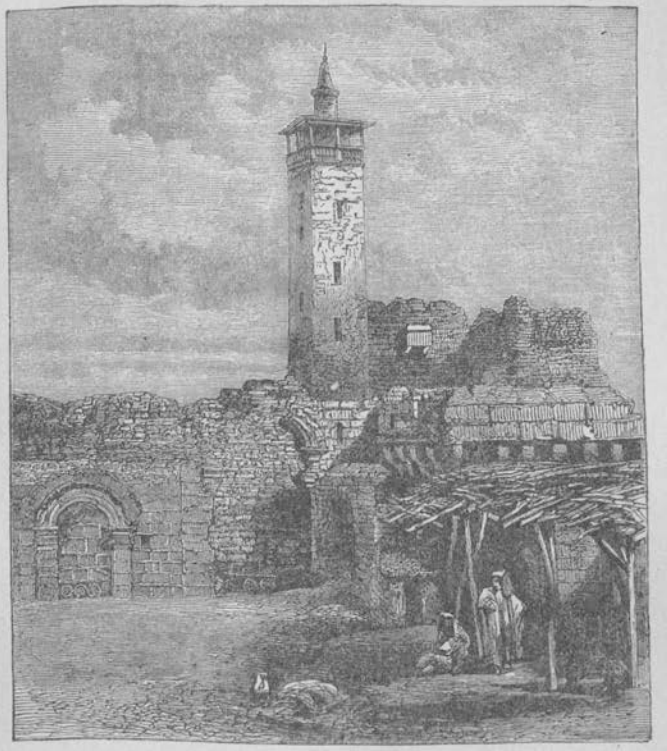
offensive. Their bands ravaged the lands of Israel during the reign of Jehoram; and they even undertook at this time a second siege of Samaria, which was frustrated miraculously (2 K. vi. 24, vii. 6–7). After this, we do not hear of any more attempts against the Israelite capital. The cuneiform inscriptions show that towards the close of his reign Benhadad was exposed to the assaults of a great conqueror, who was bent on extending the dominion of Assyria over Syria and Palestine. Three several attacks appear to have been made by this prince upon



Damascus. (Sketch taken outside the eastern gate.)

Benhadad, who, though he had the support of the Phœnicians, the Hittites, and the Hamathites, was unable to offer any effectual opposition to the Assyrian arms. His troops were worsted in several engagements, and in one of them he lost as many as 20,000 men. It may have been these circumstances which encouraged Hazael, the servant of Benhadad, to murder him, and seize the throne, which Elisha had declared would certainly one day be his (2 K. viii. 15). He may have thought that the Syrians would willingly acquiesce in the removal of a ruler under whom

they had suffered so many disasters. The change of rulers was not at first productive of any advantage to the Syrians. Shortly after the accession of Hazael (about B.C. 884), he was in his turn attacked by the Assyrians, who defeated him with great loss amid the fastnesses of Anti-Libanus. However, in his other wars he was more fortunate. He repulsed an attack on Ramoth-Gilead, made by Ahaziah king of Judah and Jehoram king of Israel in conjunction (2 K. viii. 28–9); ravaged the whole Israelite territory east of Jordan (x. 32–3); besieged and took Gath (xii. 17; cp. Amos vi. 2); threatened Jerusalem, which only escaped by paying a heavy ransom (2 K. xii. 18); and established a species of suzerainty over Israel, which he maintained to the day of his death, and handed down to Benhadad, his son (2 K. xiii. 3–7, 22). This prince in the earlier part of his reign had the same good fortune as his father. Like him, he "oppressed Israel," and added various cities of the Israelites to his own dominion (2 K. xiii. 25); but at last a deliverer appeared (*v.* 5), and Joash, the son of Jehoahaz, "beat Hazael thrice, and recovered the cities of Israel" (*v.* 25). In the next reign still further advantages were gained by the Israelites. Jeroboam II. (*c.* B.C. 836) is said to have "recovered Damascus" (xiv. 28); and though this may not mean that he captured the city, it at least implies that he obtained a certain influence over it. The mention of this circumstance is followed by a long pause,



East Gate of Damascus, at the end of the "Street called Straight."
The arches now built up are of Roman architecture, as old as the time of St. Paul. (From a photograph.)

during which we hear nothing of the Syrians, and must therefore conclude that their relations with the Israelites continued peaceable. When they reappear nearly a century later (*c.* B.C. 742), it is as allies of Israel against Judah (2 K. xv. 37). We may suspect that the chief cause of the union now established between two powers which had been so long hostile, was the necessity of combining to resist the Assyrians, who at the time were steadily pursuing a policy of encroachment in this quarter. Scripture mentions the invasions of Pul (2 K. xv. 9; 1 Ch. v. 26) and Tiglath-pileser (2 K. xv. 29; 1 Ch. v. 26); and there is reason to believe that almost every Assyrian monarch of the period made war in this direction. It seems to have been during a pause in the struggle that Rezin king of Damascus, and Pekah king of Israel, resolved conjointly to attack Jerusalem, intending to depose Ahaz and set up as king a creature of their own (Is. vii. 1–6; 2 K. xvi. 5). Ahaz may have been already suspected of a friendly feeling towards Assyria, or the object may simply have been to consolidate a power capable of effectually opposing the arms of that country. In either case the attempt signally failed, and only brought about more rapidly the evil against which the two kings wished to guard. Jerusalem successfully maintained itself against the combined attack; but Elath, which had been formerly built by Azariah, king of Judah, in territory regarded as Syrian (2 K. xiv. 22), having been taken and retained by Rezin (xvi. 6), Ahaz was induced to throw himself into the arms of Tiglath-pileser,

to ask aid from him, and to accept voluntarily the position of an Assyrian feudatory (xvi. 7–8). The aid sought was given, with the important result, that Rezin was slain, the kingdom of Damascus brought to an end, and the city itself destroyed, the inhabitants being carried captive into Assyria (B.C. 733, *v.* 9; cp. Is. vii. 8; Amos i. 5).

It was long before Damascus recovered from this serious blow. As Isaiah and Amos had prophesied in the day of her prosperity, that Damascus should be "taken away from being a city and be a ruinous heap" (Is. xvii. 1), that "a fire should be sent into the house of Hazael, which should devour the palaces of Benhadad" (Amos i. 4); so Jeremiah, writing about B.C. 600, declares "Damascus is waxed feeble, she turneth herself to flee, and trembling hath seized on her; anguish and sorrows have taken her, as hold of a woman in travail. How is the city of praise not forsaken, the city of my joy?" (Jer. xlix. 24–5, R. V.) We do not know at what time Damascus was rebuilt, but Strabo says that it was the most famous place in Syria during the Persian period (xvi. 2, § 19); and we find that before the battle of Issus it was selected by Darius as the city to which he should send for better security the greater part of his treasures and valuables (Arr. *Exp. Al.* ii. 11). Shortly after the battle of Issus it was taken by Parmenio (*ibid.*); and from this time it continued to be a place of some importance under the Greeks;

Gate of Damascus, leading towards Arabia, where, according to tradition, St. Paul was let down in a basket.

becoming however decidedly second to Antioch, which was raised up as a rival to it by the Seleucidae. From the monarchs of this house it passed to the Romans, who became masters of it in the war between Pompey and Mithridates (*Mos. Choren.* i. 14; cp. Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* xiv. 2, § 3; and App. *Bell. Mithr.* p. 244). At the time of the Gospel history, and of the Apostle Paul, it formed a part of the kingdom of Aretas (2 Cor. xi. 32), an Arabian prince, who, like the princes of the house of Herod, held his kingdom under the Romans (Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* xvi. 11, § 9). A little later it was reckoned to Decapolis (Plin. *H. N.* v. 16), after which it became a part of the province known as Phoenicia Libanesia (Hierocl. *Synecd.* p. 717). It grew in magnificence under the Greek emperors, and, when taken by the Mahometan Arabs in A.D. 634, was one of the first cities of the Eastern world. It is not necessary to trace its subsequent glories under the Caliphs, the Saracens, and the Turks. It may, however, be noticed that there has scarcely been an interruption to its prosperity, and that it is still a city of 100,000 to 130,000 inhabitants.

Damascus has always been a great centre for trade. The difficulties and dangers of the mountain passes to the west of Anti-Libanus made the line of traffic between Egypt and Upper Syria follow the circuitous route by Damascus rather than the direct one through Coele-Syria, while the trade of Tyre with Assyria and the East generally passed naturally through Da-

mascus on its way to Palmyra and the Euphrates. Ezekiel, speaking of Tyre, says (xxvii. 18, R. V.), "Damascus was thy merchant for the multitude of thy handyworks, for the multitude of all kinds of riches; with the wine of Helbon, and white wool." It would appear from this that Damascus took manufactured goods from the Phoenicians, and supplied them in exchange with wool and wine. The former would be produced in abundance in Coele-Syria and the valleys of the Anti-Libanus range; while the latter seems to have been grown in the vicinity of *Helbon*, a village still famous for the produce of its vines, 10 or 12 miles from Damascus to the north-west (*Geogr. Journ.* vol. xxvi. p. 44). But the passage trade of Damascus has probably been at all times more important than its direct commerce. Its merchants must have profited largely by the caravans which continually passed through it on their way to distant countries. It is uncertain whether in early times it had any important manufactures of its own. According to some expositors, the passage in Amos iii. 12, which A. V. translates "in Damascus on a couch" (וּבְדַמֶּשֶׂק עֶרֶשׂ), means (R. V.) "on the silken cushions of a bed," which would indicate that the Syrian city had become famous for a textile fabric as early as the 8th century B.C. There is no doubt that such a fabric gave rise to our word "damask," which has its counterpart in Arabic as well as in most of the languages of modern Europe; but it is questionable whether either this, or the peculiar method of working in steel, which has impressed itself in a similar way upon the speech of the world, was invented by the Damascenes before the Mahometan era. In ancient times they were probably rather a consuming than a producing people, as the passage in Ezekiel clearly indicates.

Certain localities in Damascus are shown as the site of those Scriptural events which especially interest us in its history. A "long wide thoroughfare"—leading direct from the eastern gate to the western side of the city—is "called by the guides 'Straight'" (Acts ix. 11); but the natives know it among themselves as "The King's highway" (Stanley, p. 412). The house of Judas is shown in the street "Straight." That of Ananias is also pointed out. The scene of the conversion is confidently said to be "an open green spot, surrounded by trees," and used as the Christian burial-ground; but this spot is on the eastern side of the city, whereas St. Paul must have approached from the south or west. Again, it appears to be certain that "four distinct spots have been pointed out at different times" (Stanley, p. 412) as the place where the "great light suddenly shined from heaven" (Acts ix. 3); so that little confidence can be placed in any of them. The point of the walls at which St. Paul was let down by a basket (Acts ix. 25; 2 Cor. xi. 33) is also shown; and, as this locality is free from objection, it may be accepted, if we think that the tradition which has been so faithless or so uncertain in other cases has any value here.

In the vicinity of Damascus certain places are shown, traditionally connected with the prophet Elisha; but these local legends are necessarily even more doubtful than those which have reference to the comparatively recent age of the Apostles.

See Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine;* Maundrell's *Journey to Damascus;* Addison's *Damascus and Palmyra;* Pococke's *Travels;* Porter's *Five Years in Damascus,* and his account of the country round Damascus in the *Geographical Journal,* vol. xxvi.; *Damascus and its People,* by Mrs. Mackintosh; Thomson's *Land and the Book,* new series, vol. iii. [G. R.] [W.]

DAMN, DAMNATION. These N.T. words, now used in a very restricted sense, had in the A. V. of 1611 the far wider and more general sense of *to condemn* and *condemnation.* They were the translation of κρίνω and its compounds, and of κρίσις or κρῖμα. As words they have disappeared from the R. V. of the N. T., and are replaced—the verb by *condemn* or *judge,* the noun by *condemnation* or *judgment.* For the verb, cp. the A. V. and R. V. of Mark xvi. 16; Rom. xiv. 23; 2 Thess. ii. 12: for the noun, cp. the A. V. and R. V. of Matt. xxiii. 14 (the verse is absent from the R. V. text, but the A. V. word "damnation" is rendered in the R. V. marg. *condemnation*) and its parallels, Mark xii. 40, Luke xx. 47; Matt. xxiii. 33; John v. 29; Rom. iii. 8, xiii. 2; 1 Cor. xi. 29; 1 Tim. v. 12; 2 Pet. ii. 3.[a] The context of these passages will show that the judgment or condemnation contemplated is most frequently temporal (cp. *e.g.* 1 Cor. xi. 29). [F.]

DAMNABLE. The A.V. of αἱρέσεις ἀπωλείας (2 Pet. ii. 1), "damnable heresies," is better rendered by R. V. "destructive heresies" (cp. R. V. marg. *sects of perdition*). [F.]

DAN. **1.** (דָּן; Δάν; Joseph. Δάν, θεόκριτον ἄν τινες εἴποιεν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλ. γλῶτταν; *Dan*). The fifth son of Jacob, and the first of Bilhah, Rachel's maid (Gen. xxx. 6). The origin of the name is given in the exclamation of Rachel (R. V.)—"'God hath judged me (דָּנַנִּי, *dananni*) ... and hath given me a son,' therefore called she his name Dan," *i.e.* "judge." In the blessing of Jacob (Gen. xlix. 16) this play on the name is repeated—"Dan shall judge[b] (יָדִין, *yadin*) his people." Dan was own brother to Naphtali; and, as the son of Rachel's maid, in a closer relation with Rachel's sons, Joseph and Benjamin, than with the other members of the family. It may be noticed that there is a close affinity between his name and that of DINAH, the only daughter of Jacob whose name is preserved.

The records of Dan are unusually meagre. Of the patriarch himself no personal history is, unfortunately, preserved. Only one son is attributed to him, variously called Hushim in Gen. xlvi. 23—a plural form, as if the name, not of an individual, but of a family—and Shuham in Num. xxvi. 42; and it is remarkable—whether as indicating that some of the descendants of Dan are omitted in these lists, or from

[a] Mark iii. 29 is omitted from this list. The reading ἁμάρτημα is now generally accepted in the place of κρίσις.

[b] Gesenius has pointed out a slight difference between the two derivations; the verb being active in the latter and passive in the former (*Thes.* 336). This is quite in keeping with the uncertainty which attends many of these ancient paronomastic derivations (compare ABEL, BENJAMIN, and others).

other causes—that when the people were numbered in the wilderness of Sinai, this was, with the exception of Judah, the most numerous of all the tribes, containing 62,700 men able to serve. The position of Dan during the march through the desert was on the north side of the Tabernacle (Num. ii. 25). Here, with his brother Naphtali, and Asher, the son of Zilpah, before him, was his station, the hindmost of the long procession (ii. 31, x. 25). The names of the "captain" (נָשִׂיא) of the tribe at this time, and of the "ruler" (the Hebrew word is the same as before), who was one of the spies (xiii. 12), are preserved. So also is the name of one who played a prominent part at that time, "Aholiab the son of Ahisamach, of the tribe of Dan," associated with Bezaleel in the design and construction of the fittings of the Tabernacle (Exod. xxxi. 6, &c.). The numbers of this tribe were not subject to the violent fluctuations which increased or diminished some of its brethren (cp. the figures given in Num. i. and xxvi.), and it arrived at the threshold of the Promised Land and passed the ordeal of the rites of Baal-peor (Num. xxv.) with an increase of 1700 on the earlier census.[c] The remaining notices of the tribe before the passage of the Jordan are unimportant. It furnished a "prince" (*Nasi*,[d] as before) to the apportionment of the land; and it was appointed to stand on Mount Ebal, still in company with Naphtali (but opposite to the other related tribes), at the ceremony of blessing and cursing (Deut. xxvii. 13). After this nothing is heard of Dan till the specification of the inheritance allotted to him (Josh. xix. 40). He was the last of the tribes to receive his portion, and that portion, according to the record of Joshua—strange as it appears in the face of the numbers just quoted — was the smallest of the twelve.[e] But notwithstanding its smallness, it had eminent natural advantages. On the north and east it was completely embraced by its two brother-tribes Ephraim and Benjamin, while on the south-east and south it joined Judah, and was thus surrounded by the three most powerful states of the whole confederacy. Of the towns enumerated as forming "the 'border' of its inheritance," the most easterly which can now be identified are Ajalon, Zorah (Zareah), and Ir-Shemesh (or Beth-shemesh; which see). These places are on the slopes of the lower ranges of hills by which the highlands of Benjamin and Judah descend to the broad maritime plain, that plain which on the N. bore the distinctive name of "Sharon." From Japho—afterwards Joppa, and now *Yâfa* —on the north, to Ekron and Gath-rimmon on the south—a length of at least 14 miles—that noble tract, one of the most fertile in the whole of Palestine, was allotted to this tribe. By Josephus (*Ant.* v. 1, § 22, and 3, § 1) this is extended to Ashdod on the south, and Dor, at the foot of Carmel, on the north, so as to embrace the whole, or nearly the whole, of the great plain. But this rich district, the cornfield and the garden of the whole south of Palestine (Stanley, *S. and P.* p. 258), which was the richest prize of Phoenician conquest many centuries later,[f] and which even in the now degenerate state of the country is enormously productive, was too valuable to be given up without a struggle by its original possessors. The Amorites accordingly "forced the children of Dan into the mountain, for they would not suffer them to come down into the valley" (Judg. i. 34)—forced them up from the cornfields of the plain, with their deep black soil, to the villages whose ruins still crown the hills that skirt the lowland. True, the help of the great tribe so closely connected with Dan was not wanting at this juncture, and "the hand of the children of Joseph," *i.e.* Ephraim, "prevailed against the Amorites" for the time. But the same thing soon occurred again, and in the glimpse with which we are afterwards favoured into the interior of the tribe, in the history of its great hero, the Philistines have taken the place of the Amorites, and with the same result. Although Samson "comes down" to the "vineyards of Timnath" and the valley of Sorek, yet it is from Mahaneh-Dan—the fortified camp of Dan, between Zorah and Eshtaol, behind Kirjath-jearim — that he descends, and it is to that natural fastness, the residence of his father, that he "goes up" again after his encounters, and that he is at last borne to his family sepulchre, the burying-place of Manoah (Judg. xiv. 1, 5, 19, xiii. 25, xvi. 4; cp. xviii. 12, xvi. 31).

These considerations enable us to understand how it happened that long after the partition of the land the inheritance of the Danites "had not fallen unto them among the tribes of Israel" (Judg. xviii. 1).[g] They perhaps furnish a reason for the absence of Dan from the great gathering of the tribes against Sisera[h] (Judg. v. 17). They also explain the warlike and independent character of the tribe betokened in the name of their head-quarters, as just quoted—Mahaneh-Dan, "the camp, or host, of Dan"—in the fact specially insisted on and reiterated (xviii. 11, 16, 17) of the complete equipment of their 600 warriors[i] "appointed with weapons of war," and in the lawless freebooting style of their behaviour to Micah. There is something very

[c] The frequent variations in the LXX. forbid absolute reliance on these numbers. See CENSUS.

[d] This one word is rendered in the A. V. by "prince," "ruler," "captain," "chief," and "governor."

[e] The enumeration of the tribes in this record is in the order of their topographical position, from S. to N. It is remarkable that Dan is named after Naphtali and Asher, as if already associated with the northern position afterwards occupied by the city Dan. This is also the case in Judg. i. 34 and 1 Ch. xii. 35.

[f] See the inscription of king Eshmunazar in Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 278. The sarcophagus dates from *c.* B.C. 350.

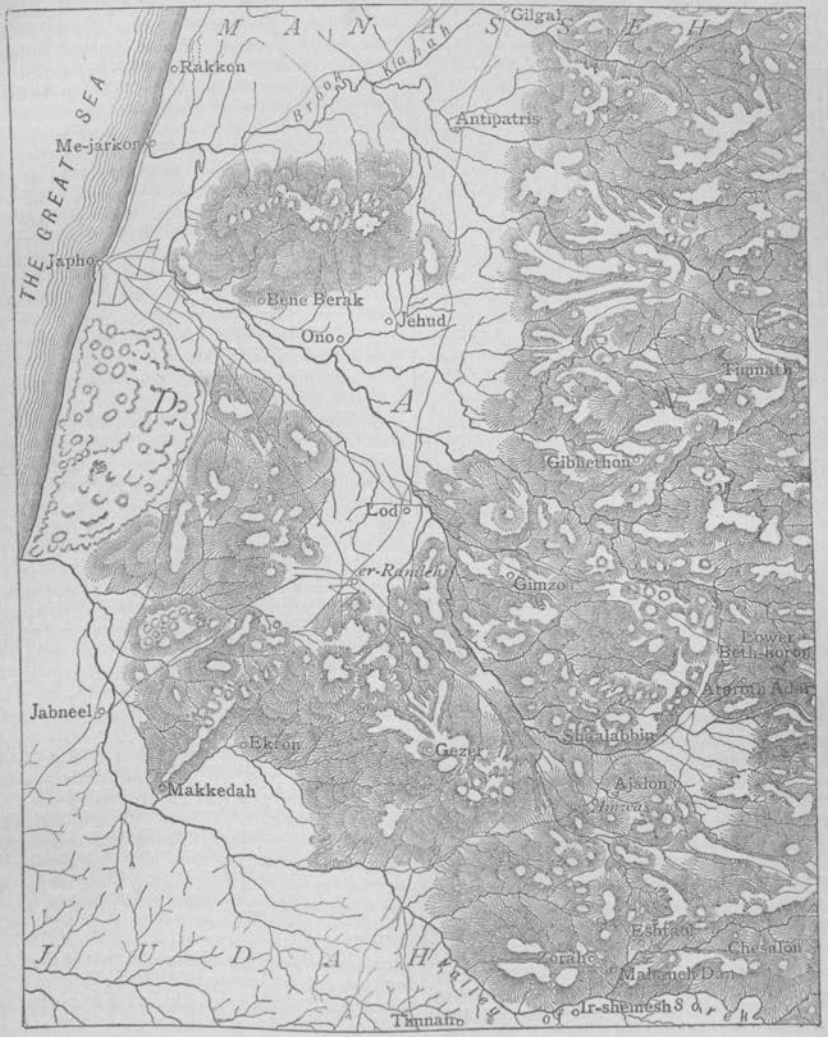
[g] The reading in A. V., "*all their* inheritance had not fallen unto them," is wrong: there is nothing answering to the word *all* in the Hebrew text, and it is omitted by R. V.

[h] Ewald ascribes it to their being engaged in commerce (*Dichter*, i. 130). This may have been the case with Asher, but can hardly, for the reasons advanced above, have been so with Dan. The "ships" of Deborah's song are probably only a bold figure, in allusion to Joppa.

[i] The complete appointment of these warriors is perhaps a more certain sign of the tribe being practised in war, when we recollect that it was the Philistine policy to deprive of their arms those whom they had conquered (cp. 1 Sam. xiii. 19–21, and perhaps also Samson's rude weapon, the jaw-bone).

characteristic in the whole of that most fresh and interesting story preserved to us in Judg. xviii.—a narrative without a parallel for the vivid glance it affords into the manners of that distant time — characteristic of boldness and sagacity, with a vein of grim sardonic humour, but undeformed by any unnecessary bloodshed.

In the "security" and "quiet" (Judg. xviii. 7, 10) of their rich northern possession the Danites enjoyed the leisure and repose which had been denied them in their original seat. But of the fate of the city to which they gave "the name of their father" (Josh. xix. 47), we know scarcely anything. The strong religious feeling which made the Danites so anxious to ask counsel of God from Micah's Levite at the commencement of their expedition (Judg. xviii. 5), and afterwards take him away with them to be "a priest unto a tribe and a family in Israel," may have pointed out their settlement



Map of the Tribe of Dan.

to the notice of Jeroboam as a fit place for his northern sanctuary. But beyond the exceedingly obscure notice in Judg. xviii. 30, we have no information[1] on this subject. From 2 Ch. ii. 14 it would appear that the Danites had not kept their purity of lineage, but had intermarried with the Phoenicians of the country (see an elaboration of this in Blunt, *Coincidences*, Pt. II. iv.).

In the time of David Dan still kept its place among the tribes (1 Ch. xii. 35). Asher is omitted, but the "prince of the tribe of Dan" is mentioned in the list of 1 Ch. xxvii. 22. But from this time forward the name as applied to the tribe vanishes; it is kept alive only by the

[1] For "the captivity of the land," אֶרֶץ, Ewald proposes to read "of the ark," אָרוֹן; that is, till the time of Samuel (1 Sam. iv. 11): *Gesch.* ii. pt. 2, 233.

northern city. In the genealogies of 1 Ch. ii. to xii. Dan is omitted entirely, which is remarkable when the great fame of Samson and the warlike character of the tribe are considered, and is best accounted for by supposing that its genealogies had perished. It is perhaps allowable to suppose that little care would be taken to preserve the records of a tribe which had left its original seat near the head-quarters of the nation, and had given its name to a distant city notorious only as the seat of a rival and a forbidden worship. Lastly, Dan is omitted from the list of those who were sealed by the Angel in the vision of St. John (Rev. vii. 5–7).

The mention of this tribe in the "blessings" of Jacob (Gen. xlix. 16–18) and Moses (Deut. xxxiii. 22) must not be overlooked. Herder's interpretation, as given by Dean Stanley, is as follows:—

"It is doubtful whether the delineation of Dan in Jacob's blessing relates to the original settlement on the western outskirts of Judah, or to the northern outpost. Herder's explanation will apply almost equally to both. 'Dan,' the judge, 'shall judge his people;' he the son of the concubine no less than the sons of Leah; he the frontier tribe no less than those in the places of honour shall be 'as one of the tribes of Israel.' 'Dan shall be a serpent by the way, an adder in the path;' that is, of the invading enemy by the north or by the west, 'that biteth the heels of the horse,' the indigenous serpent biting the foreign horse unknown to Israelite warfare, 'so that his rider shall fall backwards.' And his war-cry as from the frontier fortresses shall be 'For Thy salvation, O Lord, I have waited!'[k] In the blessing of Moses the southern Dan is lost sight of. The northern Dan alone appears, with the same characteristics though under a different image; 'a lion's whelp' in the far north, as Judah in the far south: 'he shall leap from Bashan'—from the slopes of Hermon, where he is couched watching for his prey."

2. דָּן; Δάν; Joseph. τὸ Δάνον; *Dan.* The well-known city, so familiar as the most northern landmark of Palestine, in the common expression "from Dan even to Beersheba." The name of the place was originally LAISH or LESHEM (Josh. xix. 47). Its inhabitants lived "after the manner of the Zidonians," *i.e.* engaged in commerce, and without defence. But it is nowhere said that they were Phoenicians,[l] though it may perhaps be inferred from the parentage of Huram—his mother "of the daughters of Dan," his father "a man of Tyre" (2 Ch. ii. 14). Living thus "quiet and secure," they fell an easy prey to the active and practised freebooters of the Danites. They conferred upon their new acquisition the name of their own tribe, "after the name of their father who was born unto Israel" (Judg. xviii. 29; Josh. xix. 47), and Laish became Dan.

The locality of the town is specified with some minuteness. It was "far from Zidon," and "in the valley (עֵמֶק, *Emek*) that is by (לְ) Beth-rehob;" but as this latter place has not been identified with certainty, the position of Dan must be ascertained by other means.

The graven image which the wandering Danites had stolen from Micah they set up in their new home, and a line of priests was established, which, though belonging to the tribe of Levi and even descended from Moses,[m] was not of the family of Aaron, and therefore probably did not belong to the regular priesthood. To the form of this image and the nature of the idolatry we have no clue, nor to the relation, if any, which existed between it and the calf-worship afterwards instituted there by Jeroboam (1 K. xii. 29, 30). The latter is alluded to by Amos (viii. 14) in a passage which possibly preserves a formula of invocation or adjuration in use among the worshippers; but the passage is very obscure.

After the establishment of the Danites at Dan it became the acknowledged extremity of the country, and the formula "from Dan even to Beersheba" is frequent throughout the Historical Books (Judg. xx. 1; 1 Sam. iii. 20; 2 Sam. iii. 10, xvii. 11, xxiv. 2, 15; 1 K. iv. 25). In the later records the form is reversed, and becomes "from Beersheba even to Dan" (1 Ch. xxi. 2; 2 Ch. xxx. 5).

Dan was, with other northern cities, laid waste by Benhadad (1 K. xv. 20; 2 Ch. xvi. 4), and this is the last mention of the place. The calf is said by the Jewish traditions (*Sed. Olam. rab.* ch. 22) to have been carried away by Tiglath-pileser when he invaded the north of Palestine (2 K. xv. 29).

Various considerations would lead to the conclusion that Dan was a holy place of note from a far earlier date than its conquest by the Danites. These are:—(1.) The extreme reluctance of the Orientals—apparent in numerous cases in the Bible—to initiate a sanctuary, or to adopt for worship any place which had not enjoyed a reputation for holiness from prehistoric times. (2.) The correspondence of Dan with Beersheba in connexion with the life of Abraham—the origin of Beersheba also being, as has been noticed, enveloped in some diversity of statement. (3.) More particularly its incidental mention in the very clear and circumstantial narrative of Gen. xiv. 14, as if well known even at that very early period. Its mention in Deut. xxxiv. 1 is also before the events related in Judg. xviii., though still many centuries later than the time of Abraham. But the subject is very difficult, and we can hardly hope to arrive at more than conjecture upon it.

[k] According to Jewish tradition, Jacob's blessing on Dan is a prophetic allusion to Samson, the great "Judge" of the tribe; and the ejaculation with which it closes was that actually uttered by Samson when brought into the temple at Gaza (see the Targum Ps.-Jonathan on Gen. xlix. 16, 17; and the quotations in Kalisch's *Genesis* ad loc.). Modern critics likewise see an allusion to Samson in the terms of the blessing, which they consider on that account to have been written after the days of the Judges (Ewald, *Gesch.* i. 92. Cp. on this subject generally the opposite views expressed by Dillmann[6] and Delitzsch [1887] on Gen. xlix.). Jerome's observations (*Qu. in Gen.*) on this passage are very interesting.

[l] By Ptolemy (Reland, p. 458), Caesarea Panias is counted as one of the towns of Phoenicia.

[m] Moses (R. V. text) is doubtless the genuine reading of the name, which, by the insertion of an N, was changed by the Jews into Manasseh, as it stands in the A. V. of Judg. xviii. 30. [MANASSEH, 5.]

With regard to Gen. xiv. 14 three explanations suggest themselves. 1. That another place of the same name is intended (see Kalisch in loco for an ingenious suggestion of Dan-jaan; another is disposed of by Dean Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 400). Against this may be put the belief of Josephus (cp. *Ant.* i. 10, § 1, with v. 3, § 1) and of Jerome (*OS.*[2] p. 168, 11, *s. n.* Laisa, cp. with *Quaest. Hebr. in Genes.* xiv. 14), who both unhesitatingly identify the Dan of the Danites, near Paneas, with the Dan of Abraham. 2. That it is a prophetic anticipation by the sacred historian of a name which was not to exist till centuries later, just as Samson has been held to be alluded to in the blessing of Dan by Jacob. 3. That the passage originally contained an older name, as Laish; and that when that was superseded by Dan, the new name was inserted in the MSS. This last is the opinion of Ewald (*Gesch.* i. 73), Delitzsch [1887], Knobel, Dillmann,[3] &c., and of the three is the most probable, especially when we consider the characteristic, genuine air of the story in Judges, which fixes the origin of the name so circumstantially. Josephus (*Ant.* v. 3, § 1) speaks positively of the situation of Laish as "not far from Mount Libanus and the springs of the lesser Jordan, near (κατὰ) the great plain of the city of Sidon" (cp. also *Ant.* viii. 8, § 4); and this, as just said, he identifies with the Dan in Gen. xiv. 14 (*Ant.* i. 10, § 1). In consonance with this are the notices of St. Jerome, who derives the word "Jordan" from the names of its two sources. Dan, the westernmost and the smaller of the two, he places at four miles from Paneas on the road to Tyre.[a] In perfect agreement with this is the position of *Tell el-Kâdy*, a mound from the foot of which gushes out "one of the largest fountains in the world," the main source of the Jordan (Rob. iii. 390–93; Stanley, pp. 394–95). The Tell itself, rising from the plain by somewhat steep terraces, has its long level top strewed with ruins, and is very probably the site of the town and citadel of Dan. The spring is called *el Leddân*, possibly a corruption of Dan (Rob. iii. 392), and the stream from the spring *Nahr ed-Dân* (Wilson, ii. 173), while the name, *Tell el-Kâdy*, "the Judge's mound," agrees in signification with the ancient name. Both Dr. Robinson and Dean Stanley give the exact agreement of the spot with the requirements of the story in Judg. xviii.—"a good land and a large, where there is no want of anything that is on the earth" (Rob. p. 396; Stanley, as above). [G.] [W.]

DAN (דָּן; om. in LXX.; *Dan*). This is given in the A.V. ("Dan also," וְדָן) as the name of a city. It is associated with Jason, as one of the places in Southern Arabia from which the Phoenicians obtained wrought iron, cassia, and calamus (Ezek. xxvii. 19). The R. V. and many moderns do not accept the ו as = "and" or "also," but render "Wedan." MV.[11] takes this to be an Arabian city, perhaps otherwise unknown. Cornill seeks to explain the whole context by Assyrian words. Ewald conjectures that it is the same as the Keturahite Dedan in Gen. xxv. 3, but his conjecture is without support, and Dedan is mentioned in *v.* 20. Others refer it to the tribe of Dan, for the Danites were skilful workmen, and both Aholiab (Ex. xxxv. 34) and Huram (2 Ch. ii. 13) belonged to this tribe. But for this there appears to be little foundation, if we consider the connexion in which the name occurs. [W. A. W.] [F.]

DANCE. As emotions of joy and sorrow universally express themselves in movements and gestures of the body, efforts have been made among all nations, but especially among those of the south and east, in proportion as they seem to be more demonstrative, to reduce to measure and to strengthen by unison the more pleasurable—those of joy. The dance is spoken of in Holy Scripture universally as symbolical of some rejoicing, and is often coupled for the sake of contrast with mourning, as in Eccles. iii. 4, "a time to mourn and a time to dance" (cp. Ps. xxx. 11; Matt. xi. 17). In the earlier period it is found combined with some song or *refrain* (Ex. xv. 20, xxxii. 18, 19; 1 Sam. xxi. 11); and with the תֹּף, or tambourine (A. V. "timbrel"), more especially in those impulsive outbursts of popular feeling which cannot find sufficient vent in voice or in gesture singly.[a] Nor is there any more strongly popular element traceable in the religion of the ancient Jews than the opportunity as given to a prophet or prophetess to kindle enthusiasm for Jehovah on momentous crises of national joy, and thus root the theocracy in their deepest feelings, more especially in those of the women, themselves most easily stirred, and most capable of exciting others. The dance was regarded even by the Romans as the worship of the body, and thus had a place amongst sacred things: "Sane ut in religionibus saltaretur," says Servius *ad* Virg. *Bucol.* v. 73, "haec ratio est, quod nullam majores nostri partem corporis esse voluerunt, quae non sentiret religionem."[b] A similar sentiment is conveyed in Ps. xxxv. 10, —"All my bones shall say, Lord, who is like unto Thee?" So the "tongue" is the best member among many, the "glory" (Ps. lvii. 8) of the whole frame of flesh, every part of which is to have a share in the praises of God. Similarly among the Greeks is ascribed by Athenaeus to Socrates the following fragment—

> οἱ δὲ χόροις κάλλιστα θεοὺς τιμῶσιν ἄριστοι
> ἐν πολέμῳ·

who also praises among styles of dancing τὰ εὐγενες καὶ ἀνδρώδες (Athen. xiv. 627; cp. Arr. *Alex.* iv. 11).

Dancing formed a part of the religious cere-

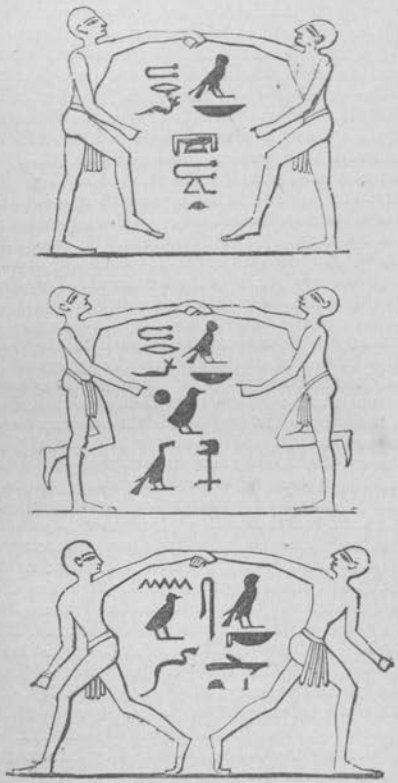
[a] Jerome, elsewhere, identifies Laish with Paneas, "urbem Lezem . . . quae hodie appellatur Paneas" (*Com. in Ezech.* xlviii.); and again, "Dan quae hodie Paneas" (*Ep. ad Ev.* 8); Dan "ubi nunc Paneas est" (*Com. in Amos* viii.) Leshem is also identified with Paneas in Tal. Bab. *Megutllah*, 6 a; the Jerusalem Targum, however, renders the word Dan by Dan of Kisrion (Caesarea Philippi, Neubauer, *Géog. du Talmud*, p. 236).

[a] The proper word for this combination is שָׂחַק (Judg. xvi. 25; 1 Sam. xviii. 6; 2 Sam. vi. 5, 21; 1 Ch. xiii. 8, xv. 29; Jer. xxx. 19), though it also includes other senses.

[b] Among Romans of a late period the sentiment had expired. "Nemo fere saltat sobrius, nisi forte insanit" (Cic. *pro Mur.* 14). Perhaps, however, the standard of morals would lead us rather to expect that drunkenness was common than that dancing was rare

monies of the Egyptians, and was also common in private entertainments. Many representations of dances both of men and women are found in the Egyptian paintings. The "feast unto the Lord," which Moses proposed to Pharaoh to hold, was really a dance (חג; see below).

Plato certainly (*Leg.* vii. 6) reckons dancing (ὄρχησις) as part of gymnastics (γυμναστική). So far was the feeling of the purest period of antiquity from attaching the notion of effeminacy to dancing, that the ideas of this and of warlike exercise are mutually interwoven, and their terms almost correspond as synonyms (Hom. *Il.* xvi. 617; cp. Creuzer, *Symb.* ii. 367, iv. 474; and see especially Lucian, *de Salt.*, passim). Women, however, among the Hebrews made the



Egyptian dances. (Wilkinson.)

dance their especial means of expressing their feelings; and when their husbands or friends returned from a battle on behalf of life and home, felt that they too ought to have some share in the event, and found that share in the dance of triumph welcoming them back. The "eating and drinking and dancing" of the Amalekites is recorded, as is the people's "rising up to play" (צחק, including a revelling dance), with a tacit censure; the one seems to mark the lower civilisation of the Amalekites, the other the looseness of conduct into which idolatry led the Israelites (Ex. xxxii. 6; 1 Sam. xxx. 16; 1 Cor. x. 7). So among the Bedouins, native dances of men are mentioned (Lynch, *Dead Sea*, p. 295; Stanley, pp. 56, 466), and are probably an ancient custom. The Hebrews did not always leave the dancing to the women; in Jer. xxxi. 13 the young men are mentioned as dancing with the old. But more especially on such occasions of triumph, any woman whose nearness of kin to the champion of the moment gave her a public character among her own sex, seems to have felt that it was her part to lead such a demonstration of triumph, or of welcome; so Miriam (Ex. xv. 20) and so Jephthah's daughter (Judg. xi. 34), and similarly there no doubt was, though none is mentioned, a chorus and dance of women led by Deborah, as the song of the men by Barak (cp. Judg. v. 1 with Ex. xv. 1, 20). Similarly, too, Judith (xv. 12, 13) leads her own song and dance of triumph over Holofernes. There was no such leader of the choir mentioned in the case of David and Saul. Hence whereas Miriam "answered" the entire chorus in Ex. xv. 21, the women in the latter case "answered one another as they played" (1 Sam. xviii. 7); that "answer" embodying the sentiment of the occasion, and forming the burden of the song. The "coming out" of the women to do this (Judg. xi. 34; 1 Sam. xviii. 6; cp. "went out," Ex. xv. 20) is also a feature worthy of note, and implies the object of meeting, attending upon, and conducting home. So Jephthah's daughter met her father, the "women of all the cities" came to meet and celebrate Saul and David and their host, but Miriam in the same way "goes out" before "Jehovah" the "man of war," Whose Presence seems implied. This marks the peculiarity of David's conduct, when, on the return of the Ark of God from its long sojourn among strangers and borderers, he (2 Sam. vi. 5–22) was himself *choregus;* and here too the women, with their timbrels[c] (see especially v. 5, 19, 20, 22), took an important share. This fact brings out more markedly the feelings of Saul's daughter Michal, keeping aloof from the occasion, and "looking through a window" at the scene. She should, in accordance with the examples of Miriam, &c., have herself led the female choir, and so come out to meet the Ark and her lord. She stays with the "household" (*v.* 20), and "comes out to meet" him with reproaches, perhaps feeling that his zeal was a rebuke to her apathy. It was before "the handmaids," *i.e.* in leading that choir which she should have led, that he had "uncovered" himself; an unkingly exposure as she thought it, which the dance rendered necessary[d] —the wearing merely the ephod or linen tunic. The occasion was meant to be popularly viewed in connexion with David's subjugation of various enemies and accession to the throne of Israel

[c] The תֹּף was clearly the women's instrument. See the allotment of the other different instruments to men in 1 Ch. xv. 16–21, and xvi. 6, 42; cp. also the עַלְמוֹת תּוֹפֵפוֹת of Ps. lxviii. 25.

[d] Some commentators have been at pains to point out that it was *not* the act of dancing, *but* the dress divested of upper robes which was the subject of remark. But clearly the "dancing with all his might" could hardly be done in the dignified costume of royalty: every Hebrew would see that the one implied the other. Cp. Ex. xxxii. 6, 25.

(see 1 Ch. xii. 23—xiii. 6); he accordingly thinks only of the honour of God, Who had so advanced him, and in that forgets self (cp. Müller, *de Davide ant. Arc.* Ugolini, xxxii.).

From the mention of "damsels," "timbrels," and "dances" (Ps. lxviii. 25, cxlix. 3, cl. 4), as elements of religious worship, it may perhaps be inferred that David's feeling led him to incorporate in its rites that popular mode of festive celebration. This does not seem to have survived him, for as Saalschütz remarks (*Archaeol. der Hebr.* vol. i. p. 299), in the mention of religious revivals under Hezekiah and Josiah, no notice of them occurs; and this, although the "words," the "writing," and the "commandment of David" on such subjects, are distinctly alluded to (2 Ch. xxix. 30; xxxv. 4, 15). It is possible that the banishing of this popular element, which found its vent no doubt in the idolatrous rites of Baal and Astarte (as it certainly did in those of the golden calf, Ex. xxxii. 19), made those efforts take a less firm hold on the people than they might have done; and that David's more comprehensive scheme might have retained some ties of feeling which were thus lost. On the other hand was doubtless the peril of the loose morality which commonly attended festive dances at heathen shrines. Certainly in later Judaism the dance was included among some religious festivities, *e.g.* the feast of Tabernacles (Mishna, *Succah*, v. 3, 4), where, however, the performers were men. This was, probably, a mere following the example of David in the letter. Also in the earlier period of the Judges the dances of the virgins in Shiloh (Judg. xxi. 19–23) were certainly part of a religious festivity. It seems also from this last instance clear, and from the others probable, that such dances were performed by maidens apart from men, which gives an additional point to the reproach of Michal. What the fashion or figure of the dance was is a doubtful question; nor is it likely to have lacked such variety as would adapt it to the various occasions of its use. The word חָגַג means to move in a ring or round; whence in Ps. xlii. 4 we find הָמוֹן חוֹגֵג, meaning a festive crowd, apparently as dancing in a ring. So חוּל (whence מְחוֹלָה) means "to turn." In modern Oriental dances a woman leads off the dance; the others then follow her with exact imitation of her artistic and graceful attitudes. A parallelism of movement is also incident to it (Saalschütz, *ib.* p. 301). Possibly Miriam so led her countrywomen. The same writer thinks that in Cant. vi. 13 the words מְחֹלַת הַמַּחֲנָיִם (A. V. "company of two armies;" R. V. "dance of Mahanaim," *i.e.* dance of a double choir) imply two rows of dancing girls, and that the address in the singular number, "return, return," and again in vii. 1, applies to the movements of the individual performer in a kind of *contre-danse*.

Dancing also had its place among merely festive amusements apart from any religious character (*Jer.* xxxi. 4, 13; Lam. v. 15; Mark vi. 22; Luke xv. 25). The accomplishments exhibited by Herodias's daughter seem, however, to show that Archbishop Trench's remark on the last-named passage, that the dancers were of course *not* the guests but hired performers, is hardly to be received with strictness; although the tendency of luxury in the East has no doubt been to reduce the estimation in which the pastime, as shared in, is there held. Children, of course, always did and always will dance (Job xxi. 11; Matt. xi. 17; Luke vii. 32). In their "dancing dervishes" the Turks seem to have adopted into their system the enthusiastic raptures, at once martial and sacred, which (*e.g.* in the Roman *Salii*) seem indigenous in many Southern and Eastern races from the earliest times. For further remarks Spencer, *de Saltat. vet. Hebr.*, may be consulted (Ugolini, xxx.); and, for the Greek and Roman dances, see *Dict. of Gk. and Rom. Ant.*, "Saltatio." [H. H.]

DANCE is given by the A. V. as the equivalent of the Hebrew *Machol* (מָחוֹל). This word, however, evidently includes also the musical instrument to the accompaniment of which the dance was usually performed. This may be seen by comparing with one another the various passages of Holy Writ in which the word occurs. Some scholars connect *Machol* with *Chalil* (חָלִיל; FLUTE), which is certainly no bad derivation, as the *Chalil* is one of the oldest, if not the oldest of, musical instruments. Be this, however, as it may, the *Machol* was, in any case, as simple an instrument as the dance itself was a simple performance. If *Toph* (תֹּף) was, in one sense, a bracelet with tinkling bells attached to it, *Machol* was no doubt sometimes, in like manner, an anklet with tinkling bells; the sounds of which not merely gave rise to the dancing, but were also, in turn, produced by it (cp. Is. iii. 16). [S. M. S.-S.]

DAN'IEL (דָּנִיֵּאל, Dan. i. 6, 7, 8, &c.; Ezra viii. 2; Neh. x. 6; 1 Ch. iii. 1; and דָּנִאֵל [Kethib; דָּנִיֵּאל, Keri, ed. Baer], Ezek. xiv. 14, 20; xxviii. 3), the name of three (or four) persons in the Old Testament.

1. The second son of David (B. Δαμιήλ, A. Δαλουία), "born unto him in Hebron," "of Abigail the Carmelitess" (1 Ch. iii. 1). In the parallel passage, 2 Sam. iii. 3, he is called CHILEAB (BA. Δαλουία).

2. The fourth of "the greater Prophets" (cp. Matt. xxiv. 15, προφήτης). Nothing is known of the parentage or family of Daniel. He appears, however, to have been of royal or noble descent (Dan. i. 3; cp. Joseph. *Ant.* x. 10, § 1), and to have possessed considerable personal endowments (Dan. i. 4). He was taken to Babylon in "the third year of Jehoiakim,"[a] and trained in a college like to "the house

[a] This date has given rise to many objections, because the *fourth* year of Jehoiakim is identified with the *first* of Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. xxv. 1). The text of Daniel itself suggests the true explanation. The *second* year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign (ii. 1) falls after the completion of the three years' training of Daniel, which commenced with his captivity (i. 1, 5); and this is a clear indication that the expedition mentioned in i. 1 was undertaken in the last year of the reign of Nabopolassar, while as yet Nebuchadnezzar was not properly king (see *Speaker's Comm.* add. note to i. 1). Others explain it (cp. 2 K. xxiv. 1) of the third year (B.C. 598–7; *al.* 606) of Jehoiakim's subjection to Nebuchadnezzar (Delitzsch in *RE.*²; Tiele, *Bab.-Assyr. Gesch.* p. 441).

of the males" (*Records of the Past*, N. S. iv. 110) for the king's service with his three companions, afterwards called Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego (see some conjectures on these names in *Speaker's Comm.*[2] on Daniel, p. 242 sq.; *ZA.* iv. 46 sq.; Fabre d'Envieu, *Le Livre du Prophète Daniel*, i. 147). Like Joseph in earlier times, he gained the favour of his guardian, and was divinely supported in his resolve to abstain from the "king's meat" for fear of defilement (Dan. i. 8–16). At the close of his three years' discipline (Dan. i. 5, 18), Daniel had an opportunity of exercising his peculiar gift (Dan. i. 17) of interpreting dreams, on the occasion of Nebuchadnezzar's decree against the Magi (Dan. ii. 14 sq.). In consequence of his success he was made "ruler of the whole province of Babylon," and "chief of the governors over all the wise men of Babylon" (ii. 48). He afterwards interpreted the second dream of Nebuchadnezzar (iv. 8–27) and the handwriting on the wall which disturbed the feast of Belshazzar (v. 10–28), though he no longer held his official position among the Magi (Dan. v. 7, 8, 12), and probably lived at Susa (Dan. viii. 2; cp. Joseph. *Ant.* x. 11, § 7; Bochart, *Geogr. Sacr.* iii. 14). At the accession of Darius [DARIUS] he was made "one of the three presidents" (R. V.) of the empire (cp. 1 Esd. iii. 9), and was delivered from the lions' den, into which he had been cast for his faithfulness to the rites of his faith (vi. 10–23; cp. Bel & Dr. *vv.* 29–42). At the accession of Cyrus he still retained his prosperity (vi. 28; cp. i. 21; Bel & Dr. *v.* 2); though he does not appear to have remained at Babylon (cp. Dan. i. 21), and in "the third year of Cyrus" (B.C. 535) he saw his last recorded vision on the banks of the Tigris (x. 1, 4). According to the Mahommedan tradition Daniel returned to Judaea, held the government of Syria, and finally died at Susa (Rosenmüller, *Schol.* p. 5, n.), where his tomb is still shown (Dieulafoy, *Journal des fouilles à Suse*, pp. 81, 169–70), and is visited by crowds of pilgrims. In the prophecies of Ezekiel mention is made of Daniel as a pattern of righteousness (xiv. 14, 20, *c.* B.C. 592) and wisdom (xxviii. 3, *c.* B.C. 587); and since Daniel was still young at that time, some have thought that another Prophet of the name must have lived at some earlier time (Bleek), perhaps during the captivity of Nineveh (Ewald, *Die Propheten*, ii. 560), whose fame was transferred to his later namesake. Hitzig imagines (*Vorbemerk.* § 3) that the Daniel of Ezekiel was purely a mythical personage, whose prototype is to be sought in Melchizedek, and that the character was borrowed by the author of the Book of Daniel as suited to his design. These suppositions are favoured by no internal probability, and are unsupported by any direct evidence. The order of the names "Noah, Daniel, and Job" (Ezek. xiv. 14) seems to suggest the idea that they represent the first and last historic types of righteousness before the Law and under it, combined with the ideal type (cp. Delitzsch in Herzog, *RE.*[1] p. 271). On the other hand, the narrative in Dan. i. 11 implies that Daniel was conspicuously distinguished for purity and knowledge at a very early age (cp. Hist. Sus. *v.* 45), and he may have been thirty to forty years old at the time of Ezekiel's prophecy.

Allusion has been made already to the comparison which may be instituted between Daniel and Joseph, who stand at the beginning and the close of the divine history of the Jews, as representatives of the true God in heathen courts (Auberlen, *Daniel*, pp. 32–3). In this respect the position of Daniel must have exercised a powerful influence upon the form of the revelations conveyed through him. And in turn the authority which he enjoyed renders the course of the Exile and the Return clearly intelligible. By station, by education, and by character, he was peculiarly fitted to fulfil the work assigned to him. He was not only a resident in a foreign land, like Jeremiah or Ezekiel, but the minister of a foreign empire, and of successive dynasties (Dan. ii. 48; vi. 28). His political experience would naturally qualify him to give distinct expression to the characteristics of nations in themselves, and not only in their relation to God's people. His intellectual advantages were as remarkable as his civil dignity. Like the great Lawgiver who was "trained in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," the great seer was trained in the secrets of Chaldaean wisdom, and placed at the head of the school of the Magi (Dan. ii. 48). He was thus enabled to preserve whatever was true in the traditional teaching of the East, and to cast his revelations into a form suited to their special character. But though engaged in the service of a heathen prince and familiar with Oriental learning, Daniel was from the first distinguished by his strict observance of the Mosaic Law (i. 8–16; cp. vi. 10, 11). In this way the third outward condition for his work was satisfied, and at the close of the Exile he offered a pattern of holiness for the instruction of the Dispersion of after-times (cp. Auberlen, *Daniel*, p. 24, &c.).

In addition to his Hebrew name, *God is my Judge*, another, a Chaldaean name, Belteshazzar (בֶּלְטְשַׁאצַּר, i. 7, ii. 26, v. 12; Theodotion, LXX., Βαλτάσαρ; Vulg. *Baltassar*), was given to him at Babylon (Dan. i. 7). The meaning of the name is disputed. It may be (cp. Fried. Delitzsch, *Praef.* to Baer's ed. of Dan., Ezra, and Neh., p. ix.) = balâtsu-usur = *protect his life*, and be a compendious form of Bêl-balâtsu-usur = *Bel protect his life*; or if the name Beltis (*Bilat*) be the first element of the name (Rawlinson, Sayce; see *Speaker's Comm.*[2] p. 244) = *Beltis defend the King*. Hoffmann (*ZA.* ii. 56) also finds the name of a god in בלמ (cp. Sanballat), but prefers to consider it the name of Saturn. Such name-changes have been common at all times (for the simple assumption of a foreign name, cp. Gen. xli. 45; Ezek. i. 11, v. 14, Sheshbazzar); and Babylonian contract tablets show that Jews settled at Babylon had no objection to taking Babylonian names (*Records of the Past*, N. S. iv. pp. 101, 107).

Various apocryphal fragments attributed to Daniel are collected by Fabricius (*Cod. Pseud. V. T.* i. 1124).[b] It is surprising that his

[b] Apocryphal histories such as the Persian *Qissahi Daniel* (cp. Zotenberg in Merx, *Archiv*, i. 385 sq. [1870]; Darmesteter, *L'Apocalypse Persane de Daniel* in the *Mélanges Renier*, p. 405 [1887]) serve but to emphasize the vast differences between such works and the Biblical narrative.—[F.]

fame in later times seems to have been obscured (Hottinger, *Hist. Orient.* 92). Cp. Epiph. *Vit. Dan.* ii. p. 243, ed. Petav.; *Vit. Dan.* ap. Fabric.; Joseph. *Ant.* x. 11.

Cp. H. Deane, *Daniel, his Life and Times;* P. H. Hunter, *The Story of Daniel*, &c.

3. A descendant of Ithamar, who returned with Ezra to Judaea in the time of "Artaxerxes." [ARTAXERXES.] (Ezra viii. 2.)

4. A priest, probably the same as 3, who sealed the covenant drawn up by Nehemiah B.C. 445 (Neh. x. 6). He is confounded with the Prophet in the apocryphal addenda: Dan. xiv. 1 (LXX., not Theodotion). [B. F. W.] [F.]

DANIEL, THE BOOK OF, is the earliest example of apocalyptic literature, and in a great degree the model, according to which all later apocalypses were constructed. In this aspect it stands at the head of a series of writings in which the deepest thoughts of the Jewish people found expression after the close of the prophetic era (cp. Smend, *ZATW.*, 1885, p. 222 sq. He adopts the Maccabaean date). The Book of Enoch [ENOCH], the Jewish Sibyllines, and the fourth Book of Ezra [2 ESDRAS], carry out, with varied success and in different directions, the great outlines of universal history which it contains; and the "Revelation" of Daniel received at last its just completion in the Revelation of St. John. Without an inspired type it is difficult to conceive how the later writings could have been framed; and whatever judgment be formed as to the composition of the Book, there can be no doubt that it exercised a greater influence upon the early Christian Church than any other writing of the Old Testament, while in the Gospels it is specially distinguished by the emphatic quotation of our Lord (Matt. xxiv. 15, *τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Δανιὴλ τοῦ προφήτου . . . ὁ ἀναγινώσκων νοείτω . . .*).

1. *Character.*—In studying the Book of Daniel it is of the utmost importance to recognise its apocalyptic character. It is at once an end and a beginning, the last form of prophecy and the first "philosophy of history." The nation is widened into the world: the restored kingdom of Judah into a universal kingdom of God. To the old Prophets Daniel stands, in some sense, as a commentator (Dan. ix. 2–19): to succeeding generations, as the herald of immediate deliverance. The form, the style, and the point of sight of prophecy, are relinquished upon the verge of a new period in the existence of God's people, and fresh instruction is given to them suited to their new fortunes. The change is not abrupt and absolute, but yet it is distinctly felt. The eye and not the ear is the organ of the Seer: visions and not words are revealed to him. His utterance is clothed in a complete and artificial shape, illustrated by symbolic imagery and pointed by a specific purpose. The Divine counsels are made known to him by the ministry of Angels (vii. 16, viii. 16, ix. 21), and not by "the Word of the Lord." The seer takes his stand in the future rather than in the present, while the Prophet seized on the elements of good and evil which he saw working around him and traced them to their final issue. The one looked forward from the present to the great "age to come;" the other looked backward from "the last days" to the trials in which he was still placed. In prophecy the form and the essence, the human and Divine, were inseparably interwoven; in Revelation the two elements can be contemplated apart, each in its greatest vigour,—the most consummate art, and the most striking predictions. The Babylonian exile supplied the outward training and the inward necessity for this last form of Divine teaching; and the prophetic visions of Ezekiel form the connecting link between the characteristic types of revelation and prophecy (cp. Lücke, *Versuch.* i. 17 sq.; Hitzig, *Daniel, Vorbem.* § 9; Hilgenfeld, *Die Jud. Apok.*, 1 sq.; Pusey, *Daniel the Prophet*, Lect. V.). [DANIEL.]

2. *Philology.*—The language of the Book presents some interesting philological problems (cp. Pusey, Lecture I. and Notes A–D at the end of his volume). No less than its general form, it belongs to an era of transition. Like the Book of Ezra, Daniel is composed partly in the vernacular Aramaic (Chaldee) and partly in the sacred Hebrew. The introduction (i.–ii. 4 *a*) is written in Hebrew. On the occasion of the "Syriac" (אֲרָמִית, *συριστί, syriace*, i.e. Aramaic) answer of the Chaldaeans, the language changes to Aramaic, and this is retained till the close of the seventh chapter (ii. 4 *b*–vii.). The personal introduction of Daniel as the writer of the text (viii. 1) is marked by the resumption of the Hebrew, which continues to the close of the Book (viii.–xii.). Arguments from style are always precarious; but if "the Captivity be the grave of the old Hebrew and the old Israel, and the womb of the new Hebrew and the new Israel" (Margoliouth, *Essay on Ecclesiasticus*, p. 21), then the language of Daniel may be expected to show, as it does show, affinity—as regards its Hebrew—to that of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Habakkuk, or in other words to those Prophets who lived nearest to the assumed age of Daniel (to others certain peculiarities of style present a general similarity to the Hebrew of the CHRONICLES [Delitzsch, *RE.*[2] s. n. 'Daniel,' p. 470]); and also, as was to be expected, Babylonianisms indicating the hand of one long resident in Babylon. The Aramaic of Daniel, which has been shown to be on a par with that of Ezra (see reff. in *Speaker's Comm.*[2] p. 228, n. 5; Delitzsch, p. 471), is also of an earlier form (cp. Maurer, *Comm. in Dan.* p. 87) than exists in any other Chaldaic document; but as the Targums—the next most ancient specimens of the language—were not committed to writing till about the Christian era, this fact cannot be insisted on as a proof of remote antiquity. Furthermore, it is, with Ezra, the earliest example of East Aramaic as distinguished from the closely akin West Aramaic of Palestine (Kautzsch, *Gramm. d. Biblisch-Aramäischen*, 'Einleitung,' § 1), not vice-versâ, and represents, with the Babylonian dialect, the principal language of the Babylonian kingdom (Luzzatto, Delitzsch, Nöldeke. Assyro-Babylonian was known and studied in Palestine before the age of the Exodus: see *ZA.* iv. 387). A philological comparison between Assyrian and Hebrew is still in its infancy (cp. Fried. Delitzsch, *Prolegg. eines neuen Hebr.-Aram. Wörterbuchs z. A. T.* § 12), but as regards the Book of Daniel quite enough has been collected to show the philological approximation of chs. i.–vii. to the language of the Babylonian inscriptions (cp. Meinhold, *Die*

Composition d. B. Daniel, pp. 3–18), if—from the nature of the case—this is much less marked in chs. viii.–xii. In addition to these two great elements—Aramaic and Hebrew—the Book of Daniel contains traces of other languages which indicate the peculiar position of the writer. Greek technical terms (cp. § 10) illustrate the intercourse and commerce between Assyria, Asia Minor, and Greece; and the occurrence of Persian words, explicable enough when Persians traded with, and probably lived in, Babylon, as they did by the time of Nebuchadnezzar (Pinches. See *Records of the Past*, N.S., iii. 124, for their presence there in the time of Belshazzar), is quite inexplicable on the supposition that the whole Book is a Palestinian forgery of the Maccabaean age (cp. Strack u. Zöckler, *Handb. d. theolog. Wissenschaften*,[2] i. p. 172).

3. *Contents.*—The Book is generally divided into two nearly equal parts. The first of these (i.–vi.) contains chiefly historical incidents, while the second (vii.–xii.) is entirely apocalyptic. This division is further supported by the fact that the details of the two sections are arranged in order of time, and that the commencement of the second section falls earlier than the close of the first, as if the writer himself wished to mark the division of subject. But, on the other hand, this division takes no account of the difference of language, nor of the change of person at the beginning of ch. viii. And though the first section is mainly historical, yet the vision of ch. vii. finds its true foundation and counterpart in ch. ii. From these circumstances it seems better to divide the Book (cp. Auberlen, pp. 36 sq.) into three parts. The first chapter forms an introduction. The next six chapters (ii.–vii.) give a general view of the progressive history of the powers of the world, and of the principles of the Divine government as seen in the events of the life of Daniel. The remainder of the Book (viii.–xii.) traces in minuter detail the fortunes of the people of God, as typical of the fortunes of the Church in all ages. The second section is distinguished by a remarkable symmetry. It opens with a view of the great kingdoms of the earth revealed to a heathen sovereign, to whom they appeared in their outward unity and splendour, and yet devoid of any true life (a metal Colossus); it closes with a view of the same powers as seen by a Prophet of God, to whom they were displayed in their distinct characters, as instinct with life, though of a lower nature, and displaying it with a terrible energy of action (*θηρία*, four beasts). The image under which the manifestation of God's kingdom is foreshown corresponds exactly with this twofold exhibition of the worldly powers. "A stone cut without hands, . . . becoming a great mountain and filling the whole earth" (Dan. ii. 34, 35)—a rock and not a metal—is contrasted with the finite proportions of a statue moulded by man's art, as "a son of man," the representative of humanity, is the true Lord of that lower creation (Gen. i. 30) which symbolises the spirit of mere earthly dominions (Dan. vii. 13, 14). The intermediate chapters (iii.–vi.) exhibit a similar correspondence, while setting forth the action of God among men. The deliverance of the friends of Daniel from the punishment to which they were condemned for refusing to perform an idolatrous act at the command of Nebuchadnezzar (ch. iii.), answers to the deliverance of Daniel from that to which he was exposed by continuing to serve his God in spite of the edict of Darius (ch. vi.); and in the same way the degradation, the repentance, and the restoration of Nebuchadnezzar (ch. iv.) form a striking contrast to the sacrilegious pride and death of Belshazzar (ch. v. 22–31). The arrangement of the last section (viii.–xii.) is not equally distinct, though it offers traces of a similar disposition. The description of the progress of the Grecian power in ch. viii. is further developed in the last vision (x.–xii.), while the last chapter appears to carry on the revelation to the first coming of Messiah in answer to the prayer of Daniel.

4. *Canonical Authority.*—The position which the Book of Daniel occupies in the Hebrew Canon seems at first sight remarkable. It is placed among the Holy writings (*Ketubim*, *ἁγιόγραφα*) between Esther and Ezra, or immediately before Esther (cp. Hody, *De Bibl. Text.* pp. 644–5), and not among the Prophets. This collocation, however, is a natural consequence of the right apprehension of the different functions of the Prophet and seer (Pusey, Lecture V.). If it be very uncertain at what time the triple division of the Scriptures which is preserved in the Hebrew Bibles was first made, yet the characteristics of the classes show that it was not based exclusively on outward authority, but on the inward composition of the Books [CANON]. Daniel, as the truth has been well stated, had the spirit but not the work of a Prophet; and as his work was a new one, so was it carried out in a style of which the Old Testament offers no other example. His Apocalypse is as distinct from the prophetic writings as the Apocalypse of St. John from the apostolic Epistles. The heathen court is to the one seer what the isle of Patmos is to the other, a place of exile and isolation, where he stands alone with his God, and is not, like the Prophet, active in the midst of a struggling nation (Auberlen, p. 34).[a] This estimate of the position of the Book in this division of the Canon is not incompatible with the view that that position also indicated a somewhat late admission (Strack).

5. *Unity.*—The unity of the Book in its present form, notwithstanding the difference of language, is generally acknowledged (De Wette-Schrader, *Einl.* § 319; Hitzig, § 4; Bleek-Wellhausen, *Einl.*[4] § 233; do.[5] § 201).[b] Still

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[a] The Jewish doctors of later times were divided as to the degree of the inspiration of Daniel. Abarbanel maintained against Maimonides that he was endowed with the highest prophetic power (Fabric. *Cod. Pseudep. V. T.* i. 897, n.).

[b] There have been, and are, those who dispute this unity. Eichhorn attributed chs. ii.–vi., vii.–xii., to different authors; and Bertholdt supposed that each section was the work of a distinct writer, though he admitted that each of his nine successive writers was acquainted with the composition of his predecessors, recognising in this way the unity of the Book (*Einl.*). [A view, similar in character, is adopted by Strack (Zöckler's *Handb. d. theolog. Wissenschaften*,[2] B. 1 a, 'Einleit. ins A. T.' § 6). Meinhold (*Beiträge z. Erklärung d. Buches Daniel*, p. 22) assigns i.–ii. 4 a to the author of viii.–xii., ii. 4 b–vi. to a second, and ch. vii. to a third. Other views are mentioned by Delitzsch (Herzog, *RE.*[2] p. 471).—F.]

there is a remarkable difference in its internal character. In the first seven chapters Daniel is spoken of *historically* (i. 8–21; ii. 14–49; iv. 8–27; v. 13–29; vi. 2–28; vii. 1, 2): in the last five he appears *personally* as the writer (vii. 15–28; viii. 1–ix. 22; x. 1–19; xii. 5). This peculiarity, however, is not without some precedents in the writings of the earlier Prophets (*e.g.* Is. vii. 3; xx. 2), and the seventh chapter prepares the way for the change; for while Daniel is there spoken of in the third person (vii. 1, 2), the substance of the chapter is given in his words, in the first person (vii. 2, 15, 28). The cause of the difference of person is commonly supposed to lie in the nature of the case. The Prophet narrates symbolic and representative events historically, for the event is its own witness; but revelations and visions need the personal attestation of those to whom they are communicated. It is, however, more probable that the peculiarity arose from the manner in which the Book assumed its final shape (§ 11).

6. *Reception.*—Allusion has been made already to the influence which the Book exercised upon the Christian Church. Apart from the general type of apocalyptic composition which the apostolic writers derived from Daniel (2 Thess. ii.; Rev. *passim;* cp. Matt. xxvi. 64, xxi. 44 ?), the New Testament incidentally acknowledges each of the characteristic elements of the Book, its miracles (Heb. xi. 33, 34), its predictions (Matt. xxiv. 15), and its doctrine of Angels (Luke i. 19, 26). At a still earlier time the same influence may be traced in the Apocrypha. The Book of Baruch [BARUCH] exhibits so many coincidences with Daniel, that by some the two Books have been assigned to the same author (cp. Fritzsche, *Handb. zu d. Apok.* i. 173; *Speaker's Comm.* 'Introd. to Baruch,' § iv.); and the First Book of Maccabees represents Mattathias quoting the marvellous deliverances recorded in Daniel, together with those of earlier times (1 Macc. ii. 59, 60), and elsewhere exhibits an acquaintance with the Greek Version of the Book (1 Macc. i. 54 = Dan. ix. 27). The allusion to the guardian Angels of nations, which is introduced into the Alexandrine translation of the Pentateuch (Deut. xxxii. 8; LXX., some MSS.), and recurs in the Wisdom of Sirach (Ecclus. xvii. 17), may have been derived from Dan. x. 21, xii. 1, though this is uncertain, as the doctrine probably formed part of the common belief. According to Josephus (*Ant.* xi. 8, § 4) the prophecies of Daniel gained for the Jews the favour of Alexander [ALEXANDER THE GREAT]; and whatever credit may be given to the details of his narrative, it at least shows the unquestioning belief in the prophetic worth of the Book which existed among the Jews in the time of Josephus.

7. *Early Opinion.*—The testimony of the Synagogue and of the Church gave a clear expression to the judgment implied by the early and authoritative use of the Book, and pronounced it to contain authentic prophecies of Daniel, without contradiction, with one exception, till modern times. Porphyry alone († c. 305 A.D.) assailed the Book, and devoted the 12th of his fifteen Discourses against Christians (λόγοι κατὰ Χριστιανῶν) to a refutation of its claims to be considered a prophecy. "The history," he said, "is true up to the date of Antiochus Epiphanes, and false afterwards; therefore the Book was written in his time" (Hieron. *Praef. in Dan.*). The argument of Porphyry is an exact anticipation of the position of many modern critics, and involves a twofold assumption, that the whole Book ought to contain predictions of the same character, and that definite predictions are impossible. Externally the Book is as well attested as any Book of Scripture, and there is nothing to show that Porphyry urged any historical objections against it; but it brings the belief in miracle and prediction, in the Divine power and foreknowledge as active among men, to a startling test, and according to the character of this belief in the individual must be his judgment upon the Book.

8. *Modern Opinion.*—The history of the assaults upon the prophetic worth of Daniel in modern times is full of interest. In the first instance doubts were raised as to the authorship of the opening chapters, i.–vii. (Spinoza, Newton), which were perfectly compatible with the fullest recognition of their canonicity. Then the variations in the LXX. suggested the belief that chs. iii.–vi. were a later interpolation (J. D. Michaelis). As a next step the last six chapters only were retained as a genuine Book of Scripture (Eichhorn, 1st and 2nd edd.); and at last the whole Book was rejected as the work of an impostor, "without intention to deceive," who lived in Palestine in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes (Corrodi, 1783. Hitzig fixes the date more exactly from 170 B.C. to the spring of 164 B.C.). This opinion has found wide acceptance, and has been pronounced "a certain result of historical criticism;" the "certainty" of which has again been transformed into uncertainty by the view which assigns the Hebrew sections to the Maccabaean period, and the Aramaic to *c.* B.C. 300 (cp. Meinhold, *Beiträge*, p. 22; *Das Buch Daniel* in Strack u. Zöckler's *Kurzgef. Komm. z. A. T.*, pp. 261–2).

9. *Grounds of Rejection* (cp. § 12).—The real grounds on which most modern critics rely in rejecting the Book, are the "fabulousness of its narratives" and "the minuteness of its prophetic history." "The contents of the Book," it is said, "are irrational and impossible" (Hitzig, § 5). It is obvious that it is impossible to answer such a statement without entering into general views of the Providential government of the world. It is admitted that the contents of the Book are exceptional and surprising; but revelation is itself a miracle, however it be given, and essentially as inconceivable as any miracle. There are times, perhaps, when it is required that extraordinary signs should arrest the attention of men and fix their minds upon that Divine Presence which is ever working around them. Prodigies may become a guide to nature. Special circumstances may determine, and, according to the Bible, do determine, the peculiar form which the miraculous working of God will assume at a particular time; so that the question is, whether there is any discernible relation between the outward wonders and the moral condition of an epoch. Nor is it impossible to apply this remark to the case of Daniel (cp. Pusey, Lecture VII. § 12). The position which he occupied [DANIEL] was as exceptional as the Book which bears his name. He survived the Exile and the dis-

appointment which attended the first hopes of the Jews. The glories which had been connected with the Return in the foreshortened vision of earlier Prophets were now felt to be far off, and a more special Revelation may have been necessary as a preparation for a period of silence and conflict.[c] The very character of the Babylonian exile seems to have called for some signal exhibition of Divine power. As the first Exodus was distinguished by great marvels, it might appear natural that the second should be also (cp. Micah vii. 15; Caspari and Delitzsch). National miracles, so to speak, formed the beginning of the theocracy: personal miracles, the beginning of the Church. To speak of an "aimless and lavish display of wonders" is to disregard the representative significance of the different acts, and the relation which they bore to the future fortunes of the people. A new era was inaugurated by fresh signs. The Jews, left among the nations of the world, looked for some sure token that God was able to deliver them and work out His own purposes. The persecution of Antiochus completed the teaching of Daniel; and the people no longer sought without that which at length they had found within. They had withstood the assault of one typical enemy, and now they were prepared to meet all. The close of special predictions coincided with the consolidation of the national faith. [ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES.]

10. *Other Objections.*—The general objections against the "legendary" miracles and specific predictions of Daniel are strengthened by other objections in detail, which cannot, however, be regarded in themselves as of any considerable weight (cp. Pusey, Lecture VII.). Some of these have been already answered incidentally. Some still require a short notice, though it is evident that they are often after-thoughts; the results, and not the causes, of the rejection of the Book. Not only, it is said, is (*a*) the Book placed among the Hagiographa, but (*b*) Daniel is omitted in the list of prophets given in the Wisdom of Sirach; (*c*) the language is corrupted by an intermixture of Greek words; (*d*) the details are essentially unhistorical; (*e*) the doctrinal and moral teaching betrays a late date.

In reply to these remarks, it may be urged, that (*a–b*) if the Book of Daniel was already placed among the Hagiographa (see § 4) at the time when the Wisdom of Sirach was written, the omission of the name of Daniel (Ecclus. xlix.) is quite natural, and that under any circumstances the omission is not more remarkable than that of Ezra (xlix. 11) or of the individual mention of the twelve lesser Prophets (xlix. 10). (*c*) Up to the present time the decipherment of the Assyrian inscriptions has not thrown light upon the technical names of the musical instruments in use, but the objection founded upon the mention of Greek musical instruments[d] (iii. 5, 7, 10, קַיתָרס, *κίθαρα*; סוּמְפֹנְיָה, *συμφωνία*; פְּסַנְתֵּרִין, *ψαλτήριον*: cp. the 'Excursus on the Musical Instruments,' in *Speaker's Comm.*[2] p. 281), once supposed insuperable, cannot be pressed. It is admitted that such mention is not surprising at a time when the intercourse between Greece and Assyria can be traced to the time of Sargon at least (B.C. 722; Meinhold, *Beiträge*, p. 32), and when the Hellenization of the Jewish race between B.C. 607–587, before and after deportation into Babylonia, was an indisputable fact (cp. Flinders-Petrie, *Tanis*, ii. pp. 49, 50. Cp. also Brandis in Delitzsch, *RE.*[1] p. 274; Alc. *Frag.* 33, Bergk.). (*d*) The details are in some cases as yet unattested, or otherwise stated than in contemporary documents, but unhistorical they are not. The whole colouring, scene, and characters of the Book are Oriental, and especially Babylonian, impossible to an age so unfamiliar with them as the Maccabaean. The colossal image (צֶלֶם, iii. 1, probably that of the god Marduk [Merodach]), the fiery furnace, the martyr-like boldness of the three confessors (iii. 16), the decree of Darius (vi. 7), the lions' den (vi. 7, 19, גֻּב), the dreams of Nebuchadnezzar and his demand of the Chaldaeans (see p. 555, col. 1), his obeisance before Daniel (*v.* 46), his greatness as a builder (iv. 30) and his sudden fall (*v.* 33; cp. Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* ix. 41; Joseph. *c. Ap.* i. 20), the events connected with Belshazzar, Cyrus, Darius the Mede, and the fall of Babylon (see *s. nn.*), are not only consistent with the facts of Eastern life, but in many instances directly confirmed by the evidence of the Inscriptions (see on these points not only the notes of Pusey and *Speaker's Comm.*[2], but also Meinhold, *Die Composition u. s. w.* p. 194; Andrea, *Beweis d. Glaubens* for 1887, 1889; Vigouroux, *La Bible et les découvertes modernes*,[4] iv. 377 sq., and *Les Livres Saints et la critique rationaliste*, 1890. The inscriptions relative to the time from Nebuchadnezzar to Belshazzar are conveniently collected and translated in Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, iii., 2te Hälfte, p. 10 sq. Cp. also Ball's translations in *PSBA.* x. xi.; *Records of the Past*, N.S., iii. iv.; *Babylonian Record*, i. ii.). (*e*) In doctrine the Book is closely connected with the writings of the Exile, and forms a last step in the development of the ideas of the Messiah (vii. 13, &c.), of the resurrection (xii. 2, 3), of the ministry of Angels (viii. 16, xii. 1, &c.), of personal devotion (vi. 10, 11, i. 8), which formed the basis of later speculations, but received no essential addition in the interval before the coming of our Lord (cp. on these points Pusey and the *Speaker's Comm.*[2]).

Generally it may be said that while the Book presents in many respects a startling and exceptional character, yet it is inaccurate on historical, philological, and archaeological grounds to assign its composition to the Maccabaean period (cp. Delitzsch, p. 479; Bp. Thirlwall's *Letters, Literary and Theological*, pp. 245–9. Meinhold, *Beiträge u.s.w.*, 'Abweis der Abfassung von Dan. ii.–vi. in der Zeit d. makkabäischen

[c] The *special* prophecies of Balaam (Num. xxiv. 24) and Isaiah (xliv. xlv.) centre in Daniel (cp. Dan. xi. 30); and the prediction of Balaam offers a remarkable parallel to those of Daniel, both from their particularity and from the position which the Prophet occupied (cp. Pusey, Lecture II.).

[d] H. Derenbourg, "Les mots Grecs dans le livre biblique de Daniel" (*Mélanges Graux*, 1884, pp. 235–244, translated in *Hebraica*, iv. 7 sq. [1887]), starts with the assumption of the Maccabaean date and finds Greek words everywhere; Fabre d'Envieu (*Le Livre du Prophète Daniel*, i. 101 [1888]) will not admit that there are any Greek words at all. On the words in Dan. iii. 2, 3, see Lagarde, *Agathangelus*, p. 157 sq.—[F.]

Kämpfe,' p. 46 sq., admits this as regards that special section). It appears as a key to the later history and struggles of the Jews, and not as a result from them. The reception into the Canon, the phenomena of the Alexandrine Version, all point in the same direction. If the prophetical section be to some *the* difficulty, a sounder system of interpretation, combined with a more worthy view of the Divine government of men and nations, will probably do much to remove those undefined doubts as to the inspired character of the Revelation which naturally arise at first in the minds of thoughtful students.

11. *Conclusion.*—But while all historical evidence supports the canonicity of the Book of Daniel, it does not follow that the recognition of the unity and authority of the Book is necessarily connected with the belief that the whole, as it stands at present, is as it issued from the hands of Daniel. According to the Jewish tradition (*Baba Bathra*, f. 146), "the Books of Ezekiel, the twelve minor Prophets, Daniel and Esther, were *written* (i.e. drawn up in their present form) by the men of the great synagogue," and in the case of Daniel the tradition is supported by strong internal evidence. The manner in which Daniel is spoken of (i. 17, 19, 20, v. 11, 12; the title in ix. 23, xii. is different) suggests the notion of another writer; and if Daniel wrote the passages in question, they cannot be satisfactorily explained by 1 Cor. xv. 10; 2 Cor. xi. 5, 6, xii. 2 (Keil, § 136), or by the consciousness of the typical position which he occupied (Auberlen, p. 37). The substantial authorship of a Book of Scripture does not involve the subordinate work of arrangement and revision; and it is scarcely conceivable that a writer would purposely write *one* book in two languages, though there may have been an obvious reason why he should treat in separate records of events of general history in the vernacular dialect, and of the special fortunes of God's people in Hebrew. At the Return we may suppose that these records of Daniel were brought into one whole, with the addition of an introduction and a fuller narrative,[a] when the other sacred writings received their final revision (cp. *Speaker's Comm.*[2] p. 230). The visions themselves would be necessarily preserved in their original form, and thus the later chapters (vii.–xii.) exhibit no traces of any subsequent recension, with the exception, perhaps, of two introductory verses, vii. 1, x. 1.

12. *Interpretation.*—The interpretation of Daniel has hitherto proved an inexhaustible field for the ingenuity of commentators, and the certain results are comparatively few. To touch on two points only: A. *The four kingdoms.* According to the traditional view (cp. Pusey, Lect. II.), which appears as early as the Fourth Book of Ezra [2 ESDRAS] and the Epistle of Barnabas (ch. iv.), the four empires described in chs. ii. vii. are the Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, the Greek, and the Roman. With nearly equal consent it has been supposed that there is a change of subject in the eleventh chapter (xi. 31 sq.), by which the seer passes from the persecutions of Antiochus to the times of Antichrist. A careful comparison of the language of the prophecy with the history of the Syrian kings must, however, convince every candid student of the text that the latter hypothesis is wholly unfounded and arbitrary. The whole of the eleventh chapter forms a history of the struggles of the Jewish Church with the Greek powers up to the death of its great adversary (xi. 45). This conflict, indeed, has a typical import, and foreshows in its characteristic outlines the abiding and final conflict of the people of God and the powers of evil, so that the true work of the interpreter must be to determine historically the nature of each event signalized in the prophetic picture, that he may draw from the past the lesson of the future. The traditional interpretation of "the four empires" seems to spring from the same error as the other, though it still finds numerous advocates (Hofmann, Auberlen, Keil, Hävernick, Hengstenberg, Zündel, Kliefoth, and most English commentators). It originated at a time when the triumphant advent of Messiah was the object of immediate expectation, and the Roman empire appeared to be the last in the series of earthly kingdoms. The long interval of conflict which has followed the first Advent formed no place in the anticipations of the first Christians, and in succeeding ages the Roman period has been unnaturally prolonged to meet the requirements of a theory which took its rise in a state of thought which experience has proved false. It is a still more fatal objection to this interpretation that it destroys the great idea of a cyclic development of history which lies at the basis of all prophecy. Great periods (*αἰῶνες*) appear to be marked out in the fortunes of mankind which answer to another, so that that Divine utterance which receives its first fulfilment in one period receives a further and more complete fulfilment in the corresponding part of some later period. Thus the first coming of Christ formed the close of the last age, as His second coming will form the close of the present one. The one event is the type and, as it were, the spring of the other. This is acknowledged with regard to the other Prophecies, and yet the same truth is not applied to the revelations of Daniel, which appear then first to gain their full significance when they are seen to contain an outline of all history in the history of the nations which ruled the world before Christ's coming. The first Advent is as much a fulfilment of the visions of Daniel as of those of the other Prophets. The four empires precede the coming of Messiah and pass away before him. At the same time their spirit survives (cp. vii. 12), and the forms of national existence which were developed on the plains of Mesopotamia again reproduce themselves in later history. According to this view, the empires of Daniel can be no other than those of the Babylonians, Medes, Persians, and Greeks, who all placed the centre of their power at Babylon, and appear to have exhibited on one stage the great types of national life. The Roman power was at its height when Christ came, but the Egyptian kingdom, the last relic of the empire of Alexander, had just been destroyed, and thus the "stone cut without hands struck the feet of the image," and Christianity destroyed for ever

[a] The letter of Nebuchadnezzar (ch. iv.) appears to present clear traces of the interweaving of a commentary with the original text. Further the variant spelling of some proper names in the present original text of the Book, as well as the mis-spelling of others, point to textual mistakes, intentional or otherwise, in the copyist.

the real supremacy of heathen dominion.. But this first fulfilment of the vision was only inchoative, and the correlatives of the four empires must be sought in post-Christian history. The corresponding symbolism of Babylon and Rome is striking at first sight, and other parallels may be drawn. The Byzantine empire, for instance, "inferior" to the Roman (Dan. ii. 39), may be compared with that of the Medes. The Teutonic races with their divided empire recall the image of Persia (vii. 6). Nor is it difficult to see in the growing might of the Northern powers, a future kingdom which may rival in terrible energy the conquests of Alexander. Without insisting on such details as these, which still require careful examination, it appears that the true interpretation of Daniel is to be sought in the recognition of the principle which they involve. In this way the Book remains a "prophecy," while it is also a "revelation;" and its most special predictions acquire an abiding significance.[f]

[B. *The seventy weeks* (ix. 24–27. See the excursus in *Speaker's Comm.*[2] p. 360 sq.).—Fraidl (*Die Exegese der Siebzig Wochen Daniels*, p. 154, 1883) sums up the interpretation of the Church up to the time of the Middle Ages as marked by unanimity of opinion upon the main thoughts of the passage, coupled with great diversity as regards individual expressions and the mode of reckoning. Zöckler ('Der Prophet Daniel,' pp. 170–198 [in Lange's *Theol.-homil. Bibelwerk*, 1870]) has collected with exhaustive fulness all that more modern criticism has to say upon the subject. To those starting from a Maccabaean date, it is of course a *vaticinium ex eventu*, and a solution, satisfactory at least to its advocates, is attained, even if they be unable to agree as to the *terminus a quo* or the *terminus ad quem* (cp. Cornill, *Die Siebzig Jahrwochen Daniels*, 1889, ever among the most courageous of interpreters). The defenders of the Danielic authorship (cp. Wolf, *Die Siebzig Wochen Daniels*, 1889) are less confident in their belief that they have solved the problems. Such an attitude is to be preferred. To reckon these weeks backward and forward from the starting-point of a Jew of B.C. 164 is easy, but that starting-point has yet to be proved to be the true one: to reckon them from the date of such an one as Daniel professes to be is not easy, but is yet, from its difficulty, the truer one, which a better acquaintance with the still unexplained nature of the author's computation and chronology, and possibly light upon the mysteries of the numbers from a Babylonian point of view, may be elucidated hereafter.—F.]

13. *Versions.*—There is no Chaldee translation of Daniel, and the deficiency is generally accounted for, as in the parallel case of Ezra, by the danger which would have existed in such a case of confusing the original text with the paraphrase; but on the other hand the whole Book has been published in Hebrew. The Greek Version has undergone singular changes. At an early time the LXX. Version was supplanted in the Greek Bibles by that of Theodotion,[g] and in the time of Jerome the Version of Theodotion was generally "read by the Churches" (*c. Ruffin.* ii. 33; *Praef. in Comm.*: "Illud quoque lectorem admoneo Danielem non juxta LXX. interpretes sed juxta ...Theodotionem ecclesias legere ..."). This change, for which Jerome was unable to account ("hoc cur acciderit nescio," *Praef. in Vers. Dan.*), may have been made in consequence of the objections which were urged against the corrupt LXX. text in controversy with Jews and heathen. The LXX. Version was certainly very unfaithful (Hieron. *l. c.*); and the influence of Origen, who preferred the translation of Theodotion (Hieron. *in Dan.* iv. 6), was probably effectual in bringing about the substitution (cp. Credner, *Beitr.* ii. 256 sq.). In the course of time, however, the Version of Theodotion was interpolated from the LXX., so that it is now impossible to recover the original text. [DANIEL, APOCRYPHAL ADDITIONS TO, § 4.] Meanwhile the original LXX. translation passed entirely out of use, and it was supposed to have been lost till the last century, when it was published at Rome from a *Codex Chisianus* (*Daniel secundum LXX.* ... Romae, 1772, ed. P. de Magistris), together with that of Theodotion, and several illustrative essays. It has since been published several times (ed. Michaelis, Gotting. 1774; ed. Segaar, 1775; Hahn, 1845, and Tischendorf [1–7]. Cp. Bludau, *De Alexandrinae interpretationis libri Danielis indole critica et hermeneutica*, Münster, 1890). Another recension of the text is contained in the Syro-Hexaplaric Version at Milan (ed. Bugatus, 1788), but a critical comparison of the several recensions is still required.

14. *Commentaries.* — The commentaries on Daniel are very numerous. The Hebrew commentaries of R. Saadijah Haggaon († 942), Rashi († *c.* 1105), and Ibn Ezra († *c.* 1167), are printed in the great Rabbinic Bibles of Bamberg and Basle. That of Abarbanel († *c.* 1507) has been printed separately several times (Amstelod. 1647, 4to); Ibn Ali the Karaite's *Comm.* (ed. by Margoliouth) forms part iii. of vol. i. of the *Semitic Series of Anecdota Oxoniensia;* and others are quoted by Rosenmüller, *Scholia*, pp. 39, 40. Among the patristic commentaries the most important are those of Jerome (vol. v. ed. Migne, Paris, 1857), who noticed especially the objections of Porphyry, Theodoret (ii. 1053 sq. ed. Schulze), and Ephrem Syrus (*Op. Syr.* ii.; Romae, 1740). Considerable fragments remain of the commentaries of Hippolytus (collected in Migne's edition, Paris, 1857; Bratke, Bonn, 1891) and Polychronius (Mai, *Script. Vet. Nov. Coll.* vol. i.); and Mai has published (*l. c.*) a catena on Daniel, containing fragments of Apollinarius, Athanasius, Basil, Eusebius, and many others. The chief Reformers—Luther (*Auslegung d. Proph. Dan.* 1530–1546; *Op. Germ.* vi. ed. Walch), Oecolampadius (*In Dan. libri duo*, Basil. 1530), Melanch-

[f] An example of the recurrent and advancing completion of the predictions of Daniel occurs in Matt. xxiv. 15, compared with 1 Macc. i. 54. The same truth is also implied in the interpretation of "the seventy sevens," as springing out of the "seventy" (years) of Jeremiah. On this there are some good remarks in Browne's *Ordo Saeclorum*, though his interpretation of the four empires as signifying the Babylonian, Grecian, Roman, and some future empire (pp. 675 sq.), seems very unnatural. The whole force of his argument (after Ibn Ezra and Maitland) lies in the proof that the Roman was not the fourth empire.

[g] The Version bears in the tetraplar text the singular title, τὸ Εἰρ ἄγρυπνος Δανιήλ. עִיר is the term which Daniel applies to the Angels, "watchers" (Dan. iv. 13, 17, 23). Cp. *Daniel sec. LXX.* p. 125 sq.

thon (*Comm. in Dan. proph.* Vitemb. 1543), and Calvin (*Praelect. in Dan.* Genevae, 1563, &c.; in French, 1565; in English, 1852–3)—wrote on Daniel; and Rosenmüller enumerates nearly fifty other special commentators, and his list requires considerable additions. The combination of the Revelations of Daniel and St. John (Sir I. Newton, *Observations upon the Prophecies*, &c., Lond. 1733; M. F. Roos, *Ausl. d. Weissag. Dan. u.s.w.*, Leipz. 1771) opened the way to a truer understanding of Daniel; but the edition of Bertholdt (*Daniel, aus dem Hebr.-Aram. neu übersetzt und erklärt, u.s.w.*, Erlangen, 1806–8), in spite of all its grave faults, marks the beginning of a new era in the study of the Book. Bertholdt was decidedly unfavourable to its authenticity; and he has been followed on the same side by Von Lengerke (*D. B. Dan. verd. u. ausgel.* Königsb. 1835), Maurer (*Comm. Gramm. Crit.* ii. Lips. 1838), Hitzig (*Kurzgef. Exeg. Handb.* Leipz. 1850), Bleek (*Einl.* var. edd.), Lücke (*Versuch einer vollständ. Einl. u.s.w.*, 2te Aufl., Bonn 1852), De Wette (*Einl.* var. edd.), Meinhold (works cited). On the other hand, the authenticity is affirmed more or less absolutely by Hävernick (*Comm. üb. d. B. Dan.* Hamb. 1832), Auberlen (*Der Proph. Dan. u. d. Offenbarung Joh. u.s.w.*, 2te Aufl., Basel 1857, translated into English from the 1st ed. by A. Saphir, 1856), Hengstenberg (*Die Authentie d. Dan. . . . . erwiesen*, 1831, translated by E. B. Pratten, Edinb.), Hävernick (*Neue krit. Untersuch.* Hamb. 1838), Delitzsch (Herzog's *RE.*[1]; in *RE.*[2] his views approximate to the other school), Keil (*Lehrb. d. Einl. in d. A. T.*, Frankf. 1853), Pusey (*Daniel the Prophet*, var. edd.), *Speaker's Comm.*[2], the commentaries of Zündel, Kranichfeld, and Kliefoth, mentioned in Zöckler's work, Kaulen (*Einl. in d. heilige Schrift A. u. N. T.* p. 328 sq.), Cornely (*Historica et critica Introductio in utriusque Testamenti Libros sacros*, ii. 2, p. 466 sq., who gives a list of R. C. writers); Knabenhauer (*Comm. in Danielem*, Paris 1891), and Fabre d'Envieu (*Le Livre du Prophète Daniel*, 1890). Essays on special points are supplied by T. R. Birks—*The four prophetic Empires*, &c., 1844, and *The two later Visions of Daniel*, &c., 1846; E. B. Elliott, *Horae Apocalypticae*, 1844; S. P. Tregelles, *Remarks on the prophetic Visions of Daniel*, 1852; Desprez, *Daniel or the Apoc. of the O. T.*, 1865; Payne Smith, Dan. i.–vi., 1889; Lagarde (v. Havet), *GGA.* xiv. 1891. [B. F. W.] [F.]

DANIEL, APOCRYPHAL ADDITIONS TO. The Greek translations of Daniel, like that of Esther, contain several pieces which are not found in the original text, but are accepted as canonical by the Roman Catholic Church (Cornely and Kaulen). The most important of these additions are contained in the Apocrypha of the English Bible under the titles of *The Song of the Three Holy Children*, *The History of Susanna*, and *The History of . . . Bel and the Dragon*.

1. *a.* The first of these pieces is incorporated into the narrative of Daniel. After the three confessors were thrown into the furnace (Dan. iii. 23), Azarias is represented praying to God for deliverance (*Song of Three Children*, *vv.* 3–22); and in answer the Angel of the Lord shields them from the fire which consumes their enemies (*vv.* 23–27), whereupon "the three, as out of one mouth," raise a triumphant song (*vv.* 29–68), drawn largely from the Psalter, of which a chief part (*vv.* 35–66) has been used as a hymn (the *Benedicite*) in the Christian Church since the 4th century (Rufin. *Apol.* ii. 35; cp. *Concil. Tolet.* iv. *Can.* 14). Like several similar fragments, the chief parts of this composition are given at the end of the Psalter in the Alexandrine MS. as separate psalms, under the titles "The Prayer of Azarias" and "The Hymn of our Fathers;" and a similar arrangement occurs in other Greek and Latin Psalters. Ball gives numerous illustrations from Talmudic and Midrashic literature, showing that the conception of a deliverance from a fiery furnace was traditional among the Jews from very early times (*Speaker's Comm.*, Apocrypha, 'Introduction to the Song of the Three Children,' ii. 305–7).

b. The two other pieces appear more distinctly as appendices, and offer no semblance of forming part of the original text. *The History of Susanna* is generally found at the beginning of the Book (Gk. MSS.; Vet. Lat.); though it also occurs after the 12th chapter (Vulg. ed. Compl.). Another name given to this piece, "The judgment of Daniel," expresses clearly the point of the story. Ball considers it a traditional history or Jewish Haggadah (Bertholdt), and (after Brüll, *Das apokryph. Susanna-Buch*, in the 'Jahrb. f. Jüdische Geschichte u. Litteratur,' 1879) an Anti-Sadducean *Tendenz-schrift* of B.C. 94–89, partly based upon Jer. xxix. 20–23 (*Speaker's Comm.*, Apocrypha, 'Introd. to the Hist. of Susanna,' pp. 325, &c.); but Zöckler (Strack u. Zöckler's *Kgf. Komm.* 'Die Apokryphen d. A. T.' p. 215, 1891) shows that this cannot be pressed.

The History of Bel and the Dragon is placed at the end of the Book; and in the LXX. Version it bears a special heading as "*part of the prophecy of Habakkuk*" (ἐκ προφητείας Ἀμβακοὺμ υἱοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Λευΐ), which would seem to indicate that it was an extract from a pseud-epigraphic writing attributed to that Prophet (Fritzsche). Ball finds the nucleus of this story in Jer. li. 34, 44, afterwards developed by the Haggadah in its own fashion, but also illustrating that Prophet's own moral of the utter futility of idols, and the sole sovereignty of the God of Israel (*Speaker's Comm.*, Apocrypha, 'Introduction to Bel and the Dragon,' pp. 345–6). It is not uninteresting to compare this Apocryphal work with the legend of the contest between Bel and the Dragon preserved in the cuneiform tablets. Jewish authors in Babylon would hardly be ignorant of the popular Babylonian legends, even if it be thought improbable that the coincidences between these accounts were "hardly accidental" (Ball, pp. 347–8).

2. The additions are found in both the Greek texts—the LXX. and Theodotion, in the Old Latin and Vulgate, and in the existing Syriac and Arabic Versions. On the other hand, there is no evidence that they ever formed part of the Hebrew text, and they were originally wanting in the Syriac (Polychronius, *ap.* Mai, *Script. Vett. Nov. Coll.* i. p. 113, says of the hymn expressly οὐ κεῖται ἐν τοῖς ἑβραϊκοῖς ἢ ἐν τοῖς συριακοῖς βιβλίοις). From the LXX. and Vulgate the fragments passed into common use, and they are commonly quoted by Greek and Latin Fathers as parts of Daniel (Clem. Alex. *Ecl. proph.* i.; Orig. *Ep. ad Afric.*; Tertull. *de Pudic.* 17, &c.),

but rejected by those who adhered to the Hebrew canon. Jerome in particular called attention to their absence from the Hebrew Bible (*Praef. in Dan.*), and instead of any commentary of his own adds shortly Origen's remarks "on the fables of Bel and Susanna" (*Comm. in Dan.* xiii. 1). In a similar manner he notices shortly the Song of the Three Children, "lest he should seem to have overlooked it" (*Comm. in Dan.* iii. 23).

3. Various conjectures have been made as to the origin of the additions. It has been supposed that they were derived from Hebrew or Aramaic originals. Kaulen (*Einl. in. d. heil. Schrift A. u. N. T.* ii. § 395 [see his reff.]) and Cornely (*Historica et critica Introductio in utriusque Testamenti Libros sacros*, ii. 2, p. 499 sq.) give the substance of the arguments, and Ball affirms them afresh, but the evidence is intricate, and insufficient to establish the point (Bissell, *The Apocrypha of the O. T.* p. 442 sq.; Zöckler, p. 215). The character of the additions themselves indicates rather the hand of an Alexandrine writer; and it is not unlikely that the translator of Daniel wrought up traditions which were already current, and appended them to his work (cp. Fritzsche, *Exeg. Handb. zu den Apok.* i. 121). The abruptness of the narrative in Daniel furnished an occasion for the introduction of the prayer and hymn; and the story of the Dragon seems like a strange exaggeration of the record of the deliverance of Daniel (Dan. vi.), which may naturally have formed the basis of different legends. Nor is it difficult to see in the History of Susanna a pointed allusion to the name of the Prophet, though the narrative may not be wholly fictitious.

4. The LXX. appears to be the original source from which all the existing recensions of the fragments were derived (cp. Hody, *de Bibl. Text.* p. 583). Theodotion seems to have done little more than transcribe the LXX. text with improvements in style and language, which are considerably greater in the appended narratives than in the Song incorporated into the canonical text. Thus while the History of Susanna and Bel and the Dragon contain large additions which complete and embellish the story (*e.g.* Hist. Sus. *vv.* 15–18; 20, 21; 24–27; 46, 47, 49, 50: Bel. & Dr. *vv.* 1, 9–13; Eichh. pp. 431 sq.), the text of the Song is little more than a repetition of that of the LXX. (cp. De Magistris, *Daniel*, &c., pp. 234 sq.; Eichh. *Einl. in d. Apok. Schrift.* 422 sq.). The Polyglott-Syriac, Arabic, and Latin Versions are derived from Theodotion; and the Hexaplar-Syriac from the LXX. (Eichh. p. 430, &c.).

5. The stories of Bel and Susanna received various embellishments in later times, which throw some light upon the manner in which they were originally composed (cp. Orig. *Ep. ad Afric.* §§ 7, 8; Bochart, *Hieroz.* iii. 3; Eichh. p. 446, &c.); just as the change which Theodotion introduced into the narrative of Bel, to give some consistency to the facts, illustrates the rationalising process through which the legends passed (cp. Delitzsch, *De Habacuci vitâ et aetate*, 1844). It is thus useless to institute any inquiry into the historic foundation which lies below the popular traditions; for though the stories cannot be regarded as mere fables, it is evident that a moral purpose determined the shape which they assumed. A later age found in them traces of a deeper wisdom, and to Christian commentators Susanna appeared as a type of the true Church tempted to infidelity by Jew and Pagan, and lifting up her voice to God in the midst of persecution (Hippol. *In Susann.* pp. 689 sq., ed. Migne). [B. F. W.] [F.]

DAN'ITES, THE (הַדָּנִי: B. ὁ Δανεί, A. ὁ Δάν [Judg. xiii. 2]; BA. ὁ Δάν [Judg. xviii. 1, 11]; B. οἱ Δανεῖται, ℵA. -ι- [1 Ch. xii. 35]: *Dan*). The descendants of Dan, and members of his tribe. [W. A. W.] [F.]

DAN-JA'AN (דָּן־יַעַן: B. Δὰν Εἰδὰν καὶ Οὐδάν; A. Δὰν Ἰαρὰν καὶ Ἰουδάν; Lucian, Δάν: *Dan silvestria*), a place named only in 2 Sam. xxiv. 6 as one of the points visited by Joab in taking the census of the people. It occurs between Gilead and Zidon—and therefore may have been somewhere in the direction of Dan (Laish), at the sources of the Jordan. The reading of the LXX. (Alex.) and of the Vulg. was evidently דָּן יָשָׁר, *Dan-jaar*, the nearest translation of which is "Dan in the wood." This reading is approved by Gesenius, and agrees with the character of the country about *Tell el-Kâdy*. Driver (*Notes on the Heb. Text of the BB. of Samuel*, in loco) corrects the reading of the passage as follows: ויבאו דן ומדן סבבך אל צידון. There seems no reason for doubting that the well-known Dan is intended. We have no record of any other Dan in the north; and even if this were not the case, Dan, as the accepted northern limit of the nation, was too important a place to escape mention in such a list as that in the text. Dr. Schultz, formerly Prussian Consul at Jerusalem, discovered an ancient site called *Kh. Dâniân*, in the mountains about two miles E. of *Râs en Nâkûrah*, south of Tyre, which he proposes to identify with Dan-jaan (Van de Velde, *Memoir*, 306); Major Conder (*Hbk. to Bible*, p. 408) holds the same view. [G.] [W.]

DAN'NAH (דַּנָּה, *depression, low ground*, Ges.; B. Ῥεννά; *Danna*). A city in the mountains of Judah (Josh. xv. 49), and according to Dillmann[2] not yet identified. It is mentioned with Debir and Socoh, and may perhaps be identified with *Idhna* (اذنا), the Jedna mentioned by Eusebius (*OS.*[2] p. 268, 30) as being six miles from Eleutheropolis on the road to Hebron. It lies S. of *Wâdy el-Afranj* (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 305). [G.] [W.]

DAPH'NE (Δάφνη; *Daphne*), a celebrated grove and sanctuary of Apollo, near Antioch in Syria [ANTIOCH]. Its establishment, like that of the city, was due to Seleucus Nicator. The distance between the two places was about five miles, and in history they are associated most intimately together. Just as Antioch was frequently called Ἀ. ἐπὶ Δάφνῃ, and ἡ πρὸς Δάφνην, so conversely we find Daphne entitled Δ. ἡ πρὸς Ἀντιόχειαν (Joseph. *B. J.* i. 12, § 5). The situation was of extreme natural beauty, with perennial fountains and abundant wood. Seleucus localised here, and appropriated to himself and his family the fables of Apollo and the river Peneus and the nymph Daphne. Here he erected a magnificent temple and colossal

statue of the god. The succeeding Seleucid monarchs, especially Antiochus Epiphanes, embellished the place still further. Among other honours, it possessed the privileges of an asylum. It is in this character that the place is mentioned in 2 Macc. iv. 33. In the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes (B.C. 171) the aged and patriotic high-priest Onias, having rebuked Menelaus for his sacrilege at Jerusalem, took refuge at Daphne;[a] whence he was treacherously brought out, at the instance of Menelaus, and murdered by Andronicus, who was governor of Antioch during the king's absence on a campaign. Josephus does not give this account of the death of Onias (*Ant.* xii. 5, § 1). When Syria became Roman, Daphne continued to be famous as a place of pilgrimage and vice (see Farrar's *Life of St. Paul* [pop. ed.[4]], p. 163 sq.). "*Daphnici mores*" was a proverb (see Gibbon's *Roman Empire*, ch. xxiii.). The beginning of the decay of Daphne must be dated from the time of Julian, when Christianity in the Empire began to triumph over Heathenism. The site has been well identified by Pococke and other travellers at *Beit el-Mâ*, "the House of the Water," on the left bank of the Orontes, to the S.W. of Antioch, and on higher ground; where the fountains and the wild fragrant vegetation are in harmony with all that we read of the natural characteristics of Apollo's sanctuary (*Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geog.*, art. Daphne; Müller, *De Ant. Antiochenis.*) The Greek inscription of the date B.C. 189 relating to the worship of Apollo and Artemis at Daphne, and referred to in the Amer. ed. of the *D. B.*, has been translated and published in the *Journ. of the American Oriental Society*, vi. 550–5; vii. p. xliv. [J. S. H.] [W.]

DA'RA (דָּרְעָ; BA. Δαρά; *Dara*), 1 Ch. ii. 6. [DARDA.]

DAR'DA (דַּרְדַּע; B. Δαραλά; A. τὸν Δάραα; Joseph. Δάρδανος; *Dorda*), a son of Mahol, one of four men of great fame for their wisdom, but who were excelled by Solomon (1 K. iv. 31, LXX. v. 27; Heb. v. 11). Ethan, the first of the four, is called "the Ezrahite;" but it is uncertain whether the designation extends to the others. [ETHAN.] In 1 Ch. ii. 6, however, the same four names occur again as "sons of Zerah," of the great family of Pharez in the tribe of Judah, with the slight difference that Darda appears as Dara. The identity of these persons with those in 1 K. iv. is still debated (see the arguments on both sides in the *Speaker's Comm.* and in Strack u. Zöckler's *Kurzgef. Komm.*). In favour of their identity:—

(1.) A great number of Hebr. MSS. read Darda in Ch. (Davidson, *Hebr. Text*, p. 210), in which they are followed by the Targum and the Syriac and Arabic Versions. [DARA.]

(2.) The son of Zerah would be without difficulty called in Hebrew the Ezrahite, the change depending merely on the position of a vowel-point. [EZRAHITE.] And further, the change is actually made by the Targum Jonathan, which in Kings has "son of Zerah."

(3.) The word "son" is used in Hebrew so often to denote a descendant beyond the first generation, that no stress can be laid on the "son of Mahol," as compared with "son of Zerah." For instance, of the five "sons of Judah" in 1 Ch. iv. 1, the first was really Judah's son, the second his grandson, the third his great-grandson, and the fourth and fifth still later descendants. Further, some conjecture that "*Bene Mahol*" means "sons of the choir;" in which case the men in question were the famous musicians, two of whom are named in the titles to Pss. lxxxviii. and lxxxix. [MAHOL.]

It must, however, be added, that these arguments do not command universal acceptance, and it is best, with Riehm (*HWB.* s. n. Heman) to consider the identity uncertain. [G.] [F.]

DARIC (אַדַרְכֹן; דַּרְכְּמוֹן; only in pl. אַדַרְכֹנִים, דַּרְכְּמוֹנִים; Talm. דַּרְכוֹן: χρυσοῦς; *solidus, drachma:* Ezra ii. 69, viii. 27; Neh. viii. 70, 71, 72; 1 Ch. xxix. 7), a gold coin current in Palestine after the return from Babylon. That the Hebrew word is, at the time mentioned, the name of a coin, although it may have been originally that of a weight, is evident from its identity with the Greek name of the only Persian gold coin of the time, the Δαρεικός, or στατὴρ Δαρεικός. The origin of the word is obscure. It has been derived in the Greek form from the name of Darius Hystaspis, the first Persian monarch known to have struck gold or money of any metal. The name Darius however, in Achaemenian Persian, Dâryava(h)ush, when confronted with the Hebrew forms, forbids this derivation (but cp. G. Hoffmann, *Zeitsch. f. Assyriologie*, ii. 49 sq.). M. Oppert and M. V. Revillout identify it with the Assyro-Babylonian דרג מנה, *darag mana*, "degree (*i.e.* $\frac{1}{60}$) of the mina" (*Ann. de Num.* 1884, p. 119; Head, *Historia Nummorum*, p. 698). Possibly the word is Aramaic. This was the usual language of the coins of the satraps, and seems to have been that of commerce under the Achaemenian kings, and even under the Assyrian Sargonids. The Syriac form, ܕܪܟܡܢ, was used in the vulgar language in the time of Barhebraeus, 13th century A.D., to designate the current gold coin, the dinár of the Arabs (Castell. *Lex. Syr.*, ed. Michaelis, *s. v.*).

The Daric weighs 130 grs. or the 60th of the light Babylonian or Assyrian gold mina. It appears that the Hebrew shekel of gold, which seems to have been only a weight, was identical with the Daric. Thus the use of the term in 1 Ch. xxix. 7 proleptically would be accurate. The usual type represents the King of Persia as an archer (see illustration). The double Daric is supposed to have been issued by Alexander after the conquest of Asia. (On the whole subject, see Head, *op. cit.* pp. 698 sqq.) [R. S. P.]

Gold Daric. (British Museum. Actual size.)

DARI'US (דָּרְיָוֶשׁ; Old Persian, *Dârayawaush*; Median, *Tariyamauš* [=*Dariyawaush*];

[a] According to Jewish tradition, some of the Jews led into captivity were settled at Daphne (*Jer. Tal. Shek.* vi. 4).

Babylonian, *Dariamuš* [=*Dariawush*], *Dāruyāmušu* [=*Dāruyāwushu*], *Dāruešše*, *Dariuš*, &c.; LXX. Δαρεῖος; Xen. *Hell.* ii. 1, 9, Δαρειαῖος [Nothus]; Strabo, xvi. 785, ὁ Δαριήκης: Persian, دارا, داراب), the name of several kings of Persia and Media. Herodotus (vi. 98) says that the name is equivalent to ἐρξίης, *i.e.* "doer" or "driver." It has also been compared with the Persian *dār*, "possessor," from *dashtan*, "to possess," and *dara* or *darab*, "king." Three kings bearing this name are mentioned in the O. T.

1. DARIUS THE MEDE (הַדָּרְיָוֶשׁ הַמָּדִי, Dan. xi. 1, Chald. דָּרְיָוֶשׁ מָדָאָה [*Kethîb*], דָּרְיָוֶשׁ מָדָאָה [*Keri*], vi. 1 = v. 31), "the son of Ahasuerus (=Xerxes) of the seed of the Medes," who succeeded to the Babylonian kingdom after Belshazzar's violent death [BELSHAZZAR], being then sixty-two years old (Dan. v. 31=vi. 1; ix. 1). The first year only of his reign is mentioned (Dan. ix. 1; xi. 1), but it seems to have been a very important one for Daniel and the Jews, the prophet being advanced by Darius the Mede to a very high dignity (Dan. vi. 1 sq.); namely, that of "one" (R. V.) of the three presidents which were placed over the hundred and twenty satraps; and Darius, after Daniel's miraculous deliverance, issued a decree enjoining "reverence for the God of Daniel" throughout his dominions.

Various attempts have been made to identify Darius the Mede. He has been regarded as the same as Darius Hystaspis; or as Cyaxares II., "the son and successor of Astyages" (Josephus, *Ant.* x. 11, § 4; Bertholdt; Von Lengerke; Auberlen, *Daniel und d. Offenbarung*, &c.); or as Astyages himself, the last king of the Medes (Winer, *RWB.* s. v.; Niebuhr, *Gesch. Ass. u. Bab.* pp. 45, 92). All these identifications, however, may be passed over, as they do not agree with the history of the last days of the native kings of Babylonia, as related in the native chronicles.

In determining who Darius the Mede was, it is needful to note certain of the more prominent points as related or indicated in the Book of Daniel. This ruler is there said to have "received" (קִבֵּל) the kingdom (cp. Dan. vii. 18, where the saints of the Most High are said to do the same thing), an expression which would imply acting for another. It is also said that Darius the Mede appointed satraps throughout the whole kingdom. His first year only is mentioned, and at the end of the sixth chapter of Daniel these words occur: "So this Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius, and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian." All these statements, it is to be noted, agree fairly well with what the Babylonian Chronicle relates of Cyrus's general Gobryas. We there find that Gobryas was governor of Gutium; that he descended, with the army of Cyrus, to Babylon, on the 16th of Tammuz; that Cyrus arrived later (on the 3rd of Marcheswan); and that Gobryas, Cyrus's governor, *appointed governors in Babylon*. Gobryas seems to have been concerned also in the attack which resulted in Belshazzar's death [BELSHAZZAR]. It is evident from the Babylonian Chronicle, that Gobryas was endowed by Cyrus with great power—that he was practically his viceroy. The Jewish writers of late times therefore looked upon him as being in the same position as Belshazzar, whom they (though with better reason) also regarded as king. As Gobryas preceded Cyrus, so he may be regarded as having "received" the kingdom on his behalf; and as, after Cyrus's arrival, the latter immediately assumed the reins of government, Gobryas could only have been regarded as "reigning" during a portion of one year,[a] and the mention of Cyrus at the end of the sixth chapter of Daniel is therefore quite natural. The substitution of "Darius the Mede" for Gobryas of Gutium,[b] probably rests upon a confusion of names in the mind of the Hebrew scribe, or it may arise from Gobryas having borne the name of Darius as well. Confusion on account of the likeness between the two names is hardly possible, the Babylonian form of the name Darius being *Dariawuš* (Heb. *Daryawesh*), and that of the name Gobryas being *Ugbaru* and *Gubaru*: confusion would, in fact, only be likely in the case that the scribe was better acquainted with the Greek than with the Babylonian forms of these two names. Whether the name Darius, applied to the conqueror of Babylon in Daniel, is due to the fact that Darius Hystaspis conquered Babylon, is doubtful. Darius Hystaspis was not a Mede, but a Persian; he was not the son of Xerxes, but of Hystaspes; and he was not sixty-two years old when he began to rule over Babylon, but about thirty-three. Whatever confusion, therefore, the Hebrew scribe may have made with regard to the name, there is hardly any doubt that he intended to describe Cyrus's general, Gobryas, under the name of Darius the Mede. [T. G. P.]

2. DARIUS, the son of HYSTASPES (*Vishtāspa*). This ruler, the fifth in descent from Achaemenes (*Hakhāmanish*), was the founder of the Persian dynasty, of which he calls himself the ninth king, apparently regarding his genealogy, "in a double line" (Behistun Inscription) as follows:—

ACHAEMENES
1. Teispes

2 and 3 Cyrus I.	Ariaramnes
4 and 5 Cambyses I.	Arsames
6 and 7 Cyrus II.	Hystaspes
8 and 9 Cambyses II.	Darius.

Darius's father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, however, were not really kings, but only satraps—Hystaspes, Darius's father, holding that rank in Persis, and being, therefore, really subject to his son, for whom he fought in Parthia.

According to the popular legend (Herod. i.

[a] It is possible, however, that this only implies Gobryas's early death or retirement. If we accept the explanation here proposed, "Darius the Mede" was already advanced in years when he took Babylon (Dan. v. 31).

[b] It seems probable that Gutium is another name for Media, or the name of the tract in which Media lay. Prof. Sayce, *Herodotos*, p. 357, makes Media to be the eastern boundary of this province.

209, 210), Darius was already, when young, marked out for empire, Cyrus having had a dream concerning him indicating this. Darius afterwards attended Cyrus's son and successor, Cambyses, in Egypt as one of his body-guard. Upon the detection of the imposture of the Magian Gomates (Bardes or Smerdis), who seized the throne after Cambyses' death, Darius went to Susa just as the conspiracy against the usurper was being formed, and by his advice the death of Gomates was resolved upon without delay and accomplished.[c] A monarchy being decided upon by the Persian chiefs who had taken part in the conspiracy, it was agreed that he whose horse first greeted the rising sun by neighing should be king. Darius's horse having been the first to do this, his lucky possessor was proclaimed king B.C. 521.

The death of the Magian, however, did not by any means leave a clear field for the new ruler of the vast Persian empire. First Babylonia, under Nidintu-Bêl and afterwards under Arakhu, then Persia, Susia, Media, Assyria, Egypt, Parthia, Margiana, Sattagydia, and Scythia, in turn fell away from him. With the help of his faithful generals, however, all the pretenders—nine in number—were at last disposed of, not without much bloodshed and some cruelty on the part of the conqueror. Nineteen battles had to be fought ere Darius could say that "the land was his."[d]

Having thus firmly seated himself on the throne, and made the possession of it more sure by marrying Cyrus's two daughters, Atossa and Artystone, Parmys, the daughter of Cyrus's son Smerdis, and Phaedime, daughter of Otanes, one of the seven who had conspired with him to murder the usurper Gomates, he began to set the affairs of the empire in order. He first divided the land owning his sway into twenty satrapies, assigning to each a certain amount.

The successes of Cambyses in Africa were to be followed, during the reign of Darius, by Persian conquests in Europe. The way for this had already been paved by the death of Polycrates at the hands of Oroctes; for Polycrates, at the head of the great naval power which he had created, could easily have contested with Persia the possession of the Aegean. Meandrius, his successor, who had taken possession of the throne, was ousted in consequence of treachery by Otanes; and Syloson, tyrant of Samos, who had been banished by Polycrates, was restored. Through this, Byzantium and Thracian Chersonesus were subjugated. Darius now determined to extend his conquests as far as the Danube; his object being, according to Herodotus, to avenge the incursions made by the Scythians in the time of Cyaxares. It is more probable, however, that this expedition was undertaken simply from lust of conquest.

Mandrocles was commanded, therefore, to build a bridge across the Bosphorus; and this was done to the satisfaction of Darius,[e] who crossed with his army (B.C. 513), whilst the fleet of the Greeks, acting in concert, sailed to the Danube. Meanwhile, the land army marched away from the coast, meeting with no resistance until they passed the heights of the Balkans. After the whole army had crossed the Danube, Darius wished to destroy the bridge; but as he was advised by Coes not to do so, it was allowed to remain. Darius's army being unable to bring the Scolati, the chief tribe concerned, to an engagement, and deciding to retreat, got away unobserved by the enemy by the ruse of leaving the camp, with the sick and the beasts of burthen, by night. Returning to the bridge, Darius found that a part only had been taken away by the Greeks. This having been restored, the army safely reached the eastern shore. Darius is said to have lost 80,000 men on this expedition (Ctesias). Some of the Greek cities, including Byzantium, having rebelled, Darius allowed part of his army, under Megalysus, to remain on the European shore for the purpose of reducing them again to subjection. Otanes besieged those on the Asiatic shore, and captured Chalcedon and Byzantium, whose exiles afterwards founded Mesembria.

Bactria, Arachosia, Asia Minor, and Egypt remained loyal at a time when Semites and Aryans, including even his own people, the Persians, fell away from him; and for Darius to have kept Egypt faithful says much for the policy of the Persian rulers, who, taking care to respect the religion of subject nations, won not only their confidence, but also their sympathy. Such was Darius's policy, and for this reason he was so highly honoured by the Egyptians that they affected to consider him, even in his lifetime, as a god. From the valley of the Nile, therefore, in the autumn of the year in which he had marched to the Danube, a second Persian expedition set out, army and fleet, to extend the Persian rule on the north coast of Africa. This expedition was directed against the Libyans and other tribes in the neighbourhood who had agreed to pay tribute to Cambyses. A pretext to attack these was found in the person of Pheretina of Barca, whose son, "in return for fidelity to Persia," had been slain by some of his own subjects, who alleged that he had treated them cruelly. The army which set out from Memphis was commanded by a Persian named Amasis, who invested Barca, but met with a vigorous resistance. The city was at last only taken by a ruse, and a number of prisoners fell into the hands of the Persians, by whom they were carried to Bactria, where they founded a city, to which they gave the name of Barca, and which still existed in Herodotus's time.

Monuments and inscriptions prove that much more than this solitary city was subdued by the army of Darius; indeed, the region subjected must have included the tract as far as the oases on the northern edge of the desert. The inscription of the tomb of Darius, Naksh-i-Rustem, quotes among the nations who were his subjects the Butiya (Put = Libyans), the Machiya (Maxyes?), and Kushiya (Cushites or Ethiopians).

Whilst the Persian army was marching west-

[c] At Sikayauvatish, in the province of Nisāya (in Media).

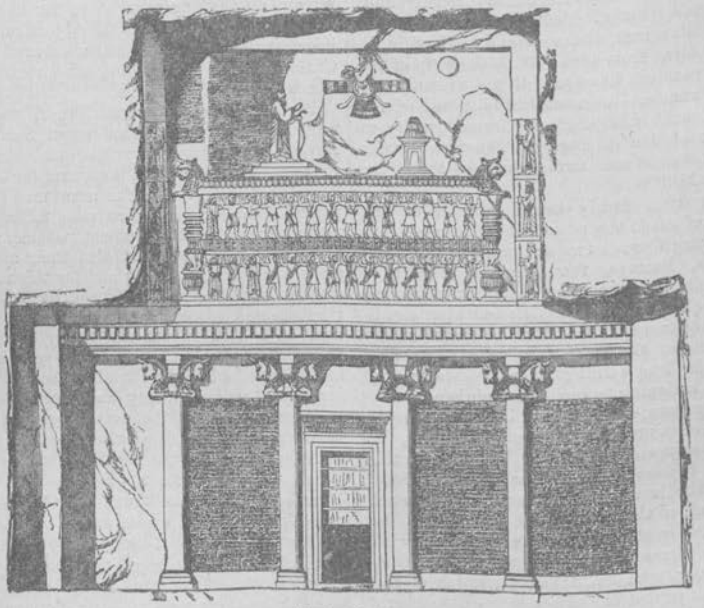
[d] A favourite expression of Darius in the Behistun Inscription is, "After that the land was mine."

[e] Mandrocles, to commemorate his work, caused a picture to be dedicated to Hera of Samos. This consisted of a representation of the bridge, the army crossing it, Darius on his throne, and a dedicatory inscription.

wards along the southern coast of the Mediterranean, Megabyzus was moving in the same direction along the northern shore (B.C. 512). Perinthus and the cities on the northern shore of the Propontis were reduced and punished, and Herodotus says that Darius gave orders for the reduction of Thrace, which was done. The Paeonians were also made to submit, and many other cities of the Greeks on this coast became subjects of Darius.

Marching on, Megabyzus tried to get the Macedonians to submit, and they agreed to do so. The Persian envoys, however, having tried, in their cups, to outrage the women of the royal house, were at once cut down. Megabyzus, finding that they did not return, sent his son Bubares with a force, but an arrangement was come to by which the daughter of Amyntas, king of Macedonia, was given in marriage to Bubares, and a large sum paid as a kind of compensation. Otanes completed the subjection of the rebellious Greeks on the south of the straits.

After the expedition across the Danube, Darius intended to carry his conquests to the west of Europe, Hellas being the conquest for which Megabyzus and Otanes were preparing the way. To this end, being unable to trust the Greeks, he sent fifteen Persians to examine the coasts of Greece, accompanied by Democedes, his Greek physician. Having made a kind of map of the coast, they went from Hellas to lower Italy; and at Tarentum Democedes succeeded in escaping, and reached Crotana, his native place, whose inhabitants refused to give him up. The Persians were afterwards driven to Iapygia, where they were captured and enslaved, but were ransomed by Gillus. The main object, however, was attained, Persians having been made acquainted with the coast of Greece. In the expedition which followed, the forces of



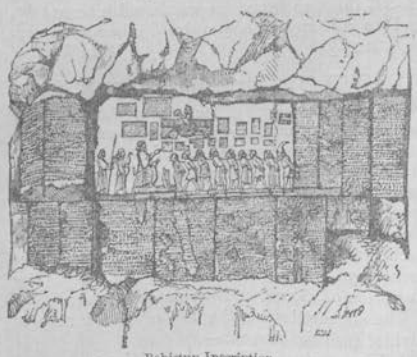
Tomb of Darius.

Darius had at first some success, but the army which he sent was apparently not numerous enough for such an undertaking as the conquest of Greece, and the final result was the complete defeat of the Persians at the battle of Marathon. Being, however, of opinion that he could subdue the country, he called out the whole force of his empire. For three years preparations were made, at the end of which time a rebellion occurred in Egypt. Darius only redoubled his ardour, resolving to reduce both Greece and Egypt to subjection at the same time. A fresh complication, however, arose, in a dispute between his two sons, Ariabignes and Xerxes, as to which should be his successor. After having designated the latter as the future king of Persia, he hastened to set his troops in motion, but died before anything in the way of conquest was done either in Egypt or Greece, after a reign of thirty-six years, according to Herodotus—a length of time which the contract-tablets of Babylonia indicate as being correct—against the thirty-one years mentioned by Ctesias (B.C. 484).

The perseverance of Darius had succeeded in re-establishing and extending the kingdom of Cyrus. On the W. he had reached Mount Olympus and the great Syrtis; on the E. he had reached the Indus; on the N., the Caucasus and Jaxartes; on the S., Arabia and the negroes above Nubia. To this vast empire, which exceeded in extent that of the Assyrians, he set himself to give a regular administration. Tribute came to Persia from every side, and the Persians were proud of their state and king, the more especially so that they were not only free from taxes, but were entitled, at certain periods, to largess from the king, and were thus rewarded for their help in governing. In accordance with the policy of the Persian kings, subject nations were not interfered with more

than was necessary, and this explains the general contentment, not only of Egypt, but also, after the suppression of the rebellions in the provinces, of all the other dependants of the empire. The creation of really good roads, the formation of posts to and from all parts of the empire by means of relays of horses and riders, and the creation of a uniform currency, are among the acts of Darius's wise reign. The splendid palace at Persepolis, and the inscription at Behistun, with its three versions of his suppression of the revolts in the provinces and its elaborate sculptures, are probably among the most noteworthy mementoes of his reign.

During the reign of Darius the Jews prospered as they had done under Cyrus, whom they had welcomed as their deliverer, and who had given them permission to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem (Ezra i. 1 sq.). This permission, withdrawn by Artaxerxes (Ezra iv. 17 sq.), was renewed by Darius in his second year, B.C. 519, when it came to the king's knowledge that the work had been resumed by the encouragement of Haggai and Zechariah (Hag. i. 1, ii. 1, 10; Ezra v. 1 sq.). The Temple was finished in four years (Ezra vi. 15), though it was apparently used before that time (Zech. vii. 1). Cp. the English translation of Duncker, *History of Antiquity*, vol. vi., and the translations of the Behistun Inscription in the *Records of the Past* (1st edit.), vols. i. and vii., and in Weisbach's *Achämenideninschriften, Zweiter Art* (Leipzig, 1890). [T. G. P.]



Behistun Inscription.

3. DARIUS THE PERSIAN (Neh. xii. 22, הַפָּרְסִי ד׳) may be identified with Darius II. Nothus (Ochus), king of Persia B.C. 424–3—405–4, if the whole passage in question was written by Nehemiah. If, however, the register of the Levites as the "recorded chiefs of the fathers" was continued to a later time, as is at present the general opinion, the occurrence of the name Jaddua (*vv.* 11, 22), who was high-priest at the time of the invasion of Alexander [ALEXANDER], points to Darius III. Codomannus, the antagonist of Alexander, son of Philip. This ruler, the last king of Persia, was raised to the throne after the murder of Arses, B.C. 336, and was overthrown by Alexander, B.C. 330. In 1 Macc. i. 1, he is called "king of the Persians and the Medes." He was a mild ruler and of excellent character. Cp. Jahn, *Archäol.* ii. 1, 272 sq.; Keil, *Bibl. Comm.*, 'Chronik . . . Nehemia,' &c., p. 495, who defends at length the identification with Nothus. [NEHEMIAH.] [B. F. W.] [T. G. P.]

4. DARIUS (ΝΑ. Δαρίος, T.^{r} -ει-; *Arius*), a misreading for Areus, of the Lacedaemonians (1 Macc. xii. 7. *Speaker's Comm.* in loc.). [F.]

DARKNESS (חֹשֶׁךְ, fem. form חֲשֵׁכָה, and with much variation in the vowel-points; σκότος) is spoken of as encompassing the actual Presence of God, as that out of which He speaks; the envelope, as it were, of Divine glory (Ex. xx. 21; 1 K. viii. 12). The cloud symbol of His guidance offered an aspect of darkness to the enemy as of light to the people of Israel. In the description of His coming to judgment, darkness overspreading nature and blotting the sun, &c., is constantly included (Is. xiii. 9, 10; Joel ii. 31, iii. 15; Matt. xxiv. 29; Mark xiii. 24; Luke xxi. 25; Rev. vi. 12).

The plague of darkness in Egypt has been ascribed by various neologistic commentators to non-miraculous agency, but no sufficient account of its intense degree, long duration, and limited area, as proceeding from any physical cause, has been given. The darkness ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν of Matt. xxvii. 45 attending the Crucifixion has been similarly attributed to an eclipse. Phlegon of Tralles indeed mentions an eclipse of intense darkness, and which began at noon, combined, he says, in Bithynia, with an earthquake, which in the uncertain state of our chronology (see Clinton's *Fasti Romani*, Olymp. 202) more or less nearly synchronises with the event. Nor was the account one without reception in the early Church. See the testimonies to that effect collected by Whiston (*Testimony of Phlegon vindicated*, Lond. 1732). Origen, however, *ad loc.* (Latin commentary on St. Matt.), denies the possibility of such a cause, arguing that by the fixed Paschal reckoning the moon must have been about full, and denying that Luke xxiii. 45 by the words ἐσκοτίσθη ὁ ἥλιος[a] means to allege that fact as the cause. The genuineness of this commentary has been impeached, nor is its tenor consistent with Origen *adv. Cels.* p. 80; but the argument, unless on such an assumption as that mentioned below, seems decisive, and has ever since been adhered to. He limits πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν to Judaea. Dean Alford (in loco), though without stating his reason, prefers the wider interpretation of all the earth's surface on which it would naturally have been day. That Phlegon's darkness, perceived so intense in Tralles and Bithynia, was felt in Judaea, is highly probable; and the Evangelist's testimony to similar phenomena of a coincident darkness and earthquake, taken in connexion with the near agreement of time, gives a probability to the supposition that the former speaks of the same circumstances as the latter. Wieseler (*Chron. Synop.* p. 388) however, and De Wette (*Comm.* on Matt.), consider the year of Phlegon's eclipse an impossible one for the Crucifixion, and reject that explanation of the darkness (see Edersheim, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, ii. 603). The argument from the duration (3 hours) is also of great force; for an eclipse seldom lasts in great intensity more than 6 minutes. On the other hand, Seyffarth (*Chronolog. Sacr.* p. 58, 9) maintains that the Jewish calendar, owing to their

[a] The reading now generally adopted is τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλείποντος, R. V. "the sun's light failing." [F.]

following the sun, had become so far out that the moon might possibly have been at new; and thus, admitting the year as a possible epoch, revives the argument for the eclipse as the cause. He however views this rather as a natural basis than as a full account of the darkness, which in its degree at Jerusalem was still preternatural (*ib.* p. 138). The pamphlet of Whiston above quoted, and two by Dr. Sykes, *Dissertation on the Eclipse mentioned by Phlegon*, and *Defence* of same, Lond. 1733 and 1734, may be consulted as regards the statement of Phlegon.

Darkness is also, as in the expression "land of darkness," used for the state of the dead (Job x. 21, 22); and frequently figuratively, for ignorance and unbelief, as the privation of spiritual light (John i. 5; iii. 19). [H. H.]

DAR'KON (דַּרְקוֹן; *Δαρκών, Δορκών*; *Dercon*). Children of Darkon were among the "servants of Solomon," who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii. 56; Neh. vii. 58). [LOZON.] [W. A. W.]

DART. [ARMS.]

DATES. A. V. margin of 2 Ch. xxxi. 5 only. [PALM TREE.] In text, A. V. and R. V. "honey."

DA'THAN (דָּתָן, of uncertain etymology, cp. Ges. *Thes.* on the one hand, and Olshausen, *Lehrb. d. Heb. Sprache*, §§ 215, 220, on the other; *Δαθάν*; *Dathan*), a Reubenite chieftain, son of Eliab, who joined the conspiracy of Korah the Levite (Num. xvi. 1, xxvi. 9; Deut. xi. 6; Ps. cvi. 17). [R. W. B.] [F.]

DA'THEMA (T.[7] *Διάθεμα*; A. and Josephus, *Δάθεμα*; ℵ. *Δαθαιμά*; *Dathemi*), a fortress (*τὸ ὀχύρωμα*; Jos. *φρούριον*) in which the Jews of Gilead took refuge from the heathen (1 Macc. v. 9). Here they were relieved by Judas and Jonathan (*v.* 24), who, after the capture of Bosora, *Busrah*, made a night march (*v.* 29; cp. Josephus, *Ant.* xii. 8, § 3) and reached Dathema as Timotheus, the heathen general, was advancing to the assault (*vv.* 30–34). The reading of the Peshitto, *Ramtha*, points to one of the Ramoths of Gilead, and a suitable site would be *Remtheh*, on the *Haj* road, about 25 miles W. of *Busrah*. Ewald however (iv. 359, note) would correct this to *Damtha*, which he compares with *Dhami* or *Dámeh* in the *Lejah*, but this place is much too far from *Busrah*, and the same remark applies to Ramoth-Gilead, with which it has been identified. [G.] [W.]

DAUGHTER (*Bath*, בַּת, contr. from בִּנְת, fem. of בֵּן; *θυγατήρ*; *filia*). 1. The word is used in Scripture not only for daughter, but for grand-daughter or other female descendant, much in the same way and with like extent as בֵּן, son (Gen. xxiv. 48, xxxi. 43). [See CHILDREN; EDUCATION; WOMEN.]

2. In a kindred sense the female inhabitants of a place, a country, or the females of a particular race, are called "daughters" (Gen. vi. 2, xxvii. 46, xxviii. 6, xxxvi. 2; Num. xxv. 1; Deut. xxiii. 17; Is. iii. 16; Jer. xlvi. 11, xlix. 2, 3, 4; Luke xxiii. 28).

3. Women in general (Prov. xxxi. 29).

4. Those addicted to particular forms of idolatrous worship (1 Sam. i. 16; Mal. ii. 11).

5. The same notion of descent explains the phrase "daughters of music," *i.e.* singing birds (Eccles. xii. 4), and the use of the word for branches of a tree (Gen. xlix. 22), the pupil of the eye, *κόρη* (Lam. ii. 18; Ps. xvii. 8), and the expression "daughter of ninety years," to denote the age of Sarah (Gen. xvii. 17).

6. It is also used of cities in general, agreeably to their very common personification as belonging to the female sex (Is. x. 32, xxiii. 12, xxxvii. 22, xlvii. 1, lii. 2; Jer. vi. 2, 26, ix. 1, xxxi. 4, xlvi. 11, 24, xlviii. 18, li. 33; Nah. iii. 4, 7; Zech. ix. 9; Ezek. xvi. 3, 44, 48, xxiii. 4).

7. But more specifically of dependent towns or hamlets, while to the principal city the correlative "mother" is applied (Num. xxi. 25; Josh. xvii. 11, 16; Judg. i. 27; 1 Ch. vii. 28; 2 Sam. xx. 19).

Hazerim is the word most commonly employed for the "villages" lying round, and dependent on, a "city" (*Ir*; עִיר). But in one place *Bath* is used as if for something intermediate, in the case of the Philistine cities Ekron, Ashdod, and Gaza (Josh. xv. 45–7)—"her towns [R. V. marg., Heb. *daughters*] and her villages." Without this distinction from *Hazerim*, the word is also employed for Philistine towns in 1 Ch. xviii. 1—Gath; 2 Ch. xxviii. 18—Shocho, Timnath, and Gimzo. In Neh. xi. 25–31, the two terms are employed alternately, and to all appearance quite indiscriminately. [VILLAGE.] [H. W. P.]

DA'VID (דָּוִיד, דָּוִד=*beloved*;[a] LXX. *Δαυίδ*; N. T. *Δαβίδ, Δαυείδ*), the son of Jesse, is the best known to us of any of the characters in the O. T. In his case, as in that of St. Paul in the N. T., we have the advantage of comparing a detailed narrative of his life with undoubted works of his own composition, and the combined result is a knowledge of his personal character, such as we probably possess of no historical personage before the Christian era, with the exception of Cicero, and perhaps of Caesar.

The authorities for the life of David may be divided into six classes:—

I. The original Hebrew authorities:—

1. The Davidic portion of the Psalms,[b] including such fragments as are preserved to us from other sources, viz. 2 Sam.

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[a] The shorter form is used everywhere in the earlier Books; indeed, everywhere except in 1 K. iii. 14, and in Ch., Ezra, Neh., Cant., Hosea, Amos, Ezek. xxxiv. 22 [cp. Baer in loco, Heb. *v.* 24], and Zech., in which the longer form is found. Renan ("Des Noms Théophores Apocopés," in *REJ.* No. 10 [1882], pp. 168–9) gives its signification as "le Favori de Lui." The Arabic form of the name, in common use, is *Dâood*. [Cp. the name Dudu, a Canaanitish name found on the tablets of Tel-el-Amarna (*Records of the Past*, N.S. ii. 60, 66).—F.]

[b] In quoting the Psalms in connexion with the history, Dean Stanley was guided partly by the titles (as expressing the Jewish traditions), partly by the internal evidence, as verified by the judgment of the Hebrew scholars of his day (see his *Hist. of the Jewish Church*, pref. to Lect. xxii.). Opinions, sometimes agreeing, sometimes disagreeing with those of the Dean, will be found in the commentaries of Delitzsch and Perowne, but not in Cheyne, *Origin, &c., of the Psalter*.—F.

i. 19–27, iii. 33, 34, xii. 1–51, xxiii. 1–7. [PSALMS.]

. The "Chronicles" or "State-papers" of David (1 Ch. xxvii. 24), and the original biographies of David by Samuel, Gad, and Nathan (1 Ch. xxix. 29). These are lost, but portions of them no doubt are preserved in

. The narrative of 1 Sam. xvi. to 1 K. ii. 10; with the supplementary notices contained in 1 Ch. xi. 1 to xxix. 30.

II. The two slight notices in the heathen historians, Nicolaus of Damascus in his *Universal History* (Jos. *Ant.* vii. 5, § 2), and Eupolemus in his *History of the Kings of Judah* (Eus. *Praep. Ev.* ix. 30).

III. David's apocryphal writings, contained in Fabricius, *Codex Apocryphus V. Test.* pp. 906–1006. (1) Ps. cli., on his victory over Goliath. (2) Colloquies with God, on madness, on his temptation, and on the building of the Temple. (3) A charm against fire. Of these the first alone deserves any attention.

IV. The Jewish traditions, which may be divided into three classes:—

1. The additions to the Biblical narrative contained in Josephus, *Ant.* vi. 8—vii. 15.
2. The Hebrew traditions preserved in Jerome's *Quaestiones Hebraicae in Libros Regum et Paralipomenon* (vol. iii., Venice ed.).
3. The Rabbinical traditions reported in Basnage, *Hist. des Juifs*, lib. v. c. 2; Calmet's *Dictionary* (*David*); Hamburger, *RE.*² "David."

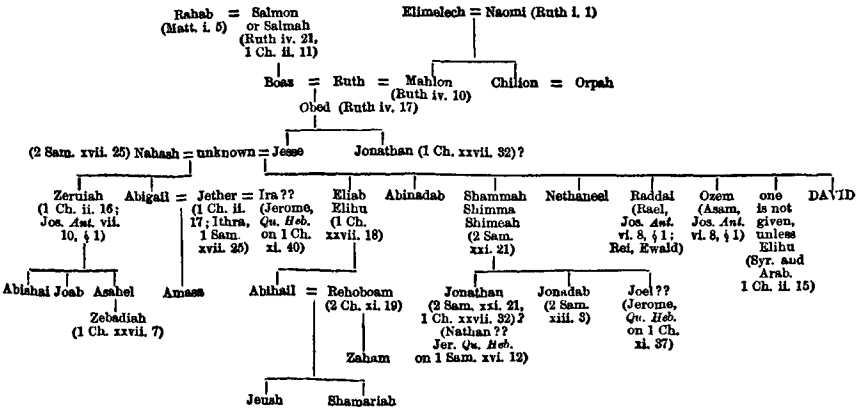
V. The Mussulman traditions, chiefly remarkable for their extravagance, are contained in the Koran, ii. 250–252, xxxviii. 20–24, xxi. 79–82, xxii. 15, and explained in Lane's *Selections from the Koran*, pp. 228–242; or amplified in Weil's *Legends*, Eng. Tr. pp. 152–170.

VI. In modern times his life has been often treated, both in separate treatises and in histories of Israel. Winer's article on David refers to monographs on almost every point in his life. In English, a well-known work is Dr. Chandler's *Life*, written in the last century; in French, De Choisi's, and that in Bayle's *Dictionary*. A recent and excellent treatment is that in Ewald's *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, iii. 71–257. To these may be added the pages in Grätz, *Gesch. d. Juden*, i.; the Lectures (xxii.–iv.) in Stanley's *Hist. of the Jewish Church*; the articles and reff. in Herzog's,² Riehm's, and Weltzer u. Welte's² Dictionaries; C. Kingsley, *David*; W. J. Deane's *David, his Life and Times* ("Men of the Bible" series); and Edersheim, *Bible History*, vol. ii.

His life may be divided into three portions, more or less corresponding to the three old lost biographies by Samuel, Gad, and Nathan:— I. His youth before his introduction to the court of Saul. II. His relations with Saul. III. His reign.

I. *The early life of David* contains in many important respects the antecedents of his future career.

1. Unlike most of the characters of the Scriptures, his family are well known to us by name, and are not without bearing on his subsequent career. They may best be seen in the form of a genealogy.


Rahab (Matt. i. 5) = Salmon or Salmah (Ruth iv. 21, 1 Ch. ii. 11)
Elimelech = Naomi (Ruth i. 1)
Boaz = Ruth = Mahlon (Ruth iv. 10)
Chilion = Orpah
Obed (Ruth iv. 17)
(2 Sam. xvii. 25) Nahash = unknown = Jesse
Jonathan (1 Ch. xxvii. 32)?
Zeruiah (1 Ch. ii. 16; Jos. Ant. vii. 10, § 1)
Abigail = Jether (1 Ch. ii. 17; Ithra, 1 Sam. xvii. 25)
Ira?? (Jerome, Qu. Heb. on 1 Ch. xi. 40)
Eliab
Elihu (1 Ch. xxvii. 18)
Abinadab
Shammah Shimma Shimeah (2 Sam. xxi. 21)
Nethaneel
Raddai (Rael, Jos. Ant. vi. 8, § 1; Rel, Ewald)
Ozem (Asam, Jos. Ant. vi. 8, § 1)
one is not given, unless Elihu (Syr. and Arab. 1 Ch. ii. 15)
DAVID
Abishai Joab Asahel
Zebadiah (1 Ch. xxvii. 7)
Amasa
Abihail = Rehoboam (2 Ch. xi. 19)
Zaham
Jonathan (2 Sam. xxi. 21, 1 Ch. xxvii. 32)? (Nathan?? Jer. Qu. Heb. on 1 Sam. xvi. 12)
Jonadab (2 Sam. xiii. 3)
Joel?? (Jerome, Qu. Heb. on 1 Ch. xi. 37)
Jeush
Shamariah

It thus appears that David was the youngest son, probably the youngest child, of a family of ten. His mother's name is unknown. His father, Jesse, was of a great age when David was still young (1 Sam. xvii. 12). His parents both lived till after his final rupture with Saul (1 Sam. xxii. 3). Through them David inherited several points which he never lost. (*a*) His connexion with Moab through his great-grandmother Ruth. This he kept up when he escaped to Moab and entrusted his aged parents to the care of the king (1 Sam. xxii. 3), and it may not have been without its use in keeping open a wider view in his mind and history than if he had been of purely Jewish descent. Such is probably the design of the express mention of Ruth in the genealogy in Matt. i. 5.

(*b*) His birthplace, BETHLEHEM. His recollection of the well of Bethlehem is one of the most touching incidents of his later life (1 Ch. xi. 17). From the territory of Bethlehem, as from his own patrimony, he gave a property as a reward to Chimham, son of Barzillai (2 Sam. xix. 37, 38; Jer. xli. 17); and it is this connexion of David with Bethlehem that brought the place again in later times into universal fame, when Joseph went up to Bethlehem, "because he was of the house and lineage of David" (Luke ii. 4).

(*c*) His general connexion with the tribe of Judah. In none of the tribes does the tribal

feeling appear to have been stronger; and it must be borne in mind throughout the story both of his security amongst the hills of Judah during his flight from Saul, and of the early period of his reign at Hebron; as well as of the jealousy of the tribe at having lost their exclusive possession of him, which broke out in the revolt of Absalom.

(*d*) His relations to Zeruiah and Abigail. Though called in 1 Ch. ii. 16, sisters of David, they are not expressly called the daughters of Jesse; and Abigail, in 2 Sam. xvii. 25, is called the daughter of Nahash. Is it too much to suppose that David's mother had been the wife or concubine[c] of Nahash, and then married by Jesse? This would agree with the difference of age between David and his sisters, and also (if Nahash was the same as the king of Ammon) with the kindnesses which David received first from Nahash (2 Sam. x. 2), and then from Shobi, son of Nahash (xvii. 27).

2. As the youngest of the family he may possibly have received from his parents the name, which first appears in him, of *David*, the *beloved*, the *darling*. But, perhaps for this same reason, he was never intimate with his brethren. The eldest brother, who alone is mentioned in connexion with him, and who was afterwards made by him head of the tribe of Judah (1 Ch. xxvii. 18), treated him scornfully and imperiously (1 Sam. xvii. 28), as the eldest brothers of large families are apt to do; his command was regarded in the family as law (xx. 29); and the father looked upon the youngest son as hardly one of the family at all (xvi. 11), and as a mere attendant on the rest (xvii. 17). The familiarity which he lost with his brothers, he gained with his nephews. The three sons of his sister Zeruiah, and the one son of his sister Abigail, seemingly from the fact that their mothers were the eldest of the whole family, were probably of the same age as David himself, and they accordingly were to him—especially the three sons of Zeruiah—throughout life in the relation usually occupied by brothers and cousins. In them we see the rougher qualities of the family, which David shared with them, whilst he was distinguished from them by qualities of his own, peculiar to himself. The two sons of his brother Shimeah are both connected with his after-history, and both celebrated for the gift of sagacity in which David himself excelled. One was Jonadab, the friend and adviser of his eldest son Amnon (2 Sam. xiii. 3). The other was Jonathan (2 Sam. xxi. 21), who afterwards became the counsellor of David himself (1 Ch. xxvii. 32). It is a conjecture or tradition of the Jews preserved by Jerome (*Qu. Heb.* on 1 Sam. xvii. 12) that this was no other than *Nathan* the prophet, who, being adopted into Jesse's family, makes up the eighth son, not named in 1 Ch. ii. 13–15. But this is hardly probable.

[c] The later Rabbis represent him as born in adultery. This is probably a coarse inference from Ps. li. 5; but it may possibly have reference to a tradition of the above. On the other hand, in the earlier Rabbis we have an attempt at "immaculate conception." They make Nahash—"the serpent"—to be another name of Jesse, because he had no sin except that which he contracted from the original serpent; and thus David inherited none (Jerome, *Qu. Heb.* in 2 Sam. xvii. 25).

The first time that David appears in history at once admits us to the whole family circle, There was a practice once a year at Bethlehem, probably at the first new moon of the year, of holding a sacrificial feast, at which Jesse, as the chief proprietor of the place, would preside (1 Sam. xx. 6), with the elders of the town. At this or such like feast (xvi. 1) suddenly appeared the great prophet Samuel, driving a heifer before him, and having in his hand a horn of the consecrated oil[d] of the Tabernacle. The elders of the little town were terrified at this apparition, but were reassured by the august visitor, and invited by him to the ceremony of sacrificing the heifer. The heifer was killed. The party were waiting to begin the feast. Samuel stood with his horn to pour forth the oil, as if for an invitation to begin (cp. ix. 22). He was restrained by Divine intimation as son after son passed by. Eliab, the eldest, by "his height" and "his countenance," seemed the natural counterpart of Saul, whose rival, unknown to them, the prophet came to select. But the day was gone when kings were chosen because they were head and shoulders taller than the rest. "Samuel said unto Jesse, Are these all thy children? And he said, There remaineth yet the youngest, and behold he keepeth the sheep."

This is our first and most characteristic introduction to the future king. The boy was brought in. We are enabled to fix his appearance at once in our minds. He was of short stature, thus contrasting with his tall brother Eliab, with his rival Saul, and with his gigantic enemy of Gath. He had red[e] or auburn hair, such as is not unfrequently seen in his countrymen of the East at the present day. In later life he wore a beard.[f] His bright eyes[g] are especially mentioned (xvi. 12), and generally he was remarkable for the grace of his figure and countenance ("fair of eyes," "comely," "goodly," xvi. 12, 18, xvii. 42), well made, and of immense strength and agility. His swiftness and activity made him (like his nephew Asahel) like a wild gazelle, his feet like harts' feet, and his arms strong enough to break a bow of steel (Ps. xviii. 33, 34). He was pursuing the occupation—that of the shepherd—allotted in Eastern countries usually to the slaves, the females, or the despised of the family (cp. the case of Moses, of Jacob, of Zipporah, and Rachel, and, in later times, of Mahomet; Sprenger, p. 8). The pastures of Bethlehem are famous throughout the sacred history. The Tower of Shepherds (Gen. xxxv. 21. Cp. Edersheim, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, i. 186), the shepherds abiding with their flocks by night (Luke ii.), were both there. He usually carried a switch or wand[h] in his hand (1 Sam. xvii. 40), such as would be used for his dogs (xvii. 43), and a scrip or wallet round his

[d] "The oil;" so Joseph. *Ant.* vi. 8, § 1.

[e] 1 Sam. xvi. 12, xvii. 42. Ruddy = red-haired; πυῤῥάκης, LXX.; *rufus*, Vulg.: the same word as for Esau, Gen. xxv. 25. The Rabbis (probably from this) say that he was like Esau. Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 8, 1) makes it his tawny complexion (ξανθὸς τὴν χρόαν).

[f] 1 Sam. xxi. 13.

[g] "Fierce, quick;" γοργὸς τὰς ὄψεις (Joseph. *Ant.* vi. 8, § 1).

[h] The same word as is used in Gen. xxx. 37, Jer. i. 11, Hos. iv. 12.

neck, to carry anything that was needed for his shepherd's life (xvii. 40). Such was the outer life of David when (as the later Psalmists described his call) he was "taken from the sheepfolds, from following the ewes great with young, to feed Israel according to the integrity of his heart, and to guide them by the skilfulness of his hands" (Ps. lxxviii. 70–72). The recollection[i] of the sudden and great elevation from this humble station is deeply impressed on his after-life. "The man who was raised up on high" (2 Sam. xxiii. 1)—"I have exalted one chosen out of the people" (Ps. lxxxix. 19)—"I took thee from the sheepcote" (2 Sam. vii. 8).

3. But there was another preparation still more needed for his office, which possibly had made him already known to Samuel, and which at any rate is his next introduction to the history. When the body-guard of Saul were discussing with their master where the best minstrel could be found to chase away his madness by music, one of the young men in the guard suggested David. Saul, with the absolute control inherent in the idea of an Oriental king, instantly sent for him, and in the successful effort of David's harp we have the first glimpse into that genius for music and poetry which was afterwards consecrated in the Psalms. It is impossible not to connect the early display of this gift with the schools of the prophets, who exercised their vocation with tabret, psaltery, pipe, and harp (1 Sam. x. 5), in the pastures (*Naioth;* cp. Ps. xxiii. 2), to which he afterwards returned as to his natural home (1 Sam. xix. 18).[k]

Whether any of the existing Psalms can be referred to this epoch of David's life is uncertain. The 23rd, from its subject of the shepherd, and from its extreme simplicity (though placed by Ewald somewhat later), may well have been suggested by this time. The 8th, 19th, and 29th,[l] which are universally recognised as David's, describe the phenomena of nature, and as such may more naturally be referred to this tranquil period of his life than to any other. The imagery of danger from wild beasts, lions, wild bulls, &c. (Ps. vii. 2; xxii. 20, 21), must be reminiscences of this time. And now, at any rate, he must have first acquired the art which gave him one of his chief claims to mention in after-times—"the sweet singer of Israel" (2 Sam. xxiii. 1), "the inventor of instruments of music" (Amos vi. 5); "with his whole heart he sung songs and loved him that made him" (Ecclus. xlvii. 8).[m]

4. One incident alone of his solitary shepherd life has come down to us—his conflict with the lion and the bear in defence of his father's flocks (1 Sam. xvii. 34, 35). But it did not stand alone. He was already known to Saul's guards for his martial exploits, probably against the Philistines (xvi. 18); and when he suddenly appeared in the camp, his elder brother immediately guessed that he had left the sheep in his ardour to see the battle (xvii. 28). To this new aspect of his character we are next introduced.

There is no perfectly satisfactory means of reconciling the apparently contradictory accounts in 1 Sam. xvi. 14–23 and xvii. 12–31, 55–58. The first states that David was made known to Saul and became his armour-bearer in consequence of the charm of his music in assuaging the king's melancholy. The second implies that David was still a shepherd with his father's flocks, and unknown to Saul. The Vatican MS. of the LXX., followed by Kennicott (who argues the question at length, *Dissertation on Hebrew Text*, pp. 418–432, 554–558), rejects the narrative in 1 Sam. xvii. 12–31, 55–58, as spurious. But the internal evidence from its graphic touches is much in its favour, and it must at least be accepted as an ancient tradition of David's life. Horsley, but with no external authority, transposes 1 Sam. xvi. 14–23. Another explanation supposes that Saul had forgotten him. But this only solves half the difficulty, and is evidently not the intention of the narrative. It may therefore be accepted as an independent statement of David's first appearance, modified by the counter-statement already noticed.[n]

The scene of the battle is at EPHES-DAMMIN, in the frontier-hills of Judah, called probably from this or similar encounters "the bound of blood." Saul's army is encamped on one side of the ravine, the Philistines on the other; the watercourse of Elah or "the Terebinth" runs between them.[o] A Philistine of gigantic stature, and clothed in complete armour, insults the comparatively defenceless Israelites, amongst whom the king alone appears to be well armed

[i] It is useless to speculate on the extent to which his mission was known to himself or to others. Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 8, § 1) says that Samuel whispered it into his ear.

[k] The Mussulman traditions represent him as skilled in making haircloth and sackcloth—the usual occupations of the prophets.

[l] The Mussulman traditions describe him as understanding the language of birds (*Koran*, xxi. 9, xxii. 16).

[m] In Mussulman traditions, as Abraham is called "the Friend," and Mohammed "the Apostle," so David is "the *Prophet* of God." In Weil's *Legends*, p. 157, is a striking Oriental description of his powers as a psalmist: "He could imitate the thunders of heaven, the roar of the lion, the notes of the nightingale."

[n] The solution of the question cannot be said to have been much advanced since this paragraph was written. The contradictions are to some very real (cp. Wellhausen, *Proleg. to the Hist. of Israel*, p. 262 sq.; Stade, *Gesch. d. V. Israel*, i. p. 224, &c.); to others they are but apparently real or quite capable of adjustment (cp. Grätz, *Gesch. d. Juden*, i. 415 sq.; the *Speaker's Comm.* on 1 Sam. xvi. 21, and the suppl. passage to the art. "David" in the Amer. ed. of this work [i]).—F.

[o] Variations in the common account are suggested by two other passages. 1. In 2 Sam. xxi. 19, it is stated that "Goliath of Gath, the staff of whose spear was like a weaver's beam," was killed (not by David, but) by Elhanan of Bethlehem. This, combined with the fact that the Philistine whom David slew is usually nameless, has suggested to Ewald (ii. 23, 611) the conjecture that the name of Goliath (which is only given twice to *David's* enemy, 1 Sam. xvii. 4, xxi. 9) was borrowed from the conflict of the real Goliath with Elhanan, whose Bethlehemite origin has led to the confusion. To Wellhausen, Stade, and others, the whole account is legendary. Jerome (*Qu. Heb.* ad loc.) makes Elhanan the same as David. 2. In 1 Ch. xi. 12, Eleazar (or more probably Shammah, 2 Sam. xxiii. 11) is said to have fought with David at *Ephes-dammim* against the Philistines. It is of course possible that the same scene may have witnessed two encounters between Israel and the Philistines; but it may also indicate that David's first acquaintance with Eleazar, afterwards one of his chief captains, was made on this memorable occasion.

(xvii. 38; cp. xiii. 20). No one can be found to take up the challenge. At this juncture David appears in the camp, sent by his father with ten loaves and ten slices of milk-cheese to his three eldest brothers, fresh from the sheepfolds. Just as he comes to the circle of waggons which formed, as in Arab settlements, a rude fortification round the Israelite camp (xvii. 20), he hears the well-known shout of the Israelite war-cry (cp. Num. xxiii. 21). The martial spirit of the boy is stirred at the sound; he leaves his provisions with the baggage-master, and darts to join his brothers (like one of the royal messengers[p]) into the midst of the lines.[q] Then he hears the challenge, now made for the fortieth time—sees the dismay of his countrymen—hears the reward proposed by the king—goes with the impetuosity of youth from soldier to soldier talking of the event, in spite of his brother's rebuke—is introduced to Saul—and undertakes the combat. His victory over the gigantic Philistine is rendered more conspicuous by his own diminutive stature, and by the simple weapons with which it was accomplished—not the armour of Saul, which he naturally found too large, but the shepherd's sling, which he always carried with him, and the five polished pebbles which he picked up as he went from the watercourse of the valley, and put in his shepherd's wallet.[r] Two trophies long remained of the battle—one, the huge sword of the Philistine, which was hung up behind the ephod in the Tabernacle at Nob (1 Sam. xxi. 9); the other, the head, which he bore away himself, and which was either laid up at Nob, or subsequently at Jerusalem. [NOB.] Ps. cxliv., though by its contents of a much later date, is by the title in the LXX. "against Goliath." But there is also a psalm, preserved in the LXX. at the end of the Psalter, and which, though probably a mere adaptation from the history, well sums up this early period of his life: "This is the psalm of David's own writing (?) (ἰδιόγραφος εἰς Δαυίδ), and outside the number, when he fought the single combat with Goliath." "I was small amongst my brethren, and the youngest in my father's house. I was feeding my father's sheep. My hands made a harp, and my fingers fitted a psaltery. And who shall tell it to my Lord? He is the Lord, He heareth. He sent His messenger (angel?) and took me from my father's flocks, and anointed me with the oil of His anointing. My brethren were beautiful and tall, but the Lord was not well pleased with them. I went out to meet the Philistine, and he cursed me by his idols. But I drew his own sword and beheaded him, and took away the reproach from the children of Israel."[s]

II. *Relations with Saul.*—We now enter on a new aspect of David's life. The victory over Goliath had been a turning-point of his career. Saul inquired his parentage, and took him finally to his court. Jonathan was inspired by the romantic friendship which bound the two youths together to the end of their lives. The triumphant songs[t] of the Israelitish women announced that they felt that in David Israel had now found a deliverer mightier even than Saul. And in those songs, and in the fame which David thus acquired, was laid the foundation of that unhappy jealousy of Saul towards him which, mingling with the king's constitutional malady, poisoned his whole future relations to David.

Three new qualities now began to develop themselves in David's character. The first was his prudence. It had been already glanced at on the first mention of him to Saul (1 Sam. xvi. 18), "prudent in matters." But it was the marked feature of the beginning of his public career. Thrice over it is emphatically said, "he behaved himself wisely," and evidently with the impression that it was the wisdom called forth by the necessities of his delicate and difficult situation. It was that peculiar Jewish caution which has been compared to the sagacity of a hunted animal, such as is remarked in Jacob, and afterwards in the persecuted Israelites of the Middle Ages. One instance of it appears immediately, in his answer to the trap laid for him by Saul's servants, "Seemeth it to you a light thing to be the king's son-in-law, seeing that I am a poor man and lightly esteemed?" (xviii. 23.) Secondly, we now see his magnanimous forbearance called forth, in the first instance, towards Saul, but displaying itself (with a few painful exceptions) in the rest of his life. He is the first example of the virtue of chivalry. Thirdly, his hairbreadth escapes, continued through so many years, impressed upon him a sense of dependence on the Divine help, clearly derived from this epoch. His usual oath or asseveration in later times was, "As the Lord liveth, Who hath redeemed my soul out of adversity" (2 Sam. iv. 9; 1 K. i. 29); and the Psalms are filled with imagery taken even literally from shelter against pursuers, slipping down precipices (Ps. xviii. 36), hiding-places in rocks and caves, leafy coverts (xxxi. 20), strong fastnesses (xviii. 2).

This course of life subdivides itself into four portions:—

1. His life at the court of Saul till his final escape (1 Sam. xviii. 2–xix. 18). His office is not exactly defined. But it would seem that, having been first armour-bearer (xvi. 21, xviii. 2), then made captain over a thousand—the subdivision of a tribe (xviii. 13)—he finally, on his marriage with Michal, the king's second daughter, was raised to the high office of captain of the king's body-guard,[u] second only, if not equal, to Abner, the captain of the host, and Jonathan, the heir apparent. These three formed the usual companions of the king at his meals (xx. 25). David was now chiefly known for his successful exploits against the Philistines, by one of which he won his wife, and drove back the Philistine power with a blow from which it only rallied at the disastrous close of Saul's reign.[x] He also still performed from time

[p] The same word is used as in 1 Sam. xxii. 17.

[q] As in 1 Sam. iv. 16, 2 Sam. xviii. 22.

[r] For the Musculman legend, see Weil's *Legends*, p. 153.

[s] Of these and of like songs, Bunsen (*Bibelwerk*, Pref. p. cl.) interprets the expression in 2 Sam. xxiii. 1, not "the sweet singer of Israel," but "the darling of the songs of Israel." [He is not followed by modern critics.]

[t] See Fabricius, *Cod. Apoc. V. T.* p. 906.

[u] 1 Sam. xx. 25, xxii. 14, as explained by Ewald, iii. 98.

[x] The story of his wooing Merab, and of her marriage with Adriel (1 Sam. xviii. 17–19), is omitted in LXX.

to time the office of minstrel. But the successive snares laid by Saul to entrap him, and the open violence into which the king's madness twice broke out,[y] at last convinced him that his life was no longer safe. He had two faithful allies, however, in the court—the son of Saul, his friend Jonathan; the daughter of Saul, his wife Michal. Warned by the one, and assisted by the other, he escaped by night,[z] and was from thenceforward a fugitive. Jonathan he never saw again except by stealth. Michal was given in marriage to another (Phaltiel), and he saw her no more till long after her father's death [MICHAL]. To this escape the traditional title assigns Ps. lix. Internal evidence (according to Ewald) gives Pss. vi.[a] and vii. to this period. In the former he is first beginning to contemplate the necessity of flight; in the latter he is moved by the plots of a person not named in the history (perhaps those alluded to in 1 Ch. xii. 17)—according to the title of the Psalm, Cush, a Benjamite, and therefore of Saul's tribe.

2. His escape (1 Sam. xix. 18–xxi. 15). He first fled to Naioth (or the pastures) of Ramah, to Samuel. This is the first recorded occasion of his meeting with Samuel since the original interview during his boyhood at Bethlehem. It might almost seem as if he had intended to devote himself with his musical and poetical gifts to the prophetical office, and give up the cares and dangers of public life. But he had a higher destiny still. Up to this time both the king and he himself had thought that a reunion was possible (see xx. 5, 26). But the madness of Saul now became more settled and ferocious in character; and David's danger proportionably greater. The secret interview with Jonathan, of which the recollection was probably handed down through Jonathan's descendants when they came to David's court, confirmed the alarm already excited by Saul's endeavour to seize him at Ramah, and he now determined to leave his country, and take refuge, like Coriolanus, or Themistocles in like circumstances, in the court of his enemy. Before this last resolve, he visited NOB, the seat of the Tabernacle, partly to obtain a final interview with the high-priest (1 Sam. xxii. 9, 15), partly to obtain food and weapons. On the pretext of a secret mission[b] from Saul, he gained an answer from the oracle, some of the consecrated loaves, and the dedicated sword of Goliath. "There is none like that: give it me." The incident was of double importance in David's career. First it established a connexion between him and the only survivor from the massacre in which David's visit involved the house of Ahimelech. Secondly, from Ahimelech's surrender of the consecrated bread to David's hunger our Lord drew the inference of the superiority of the moral to the ceremonial law, which is the only allusion made to David's life in the N. T.[c] (Matt. xii. 3; Mark ii. 25; Luke vi. 3, 4). It is also commemorated by the traditional title of Ps. lii.

His stay at the court of ACHISH was short. Discovered possibly by "the sword of Goliath," his presence revived the national enmity of the Philistines against their former conqueror; and he only escaped by feigning madness,[d] violent gestures, playing on the gates of the city, or on a drum or cymbal, letting his beard grow, and foaming at the mouth (1 Sam. xxi. 13, LXX.). The 56th and 34th Psalms are both referred by their titles to this event, and the titles state (what does not appear in the narrative) that he had been seized as a prisoner by the Philistines, and that he was, in consequence of this stratagem, set free by Achish, or (as he is twice called) Abimelech.

3. His life as an independent outlaw (xxii. 1–xxvi. 25). (*a*) His first retreat was the cave of ADULLAM. There he was joined by his whole family, now feeling themselves insecure from Saul's fury (xxii. 1). This was probably the foundation of his intimate connexion with his nephews, the sons of Zeruiah.

Of these, Abishai, with two other companions, was amongst the earliest (1 Ch. xi. 15, 20; 1 Sam. xxvi. 6; 2 Sam. xxiii. 13, 18). Besides these, were outlaws and debtors from every part, including doubtless some of the original Canaanites—of whom the name of one at least has been preserved, Ahimelech the Hittite (1 Sam. xxvi. 6).[e]

(*b*) His next move was to a stronghold, either the mountain, afterwards called Herodium, close to Adullam, or the fastness called by Josephus (*B. J.* vii. 8, § 3) *Masada*, the Grecised form of the Hebrew word *Matzed* (R.V. "hold," 1 Sam. xxii. 4, 5; 1 Ch. xii. 16), in the neighbourhood of En-gedi. Whilst there, he had deposited his aged parents for the sake of greater security, beyond the Jordan, with their ancestral kinsman of Moab (ib. 3). The neighbouring king, Nahash of Ammon, also treated him kindly (2 Sam. x. 2). Here another companion appears for the first time, a schoolfellow, if we may use the word, from the schools of Samuel, the prophet Gad, his subsequent biographer (1 Sam. xxii. 5); and whilst he was there, occurred the chivalrous exploit of the three heroes mentioned above (*a*) to procure water from the well of Bethlehem, and David's chivalrous answer (1 Ch. xi. 16–19; 2 Sam. xxiii. 14–17), like that of Alexander in the desert of Gedrosia. He was joined here by two separate bands. One a

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and Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 10, § 1). The obliteration of her name in the existing text of 2 Sam. xxi. 8 is considered a *lapsus calami* (Driver, in loco).

[y] The first of these (1 Sam. xviii. 9–11) is omitted in the Vatican MS. of the LXX. and Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 10, § 1).

[z] For the Mussulman legend, see Weil's *Legends*, p. 154.

[a] The allusions to his danger from the Benjamite archers (Ps. xi. 2), to his flight like a bird to the mountains (xi. 1, cp. 1 Sam. xxvi. 20), and probably to the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea (xi. 6), rather point to the time when he was at Engedi.

[b] The statement of his pretended mission is differently given in the Hebrew and in the LXX. It must be observed that the young men spoken of as his companions were imaginary. He was quite alone.

[c] It is a characteristic Jewish comment (as distinguished from the lesson drawn by Christ) that the bread was useless to him (Jerome, *Qu. Heb.* in loc.).

[d] This is the subject of one of David's apocryphal colloquies (Fabricius, *Cod. Apoc. V. Test.* p. 1002).

[e] Sibbechai, who kills the giant at Gob (2 Sam. xxi. 18), is said by Josephus to have been a Hittite.

little body of eleven fierce Gadite[f] mountaineers, who swam the Jordan in flood-time to reach him (1 Ch. xii. 8). Another was a detachment of men from Judah and Benjamin under his nephew Amasai, who henceforth attached himself to David's fortunes (1 Ch. xii. 16–18).

(*c*) At the warning of Gad, he fled next to the forest of HARETH, and then again fell in with the Philistines, and again, apparently advised by Gad (xxiii. 4), made a descent on their foraging parties, and relieved KEILAH, in which he took up his abode. Whilst there, now for the first time, in a fortified town of his own (xxiii. 7), he was joined by a new and most important ally—Abiathar, the last survivor of the house of Ithamar, who came with the high-priest's ephod, and henceforth gave the oracles, which David had hitherto received from Gad (xxiii. 6, 9; xxii. 23). By this time, the 400 who had joined him at Adullam (xxii. 2) had swelled to 600 (xxiii. 13).

(*d*) The situation of David was now changed by the appearance of Saul himself on the scene. Apparently the danger was too great for the little army to keep together. They escaped from Keilah, and dispersed, "whithersoever they could go," amongst the fastnesses of Judah. Henceforth it becomes difficult to follow his movements with exactness, partly from ignorance of the localities, partly because the same event seems to be twice narrated (1 Sam. xxiii. 19–24, xxvi. 1–4, and perhaps 1 Sam. xxiv. 1–22, xxvi. 5–25). But thus much we discern. He is in the wilderness of *Ziph*. Once (or twice) the Ziphites betray his movements to Saul. From thence Saul literally hunts him like a partridge, the treacherous Ziphites beating the bushes before him, and 3000 men being stationed to catch even the print of his footsteps on the hills (1 Sam. xxiii. 14, 22 [Heb.], 24 [LXX.]; xxiv. 11; xxvi. 2, 20). David finds himself driven to the extreme south of Judah, in the wilderness of Maon. On two, if not three occasions, the pursuer and pursued catch sight of each other. Of the first of these escapes, the memory was long preserved in the name of the "Cliff of Divisions" [or, *escape*, R. V. marg.], given to the cliff down one side of which David climbed, whilst Saul was surrounding the hill on the other side (xxiii. 25–29), and was suddenly called away by a panic of a Philistine invasion. On another occasion, David took refuge in a cave "by the spring of the wild goats" (Engedi), immediately above the Dead Sea (1 Sam. xxiv. 1, 2). The rocks were covered with the pursuers. Saul entered, as is the custom in Oriental countries, for a natural necessity. The followers of David, seated in the dark recesses of the cave, seeing, yet not seen, suggest to him the chance thus thrown in their way. David, with a characteristic mixture of humour and generosity, descends and silently cuts off the skirt of the long robe, spread, as is usual in the East on such occasions, before and behind the person so occupied—and then ensued the pathetic scene of remonstrance and forgiveness (xxiv. 8–22).[g] The third (if it can be distinguished from the one just given) was in the wilderness further south. There was a regular camp, formed with its usual fortification of waggon and baggage. Into this enclosure David penetrated by night, and carried off the cruse of water, and the well-known royal spear of Saul, which had twice so nearly transfixed him to the wall in former days (xxvi. 7, 11, 22). [ARMS, p. 238, *Chanith.*] The same scene is repeated as at Engedi—and this is the last interview between Saul and David (xxvi. 25). He had already parted with Jonathan in the forest of Ziph (xxiii. 18).

To this period are annexed by their traditional titles Psalm liv. ("When the Ziphim came and said, Doth not David hide himself with us?"); lvii. ("When he fled from Saul in the cave," though this may refer also to Adullam); lxiii. ("When he was in the wilderness of Judah" [or Idumaea, LXX.]); cxlii. ("A prayer when he was in the cave"). It is probably these Psalms which made the Psalter so dear to Alfred and to Wallace during their like wanderings.

Whilst he was in the wilderness of Maon occurred David's adventure with NABAL, instructive as showing his mode of carrying on his fugitive life, and his marriage with Abigail. His marriage with Ahinoam from Jezreel,[h] also in the same neighbourhood (Josh. xv. 56), seems to have taken place a short time before (1 Sam. xxv. 43, xxvii. 3; 2 Sam. iii. 2).

4. His service under Achish[i] (1 Sam. xxvii. 1; 2 Sam. i. 27). Wearied with his wandering life, he at last crosses the Philistine frontier, not as before, in the capacity of a fugitive, but the chief of a powerful band—his 600 men now grown into an organised force, with their wives and families around them (xxvii. 3, 4). After the manner of Eastern potentates, Achish gave him, for his support, a city—Ziklag on the frontier of Philistia—and it was long remembered that to this curious arrangement the kings of Judah owed this appanage of their dynasty (xxvii. 6). There we meet with the first note of time in David's life. He *was settled* there *for a year* (R. V. "full year")[k] *and four months* (xxvii. 7), and his increasing importance is indicated by the fact that a body of Benjamite archers and slingers, twenty-two of whom are specially named, joined him from the very tribe of his rival (1 Ch. xii. 1–7). Possibly during this stay he may have acquired the knowledge of military organization in which the Philistines surpassed the Israelites, and in which he surpassed all the preceding rulers of Israel.

He deceived Achish into confidence by attacking the old Nomadic inhabitants of the desert frontier, and representing the plunder to be of portions of the southern tribes or the Nomadic allied tribes of Israel. But this confidence was

[f] Gad, as Jerome's Jewish commentators observe (*Qu. Hab.* in loc.), appears suddenly, without introduction, like Elijah. Is it possible that he, like Elijah, may have been from beyond the Jordan, and had come, as his name implies, with the eleven Gadites?

[g] For the Mussulman legend, see Weil, p. 156.

[h] Joseph. *Ant.* vi. 13, § 8, calls it *Abessar.*

[i] According to the Jewish tradition (Jerome, *Qu. Heb.* on 2 Sam. viii. 10), he was the son of the former ACHISH; his mother's name Maacah.

[k] In the Vatican MS. of the LXX. this is reduced to "4 months," and by Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 13) to "4 months and 20 days." The Alexandrine MS. of the LXX. is a literal rendering of the Hebrew and is more correct (see notes on this passage in Keil, *Speaker's Comm.*, and Driver).—F.

not shared by the Philistine nobles; and accordingly David was sent back by Achish from the last victorious campaign against Saul. In this manner David escaped the difficulty of being present at the battle of Gilboa, but found that during his absence the Bedouin Amalekites, whom he had plundered during the previous year, had made a descent upon Ziklag, burnt it to the ground, and carried off the wives and children of the new settlement. A wild scene of frantic grief and recrimination ensued between David and his followers. It was calmed by an oracle of assurance from Abiathar. It happened that an important accession had just been made to his force. On his march with the Philistines northward to Gilboa, he had been joined by some chiefs of the Manassites, through whose territory he was passing. Urgent as must have been the need for them at home, yet David's fascination carried them off, and they now assisted him against the plunderers (1 Ch. xii. 19–21). They overtook the invaders in the desert, and recovered the spoil. These were the gifts with which David was now able for the first time to requite the friendly inhabitants of the scene of his wanderings (1 Sam. xxx. 26–31). A more lasting memorial was the law which traced its origin to the arrangement made by him, formerly in the attack on Nabal, but now again, more completely, for the equal division of the plunder amongst the two-thirds who followed to the field, and one-third who remained to guard the baggage (1 Sam. xxx. 25, xxv. 13). Two days after this victory a Bedouin arrived from the North with the fatal news of the defeat of Gilboa. The reception of the tidings of the death of his rival and of his friend, the solemn mourning, the vent of his indignation against the bearer of the message, the pathetic lamentation that followed, well close the second period of David's life (2 Sam. i. 1–27).

III. *David's reign.*

(I.) As king of Judah at Hebron, 7½ years (2 Sam. ii. 11; 2 Sam. ii. 1–v. 5).

Hebron was selected, doubtless, as the ancient sacred city of the tribe of Judah, the burial-place of the patriarchs and the inheritance of Caleb. Here David was first formally anointed king—by whom is not stated—but the expression seems to limit the inauguration to the tribe of Judah, and therefore to exclude any intervention of Abiathar (2 Sam. ii. 4). To Judah his dominion was nominally confined. But probably for the first five years of the time the dominion of the house of Saul, whose seat was now at Mahanaim, did not extend to the west of the Jordan; and consequently David would be the only Israelite potentate amongst the western tribes. Gradually his power increased; and during the two years which followed the elevation of Ishbosheth, a series of skirmishes took place between the two kingdoms. First came a successful inroad into the territory of Ishbosheth (2 Sam. ii. 28). Next occurred the defection of Abner (2 Sam. iii. 12), and the surrender of Michal, who was now separated from her second husband to return to her first (2 Sam. iii. 15). Then rapidly followed, though without David's consent, the successive murders of ABNER and of ISHBOSHETH (2 Sam. iii. 30, iv. 5). The throne, so long waiting for him, was now vacant, and the united voice of the whole people at once called him to occupy it. A solemn league was made between him and his people (2 Sam. v. 3). For the third time David was anointed king, and a festival of three days celebrated the joyful event (1 Ch. xii. 39). His little band had now swelled into "a great host, like the host of God" (1 Ch. xii. 22). The command of it, which had formerly rested on David alone, he now devolved on his nephew Joab (2 Sam. ii. 28). It was formed by contingents from every tribe of Israel. Two are specially mentioned as bringing a weight of authority above the others. The sons of Issachar had "understanding of the times to know what Israel ought to do," and with the adjacent tribes contributed to the common feast the peculiar products of their rich territory (1 Ch. xii. 32, 40). The Levitical tribe, formerly represented in David's following only by the solitary fugitive Abiathar, now came in strength, represented by the head of the rival branch of Eleazar, the high-priest, the aged Jehoiada and his youthful and warlike kinsman Zadok (1 Ch. xii. 27, 28; xxvii. 5).

The only Psalm directly referred to this epoch is the 27th (by its title in the LXX. Πρὸ τοῦ χρισθῆναι — "before the anointing," *i.e.* at Hebron).

Underneath this show of outward prosperity, two cankers, incident to the royal state which David now assumed, had first made themselves apparent at Hebron, which darkened all the rest of his career. The first was the formation of a harem, according to the usage of Oriental kings. To the two wives of his wandering life he had now added four, and, including Michal, five (2 Sam. ii. 2; iii. 2–5, 15). The second was the increasing power of his kinsmen and chief officers, which the king strove to restrain within the limits of right; and thus of all the incidents of this part of his career the most plaintive and characteristic is his lamentation over his powerlessness to prevent the murder of Abner (2 Sam. iii. 31–36).

(II.) Reign over all Israel 33 years (2 Sam. v. 5 to 1 K. ii. 11).

1. The foundation of Jerusalem. It must have been with no ordinary interest that the surrounding nations watched for the prey on which the Lion of Judah, now about to issue from his native lair, and establish himself in a new home, would make his first spring. One fastness alone in the centre of the land had hitherto defied the arms of Israel. On this, with a singular prescience, David fixed as his future capital. By one sudden assault Jebus was taken, and became henceforth known by its ancient name of Jerusalem (called in the tablets of Tel-el-Amarna [15th cent. B.C.] "Urusalim"; see *Records of the Past*, N.S., iv. p. vi.) and by the name of Zion. Of all the cities of Palestine great in former ages, Jerusalem alone has vindicated by its long permanence the choice of its founder. The importance of the capture was marked at the time. The reward bestowed on the successful scaler of the precipice, was the highest place in the army. Joab henceforward became captain of the host (1 Ch. xi. 6). The royal residence was instantly fixed there—fortifications were added by the king and by Joab—and it was

known by the special name of the "city of David" (1 Ch. xi. 7; 2 Sam. v. 9).

The neighbouring nations were partly enraged and partly awestruck. The Philistines[l] made two ineffectual attacks on the new king (2 Sam. v. 17–20),[m] and a retribution on their former victories took place by the capture and conflagration of their own idols (1 Ch. xiv. 12). Tyre, now for the first time appearing in the sacred history, allied herself with Israel; and Hiram[n] sent cedar-wood for the buildings of the new capital (2 Sam. v. 11), especially for the palace of David himself (2 Sam. vii. 2). Unhallowed and profane as the city had been before, it was at once elevated to a sanctity which it has never lost, above any of the ancient sanctuaries of the land. The ark was now removed from its obscurity at Kirjath-jearim with marked solemnity. A temporary halt (owing to the death of Uzzah) detained it at Obed-edom's house, after which it again moved forward with great state to Jerusalem. An assembly of the nation was convened, and (according to 1 Ch. xiii. 2; xv. 2–27) especially of the Levites. The musical arts in which David himself excelled were now developed on a great scale (1 Ch. xv. 16–22; 2 Sam. vi. 5). Zadok and Abiathar, the representatives of the two Aaronic families, were both present (1 Ch. xv. 11). Chenaniah presided over the music (1 Ch. xv. 22, 27). Obed-edom followed his sacred charge (1 Ch. xiii. 18, 21, 24). The prophet Nathan appears for the first time as the controlling adviser of the future (2 Sam. vii. 3). A sacrifice was offered as soon as a successful start was made (1 Ch. xv. 26; 2 Sam. vi. 13). David himself was dressed in the white linen dress of the priestly order, without his royal robes, and played on stringed instruments (1 Ch. xv. 27; 2 Sam. vi. 14, 20). As in the prophetic schools where he had himself been brought up (1 Sam. x. 5), and as still in the impressive ceremonial of some Eastern Dervishes, and of Seville cathedral (probably derived from the East), a wild dance was part of the religious solemnity. Into this David threw himself with unreserved enthusiasm, and after this manner conveyed the symbol of the Presence of Jehovah into the ancient heathen fortress. In the same spirit of uniting the sacerdotal with the royal functions, he offered sacrifices on a large scale, and himself gave the benediction to the people (2 Sam. vi. 17, 18; 1 Ch. xvi. 2).[o] The scene of this inauguration was on the hill which from David's habitation was specially known as the "City of David." As if to mark the new era, he had not brought the ancient Tabernacle from Gibeon, but had erected a new tent or Tabernacle (1 Ch. xv. 1) for the reception of the ark. It was the first beginning of the great design, of which we shall speak presently, afterwards carried out by his son, of erecting a permanent Temple or palace for the Ark, corresponding to the state in which he himself was to dwell. It was the greatest day of David's life. One incident only tarnished its splendour—the reproach of Michal, his wife, as he was finally entering his own palace, to carry to his own household the benediction which he had already pronounced on his people. [MICHAL.] His act of severity towards her was an additional mark of the stress which he himself laid on the solemnity (2 Sam. vi. 20–23; 1 Ch. xv. 29).

No less than eleven Psalms, either in their traditional titles, or in the irresistible evidence of their contents, bear traces of this great festival. The 29th Psalm (by its title in the LXX.) is said to be on the "Going forth of the Tabernacle."[p] The 30th by its title, the 15th and 101st by their contents, express the feelings of David on his occupation of his new home. The 68th, at least in part, and the 24th[q] seem to have been actually composed for the entrance of the ark into the ancient gates of the heathen fortress—and the last words of the second of these two Psalms[r] may be regarded as the inauguration of the new Name by which God henceforth is called, The Lord of hosts. "Who is this king of glory?" "The Lord of hosts, He is the king of glory" (Ps. xxiv. 10; cp. 2 Sam. vi. 2). Fragments of poetry worked up into Psalms (xcvi. 2–13,[s] cv., cvi. 1, 47, 48), occur in 1 Ch. xvi. 8–36, as having been delivered by David "into the hands of Asaph and his brother" after the close of the festival, and the two mysterious terms in the titles of Pss. vi. and xlvi. (Sheminith and Alamoth) appear in the lists of those mentioned on this occasion in 1 Ch. xv. 20, 21. The 132nd is, by its contents, if not by its authorship, thrown back to this time. The whole progress of the removal of the Ark is traced in David's vein.

2. Foundation of the Court and Empire of Israel (2 Sam. viii. to xii.). The erection of the new capital at Jerusalem introduces us to a new era in David's life and in the history of the monarchy. Up to this time he had been a king, such as Saul had been before him, or as the kings of the neighbouring tribes, each ruling over his territory, unconcerned with any foreign relations except so far as was necessary to defend his own nation. But David, and through him the Israelitish monarchy, now took a wider range. He became a king on the scale of the great Oriental sovereigns of Egypt and Persia, with a regular administration and organization of court and camp; and he also founded an

[l] The importance of the victory is indicated by the (probable) allusion to it in Is. xxviii. 21.

[m] 1 Ch. xiv. 8 reads, "David...went out against (R.V. marg. *before*) them," instead of "David... went down into the hold" (2 Sam. v. 17).

[n] Eupolemus (Eus. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 30) mentions an expedition against Hiram, king of Tyre and Sidon, and a letter to Vafres, king of Egypt, to make an alliance.

[o] 1 Ch. xvi. 1 says, "they offered;" 2 Sam. vi. 17, "he offered." Both say, "he blessed." The LXX., by a slight variation of the text, reads in 2 Sam. vi. 14, "instruments of praise," for "all his might;" cp. 2 Ch. xxx. 21, LXX. and *QPB.*[3]

[p] As "the tabernacle" was never moved from Gibeon in David's time, "the ark" is probably meant. It is the Psalm which describes a thunderstorm. Is it possible to connect this with the event described in 2 Sam. vi. 6? A similar allusion may be found in Ps. lxviii. 7, 33 (see Chandler, ii. 211).

[q] In the LXX. title said to be "on the Sabbath-day."

[r] Ewald, iii. 164. For an elaborate adaptation of the 68th Psalm to this event, see Chandler, ii. 54.

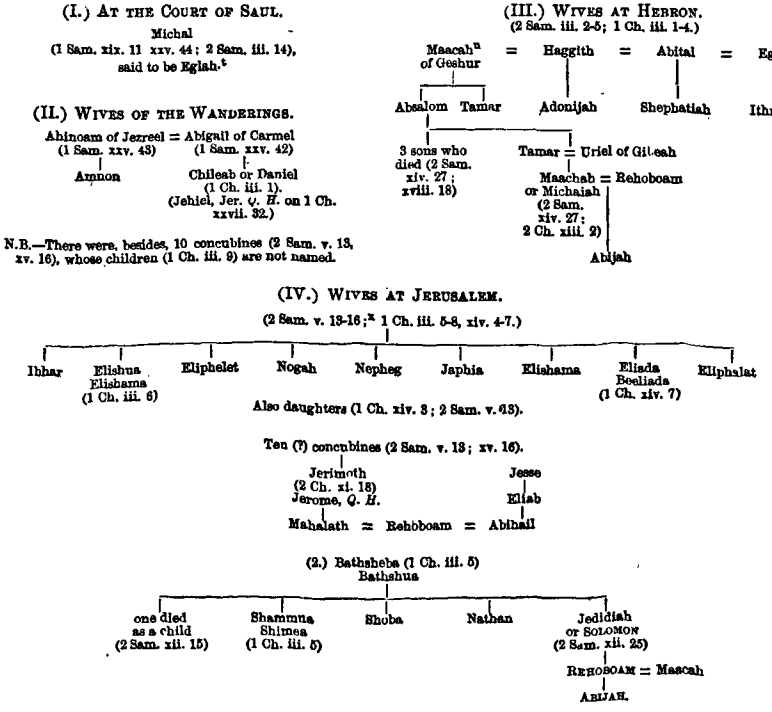
[s] In the title of the LXX. said to be David's "when the house was built after the captivity." It is possible that by "the captivity" may be meant the captivity of the Ark in Philistia, as in Judg. xviii. 30; but most critics interpret the term of the Captivity in the exile.

imperial dominion which for the first time realized the prophetic description of the bounds of the chosen people (Gen. xv. 18–21). The internal organization now established lasted till the final overthrow of the monarchy. The empire was of much shorter duration, continuing only through the reigns of David and his successor Solomon. But, for the period of its existence, it lent a peculiar character to the sacred history. For once, the kings of Israel were on a level with the great potentates of the world. David was an imperial conqueror, if not of the same magnitude, yet of the same kind, as Rameses or Cyrus, — "I have made thee a great name, like unto the name of the great men that are in the earth" (2 Sam. vii. 9). "Thou hast shed blood abundantly, and hast made great wars" (1 Ch. xxii. 8). And as, on the one hand, the external relations of life and the great incidents of war and conquest receive an elevation by their contact with the religious history, so the religious history swells into larger and broader dimensions from its contact with the course of the outer world. The enlargement of territory, the amplification of power and state, leads to a corresponding enlargement and amplification of ideas, of imagery, of sympathies; and thus (humanly speaking) the magnificent forebodings of a wider dispensation in the prophetic writings first became possible through the court and empire of David.

(*a*) In the internal organization of the kingdom the first new element that has to be considered is the royal family, the dynasty of which David was the founder, a position which entitled him to the name of "Patriarch" (Acts ii. 29) and (ultimately) of the ancestor of the Messiah.

Of these, Absalom and Adonijah both inherited their father's beauty (2 Sam. xiv. 25; 1 K. i. 6); but Solomon alone possessed any of his higher qualities. It was from a union of the children of Solomon and Absalom that the royal line was carried on (1 K. xv. 2). The princes were under the charge of Jehiel (1 Ch. xxvii. 32), perhaps the Levite (1 Ch. xv. 21; 2 Ch. xx. 14), with the exception of Solomon, who (as some have thought, see p. 731, n. [s]) was under the charge of Nathan (2 Sam. xii. 25). David's strong parental affection for all of them is very remarkable (2 Sam. xiii. 31, 33, 36, xiv. 33, xviii. 5, 33, xix. 4; 1 K. i. 6).

DAVID'S WIVES AND CHILDREN.


(I.) At the Court of Saul.
Michal
(1 Sam. xix. 11 xxv. 44; 2 Sam. iii. 14), said to be Eglah.[t]
(II.) Wives of the Wanderings.
Ahinoam of Jezreel = Abigail of Carmel
(1 Sam. xxv. 43) (1 Sam. xxv. 42)
Amnon
Chileab or Daniel (1 Ch. iii. 1). (Jehiel, Jer. Q. H. on 1 Ch. xxvii. 32.)
N.B.—There were, besides, 10 concubines (2 Sam. v. 13, xv. 16), whose children (1 Ch. iii. 9) are not named.
(III.) Wives at Hebron.
(2 Sam. iii. 2-5; 1 Ch. iii. 1-4.)
Maacah[u] of Geshur = Haggith = Abital = Eglah
Absalom Tamar
Adonijah
Shephatiah
Ithream
3 sons who died (2 Sam. xiv. 27; xviii. 18)
Tamar = Uriel of Gibeah
Maachah or Michaiah (2 Sam. xiv. 27; 2 Ch. xiii. 2) = Rehoboam
Abijah
(IV.) Wives at Jerusalem.
(2 Sam. v. 13-16;[x] 1 Ch. iii. 5-8, xiv. 4-7.)
Ibhar
Elishua Elisharna (1 Ch. iii. 6)
Eliphelet
Nogah
Nepheg
Japhia
Elishama
Eliada Beeliada (1 Ch. xiv. 7)
Eliphalat
Also daughters (1 Ch. xiv. 3; 2 Sam. v. 13).
Ten (?) concubines (2 Sam. v. 13; xv. 16).
Jerimoth (2 Ch. xi. 18) Jerome, Q. H.
Jesse
Eliab
Mahalath = Rehoboam = Abihail
(2.) Bathsheba (1 Ch. iii. 5) Bathshua
one died as a child (2 Sam. xii. 15)
Shammua Shimea (1 Ch. iii. 5)
Shobab
Nathan
Jedidiah or Solomon (2 Sam. xii. 25)
Rehoboam = Maacah
Abijah

[t] Eglah alone is called "David's wife" in the enumeration 2 Sam. iii. 5. The tradition in Jerome (*Qu. Heb.* ad loc.) says that she was Michal; and (ib. *ad* 2 Sam. vi. 23) that she died in giving birth to Ithream.

[u] Taken in war (Jerome, *Qu. Heb.* ad 2 Sam. xiii. 37).

[x] The LXX. in 2 Sam. v. 16, after having given substantially the same list as the present Hebrew text, repeats the list, with strange variations, as follows: *Samae*, Iessibath, *Nathan*, Galamaan, *Iebaar*, Thēesus, *Elphalat*, Naged, *Naphek*, Ianathan, Leasamys, Baalimath, *Eliphaath*.

[y] Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 3, § 3) gives the following list, of which only four names are identical. He states that the last two were sons of the concubines:—Amnus, Emnus, Eban, *Nathan*, *Solomon*, *Iebar*, Eliēn, Phalna, Ennaphen, Ienaē, *Eliphale*; and also his daughter, Thamar.

(*b*) The military organization, which was in fact inherited from Saul, but greatly developed by David, was as follows:—

(1.) "The host," *i.e.* the whole available military force of Israel, consisting of all males capable of bearing arms, and summoned only for war. This had always existed from the time of the first settlement in Canaan, and had been commanded by the chief or the judge, who presided over Israel for the time. Under Saul, we first find the recognised post of a captain or commander-in-chief—in the person of Abner; and under David, this post was given as a reward for the assault on Jerusalem, to his nephew JOAB (1 Ch. xi. 6; xxvii. 34), who conducted the army to battle in the absence of the king (2 Sam. xii. 26). There were twelve divisions of 24,000 each, who were held to be in duty month by month; and over each of them presided an officer, selected for this purpose, from the other military bodies formed by David (1 Ch. xxvii. 1–15). The army was still distinguished from those of surrounding nations by its primitive aspect of a force of infantry without cavalry. The only innovations as yet allowed were, the introduction of a very limited number of chariots (2 Sam. viii. 4) and of mules for the princes and officers instead of the asses (2 Sam. xiii. 29; xviii. 9). According to a Mussulman tradition (*Koran*, xxi. 80), David invented chain armour.[a] The usual weapons were still spears and shields, as appears from the Psalms. For the general question of the numbers and equipment of the army, see ARMS and ARMY.

(2.) The Body-guard. This also had existed in the court of Saul, and David himself had probably been its commanding officer (1 Sam. xxii. 14; Ewald). But it now assumed a peculiar organization. They were at least in name foreigners, as having been drawn from the Philistines, probably during David's residence at the court of Gath. They are usually called from this circumstance "Cherethites (see *sub nom.*) and Pelethites," but had also[b] a body especially from Gath[b] amongst them, of whom the name of one, Ittai, is preserved, as a faithful servant of David (2 Sam. xv. 19). The captain of the force was, however, not only not a foreigner, but an Israelite of the highest distinction and purest descent, who first appears in this capacity, but who outlived David, and became the chief support of the throne of his son, namely Benaiah, son of the chief priest Jehoiada, representative of the eldest branch of Aaron's house (2 Sam. viii. 18, xv. 18, xx. 23; 1 K. i. 38, 44).

(3.) The most peculiar military institution in David's army was that which arose out of the peculiar circumstances of his early life. As the nucleus of the Russian army is the Preobajinsky regiment formed by Peter the Great out of the companions who gathered round him in the suburb of that name in Moscow, so the nucleus of what afterwards became the only standing army in David's forces was the band of 600 men who had gathered round him in his wanderings. The number of 600 was still preserved, with the name of *Gibborim*, "heroes" or "mighty men." It became yet further subdivided[c] into three large bands of 200 each, and small bands of twenty each. The small bands were commanded by thirty officers, one for each band, who together formed "the thirty," and the three large bands by three officers, who together formed "the three," and the whole by one chief, "the captain of the mighty men" (2 Sam. xxiii. 8–39; 1 Ch. xi. 9–47). This commander of the whole force was Abishai, David's nephew (1 Ch. xi. 20; and cp. 2 Sam. xvi. 9). "The three" were Jashobeam (1 Ch. xi. 11) or Adino (2 Sam. xxiii. 8), Eleazar (1 Ch. xi. 12; 2 Sam. xxiii. 9), and Shammah (2 Sam. xxiii. 11).[d] Of "the thirty," some few only are known to fame elsewhere: Asahel, David's nephew (1 Ch. xi. 26; 2 Sam. ii. 18); Elhanan, the victor of at least one Goliath (1 Ch. xi. 26; 2 Sam. xxi. 19); Joel, the brother or son (LXX.) of Nathan (1 Ch. xi. 38); Naharai, the armour-bearer of Joab (1 Ch. xi. 39; 2 Sam. xxiii. 37); Eliam,[e] the son of Ahitophel (2 Sam. xxiii. 34); Ira, one of David's priests (1 Ch. xi. 40; 2 Sam. xxiii. 38, xx. 26); and Uriah the Hittite (1 Ch. xi. 41; 2 Sam. xxiii. 39, xi. 3).

(*c*) Side by side with this military organization were established social and moral institutions. Some were entirely for pastoral, agricultural, and financial purposes (1 Ch. xxvii. 25–31), others for judicial (1 Ch. xxvi. 29–32). Some few are named as constituting what would now be called the court, or council of the king: the councillors, Ahitophel of Gilo and Jonathan the king's nephew (1 Ch. xxvii. 32, 33); the companion or "friend" Hushai (1 Ch. xxvii. 33; 2 Sam. xv. 37, xvi. 19); the scribe, Sheva or Seraiah, and at one time Jonathan (2 Sam. xx. 25; 1 Ch. xxvii. 32); Jehoshaphat the recorder or historian[f] (2 Sam. xx. 24), and Adoram the tax collector, both of whom survived him (2 Sam. xx. 24; 1 K. xii. 18, iv. 3, 6). Each tribe had its own head (1 Ch. xxvii. 16–22). Of these the most remarkable were Elihu, David's brother (probably Eliab), Prince of Judah (*v.* 18), and Jaasiel, the son of Abner, of Benjamin (*v.* 21).

But the more peculiar of David's institutions were those directly bearing on religion. Two prophets appear as the king's constant advisers. Of these, Gad, who seems to have been the elder, had been David's companion in exile; and from his being called "the seer," belongs probably to the earliest form of the prophetic schools. Nathan, who appears for the first time after the establishment of the kingdom at Jerusalem

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[a] Cp. the legends in Weil's *Legends*, p. 155, and Lane's *Selections from the Koran*, p. 229. Thus a good coat of mail is often called by the Arabs "*Daoodee*," i.e. Davidean.

[b] A tradition in Jerome (*Qu. Heb.* on 1 Ch. xviii. 17) speaks of their being in the place of the seventy judges appointed by Moses.

[b] But here the reading is doubtful (see p. 733, note [e], and *QPB.*[3] on 2 Sam. xv. 18).

[c] See Ewald, iii. 178.

[d] The LXX. (cp. 2 Sam. xxiii. 8) make them:—1. Isboseth the Canaanite; 2. Adino the Asonite; 3. Eleazar, son of Dodo (cp. Swete's Greek text, and Driver's *Notes on the Heb. Text of the BB. of Sam.* in loco).

[e] Perhaps the father of Bathsheba, whose marriage with Uriah would thus be accounted for (see Blunt, *Coincidences*, II. ch. x.).

[f] As in the court of Persia (Herod. vi. 100, vii. 90, viii. 100).

(2 Sam. vii. 2), is distinguished both by his title of "prophet," and by the nature of the prophecies which he utters (2 Sam. vii. 5–17, xii. 1–14), as of the purest type of prophetic dispensation, and as the hope of the new generation,[g] which he supports in the person of Solomon (1 K. i.). Two high-priests also appear—representatives of the two rival houses of Aaron (1 Ch. xxiv. 3); here again, as in the case of the two prophets, one, Abiathar,[h] who attended him at Jerusalem, companion of his exile, and connected with the old time of the Judges (1 Ch. xxvii. 34), joining him after the death of Saul, and becoming afterwards the support of his son; the other Zadok, who ministered at Gibeon (1 Ch. xvi. 39), and who was[i] made the head of the Aaronic family (xxvii. 17). Besides these four great religious functionaries, there were two classes of subordinates: (α) prophets, specially instructed in singing and music, under Asaph, Heman, the grandson of Samuel, and Jeduthun (1 Ch. xxv. 1–31); (β) Levites, or attendants on the sanctuary, who again were subdivided into the guardians of the gates and guardians of the treasures (1 Ch. xxvi. 1–28) which had been accumulated, since the re-establishment of the nation, by Samuel, Saul, Abner, Joab, and David himself (1 Ch. xxvi. 26–28).

The collection of those various ministers and representatives of worship round the capital must have given a new aspect to the history in David's time, such as it had not borne under the disconnected period of the Judges. But the main peculiarity of the whole must have been, that it so well harmonized with the character of him who was its centre. As his early martial life still placed him at the head of the military organization which had sprung up around him, so his early education and his natural disposition placed him at the head of his own religious institutions. Himself a prophet, a psalmist, he was one in heart with those whose advice he sought and whose arts he fostered. And, more remarkably still, though not himself a priest, he yet assumed almost all the functions usually ascribed to the priestly office. He wore, as we have seen, the priestly dress, offered the sacrifices, gave the priestly benediction (2 Sam. vi. 14, 17, 18); and, as if to include his whole court within the same sacerdotal sanctity, Benaiah, the captain of his guard, was a priest[i] by descent (1 Ch. xxvii. 5), and joined in the sacred music (1 Ch. xvi. 6); David himself and "the captains of the host" arranged the prophetical duties (1 Ch. xxv. 1); and his sons are actually called "priests" (2 Sam. viii. 18. Cp. Driver in loco; 1 Ch. xviii. 17, translated "chief," and αὐλάρχαι, "chief rulers"), as well as Ira, of Manasseh (2 Sam. xx. 26, translated "chief ruler," but LXX. ἱερεύς). Such a union was never seen before or since in the Jewish history. Even Solomon fell below it in some important points. But from this time the idea took possession of the Jewish mind and was never lost. What the heathen historian Justin antedates, by referring it back to Aaron, is a just description of the effect of the reign of David:—"Sacerdos mox rex creatur; semperque exinde hic mos apud Judaeos fuit ut eosdem reges et sacerdotes haberent; quorum justitiâ religione permixtâ, incredibile quantum coaluere" (Justin, xxxvi. 2).

(*d*) From the internal state of David's kingdom, we pass to its external relations. These will be found at length under the various countries to which they relate. It will be here only necessary to briefly indicate the enlargement of his dominions. Within ten years from the capture of Jerusalem, he had reduced to a state of permanent subjection the PHILISTINES[k] on the west (2 Sam. viii. 1); the MOABITES[l] on the east (2 Sam. viii. 2), by the exploits of Benaiah (2 Sam. xxiii. 20); the SYRIANS on the north-east as far as the Euphrates[m] (2 Sam. viii. 3); the EDOMITES[n] (2 Sam. viii. 14) on the south; and finally the AMMONITES,[o] who had broken their ancient alliance, and made one grand resistance to the advance of his empire (2 Sam. x. 1–19; xii. 26–31). These last three wars were entangled[p] with each other. The last and crowning point was the siege of Rabbah. The Ark went with the host (2 Sam. xi. 11). David himself was present at the capture of the city (2 Sam. xii. 29). The savage treatment of the inhabitants—the only instance as far as appears of cruel severity against his enemies—is perhaps to be explained by the formidable nature of their resistance—as the like stain on the generosity of the Black Prince in the massacre of Limoges. The royal crown, or "crown of Milcom," was placed on David's head (2 Sam. xii. 30), and according to Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 5) was always worn by him afterwards. The Hebrew tradition (Jerome, *Qu. Heb. ad* 1 Ch. xx. 2) represents it as having been the diadem of the Ammonite god Milcom, or Moloch; and that Ittai the Gittite (doing what no Israelite could have done, for fear of pollution) tore it from the idol's head, and brought it to David. The general peace which followed was commemorated in the name of "the Peaceful" (Solomon), given to the son born to him at this crisis.[q]

To these wars in general may be ascribed Ps. cx., as illustrating both the sacerdotal character of David, and also his mode of going

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[g] 2 Sam. xii. 25 is by some interpreters rendered, "He put him (Solomon) under the hand of Nathan:" thus making Nathan Solomon's preceptor (see Chandler, ii. 272).

[h] Cp. Blunt, *Coincidences*, II. ch. xv.

[i] ὁ ἱερεὺς τῷ γένει (Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 12, § 4).

[k] By the reduction of Gath (1 Ch. xviii. 1).

[l] The punishment inflicted on the Moabites is too obscurely worded to be explained at length. A Jewish tradition (which shows that there was a sense of its being excessive) maintained that it was in consequence of the Moabites having murdered David's parents, when confided to them (1 Sam. xxii. 3; Chandler, ii. 163).

[m] Described briefly in a fragment of Nicolaus of Damascus (in Joseph. *Ant.* vii. 5, § 2) and Eupolemus (in Eus. *Praep. Ev.* ix. 30).

[n] To these Eupolemus adds the Nabateans and Nebdaeans.

[o] For the details of the punishment, see RABBAH. Chandler (ii. 237, 238) interprets it of hard servitude; Ewald (iii. 204), of actual torture and slaughter.

[p] The story appears to be told twice over (2 Sam. viii. 3–14, x. 1—xi. 1, xii. 26–31).

[q] The golden shields taken in the Syrian wars remained long afterwards as trophies in the Temple at Jerusalem (2 Sam. viii. 7; Cant. iv. 4). [ARMS, *Shelet*, p. 242.] The brass was used for the brazen basins and pillars (2 Sam. viii. 8; LXX.).

forth to battle. To the Edomite war, both by its title and contents, must be ascribed Ps. lx. 6–12 (cp. cviii. 7–13), describing the assault on Petra. Ps. lxviii. may probably have received additional touches, as it was sung on the return of the Ark from the siege of Rabbah.[r] Ps. xviii.[s] (repeated in 2 Sam. xxii.) is ascribed by its title, and appears from some expressions, to belong to the day "When the Lord had delivered him out of the hand of all his enemies," as well as "out of the hand of Saul" (2 Sam. xxii. 1; Ps. xviii. 1). That "day" may be either at this time or at the end of his life. Pss. xx. (Syr. Vers.) and xxi. relate to the general union of religious and of military excellences displayed at this time of his career (Ps. xxi. 3, "Thou settest a crown of pure gold upon his head," not improbably referring to the golden crown of Ammon, 2 Sam. xii. 30).

3. In describing the incidents of the life of David after his accession to the throne of Israel, most of the details will be best found under the names to which they refer. Here it will be needful only to give a brief thread, enlarging on those points in which David's individual character is brought out.

Three great calamities may be selected as marking the beginning, middle, and close of David's otherwise prosperous reign; which appears to be intimated in the question of Gad (2 Sam. xxiv. 13), "a three[t] years' famine, a three months' flight, or a three days' pestilence."[u]

(*a*) Of these, the first (the three years' famine) introduces us to the last notices of David's relations[x] with the house of Saul. There has often arisen a painful suspicion in later times, as there seems to have been at the time (xvi. 7), that the oracle which gave as the cause of the famine Saul's massacre of the Gibeonites, may have been connected with the desire to extinguish the last remains of the fallen dynasty. But such an explanation is not needed. The massacre was probably the most recent national crime that had left any deep impression; and the whole tenor of David's conduct towards Saul's family is of an opposite kind. It was then that he took the opportunity of removing the bodies of Saul and Jonathan to their own ancestral sepulchre at Zelah (2 Sam. xxi. 14); and it was then, or shortly before, that he gave a permanent home and restored all the property of the family to Mephibosheth, the only surviving son of Jonathan (2 Sam. ix. 1–13; xxi. 7). The seven who perished were, two sons of Saul by Rizpah, and five grandsons—sons of Merab[y] and Adriel (2 Sam. xxi. 8).

(*b*) The second group of incidents contains the tragedy of David's life, which grew in all its parts out of the polygamy, with its evil consequences, into which he had plunged on becoming king. Underneath the splendour of his last glorious campaign against the Ammonites, was a dark story, known probably at that time only to a very few; and even in later times[z] kept as much as possible out of the view of the people, but now recognised as one of the most instructive portions of his career—the double crime of adultery with Bathsheba, and of the virtual murder of Uriah. The crimes[a] are undoubtedly those of a common Oriental despot. But the rebuke of Nathan; the sudden revival of the king's conscience; his grief for the sickness of the child; the gathering of his uncles and elder brothers around him; his return of hope and peace,—are characteristic of David, and of David only. And if we add to these the two Psalms, the 32nd and the 51st,—of which the first by its acknowledged internal evidence, the second by its title,[b] also claim to belong to this crisis of David's life,—we shall feel that the instruction drawn from the sin has more than compensated to us at least for the scandal occasioned by it.

But, though the "free spirit" and "clean heart" of David returned, and though the birth of Solomon was as auspicious as if nothing had occurred to trouble the victorious festival which succeeded it, the clouds from this time gathered over David's fortunes, and henceforward "the sword never departed from his house" (2 Sam. xii. 10). The outrage on his daughter Tamar, the murder of his eldest son Amnon, and then the revolt of his best beloved Absalom, brought on the crisis, which once more sent him forth a wanderer, as in the days when he fled from Saul; and this, the heaviest trial of his life, was aggravated by the impetuosity of Joab, now perhaps from his complicity in David's crime more unmanageable[c] than ever. The rebellion was fostered apparently by the growing jealousy of the tribe of Judah at seeing their king absorbed into the whole nation; and if, as appears from[d] 2 Sam. xi. 3, xxiii. 34, Ahithophel was the grandfather of Bathsheba, its main supporter was one whom David had provoked by his own crimes. For its general course, the reader is referred to the names just mentioned. But two or three of its scenes relate so touchingly and peculiarly to David, that this is the place for dwelling upon them.

The first is the most detailed description of any single day that we find in the Jewish history.

It was apparently early on the morning of

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[r] See Hengstenberg on Ps. lxviii.

[s] The imagery of the thunderstorm (Ps. xviii. 7–14) may possibly allude to the events either of 2 Sam. v. 20–24 (Chandler, ii. 211), or of 2 Sam. vi. 8.

[t] So LXX. and 1 Ch. xxi. 12, instead of seven (see *QPB.*[1] on 2 Sam. xxiv. 13).

[u] Ewald, iii. 207.

[x] That this incident took place early in the reign appears (1) from the freshness of the allusion to Saul's act (2 Sam. xxi. 1–8); (2) from the allusions to the massacre of Saul's sons in xix. 28; (3) from the apparent connexion of the story with ch. ix.

[y] The mention of Adriel necessitates the reading of Merab for Michal (see Driver, in loco).

[z] It is omitted in the Chronicles.

[a] This is the subject of one of the apocryphal colloquies of David (Fabric. *Cod. Apoc. V. Test.* p. 1000). The story is also told in the Koran (xxxviii. 20–24), and wild legends are formed out of it (Weil's *Legends*, pp. 158–160, 170).

[b] Ewald places it after the Captivity. From the last two verses (li. 18, 19) this would be the almost certain conclusion. But is it not allowable to suppose these verses to be an adaptation of the Psalm to that later time?

[c] See Blunt's *Coincidences*, II. ch. xi., for a theory perhaps too much elaborated, yet not without some foundation.

[d] Blunt II. ch. x.; Jerome, *Qu. Heb.* on 2 Sam. xi. 3.

the day after he had received the news of the rebellion at Hebron that the king left the city of Jerusalem on foot. He was accompanied by a vast concourse; in the midst of which he and his body-guard were conspicuous. They started from a house on the outskirts of the city (2 Sam. xv. 17, LXX.), and every stage of the mournful procession was marked by some incident which called forth a proof of the deep and lasting affection which the king's peculiar character had the power of inspiring in all who knew him. The first distinct halt was by a solitary olive-tree (2 Sam. xv. 18, LXX.) that marked the road to the wilderness of the Jordan. Amongst his guard of Philistines and his faithful company of 600[a] he observed Ittai of Gath, and with the true nobleness of his character entreated the Philistine chief not to peril his own or his countrymen's lives in the service of a fallen and a stranger sovereign. But Ittai declared his resolution (with a fervour which almost inevitably recalls a like profession [cp. Matt. xxv. 31 sq.] made almost on the same spot to the great descendant of David centuries afterwards) to follow him in life and in death. They all passed over the ravine of the Kedron; and here, when it became apparent that the king was really bent on departure, "the whole land wept with a loud voice"—the mountain and the valley resounded with the wail of the people. At this point they were overtaken by the two priests, Zadok and Abiathar, bringing the Ark from its place on the sacred hill to accompany David on his flight—Abiathar, the elder, going forward up the mountain, as the multitude defiled past him. Again, with a spirit worthy of the king, who was prophet as well as priest, David turned them back. He had no superstitious belief in the Ark as a charm; he had too much reverence for it to risk it in his personal peril. And now the whole crowd turned up the mountain pathway; all wailing, all with their heads muffled as they went; the king only distinguished from the rest by his unsandalled feet. At the top of the mountain, consecrated by an altar of worship, they were met by Hushai the Archite, "the friend," as he was officially called, of the king. The priestly garment, which he wore[c] after the fashion as it would seem of David's chief officers, was torn, and his head was smeared with dust, in the bitterness of his grief. In him David saw his first gleam of hope. A moment before, the tidings had come of the treason of Ahithophel; and to frustrate his designs Hushai was sent back, just in time to meet Absalom arriving from Hebron. It was noon when David passed over the mountain top, and now, as Jerusalem was left behind, and the new scene opened before him, two new characters appeared, both in connexion with the hostile tribe of Benjamin, whose territory they were entering. One was Ziba, servant of Mephibosheth, taking advantage of the civil war to make his own fortunes. At Bahurim, also evidently on the downward pass, came forth one of its inhabitants, Shimei, in whose furious curses broke out the long-suppressed hatred of the fallen family of Saul, as well perhaps as the popular feeling against the murderer[d] of Uriah. With characteristic replies to both, the king descended to the Jordan valley (2 Sam. xvi. 14, and cp. xvii. 22; Jos. *Ant.* vii. 9, § 4), and there rested after the long and eventful day at the ford or bridge[b] (*Abara*) of the river. At midnight they were aroused by the arrival of the two sons of the high-priests, and by break of dawn they had reached the opposite side in safety.

To the dawn of that morning is to be ascribed Ps. iii., and (according to Ewald, though this seems less certain) to the previous evening, Ps. iv. Ps. cxliii. by its title in the LXX.—"When his son was pursuing him"—belongs to this time. Also by long popular belief the trans-Jordanic exile of Ps. xlii. has been supposed to be David, and the complaints of Pss. lv., lxix., and cix., to be levelled against Ahithophel.

The history of the remaining period[i] of the rebellion is compressed into a brief summary. Mahanaim was the capital of David's exile, as it had been of the exiled house of Saul (2 Sam. xvii. 24; cp. ii. 8, 12). Three great chiefs of that pastoral district are specially mentioned as supporting him: one, of great age, not before named, Barzillai the Gileadite; the two others, bound to him by former ties, Shobi, the son of David's ancient friend Nahash, probably put by David in his brother's place (xii. 30, x. 2); and Machir, the son of Ammiel, the former protector of the child of David's friend Jonathan (2 Sam. xvii. 27, ix. 4). His forces were arranged under the three great military officers who remained faithful to his fortunes—Joab, captain of the host; Abishai, captain of "the mighty men;" and Ittai, who seems to have taken the place of Benaiah (had he wavered in his allegiance, or was he appointed afterwards?), as captain of the guard (2 Sam. xviii. 2). On Absalom's side was David's nephew, Amasa (*ib.* xvii. 25). The warlike spirit of the old king and of his faithful followers at this extremity of their fortunes is well depicted by Hushai, "chafed in their minds, as a bear robbed of her whelps in the 'field' (or a fierce wild boar in the Jordan valley, LXX.):" the king himself, as of old, "lodging not with the people," but "hid in some pit or some other place" (2 Sam. xvii. 8, 9). The final battle was fought in the "forest of Ephraim," which terminated in the accident leading to the death[k] of Absalom. At this point the narrative resumes its minute detail. As if to mark the greatness of the calamity, every particular of its first reception is recorded. David was waiting the event of the battle in the gateway of Mahanaim. Two messengers, each endeavouring to outstrip the other, were seen running breathless from the field. The first who arrived was Ahimaaz, the

[a] Ewald, iii. 177, note. According to the reading of *Gibborim* for *Gittim*.

[c] 2 Sam. xv. 32. *Cutaneth*; τὸν χιτῶνα; A. V. and R. V. "coat."

[d] Blunt, *Coincidences*, II. ch. x.

[b] Cp. 2 Sam. xv. 28, xix. 18 (both Kethib, a reading preferred by most moderns over that of the Keri, *Araboth*, i.e. the "plains" or "deserts." Cp. Driver, in loco).

[i] If Ewald's interpretation of 2 Sam. xxiv. 13 be correct, and if the LXX. here and the Heb. of 1 Ch. xxi. 12 be followed, it was three months. The Jewish tradition (in Jerome, *Qu. Heb.* on 2 Sam. iv. 4) makes it six.

[k] For the Mussulman legend, see Weil, p. 161.

son of Zadok, already employed as a messenger on the first day of the king's flight. He had been entreated by Joab not to make himself the bearer of tidings so mournful; and it would seem that when he came to the point his heart failed, and he spoke only of the great confusion in which he had left the army. At this moment the other messenger burst in—a stranger, perhaps an Ethiopian[l]—and abruptly revealed the fatal news (2 Sam. xviii. 19–32). [CUSHI.] The passionate burst of grief which followed is one of the best proofs of the deep affection of David's character. He wrapt himself up in his sorrow; and even at the very moment of his triumph, he could not forget the hand that had slain his son. He made a solemn vow to supersede Joab by Amasa, and in this was laid the lasting breach between himself and his powerful nephew, which neither the one nor the other ever forgave (2 Sam. xix. 13).

The return was marked at every stage by rejoicing and amnesty,—Shimei forgiven, Mephibosheth[m] partially reinstated, Barzillai rewarded by the gifts long remembered to his son CHIMHAM (2 Sam. xix. 16–40; 1 K. ii. 7). Judah was first reconciled. The embers of the insurrection still smouldering (2 Sam. xix. 41–43) in David's hereditary enemies of the tribe of Benjamin were trampled out by the mixture of boldness and sagacity in Joab, now, after the murder of Amasa, once more in his old position. And David again reigned in undisturbed peace at Jerusalem (2 Sam. xx. 1–22).[n]

(*c*) The closing period of David's life, with the exception of one great calamity, may be considered as a gradual preparation for the reign of his successor. This calamity was the three days' pestilence which visited Jerusalem at the warning of the prophet Gad. The occasion which led to this warning was the census of the people taken by Joab at the king's orders (2 Sam. xxiv. 1–9; 1 Ch. xxi. 1–7, xxvii. 23, 24); an attempt not unnaturally suggested by the increase of his power, but implying a confidence and pride alien to the spirit inculcated on the kings of the chosen people [see NUMBERS]. Joab's repugnance to the measure was such that he refused altogether to number Levi and Benjamin (1 Ch. xxi. 6). The king also scrupled to number those who were under twenty years of age (1 Ch. xxvii. 23), and the final result was never recorded in the "Chronicles of King David" (1 Ch. xxvii. 24). The plague, however, and its cessation were commemorated down to the latest times of the Jewish nation. Possibly Pss. xxx. and xci. had reference (whether David's or not) to this time. But a more certain memorial was preserved on the exact spot which witnessed the close of the pestilence, or, as it was called, like the Black Death of 1348, "The Death." Outside the walls of Jerusalem, Araunah or Ornan, a wealthy Jebusite—perhaps even the ancient king of Jebus (2 Sam. xxiv. 23)[o]—possessed a threshing-floor: there he and his sons were engaged in threshing the corn gathered in from the harvest (1 Ch. xxi. 20). At this spot an awful vision appeared, such as is described in the later days of Jerusalem, of the Angel of the Lord stretching out a drawn sword between earth and sky over the devoted city.[p] The scene of such an apparition at such a moment was at once marked out for a sanctuary. David demanded, and Araunah willingly granted, the site; the altar was erected on the rock of the threshing-floor; the place was called by the name of "Moriah" (2 Ch. iii. 1: the "Marru" of the Tel-el-Amarna tablets); and for the first time a holy place,[q] sanctified by a vision of the Divine Presence, was recognised in Jerusalem. It was this spot which afterwards became the altar of the Temple, and therefore the centre of the national worship, with but slight interruption, for more than 1000 years, and it is even contended that the *same* spot is the rock, still regarded with almost idolatrous veneration, in the centre of the Mussulman "Dome of the Rock" (see Professor Willis in Williams' *Holy City*, ii.).

The selection of the site of this altar probably revived the schemes of the king for the building of a permanent edifice to receive the Ark, which still remained inside his own palace in its temporary tent. Such schemes, we are told, he had entertained after the capture of Jerusalem, or at the end of his wars. Two reasons were given for their delay. One, that the ancient nomadic form[r] of worship was not yet to be abandoned (2 Sam. vii. 6); the other, that David's wars[s] unfitted him to be the founder of a seat of peaceful worship (1 Ch. xxii. 8). But a solemn assurance was given that his dynasty should be established "for ever" to continue the work (2 Sam. vii. 13; 1 Ch. xxii. 9, 10). Such a founder, and the ancestor of such a dynasty, was Solomon to be, and to him therefore the stores[t] and the plans of the future Temple (according to 1 Ch. xxii. 2–19, xxviii. 1–xxix. 19) were committed.

A formidable conspiracy to interrupt the succession broke out in the last days of David's reign [see ADONIJAH], which detached from his

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[l] "Cushi"—or Hebrew *ha-Cushi*, with the article. It is doubtful whether it is a proper name.

[m] The injustice done to Mephibosheth by this division of his property was believed in later traditions to be the sin which drew down the division of David's kingdom (Jerome, *Qu. Heb.* on 2 Sam. xix.). The question is argued at length by Selden, *De Successione*, c. 25, pp. 67, 68. See Chandler, ii. 376.

[n] To many English readers the events and names of this period have acquired a double interest from the power and skill with which Dryden has made the story of "Absalom and Ahithophel" the basis of his political poem on the Court of King Charles II.

[o] In the original the expression is thought by some to be much stronger than in the A. V.: they read with R. V. marg., "Araunah, the king." The R. V. text reads "O king," referring the words to David. [See ARAUNAH.]

[p] This apparition is also described in a fragment of the heathen historian Eupolemus (Eus. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 30), but is confused with the warning of Nathan against building the Temple. "An angel pointed out the place where the altar was to be, but forbad him to build the Temple, as being stained with blood, and having fought many wars. His name was *Dianathan*."

[q] In 1 Ch. xxi. 26, a fire from heaven descends to sanctify the altar. This is not mentioned in 2 Sam. xxiv.

[r] This is the subject of one of the apocryphal colloquies (Fab. *Apoc.* v. 1. p. 1004).

[s] In this respect David still belonged to the older generation of heroes (see Jerome, *Qu. Heb.* ad loc.).

[t] Eupolemus (Eus. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 30) makes David send fleets for these stores to Elath and to Ophir.

person two of his court, who from personal offence or adherence to the ancient family had been alienated from him—Joab and Abiathar. But Zadok, Nathan, Benaiah, Shimei, and Rei [u] remaining firm, the plot was stifled, and Solomon's inauguration took place under his father's auspices [x] (1 K. i. 1–53).

The Psalms which relate to this period are, by title, Ps. xcii.; by internal evidence, Ps. ii.

By this time David's infirmities had grown upon him. The warmth of his exhausted frame was attempted to be restored by the introduction of a young Shunammite, of the name of Abishag, mentioned apparently for the sake of an incident which grew up in connexion with her out of the later events (1 K. i. 1, ii. 17). His last song is preserved—a striking union of the ideal of a just ruler which he had placed before himself, and of the difficulties which he had felt in realizing it (2 Sam. xxiii. 1–7). His last words, as recorded, to his successor, are general exhortations to his duty, combined with warnings against Joab and Shimei, and charges to remember the children of Barzillai (1 K. ii. 1–9).

He died, according to Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 15, 2), at the age of 70, and "was buried in the city of David." [y] After the return from the Captivity, "the sepulchres of David" were still pointed out between Siloah and "the house of the mighty men," or the guardhouse (Neh. iii. 16). His tomb, which became the general sepulchre of the kings of Judah, was pointed out in the latest times of the Jewish people. "His sepulchre is with us unto this day," says St. Peter at Pentecost (Acts ii. 29); and Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 15, 3; xiii. 8, 4; xvi. 7, 1) states that, Solomon having buried a large treasure in the tomb, one of its chambers was broken open by Hyrcanus, and another by Herod the Great. It is said to have fallen into ruins in the time of Hadrian (Dio Cassius, lxix. 14). In Jerome's time a tomb, so called, was the object of pilgrimage (*Ep. ad Marcell.* 17, 46), but apparently in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem. The edifice shown as such from the Crusades to the present day is on the southern hill of modern Jerusalem, commonly called Mount Zion, under the so-called "Coenaculum" (for the description of it see Barclay's *City of the Great King*, p. 209. For the traditions concerning it, see Williams' *Holy City*, ii. 509–513). The so-called "Tombs of the Kings" have of late been claimed as the royal sepulchre by De Saulcy (ii. 162–215), who brought to the Louvre (where it may be seen) what he believed to be the lid of David's sarcophagus. But these tombs are *outside* the walls, and therefore cannot be identified with the tomb of David, which was emphatically *within* the walls (see Robinson, iii. p. 252, *note*).

The character of David has been so naturally brought out in the incidents of his life that it need not be here described in detail. In the complexity of its elements,[z] passion, tenderness, generosity, fierceness—the soldier, the shepherd, the poet, the statesman, the priest, the prophet, the king—the romantic friend, the chivalrous leader, the devoted father—there is no character of the O. T. at all to be compared to it. Jacob comes nearest in the variety of elements included within it. But David's character stands at a higher point of the sacred history, and represents the Jewish people just at the moment of their transition from the lofty virtues of the older system to the fuller civilisation and cultivation of the later. In this manner he becomes naturally, if one may so say, the likeness or portrait of the last and grandest development of the nation and of the monarchy in the person and the period of the Messiah. In a sense more than figurative, he is the type and prophecy of Jesus Christ. Christ is not called the son of Abraham, or of Jacob, or of Moses, but He was truly "the son of David."

To David's own people his was the name most dearly cherished after their first ancestor Abraham. "The city of David," "the house of David," "the throne of David," "the seed of David," "the oath sworn unto David" (the pledge of the continuance of his dynasty), are expressions which pervade the whole of the Old Testament and all the figurative language of the New, and they serve to mark the lasting significance of his appearance in history.[a]

His Psalms (whether those actually written by himself be many or few) have been the source of consultation and instruction beyond any other part of the Hebrew Scriptures. In them appear qualities of mind and religious perceptions not before expressed in the sacred writings, but eminently characteristic of David,—the love of nature, the sense of sin, and the tender, ardent trust in, and communion with, God. No other part of the Old Testament comes so near to the spirit of the New. The Psalms are the only expressions of devotion which have been equally used through the whole Christian Church—Abyssinian, Greek, Latin, Puritan, Anglican.

The difficulties which attend on his character are valuable as proofs of the impartiality of Scripture in recording them, and as indications of the union of natural power and weakness which his character included. Some Rabbis in former times, and critics (like Bayle [b] and Renan) in later times, have seized on its dark features and exaggerated them to the utmost. And it has been often asked, both by the scoffers and the serious, how the man after God's [c] own heart could have

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[u] Jerome (*Qu. Heb.* ad loc.) renders Rei = Ira, not improbably. Klostermann would alter רעי into ריעי = his friends. Ewald conjectures (iii. 266, note) that he is identical with Raddai.

[x] Eupolemus (Eus. *Praep. Ev.* ix. 30) adds, "in the presence of the high-priest Eli."

[y] A striking legend of his death is preserved in Weil's *Legends*, pp. 169, 170; a very absurd one in Basnage, *Hist. des Juifs*, bk. v. ch. 2.

[z] This variety of elements is strikingly expressed in "The Song of David," a poem written by the unfortunate Christopher Smart in charcoal on the walls of his cell, in his intervals of reason.

[a] It may be remarked that the name never appears as given to any one else in the Jewish history, as if, like "Peter" in the Papacy, it was too sacred to be appropriated.

[b] For some just remarks in answer to Bayle on the necessity of taking into account the circumstances of David's age and country, see Dean Milman's *Hist. of the Jews*, i. 247. The Rabbinical estimate, both favourable and unfavourable, of his character is summarized in Hamburger's *RE.*[2] s. n.

[c] This expression has been perhaps made too much of. It occurs only once in the Scriptures (1 Sam.

murdered Uriah, and seduced Bathsheba, and tortured the Ammonites to death? An extract from one who is not a too-indulgent critic of sacred characters expresses at once the common sense and the religious lesson of the whole matter. "Who is called 'the man after God's own heart'? David, the Hebrew king, had fallen into sins enough—blackest crimes—there was no want of sin. And therefore the unbelievers sneer, and ask, 'Is this your man according to God's heart?' The sneer, I must say, seems to me but a shallow one. What are faults, what are the outward details of a life, if the inner secret of it, the remorse, temptations, the often-baffled, never-ended struggle of it be forgotten? . . . David's life and history as written for us in those Psalms of his, I consider to be the truest emblem ever given us of a man's moral progress and warfare here below. All earnest souls will ever discern in it the faithful struggle of an earnest human soul towards what is good and best. Struggle often baffled—sore baffled—driven as into entire wreck: yet a struggle never ended, ever with tears, repentance, true unconquerable purpose begun anew" (Carlyle's *Heroes and Hero-Worship*, p. 72). [A. P. S.]

DAVID, CITY OF. [JERUSALEM.]

DAY (*Yôm*, יוֹם, Ges. from an unused root which may have had the meaning of *heat*, and also of *light*, Delitzsch. Cp. *ἰαίνω*). The variable length of the natural day ("ab exortu ad occasum solis," Censor. *de Die Nat.* 23) at different seasons led in the very earliest times to the adoption of the civil day (or one revolution of the sun) as a standard of time. The commencement of the civil day varies in different nations: the Babylonians (like the people of Nuremberg) reckoned it from sunrise to sunrise (Isidor. *Orig.* v. 30); the Umbrians from noon to noon; the Romans from midnight to midnight (Plin. ii. 79); the Athenians and others from sunset to sunset (Macrob. *Saturn.* i. 3; Gell. iii. 2).

The Hebrews, if we may judge by some passages of the Mosaic Law and cosmogony (cp. Lev. xxiii. 32, R. V. "from even unto even shall ye keep your sabbath;" Gen. i. 5, R. V. "and there was evening and there was morning, one day," a passage which the Jews are said to have quoted to Alexander the Great, cp. *Tamid.* 33, 2; Reland, *Ant. Hebr.* iv 15; Hershon, *Talm. Misc.* p. 146), count the night as the first portion of the civil day; though it must be admitted that Delitzsch [1887] and Dillmann[a] agree in considering Gen. i. 5 as reckoning after the Babylonian practice from morning to morning. Others (cp. Godwin's *Moses and Aaron*) argue from Matt. xxviii. 1, Luke xxiii. 54, that they began their civil day in the morning; but the expression *ἐπιφωσκούσῃ*[a] shows that the *natural* day is there intended. Hence the expressions "evening-morning" = day (עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר, Dan. viii. 14; LXX. *νυχθήμερον*; also 2 Cor. xi. 25), the Hindoo *ahoratra* (Von Bohlen on Gen. i. 4), and *νυχθήμερον* (2 Cor. xi. 25). There was a similar custom among the Athenians, Arabians, and ancient Teutons (Tac. *Germ.* xi., "nec dierum numerum ut apud nos, sed *noctium* computant . . . nox ducere diem videtur") and Celtic nations (Caes. *de B. G.* vi. 18, "ut noctem dies subsequatur"). This mode of reckoning was widely spread; it is found in the Roman law (Gaius, i. 112), in the *Niebelungenlied*, in the Salic law (*inter decem noctes*), in our own terms "fort-*night*," "seven-*nights*" (see Orelli, &c. Tac. in loco), and even among the Siamese ("they reckon by nights," Bowring, i. 137) and New Zealanders (Taylor's *Te-Ika-Maui*, p. 20). No doubt this arose from the general notion "that the first day in Eden was 36 hours long" (Lightfoot's Works, ii. 334, ed. Pitman; Hes. *Theogon.* 123; Aristoph. *Av.* 693); Kalisch plausibly refers it to the use of *lunar* years (*Gen.* p. 67; cp. Ps. civ. 19).

But it has, says Deutsch (Kitto's *Cyclop.*[3] s. n.), always been a moot point whether the Hebrews, at all times and in all respects, began their calendar or civil day with the night. Sometimes they reckoned from sunrise (*ἡμερονύκτιον*: cp. Ps. i. 2; Lev. vii. 15). Deutsch quotes Mishnah *Chulin*, v. 6, to show that "ritually no general rule had ever been laid down as to the commencement of the civil day;" and says that even now a Hebrew letter written on Saturday night would be dated either מ"ש, "*end* of Sabbath," or אור ליום א', "*eve* of the first day."

The Jews are supposed, like the modern Arabs, to have adopted from an early period minute specifications of the parts of the natural day. Roughly indeed they were content to divide it into "morning, evening, and noonday" (Ps. lv. 17); but when they wished for greater accuracy they divided the day into six unequal parts, each of which was again subdivided. The alleged distinctions are however so slight as to be barely perceptible, and the expressions vary in meaning. They are:—

I. נְשֶׁף (from נָשַׁף, "to blow") and שַׁחַר, or "the dawn." *Nesheph* is however also used for "evening" (*Job* xxiv. 15) and "night" (Is. xxi. 4). After their acquaintance with Persia they divided this into, (*a*) the time when the eastern, and (*b*) when the western horizon was illuminated, like the Greek Leucothea (Matuta) and Aurora; or "the gray dawn" (Milton) and the rosy dawn. Hence we find the *dual* Shaharaim as a proper name (1 Ch. viii. 8). The writers of the Talmud (see Shabbath, f. 34, 2) divide the dawn into *four* parts, of which the first was *Aijeleth hasshachar*, "the gazelle of the morning" (M.V.[11]), the Aurora [AIJELETH SHAHAR], a name by which the Arabians call the sun (cp.

xiii. 14, quoted again in Acts xiii. 22), where it merely indicates a man whom God will approve, in distinction from Saul who was rejected. A much stronger and more peculiar commendation of David is that contained in 1 K. xv. 3–5, and implied in Ps. lxxxix. 20–28.

[a] For the phrase cp. Herod. iii. 86, *ἀμ' ἡμέρῃ δὲ διαφωσκούσῃ*. McClellan (*The New Testament*, ad loc.) renders *τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ εἰς μίαν σαββάτων* "*on the eve of the first day of the week*," and gives various arguments and references to support the view that *ἐπιφώσκουσα* is used of "the whole interval between sunset and next sunrise, as preparatory to the expected light of the morrow." See further Casaubon, *Exerc. Antibaron.* p. 416, and Schleusner, *Lex. N. T.*, s. v.

"eyelids of the dawn," Job iii. 9; ἀμέρας βλέφαρον, Soph. *Antig.* 109). This was the time when Christ arose (Mark xvi. 2; John xx. 1; Rev. xxii. 16; ἡ ἐπιφωσκουσή, Matt. xxviii. 1).

The other three divisions of the dawn were, (2) "when one can distinguish blue from white" (πρωΐ, σκοτίας ἔτι οὔσης, John xx. 1; "obscurum adhuc coeptae lucis," Tac. *Hist.* iv. 2). At this time they began to recite the phylacteries. (3) Cum lucescit oriens (ὄρθρος βαθύς, Luke). (4) Oriente sole (λίαν πρωΐ, ἀνατείλαντος τοῦ ἡλίου, Mark xvi. 2; Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.* ad Marc. xvi. 2. In the Mishnah the phrase for twilight is בין השמשות).

II. בֹּקֶר, "sunrise." Some suppose that the Jews, like other Oriental nations, commenced their civil day at this time until the Exodus (Jennings' *Jewish Ant.*).

III. חֹם הַיּוֹם, "heat of the day" (ἕως διεθερμάνθη ἡ ἡμέρα, LXX.), about 9 o'clock.

IV. צָהֳרַיִם, "the two noons" (Gen. xliii. 16; Deut. xxviii. 29).

V. רוּחַ הַיּוֹם, "the cool (lit. *wind*) of the day," before sunset (Gen. iii. 8); so called by the Persians to this day (Chardin, *Voy.* iv. 8; Jahn, *Arch. Bibl.* § 29).

VI. עֶרֶב, "evening." The phrase "between the two evenings" (Ex. xvi. 12, xxx. 8), being the time marked for slaying the Paschal lamb and offering the evening sacrifice (Ex. xii. 6, xxix. 39), led to a dispute between the Karaites and Samaritans on the one hand, and the Pharisees on the other. The former took it to mean between sunset and full darkness (Deut. xvi. 6); the Rabbinists explained it as the time between the beginning (δείλη πρωΐα, "little evening") and end of sunset (δ. ὀψία, or real sunset: *Shabbath*, f. 34, 2; Jos. *B. J.* vi. 9, § 3; Gesen. *s. v.*; Jahn, *Arch. Bibl.* § 101; Bochart, *Hieroz.* i. p. 558).

Since the Sabbaths were reckoned from sunset to sunset (Lev. xxiii. 32), the Sabbatarian Pharisees, in that spirit of scrupulous superstition which so often called forth the rebukes of our Lord, were led to settle the *minutest* rules for distinguishing the actual *instant* when the Sabbath began (ὀψία, Matt. viii. 16 = ὅτε ἔδυ ὁ ἥλιος, Mark). They therefore divided the time between the actual sunset and the appearance of three stars (Maimon. in *Shabb.*, cap. 5; cp. Neh. iv. 21, 22), and the Talmudists decided that "if on the evening of the Sabbath a man did any work after *one* star had appeared, he was forgiven; if after the appearance of *two*, he must offer a sacrifice for a doubtful transgression; if after *three* stars were visible, he must offer a sin-offering:" the order being *reversed* for works done on the evening *after* the actual Sabbath (Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.* ad Matt. viii. 16; Otho, *Lex. Rab.* s. v. *Sabbathum*). The necessity for such minute directions, in the absence of dials, &c., is illustrated by the story that once, on a cloudy afternoon, the Jews went to the Sabbath evening prayers by mistake some hours before sunset. Rabbi Judah decided that the prayer was not to be repeated (*Berachoth*, f. 27, 6; Schwab, p. 332).

Before the Captivity the Jews divided the night into three watches (Ps. lxiii. 6; xc. 4): viz. the first watch, lasting till midnight (Lam. ii. 19, A. V. and R. V. "the beginning of the watches") = ἀρχὴ νυκτός; the "*middle* watch" (which proves the statement), lasting till cock-crow (Judg. vii. 19) = μέσον νυκτῶν; and the morning watch, lasting till sunrise (Ex. xiv. 24) = ἀμφιλύκη νύξ (Hom. *Il.* vii. 433). These divisions were probably connected with the Levitical duties in the Temple service. The Jews, however, say (in spite of their own definition, "a watch is the third part of the night") that they always had *four* night-watches (cp. Neh. ix. 3), but that the fourth was counted as a part of the morning (Buxtorf's *Lex. Talm.* s. v.; Carpzov. *Appar. Crit.* p. 347; Reland, iv. 18).

In the N. T. we have allusions to four watches, a division borrowed from the Greeks (Herod. ix. 51) and Romans (φυλακή, τὸ τέταρτον μέρος τῆς νυκτός, Suid.). These were: 1. ὀψέ, ὀψία, or ὀψία ὥρα, from twilight till 9 o'clock (Mark xi. 11; John xx. 19); 2. μεσονύκτιον, midnight, from 9 till 12 o'clock (Mark xiii. 35); 3. ἀλεκτοροφωνία, till 3 in the morning (Mark xiii. 35, ἅπ. λεγ.; 3 Macc. v. 23); 4. πρωΐ, till daybreak, the same as πρωΐα (ὥρα) (John xviii. 28; Jos. *Ant.* v. 6, § 5, xviii. 9, § 6).

The word held to mean "hour" is first found in Dan. iii. 6, 15; v. 5 (*Sha'ah*, שָׁעָה, also "a while," iv. 19, R. V.). Perhaps the Jews, like the Greeks, learnt from the Babylonians the division of the day into twelve parts (Herod. ii. 109). In our Lord's time the division was common (John xi. 9). In the Talmud the day is divided into four parts of three hours each (*Aboda Zara*, f. 3). It is probable that Ahaz introduced the first sundial from Babylon (ὡρολόγιον, מַעֲלוֹת, Is. xxxviii. 8; 2 K. xx. 11), as Anaximenes did the first σκιάθηρον into Greece (Jahn, *Arch.* § 101). Possibly the Jews at a later period adopted the clepsydra. The third, sixth, and ninth hours were devoted to prayer (Dan. vi. 10; Acts ii. 15, iii. 1, &c.).

On the Jewish way of counting their week-days from the Sabbath, see Lightfoot's *Works*, ii. 334, ed. Pitman. [WEEK.]

By the Jewish rule of inclusive counting, "one day of a year is counted as a whole year" (*Rosh Hashana*, f. 2, 2). Hence if a king were crowned on Adar 29, on the next day (Nisan 1) he would be said to begin the second year of his reign. So, too, "part of a day is equivalent to a whole day" (*Moed Katon*, f. 17, 2). This must be borne in mind when we read such passages as Matt. xii. 40. The Jews had no names for the days of the week, but *numbered* them from the Sabbath.

The word "day" is used of a festal day (Hos. vii. 5); a birthday (Job iii. 1); a day of ruin (Hos. i. 11; Job xviii. 20; cp. *tempus, tempora reipublicae*, Cic., and *dies Cannensis*); the judgment-day (Joel i. 15; 1 Thess. v. 2); the kingdom of Christ (John viii. 56; Rom. xiii. 12); and in other senses which are mostly self-explaining. In 1 Cor. iv. 3, ὑπὸ ἀνθρωπίνης ἡμέρας is rendered "of man's *judgment*." Jerome, *ad Algas. Quaest.* x., considers this a Cilicism (Bochart, *Hieroz.* ii. 471). Grotius compares it with the phrases *diem dicere*, &c., and regards it as a Latinism [DAYSMAN]. Others, referring to Jer. xvii. 16, think that it

may be a Hebraism. On the prophetic or year-day system (Lev. xxv. 3, 4; Num. xiv. 34; Ezek. iv. 2–6, &c.), see a treatise in Elliot's *Hor. Apoc.* iii. 154 sq. The expression *ἐπιούσιον*, rendered "daily" in Matt. vi. 11, is an *ἅπ. λεγ.*, and has been much disputed. It is unknown to classical Greek (*ἔοικε πεπλάσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν Εὐαγγελιστῶν*, Orig. *Orat.* 16). The Vulg. has *supersubstantialem*, a rendering recommended by Abelard to the nuns of the Paraclete. Theophyl. explains it as *ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ οὐσίᾳ καὶ συστάσει ἡμῶν αὐταρκής*, and he is followed by most commentators (cp. Chrysost. *Hom. in Or. Domin.*; Suid. and *Etym. M.* s. v.). Salmasius, Grotius, &c., arguing from the rendering מָחָר in the Nazarene Gospel, translate it as though it were = *τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας*, or *εἰς αὔριον* (Sixt. Senensis *Bibl. Sanct.* p. 444 *a*). It is not possible here to enter into the questions as to the etymology of the phrase, whether from *ἐπὶ* and *οὐσία*, meaning "for sustenance," whether physical or spiritual (which would rather require *ἐπούσιος*); or from *ἡ ἐπιοῦσα* (*ἡμέρα*), meaning "for the *coming* day;" or from *ὁ ἐπιών*, meaning "bread for the future life." If the second view be correct, the prayer is a prayer for our continual sustenance by the merciful providence of God; if the third, it is a prayer for spiritual food. But see the question examined at full length (after Tholuck) in Alford's *Greek Test.* ad loc.; Schleusner, *Lex.* s. v.; Wetstein, *N. T.* i. p. 461, &c. The meaning of *τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον* has recently been elaborately examined by M^c^Clellan (*New Testament*, pp. 632–647), who arrives at the conclusion that it means "bread proper for the future world," *i.e.* "our bread of life eternal," and regards the rendering "*daily*" as "the one which is most manifestly and utterly condemned:" and by Bishop Lightfoot (*On a fresh Revision*, pp. 195–234), who decides that "the familiar rendering '*daily*' is a fairly adequate representation of the original, nor does the English language furnish any one word which would answer the purpose so well." See Mansel and Cook's note in *Speaker's Comm.* in loco. [CHRONOLOGY.] [F. W. F.]

DAY'S JOURNEY. An expression signifying not so much a recognised distance traversed as the time occupied in the journey (Gen. xxxi. 23; Ex. iii. 18; Num. xi. 31; Deut. i. 2; 1 K. xix. 4; 2 K. iii. 9; Jonah iii. 3, 4; Luke ii. 44; Acts i. 12). No uniformity is to be expected in such a matter. A "day's journey" to a solitary traveller on a level plain would be a different thing from that of a caravan with women and children, with mules and camels, over mountains and valleys. It can only be generally affirmed that a man travelling at 3 miles an hour for six to eight hours would make a day's journey of 18 to 24 miles, and a camel at 2½ miles one of 15 to 20 miles. [F.]

DAYSMAN, an old English term, meaning *umpire* or *arbitrator* (Job ix. 33; see marg.). It is derived from *day*, in the specific sense of a day *fixed for a trial* (cp. 1 Cor. iv. 3, where *ἀνθρωπίνη ἡμέρα*—lit. *man's day*, and so given in Wycliffe's translation — is rendered "man's *judgment*" in the A. V. and R. V.). Similar expressions occur in German (*eine sache tagen*= to bring a matter before a court of justice) and other Teutonic languages. The word "daysman" is found in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, ii. c. 8, in the Bible of 1551 (1 Sam. ii. 25), and in other works of the same age. [W. L. B.]

DEACON (*διάκονος*; *diaconus*). The office described by this title appears in the N. T. as the correlative of *ἐπίσκοπος* [BISHOP]. As a *nomen officii* it is confined to Philip. i. 1; 1 Tim. iii. 8, 12; and Rom. xvi. 1 [see DEACONESS], though the word is used frequently in other passages in reference to Christian ministers, but in no such strict official sense (see Eph. iii. 7, vi. 21; Col. i. 7, 23, iv. 7, &c.). In the LXX. it is curiously enough confined to the Book of Esther, in which it stands three times as the rendering of מְשָׁרֵת (Esth. i. 10; ii. 2; vi. 3). [It is true that Is. lx. 17 is quoted by Clement of Rome (*ad Cor.* xlii.) as follows:—*καταστήσω τοὺς ἐπισκόπους αὐτῶν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ τοὺς διακόνους αὐτῶν ἐν πίστει*, and is thus applied to the Christian ministry; but the introduction of the *διάκονοι* is simply due to mistranslation, the LXX. being *δώσω τοὺς ἄρχοντάς σου ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ τοὺς ἐπισκόπους σου ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ*. The text is similarly *applied* by Irenaeus (*adv. Haer.* iv. 26. 5), but *quoted* from the LXX. correctly.]

The narrative of Acts vi. is commonly referred to as giving the account of the institution of this office. The Apostles, in order to meet the complaints of the Hellenistic Jews that their widows were neglected in the daily ministration (*διακονία*), called on the body of believers to choose seven men "full of the spirit and of wisdom" whom they (*i.e.* the Apostles) might "appoint over this business." The seven were accordingly selected by the "whole multitude," and set before the Apostles, from whom they received their commission, with prayer and the laying on of hands (*v.* 6). The duties of the seven as gathered from this passage were to serve tables (*διακονεῖν τραπέζαις*), to attend to the distribution of the alms of the Church in money or in kind, while the ministry of the word (*ἡ διακονία τοῦ λογοῦ*) was reserved for the Apostles.

It is, however, noticeable that nowhere in the narrative are the "seven" called "deacons," and where Philip is mentioned again in xxi. 8 he is not spoken of as Philip the Deacon, but as "Philip the evangelist, which was one of the seven." It has also been thought that the gifts implied in the words "full of the spirit and of wisdom" are higher than those required for the office of a Deacon in 1 Tim. iii.; and accordingly it has been inferred that we meet in this narrative with the record of a special institution to meet a special emergency, and that the seven were not Deacons in the later sense of the term, but (1) commissioners who were to superintend those that did the work of Deacons, prototypes of the later *Archdeacons* (Stanley, *Apost. Age*, p. 62, and E. H. P. in the 1st ed. of this *Dictionary*), or (2) the first elders, the office originally instituted for a single and quite special need being "afterwards gradually enlarged into the office of elder" (Ulhorn, *Christian Charity in the Ancient Church*, p. 76).

On this view the origin of the diaconate must be sought for at a still earlier period, and the germs of the office might plausibly be traced in the mention of the *νεώτεροι* and *νεανίσκοι* of

Acts v. 6, 10, who were perhaps not merely the younger men, but persons occupying a distinct position and exercising distinct functions. In spite, however, of this, it is believed that the following reasons are sufficient to establish the identity of the office whose creation St. Luke records in Acts vi. with the later diaconate:—(1) Although the title διάκονος does not occur, yet the corresponding verb and substantive, διακονεῖν and διακονία, are both used (*vv.* 1, 2). (2) "The functions are substantially those which devolved on the Deacons of the earliest ages, and which still in theory, although not altogether in practice, form the primary duties of the office" (Lightfoot on *Phil.* p. 186). (3) From the position of the narrative in the Acts, and the emphasis with which it is recorded, it has been inferred that St. Luke regarded the establishment of the office, "not as an isolated incident, but as the initiation of a new order of things in the Church." (4) Tradition is unanimous as to the identity of the two offices, and that from the earliest times. Irenaeus (the first author who alludes to them) speaks of both Nicolas and Stephen as ordained "to the diaconate" (*ad diaconium: adv. Haer.* I. xxiii.; IV. xxvi.), and elsewhere speaks of Stephen as "primus diaconus" (III. xii. 13). So also Hippolytus and Cyprian in the following century, and later writers; and for some centuries the Roman Church restricted the number of Deacons to seven, thus preserving the memory of the first institution of the office (see the letter of Cornelius in Euseb. *H. E.* VI. ch. xliii.; and cp. Sozomen, *H. E.* VII. ch. xix.), while the 15th Canon of Neo-Caesarea says distinctly: "Even in the largest towns there must be, according to the rule, no more than seven Deacons. This may be proved from the Acts of the Apostles." [The limitation did not always remain in force. Cp. Euseb. *H. E.* II. ch. i., n. 2 a; VI. ch. xliii., n. 18, edd. Wace and Schaff.]

Taking, then, the account in Acts vi. as describing the creation of the office, we have to inquire:

I. Whether it can be traced to any previous organization.

II. How it spread from Jerusalem to other Churches.

III. What were the qualifications and functions of those appointed to it.

I. It has been thought that the office of Deacon may find its prototype in the organization of the Jewish synagogue, just as does the office of the Christian Presbyter. As the constitution of the Jewish synagogue had its elders (זְקֵנִים) or pastors (פַּרְנָסִין), so also it had its subordinate officer (חַזָּן), the ὑπηρέτης of Luke iv. 20, whose work it was to give the reader the roll containing the lessons for the days, to clean the synagogue, and to open and close it at the right time [see SYNAGOGUE]. It has sometimes been thought that this office may have suggested the institution of the Christian diaconate. It should, however, be noticed that (*a*) as a rule there was but *one* chazzan to each synagogue; (*b*) the Greek word used for this official by St. Luke in his Gospel is not διάκονος but ὑπηρέτης (Luke iv. 20); (*c*) the duties of the chazzan are analogous to those of the modern parish clerk rather than to those of the primitive Deacon; and, further, (*d*) the length at which St. Luke dwells upon the institution, when contrasted with the silence with which he passes over the origin of the presbyterate, may not unfairly be taken as an indication that he regards it as "not merely new within the Christian Church, but novel absolutely" (Lightf. on *Phil.* p. 187). We conclude, therefore, that the office of which Acts vi. gives us the origin was one which was entirely new. It is, however, not impossible that the number *seven* may have been suggested by the analogy of the *septem viri epulones* at Rome. These were a body of seven men appointed to relieve the *pontifices* and preside over the heathen religious banquets, which were to some extent analogous to the Christian *agapae*. This institution would of course be familiar to the *Libertini* of the Imperial city (cp. Acts vi. 9), and may perhaps account for the long-continued limitation of the Deacons of the Roman Church to the original number (cp. Plumptre's *Biblical Studies*, p. 356).

II. For tracing the spread of the diaconate from the mother Church at Jerusalem to the various Churches of the Gentile world our materials are but scanty, and we are forced to be content with incidental allusions which appear to bear witness to the gradual extension of the office as the Church enlarged her borders. In 1 Cor. xii. 28, St. Paul, when enumerating the various offices and gifts in the Church, mentions among others "helps" (ἀντιλήψεις), in which expression some have found a definite allusion to the diaconate. Less doubtful is the reference to "ministration" (διακονία) in Rom. xii. 7, while a woman-deacon belonging to the Church of Cenchreae is mentioned by name in xvi. 1 [see DEACONESS]. Again, a very probable allusion to the office is found in 1 Pet. iv. 11, "If any man ministereth (εἴ τις διακονεῖ), ministering as of the strength which God supplieth;" while in Philip. i.1 the Deacons are recognised together with the ἐπίσκοποι as constituting the two resident orders of ministers at Philippi. By the date of the Pastoral Epistles we find the office still more securely fixed. In 1 Tim. iii. 8 sq. St. Paul gives full directions with regard to the qualifications of those appointed to it, and from the language used it is evident that "in the Christian communities of proconsular Asia, at all events, the institution was so common that ministerial organization would be considered incomplete without it" (Lightf. on *Phil.* p. 189). But at the same time it must be noticed that in the Epistle to Titus there is no mention of the order; a fact which serves to mark the *gradual* extension of the office. The Church at Ephesus, which had been planted for some years and had taken firm root, possessed it, while in the newly organized Church of Crete it was apparently not considered indispensable.

These are all the notices of the diaconate in the New Testament. It does not fall within the province of this article to trace out its later history. It will be sufficient to point out that it is recognised as one of the orders of the Church by Clement of Rome (I. ch. xlii.), who, as we have seen, connects it with Is. lx. 17; in the Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων (ch. xv.); in Ignatius (*ad Polyc.* vi., &c.), Polycarp (*ad Phil.* v.), and all later writers who deal with the subject of the Christian ministry (see *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, art. "Deacon").

III. The moral qualifications described in 1 Tim. iii. as necessary for the office of a Deacon are, to a great extent, the same as those of the Bishop. The same purity and sobriety of life is required of each (*μιᾶς γυναικὸς ἄνδρα . . . μὴ οἴνῳ πολλῷ προσέχοντα*, cp. *μὴ πάροινον*, *v.* 3) the same power of influence at home (*τέκνων καλῶς προϊστάμενος*, *v.* 12, cp. *v.* 4); the same absence of the love of money (*μὴ αἰσχροκερδεῖς*. So of the Bishop in Titus i. 7: *in* 1 Tim. iii. 3 the word is an interpolation, but cp. *ἀφιλάργυρον*). We notice, however, that the Deacons were not required to be "given to hospitality," nor to be "apt to teach." It was enough for them to "hold the mystery of the faith in a pure conscience." In their behaviour they were to be *σεμνοί*, and in their dealings with others *μὴ δίλογοι*. On offering themselves for their work they were to be subject to a strict scrutiny (1 Tim. iii. 10), and if this ended satisfactorily were to enter upon their duties.

Their office was primarily that of the relief of the poor, the "serving of tables" in the "daily ministration." As the Church spread and this "daily ministration" became an impossibility, they naturally dropped into the position of almoners of the community (see *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.* i. 528). Hence the qualifications on which St. Paul lays stress in their case are those which would be most important, not, as in the case of elders, in those who have to teach, but in those who were to move about from house to house, entrusted with the distribution of alms. It does not appear to have belonged to the office of a Deacon to teach publicly in the Church. The possession of any special *χάρισμα* would lead naturally to a higher work and office, but the idea that the diaconate was but a probation, through which a man had to pass before he could be an elder or Bishop, was foreign to the constitution of the Church of the 1st century. Whatever countenance it may receive from the common patristic interpretation of 1 Tim. iii. 13 (cp. Estius and Hammond in loco), there can be little doubt (as all the higher order of expositors have felt: cp. Wiesinger and Ellicott in loco) that when St. Paul speaks of the *καλὸς βαθμός*, which is gained by those who "do the office of a Deacon well," he refers to the honour which belongs essentially to the lower work, not to that which they were to find in promotion to a higher. Traces of the primitive constitution and of the permanence of the diaconate are found even in the more developed system of which we find the commencement in the Ignatian Epistles. Originally the Deacons had been the helpers of the Bishop-elder of a Church of a given district. When the two names of the latter title were divided and the Bishop presided, the Deacons appear to have been dependent directly on him, and not on the Presbyters; and, as being his ministers, the "eyes and ears of the Bishop" (*Const. Apost.* ii. 44), were tempted to set themselves up against the elders. Hence the necessity of laws like those of *Conc. Nic.* c. 18; *Conc. Carth.* iv. c. 37, enjoining greater humility, and hence probably the strong language of Ignatius as to the reverence due to Deacons (*Ep. ad Trall.* c. 3; *ad Smyrn.* c. 8). [E. H. P.] [E. C. S. G.]

DEACONESS (*διάκονος*. The word *διακονισσὰ* is post-Biblical. It occurs in *Const. Apost.* III. ch. xv. [as a doubtful reading], and again in VI. ch. xvii., VIII. ch. xxx. In *Conc. Nic.* c. 19 the reading is doubtful. *Διάκονος* is still used in *Conc. Chalcedon.* c. 15; Sozomen, *H. E.* IV. ch. xiv., &c.; and Theodoret, II. ch. xiv.). The word *διάκονος* is found in Rom. xvi. 1 associated with a female name ("Phoebe . . . quae est in ministerio ecclesiae," Vulg.); and this has led to the conclusion that there existed in the apostolic age, as there undoubtedly did a little later (Pliny, *Ep. ad Traj.* x. 97, "ancillae . . . quae ministrae dicebantur"), an order of women bearing that title, and exercising in relation to their own sex functions which were analogous to those of the Deacons. On this hypothesis it has been inferred that the women mentioned in Rom. xvi. 6, 12, belonged to such an order (Herzog, *RE.*[2] "Diakonissa"). The rules given as to the conduct of women in 1 Tim. iii. 11, Tit. ii. 3, have in like manner been referred to them, and they have even been identified with the "widows" of 1 Tim. v. 3–10.

In some of these instances, however, it seems scarcely doubtful that writers have transferred to the earliest age of the Church the organization of a later. It was of course natural that the example recorded in Luke viii. 2, 3, should be followed by others, even when the Lord was no longer with His disciples. The new life which pervaded the whole Christian society (Acts ii. 44, 45; iv. 32) would lead women as well as men to devote themselves to labours of love. The strong feeling that the true *θρησκεία* of Christians consisted in "visiting the fatherless and the widow" (Jas. i. 27) would make this the special duty of those who were best fitted to undertake it. The social relations of the sexes in the cities of the empire (cp. Grotius on Rom. xvi. 1) would make it fitting that the agency of women should be employed largely in the direct personal application of Christian truth (Tit. ii. 3, 4), possibly in the preparation of female catechumens. Even the later organization may be thought to imply the previous existence of the germs out of which it was developed. It may be questioned, however, whether all the passages referred to above allude to a recognised body bearing a distinct name. Much perplexity surrounds the question of the "widows," of whom two classes are distinctly recognised in 1 Tim. v. [see WIDOWS]; but there are very strong objections against the view of Schleiermacher, Mack, Schaff, and others, which identifies the enrolled widows of *v.* 9 with the deaconesses: for (*a*) there is not a particle of evidence that deaconesses and *χῆραι* are synonymous terms, and (*b*) the age fixed for admission, sixty, is wholly incompatible with the active duties which must have belonged to the office of the deaconess (see below, and cp. Ellicott in loco). In Tit. ii. 3–5 the directions are evidently not to officials, but to the elder and younger women generally, as in *vv.* 1 and 2 to aged men and in *vv.* 6–9 to younger men. In 1 Tim. iii. 11, however, it is probable that the reference is more definite, and that the order of deaconesses is alluded to (Chrys. and most moderns, including Lightfoot and Ellicott). The only alternative is to understand the charge of the Apostle as referring to the *wives* of the Deacons; and against this the following reasons appear conclusive: (*a*) the omission of *αὐτῶν*;

(*b*) the expression *ὡσαύτως* (cp. *v.* 8), which seems to mark a new ecclesiastical class; (*c*) the injunction concerning Deacons in *v.* 12, which hardly looks as if their wives had been mentioned before; (*d*) the absence of any notice of the wives of the *ἐπίσκοποι* in *vv.* 1–7; and (*e*) the omission of any special notice of domestic duties (see further Ellicott in loco). There remain the notices in Rom. xvi. 1, 6, 12. Of these the last two are perfectly general, and may or may not refer to deaconesses. The first, while clearly implying the existence of the office, tells us nothing of the functions of those who filled it.

These are all the passages in which it is possible to discover any trace of the office; and it will be seen from them how slight and fragmentary our knowledge of it is. The *qualifications* of deaconesses are laid down in 1 Tim. iii. 11. They were to be, like the Deacons, "grave" (*σεμναί*), "not slanderers" (*μὴ διάβολοι*, answering to the *μὴ διλόγοι* of the Deacons, "as the vice to which the female sex is more addicted," Alf.), "temperate" (*νηφάλιοι*, answering to *μὴ οἴνῳ πολλῷ προσεχ.*), and "faithful in all things" (*πισταὶ ἐν πᾶσιν*, answering to *μὴ αἰσχροκερδεῖς*). With regard to their *duties* nothing definite is anywhere said in the N. T., and it is not safe to argue back from those undertaken by the deaconesses of the later Church, since the institution in its primitive form appears to have been almost confined to the apostolic age. There is, it is true, the certain allusion to them at the very beginning of the 2nd century in the letter of Pliny to Trajan, but apart from this there is no mention of the female diaconate outside the N. T. till the very end of the 3rd century, though the order of widows is frequently alluded to. The apostolic Fathers are all silent as to the office: so are Tertullian and Cyprian. Origen has nothing to say of it in his exposition of Rom. xvi. 1, nor does he mention it in his enumeration of Church dignitaries (*in Luc.* Hom. 17: cp. Uhlhorn's *Christian Charity in the Ancient Church*, p. 166). At the close of the 3rd century the institution was apparently revived in the East; but where the interval is so great, it would be highly precarious to transfer to the office in the apostolic age the functions assigned to it under the later ecclesiastical system. We are left then to conjecture what the duties of the office may have been from the qualifications required of those who undertook it. From these it may fairly be inferred (*a*) that their service included the visitation of the members of the Church in their homes, on which account the Apostle requires them not to be slanderers, carrying gossip from house to house; and (*b*) that they had some share in the distribution of alms, whence he specially enjoins them to be "faithful in all things" (cp. Uhlhorn, p. 79). Beyond this there is nothing whatever to be gathered from the N. T. [For the later history of the order, see *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.*, art. "Deaconess."] [E. H. P.] [E. C. S. G.]

DEAD SEA. This name nowhere occurs in the Bible, and appears not to have existed until the 2nd century after Christ. It originated in an erroneous opinion, and there can be little doubt that to the name is due in a great measure the mistakes and misrepresentations which were for so long prevalent regarding this lake, and which have not indeed yet wholly ceased to exist.

In the O. T. the lake is called "the Salt Sea," and "the Sea of the Plain" (*Arabah*); and under the former of these names it will be found described [SALT SEA]. [G.] [W.]

DEARTH. [FAMINE.]

DEBI'R, the name of three places in Palestine.

1. (דְּבִר, but in Judg. and Ch. דְּבִיר, *hinder part*, as of a temple, and hence the *sanctuary*, Ges.; BA. Δαβείρ; *Dabir*), a town in the mountains of Judah (Josh. xv. 49), one of a group of eleven cities to the west of Hebron. In the narrative it is mentioned as being the next place which Joshua took after Hebron (x. 38). It was the seat of a king (x. 39, xii. 13), and was one of the towns of the Anakim, from which they were utterly destroyed by Joshua (xi. 21). The earlier name of Debir was Kirjath-sepher, "city of book" (Josh. xv. 15; Judg. i. 11), and Kirjath-sannah, "city of palm" (Josh. xv. 49). The records of its conquest vary, though not very materially. In Josh. xv. 17 and Judg. i. 13 a detailed account is given of its capture by Othniel son of Kenaz, for love of Achsah the daughter of Caleb, while in the general history of the conquest it is ascribed to the great commander himself (Josh. x. 38, 39). In the last two passages the name is given in the Hebrew text as Debirah (דְּבִרָה). It was one of the cities given with their "suburbs" (מִגְרָשׁ) to the priests (Josh. xxi. 15; 1 Ch. vi. 58). Debir does not appear to have been known to Jerome, and it has only been identified in modern times. Ewald (*Gesch.* ii. 373, note) appears to derive the name from דָּבַר, "an oracle or adytum." He takes it to indicate a position "on the back, *i.e.* the S. or S.W. slopes of the mountains," and identifies the place with *edh-Dhâheriyeh*, a large village, with ancient cave dwellings, wells and cisterns, which stands high on a flat ridge, on the right bank of *W. el-Khulîl*. In the list of cities in Josh. xv. 49, 50, Debir follows Socoh (*Shuweikeh*) and Dannah (*Idhna*), and precedes Anab (*'Anâb*) and Eshtemoa (*es-Semû'a*); *edh-Dhâheriyeh* is situated between these places, and its identification with Debir is accepted by Conder (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 402, 407) and Tristram (*Bible Places*, p. 61). The "upper and the nether springs" may be found in the *W. ed-Dilbeh*, a valley to the north of *edh-Dhâheriyeh*. In striking contrast to the general aridity of the south country, fourteen springs, divided into three groups, feed a stream that runs for three or four miles through a succession of small gardens (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 302). In this valley Van de Velde (*Mem.* p. 307) places Debir. About three miles to the W. of Hebron is a deep and secluded valley called the *Wâdy Nunkûr*, enclosed on the north by hills of which one bears a name certainly suggestive of Debir,—*Dewîr-ban* (see the narrative of Rosen in the *Zeitsch. D. M. G.* 1857, pp. 50–64). Felix Fabri (*Evag.* ed. Hassler, ii. 338) heard of a place near this valley called Debir; and Schwarz (p. 86) speaks of a *Wâdy Dibir* in this direction. This position, however, seems too far N. to meet the requirements of the narrative.

It has been assumed from the name Kirjath-sepher that the Canaanites were acquainted with writing and books; and Quatremère (*J. des Sav.* 1842, p. 513) considers that their archives were kept in the place: he instances as parallels the preservation of the Persian records (Ezra vi. 1, 2), and of the Phoenician records at Tyre; and to these are to be added the libraries of Babylon.

2. (דְּבִר; ἐπὶ τὸ τέταρτον τῆς φάραγγος Ἀχώρ; *Debera*), a place on the north boundary of Judah, near the "valley of Achor" (Josh. xv. 7), and therefore somewhere in the complications of hill and ravine behind Jericho. A trace of the name may be retained in *Thoghret ed-Debr*, "the pass of the rear," not far from *Khân Hathrûrah*, on the Jerusalem-Jericho road; or perhaps in *W. ed-Dubbâr*, near *Neby Mûsa*. Cp. Dillmann[2] in loco.

3. The "border (גְּבוּל) of Debir" is named as forming part of the boundary of Gad (Josh. xiii. 26), and apparently as an eastern limit in contradistinction to Mahanaim, which was situated on the western edge of the highland above the Jordan valley; cp. "Heshbon unto Ramath-Mizpeh," which describes roughly the N. and S. limits of the tribe. Reland (p. 734) conjectures that the name may possibly be the same as Lodebar (לִדְבָר), but no identification has yet taken place (BA. Δαβείρ; *Dabir*; R. V. marg. *Lidebir*). Lying in the grazing country on the high downs east of Jordan, the name may be derived from דָּבָר, *Dabar*, the same word which is the root of *Midbar*, the wilderness or pasture (see Ges. p. 318). [DESERT.] Oliphant, *Land of Gilead*, p. 212, places Debir on the N.W. frontier of Gad, near the Sea of Tiberias. [G.] [W.]

DEBI'R (דְּבִיר; B. Δαβείν, A. Δαβείρ; *Dabir*), king of Eglon, a town in the low country of Judah; one of the five kings hanged by Joshua (Josh. x. 3, 23). [G.]

DEB'ORA (Δεββωρά), a woman of Naphtali, mother of Tobiel, the father of Tobit (Tob. i. 8). The same name as

DEB'ORAH (דְּבוֹרָה; Δεβόρρα, Δεββῶρα; *Debbora*). **1.** The nurse of Rebekah (Gen. xxxv. 8). Nurses held a high and honourable place in ancient times, and especially in the East (2 K. xi. 2; Hom. *Od.* i. 429; Virg. *Aen.* vii. 2, "Aeneia nutrix"; Ov. *Met.* xiv. 441), where they were often the principal members of the family (2 Ch. xxii. 11; Jahn, *Arch. Bibl.* § 166). Deborah accompanied Rebekah from the house of Bethuel (Gen. xxiv. 59), and is only mentioned by name on the occasion of her burial, under the oak-tree of Bethel, which was called in her honour Allon-Bachuth (Βάλανος πένθους, LXX.). Such spots were usually chosen for the purpose (Gen. xxiii. 17, 18; 1 Sam. xxxi. 13; 2 K. xxi. 18, &c.). If the numbers be correct, she must have attained the great age of at least 150 years, for she was grown up at Rebekah's birth, and Jacob was 97 when he returned from Paran, and was not born till twenty years after Rebekah's marriage (Gen. xxv. 19, 26). Many have been puzzled at finding Deborah in *Jacob's* family; it is unlikely that she was sent to summon Jacob from Haran (as Rashi suggests), or that she had returned during the lifetime of Rebekah, and was now coming to visit her (as Abarbanel and others say); but she may very well have returned at Rebekah's death, and that Rebekah *was* dead is probable from the omission of her name in Gen. xxxv. 27; and if, according to the Jewish legend, Jacob first heard of his mother's death at this spot, it will be an additional reason for the name of the tree, and may *possibly* be implied in the expression וַיְבָרֶךְ, comforted, A. V. and R. V. "blessed" (Gen. xxxv. 9; see too Ewald, *Gesch.* i. 390).

2. A prophetess who judged Israel (Judg. iv. v.). Her name, דְּבוֹרָה, means "a bee" (or σφήξ, "a wasp"), just as Μέλισσα and Melitilla were proper names. This name may imply nothing whatever, being a mere appellative, derived like Rachel (a lamb), Tamar (a palm), &c., from natural objects; although she was (as Corn. a Lapide quaintly puts it) *suis mellea, hostibus aculeata*. Some, however, see in the name an official title, implying her prophetic authority. A bee was an Egyptian symbol of regal power (cp. Callim. *Jov.* 66, and *Et. Maj.* s. v. ἐσσήν); and among the Greeks and Romans the term was applied not only to poets (*more apis Matinae*, Hor.) and to those peculiarly chaste (as by the Neoplatonists), but especially to the priestesses of Delphi (χρησμὸς μελίσσας Δελφίδος, Pind. *P.* iv. 106), Cybele, and Artemis (Creuzer, *Symbolik*, iii. 354, &c.), just as ἐσσήν was to the priests. In both these senses the name suits her, since she was essentially a *vates* or seer, combining the functions of poetry and prophecy.

She lived in the one secure spot in Palestine, under the palm-tree of Deborah, between Ramah and Bethel in Mount Ephraim (Judg. iv. 5). "Such tents the patriarchs loved" (Coleridge). So Abraham lived under the oak of Mamre, and Saul under the pomegranate of Migron (Gen. xiv. 13; 1 Sam. xiv. 2). The words "she dwelt" may mean that she sat under the palm to deliver her judgments, just as St. Louis used to sit under the oak at Vincennes. Since palm-trees were rare in Palestine, this tree "is mentioned as a well-known and solitary landmark, and was probably the same spot as that called (Judg. xx. 33) Baal-Tamar, or the sanctuary of the palm" (Stanley, *S. and P.* p. 146). Von Bohlen (p. 334), followed by most moderns, thinks that this tree is the same as Allon-Bachuth (Gen. xxxv. 8; see Dillmann,[5] Delitzsch [1887]), the name and locality being nearly the same (Ewald, *Gesch.* i. 391, 405), although it is ridiculous to say that this "may have suggested a name for the nurse" (Hävernick's *Introd. to Pent.* p. 201; Kalisch, *Gen.* ad loco). The same critics consider very probable the identification of the palm-tree of Deborah and "the oak of Tabor," in 1 Sam. x. 3, where Thenius would read דְּבֹרָה for תָּבוֹר. It was doubtless one of the well-known trees of Palestine, and such trees often became surrounded with religious associations. The Targum says, "She lived in Ataroth, having independent means, and she had palm-trees in Jericho, gardens in Ramah, olive-yards in the valley, well-watered lands in Bethel, and white clay in the King's mount."

Deborah was probably a woman of Ephraim, although from the expression in Judg. v. 15

some suppose her to have belonged to Issachar (Ewald, *Gesch.* ii. 489). The expression אֵשֶׁת לַפִּידוֹת (Judg. iv. 4) is much disputed; it is generally thought to mean "wife of Lapidoth," as in A. V. and R. V.; but other Versions render it "uxor principis," or "Foemina Lapidothana" ("that great dame of Lapidoth," Tennyson), or *mulier splendorum*, i.e. one divinely illuminated, since לַפִּידוֹת = lightnings. Those who take the latter view refer to Is. lxii. 1; Job xli. 2; Nah. ii. 4; Ecclus. xlviii. 1, which, however, prove nothing. But the most prosaic notion is that of the Rabbis, who take it to mean that she attended to the Tabernacle lamps, from לַפִּיד, *lappīd*, a lamp! (*Megilla*, f. 14, Rashi). The fem. termination is often found in men's names, as in Shelomith (1 Ch. xxiii. 9), Naboth, Koheleth, &c. Lapidoth (or more correctly, Lappidoth) then was probably her husband, and not Barak, as is asserted by later Jews (*Midrash Rabba* on Ruth i.).

She was not so much a judge (a title which belongs rather to Barak, Heb. xi. 32) as one gifted with prophetic command in a time of despondency and confusion (Judg. iv. 6, 14, v. 7; *Midrash Koheleth*, § 5), and by virtue of her inspiration "a mother in Israel." Her sex would give her additional weight, as it did to Veleda and Alaurinia among the Germans, from an instinctive belief in the divinity of womanhood (Tac. *Germ.* viii.). Compare the instances of Miriam, Huldah, Noadiah, Anna (2 K. xxii. 14; Neh. vi. 14; Luke ii. 36). Among the Jews, however, prophetesses were the exception. According to the Rabbis, her prophetic functions ceased with the victory over Jabin (*Pesachim*, f. 66), and they explain Job v. 5 by the fact that the lands of Sisera were assigned to her and to Barak (see Hamburger, *RE.* i. 241). With the exception of the Phoenician murderess Athaliah, she is the only female ruler in Jewish history; but she was less a ruler than a deliverer, like Joan of Arc, "the inspired maid of Domremi."

Jabin's tyranny was peculiarly felt in the northern tribes, who were near his capital and under Deborah's jurisdiction, viz. Zebulun, Naphtali, and Issachar; hence, when she summoned Barak to the deliverance, "it was on them that the brunt of the battle fell; but they were joined by the adjacent central tribes, Ephraim, Manasseh, and Benjamin, though not by those of the extreme west, south, and east" (Stanley, p. 339). Under her direction Barak encamped on the broad summit of Tabor (Jos. *B. J.* ii. 20, § 6). When asked to accompany him, "she answered indignantly, Thou, O Barak, deliverest up meanly the authority which God hath given thee into the hands of a woman; neither do I reject it" (Jos. *Ant.* v. 5, § 2). The LXX. interpolate the words ὅτι οὐκ οἶδα τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ εὐοδοῖ ὁ Κύριος τὸν ἄγγελον μετ' ἐμοῦ as a sort of excuse for Barak's request (iv. 8, cp. *v.* 14, v. 23). When the small band of ill-armed (Judg. v. 8) Israelites saw the dense iron chariots of the enemy, "they were so frightened that they wished to march off at once, had not Deborah detained them, and commanded them to fight the enemy that very day" (Jos. *l.* c.). They did so, but Deborah's prophecy was fulfilled (Judg. iv. 9), and the enemy's general perished among the "oaks of the wanderers (Zaanaim)," in the tent of the Bedouin Kenite's wife (Judg. iv. 21) in the northern mountains. "And the land had rest forty years" (Judg. v. 31). For the natural phenomena which aided (Judg. v. 20, 21) the victory, and the other details (for which we have ample authority in the twofold narration in prose and poetry), see BARAK, where we have also entered on the difficult question of the chronology (Ewald, *Gesch.* ii. 489–494). A village named *Debarieh*, at the foot of Tabor, possibly preserves the traditional memorial of her association with Barak at Mount Tabor (Judg. iv. 10).

Deborah's title of "prophetess" (נְבִיאָה) includes the notion of inspired poetry, as in Ex. xv. 20; and in this sense the glorious triumphal ode (Judg. v.) well vindicates her claim to the office. On this ode much has been written, and there are separate treatises about it by Hollmann, Kalkar, and Kenrick. It is also explained by Ewald (*Die poet. Bücher des Alt. Bundes*, i. 125) and Gumpach (*Alttestament. Studien*, pp. 1–140). [F. W. F.]

DEBTOR. [LOAN.]

DECAPOLIS (Δεκάπολις, "the ten cities"). This name occurs three times in the N. T. (Matt. iv. 25; Mark v. 20, and vii. 31), and on each occasion it is used in a geographical sense to denote the territory belonging to "the ten cities," or perhaps, more generally, the district S.E. of the Sea of Galilee. The term seems, however, to have been a political rather than a geographical one, and to have been applied to a *bund*, or privileged confederation of free cities, formed for self-defence and joint political action, under the jurisdiction of the Governor of Syria.

According to Pliny (v. 16), the cities were Damascus, Philadelphia, Raphana, Scythopolis, Gadara, Hippos, Dion, Pella, Galasa (Garasa), and Canatha; he admits, however, that authorities differed as to the names of the cities, and states that between and around them there were tetrarchies, each like a kingdom, such as Trachonitis, Paneas, Abila, &c. Ptolemy (v. 17) makes Capitolias one of the cities; Reland (p. 525) quotes an old Palmyrene inscription which includes Abila in the Decapolis; whilst Josephus (*B. J.* iii. 9, § 7) calls Scythopolis the largest city of Decapolis, which would exclude Damascus. The discrepancies may perhaps be reconciled by supposing that ten cities at first received certain privileges and immunities, and that the name Decapolis was retained after changes had been made by increasing or decreasing the number of towns in the confederation.

In Matt. iv. 25, Decapolis is distinguished from the country beyond Jordan, though all the cities, with the exception of Scythopolis, were east of that river in the tetrarchy of Herod Agrippa. Eusebius and Jerome (*OS.*[2] p. 251, 89) say that Decapolis was a district beyond Jordan, around Hippos, Pella, and Gadara; Epiphanius (*adv. Haer.* i. 123) describes Decapolis as being around Pella and in Basanitis; Josephus always speaks of the cities as "Decapolis of Syria," possibly to show that they were under the jurisdiction of the Governor of Syria; and so

also Pliny when he praises (xv. 3) the olives of Decapolis of Syria. Elsewhere Pliny alludes to Philadelphia and Raphana as lying back towards Arabia, and to Pella as "rich in waters."

Each city appears to have been the centre of a small district which was subject to it, and to which it gave its name. Josephus (*B. J.* ii. § 1) speaks of the Jews having laid waste the villages of Decapolis; in *B. J.* iii. 3, § 5, he calls Pella the capital of a toparchy; Gadara was the capital of a large district, Gadaritis, which probably included Gergesa on the Sea of Galilee, and it was the seat of a district court (*B. J.* i. 8, § 5); the district of Philadelphia was known as Philadelphene, and that of Hippos as Hippene. These districts were quite independent of the provinces or tetrarchies in which they were situated; and their geographical position, in the provinces, may be compared with that of the detached portions of some English and Scotch counties.

The cities of Decapolis contained a mixed population, which varied according to the position of the city; Philadelphia, for instance, on the edge of the desert, was peopled by Greeks, Syrians, and Arabs (Strabo, xvi. 2, § 34). In each the Greek element preponderated: Josephus goes so far (*Ant.* xvii. 11, § 4) as to call Gadara and Hippos Greek cities; the official language, as shown by the coins and inscriptions, was Greek; Greek customs, forbidden to the Jews, such as the keeping of swine by the Gadarenes (Matt. viii. 28–33), prevailed; the people of Abila called themselves, on their coins, Seleucians; and some of the cities may have been Greek military settlements, as for instance Pella and Dion, which appear to have been named after and were possibly founded by colonists from Pella and Dion in Macedonia.

The Jews were, almost constantly, in a state of open warfare with the cities of Decapolis; and, even when this was not the case, the relations between them and the Greek inhabitants were strained. The cities, as heathen cities, paid no tithes; and some of them, as Scythopolis, could only be entered by Jews on certain conditions. This did not, however, prevent the Jews from living in them; at Scythopolis there was a large population of Jews, noted for the strictness with which they kept the Sabbath, and the scrupulous manner in which they performed their religious observances; at Gadara and Hippos there were also many Jews (*B. J.* ii. 18, § 5).

During the Maccabaean wars the cities suffered greatly, and nearly all of them seem to have fallen into the hands of Alexander Jannaeus. At a later period they were recaptured by Pompey, who, after rebuilding and beautifying them, placed them under the jurisdiction of the Governor of Syria. At the same time he appears to have granted them self-government (*αὐτονομία*), and freedom and immunity from taxation (*ἐλευθερία καὶ ἀτελεία*). Most of the towns, of which coins are extant, counted from the era of Pompey, 64 B.C., and to this date may perhaps be assigned the foundation of the confederation to which the name of Decapolis was given. At the commencement of the Jewish war, Justus and the people of Tiberias made war with Decapolis of Syria, and burned the villages which belonged to the cities; the people thereupon sent an embassy of their chief men to Vespasian, who was then at Ptolemais, to complain of Justus and his actions (*Jos. Vit.* 64, 73).

The cities, with the rich fertile districts which belonged to them, were, in the time of the Saviour, populous and prosperous; six of them are now desolate and uninhabited; three—Scythopolis, Gadara, and Canatha—have a few families living in them; and one alone, Damascus, retains something of its former prosperity. [GADARA; GERASA; PHILADELPHIA; SCYTHOPOLIS.] [W.]

DECISION, VALLEY OF. [JEHOSHAPHAT.]

DEDA'N (דְּדָן; *Dedan, Dadan*). **1.** The name of a son of Raamah, son of Cush (Gen. x. 7, A. Δαδάν; 1 Ch. i. 9, A. Δαδάν, B. Ἰουδαδάν, "the sons of Raamah, Sheba, and Dedan"). **2.** That of a son of Jokshan, son of Keturah (Gen. xxv. 3, A. [*bis*] Δαιδάν; D. and *D.* vary in the second occurrence of Δ., and "Jokshan begat Sheba and Dedan. And the sons of Dedan were Asshurim, Letushim, and Leummim." Cp. 1 Ch. i. 32, BA. Δαιδάν). The usual opinion respecting these founders of tribes is that the first settled among the sons of Cush, wherever these latter may be placed; the second, on the Syrian borders, about the territory of Edom. But Gesenius and Winer have suggested that the name may apply to one tribe; and this may be adopted as probable on the supposition that the descendants of the Keturahite Dedan intermarried with those of the Cushite Dedan, whom the writer places, presumptively, on the borders of the Persian Gulf. [ARABIA; CUSH; RAAMAH, &c.] The theory of this mixed descent gains weight from the fact that in each case the brother of Dedan is named Sheba. It may be supposed that the Dedanites were among the chief traders traversing the caravan-route from the head of the Persian Gulf to the south of Palestine, bearing merchandise of India, and possibly of Southern Arabia; and hence the mixture of such a tribe with another of different (and Keturahite) descent presents no impossibility. The passages in the Bible in which Dedan is mentioned (besides the genealogies above referred to) are contained in the prophecies of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, and are in every case obscure. The Edomite settlers seem to be referred to in Jer. xlix. 8, where Dedan is mentioned in the prophecy against Edom; again in xxv. 23, with Tema and Buz; in Ezek. xxv. 13, with Teman, in the prophecy against Edom; and in Is. xxi. 13, R. V. ("The burden upon Arabia. In the forest in Arabia shall ye lodge, O ye travelling companies of Dedanites"), with Tema and Kedar. This last passage is by some understood to refer to caravans of the Cushite Dedan; and although it may only signify the wandering propensities of a nomad tribe, such as the Edomite portion of Dedan may have been, the supposition that it means merchant-caravans is strengthened by the remarkable words of Ezekiel in the lamentation for Tyre. Ezekiel (in ch. xxvii.) twice mentions Dedan; first in v. 15, where, after enumerating among the traffickers with the merchant-city many Asiatic peoples, it is said

(R. V.), "The men of Dedan were thy traffickers, many isles (אִיִּים) were the mart of thine hand: they brought thee in exchange horns of ivory, and ebony." Passing thence to Syria and western and northern peoples, the Prophet again (in *v.* 20) mentions Dedan in a manner which seems to point to the widespread and possibly the mixed ancestry of this tribe. Verse 15 may be presumed to allude especially to the *Cushite* Dedan (cp. xxxviii. 13, where we find Dedan with Sheba and the merchants of Tarshish; apparently, from the context, the Dedan of xxvii. 15); but the passage commencing in *v.* 20 appears to include the settlers on the borders of Edom (*i.e.* the Keturahite Dedan). The whole of the passage is as follows (R. V.): "Dedan [was] thy trafficker in precious clothes for riding. Arabia, and all the princes of Kedar, they were the merchants of thy hand; in lambs, and rams, and goats, in these [were they] thy merchants. The traffickers of Sheba and Raamah they [were] thy traffickers: they traded for thy wares with chief of all spices, and with all precious stones, and gold. Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, the traffickers of Sheba, Asshur, *and* Chilmad, [were] thy traffickers" (Ezek. xxvii. 20–23). We have here a Dedan connected with Arabia (probably the north-western part of the peninsula) and Kedar, and also with the father and brother of the Cushite Dedan (Raamah and Sheba), and these latter with Asiatic peoples commonly placed in the regions bordering the head of the Persian Gulf. This Dedan moreover is a merchant, not in pastoral produce, in sheep and goats, but in "precious clothes," in contradistinction to Arabia and Kedar, like the far-off Eastern nations who came with "spices and precious stones and gold," "wrappings of blue and broidered work," and "chests of rich apparel."

The probable inferences from these mentions of Dedan support the argument first stated, namely, 1. That Dedan son of Raamah settled on the shores of the Persian Gulf, and his descendants became caravan-merchants between that coast and Palestine. 2. That Jokshan, or a son of Jokshan, by intermarriage with the Cushite Dedan, formed a tribe of the same name, which appears to have had its chief settlement in the borders of Idumaea, and perhaps to have led a pastoral life.

All traces of the name of Dedan, whether in Idumaea or on the Persian Gulf, are lost in the works of Arab geographers and historians. The Greek and Roman geographers, however, throw some light on the eastern settlement; and a native indication of the name is thought to exist in the island of *Dádan*, on the borders of the gulf. The identification must be taken in connexion with Dr. Poole's recovery of the name of Sheba, the other son of Raamah, on the island of *Awál*, near the Arabian shore of the same gulf. This is discussed in the article RAAMAH. Consult Dillmann[4] and Delitzsch [1887] on Gen. x. 7. [E. S. P.] [F.]

DEDA'NIM. [DEDAN.]

DEDA'NITES. [DEDAN.]

DEDICATION, FEAST OF THE (τὰ ἐγκαίνια, John x. 22, *Encaenia*, Vulg.; ὁ ἐγκαινισμὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, 1 Macc. iv. 56 and 59 [the same term as is used in the LXX. for the dedication of the Altar by Moses, Num. vii. 10]; ὁ καθαρισμὸς τοῦ ναοῦ, 2 Macc. x. 5; Mishna, חֲנֻכָּה, *i.e.* "dedication"; Joseph. φῶτα, *Ant.* xii. 7, § 7), the festival instituted to commemorate the purging of the Temple and the rebuilding of the Altar after Judas Maccabaeus had driven out the Syrians, B.C. 164. It is named only once in the Canonical Scriptures, John x. 22. Its institution is recorded 1 Macc. iv. 47–59. It commenced on the 25th of Chisleu, the anniversary of the pollution of the Temple by Antiochus Epiphanes, B.C. 167. Like the great Mosaic Feasts, it lasted eight days, but it did not require attendance at Jerusalem. It was an occasion of much festivity. It was celebrated in nearly the same manner as the Feast of Tabernacles, with the carrying of branches of trees, and with much singing (2 Macc. x. 6, 7). Josephus states that the festival was called "Lights;" and there was certainly a setting forth of incense, lights, and shewbread (2 Macc. x. 3; cp. 1 Macc. iv. 50). Further, he supposes that the name was given to it from the joy of the nation at their unexpected liberty—τὴν ἑορτὴν ἄγομεν καλοῦντες αὐτὴν Φῶτα, ἐκ τοῦ παρ' ἐλπίδος οἶμαι ταύτην ἡμῖν φανῆναι τὴν ἐξουσίαν (*Ant.* xii. 7, § 7). The title chosen by our Lord, "I am the Light of the world" (John ix. 5), may have reference to the custom of lighting the lights of the seven-branched candlestick (see *Speaker's Comm.* on John x. 22). The Mishna informs us that no fast on account of any public calamity could be commenced during this Feast. In the Gemara a story is related that when the Jews entered the Temple, after driving out the Syrians, they found there only one bottle of oil which had not been polluted, and that this was miraculously increased, so as to feed the lamps of the sanctuary for eight days. The special number of lights to be lit was a matter of discussion in the 1st century A.D. in the schools of Hillel and Shammai. The latter enjoined eight lights on the first night, and one light less each night that the festival lasted. The former reversed the process, and, beginning with one light, increased the number daily by one, till on the last night the eight lights were burning. The latter custom was in existence in the time of Maimonides, and is still the custom of the British Jews (Mills, *The British Jews, their religious Ceremonies*, &c., pp. 185–7). Neither the Books of Maccabees, the Mishna, nor Josephus mention this custom, and it would seem to be of later origin, probably suggested by the name which Josephus gives to the festival. In the Temple at Jerusalem, the "Hallel" was sung every day of the feast.

In Ezra (vi. 16) the word חֲנֻכָּה, applied to the dedication of the second Temple, on the third of Adar, is rendered in the LXX. by ἐγκαίνια, and in the Vulg. by *dedicatio*. But the anniversary of that day was not observed. The dedication of the first Temple took place at the Feast of Tabernacles (1 K. viii. 2; 2 Ch. v. 3). [TABERNACLES, FEAST OF.]

See Lightfoot, *Temple Service*, sect. v.; *Horae Heb.* on John x. 22, and his *Sermon* on the same text; Mishnah, vol. ii. 369, ed. Surenhusius; Hamburger's *RE.* Abth. ii. s. n. "Weihfest;" Westcott on John x. 22. [S. C.] [F.]

DEEP, THE (ἄβυσσος; *abyssus*). This is the rendering adopted by the A. V. in Luke viii. 31 and Rom. x. 7, of a word which it translates "bottomless pit" in Rev. ix. 1, 2, 11, xi. 7, xx. 1, 3. The R. V. has adopted the rendering "abyss" in all these passages, and such a rendering is especially needful in Luke viii. 31, as avoiding the interpretation that by "the deep" is meant the sea. Rather, according to many, is meant that part of the under-world in which evil spirits are confined. [F.]

DEGREES, SHADOW OF. [AHAZ; DIAL; HEZEKIAH.]

DEGREES, SONGS OF, or, more accurately, SONGS OF ASCENTS (R. V.). These "Songs" are fifteen in number, and constitute Psalms cxx.–cxxxiv. Fourteen of these Psalms (cxx., cxxii.–cxxxiv.) are each superscribed *Shir Hamma'aloth* (שיר המעלות), whilst one of them (cxxi.) bears the heading of *Shir Lamma'aloth* (שיר למעלות). Rashi, with his fine Hebrew instinct, remarks that, although *Shir Lamma'aloth* stands second, it is in reality the first of the series. This observation is quite true, and can be critically established, both negatively and positively,—negatively, as there can be no reason assigned for the break of the uniformity of this series so early, and the immediate resumption of it to break it no more. Again, one may make practically, *i.e.* in a mere translation, no difference between *Shir Hamma'aloth* and *Shir Lamma'aloth*. But *Hamma'aloth* and *Lamma'aloth* are in Hebrew not one and the same thing; as, indeed, they cannot be. This was already perceived by the keen critic Ibn Ezra, who gives *Shir Hamma'aloth* as the beginning of one poem, the tune of which was well known, whilst he gives *Shir Lamma'aloth* as the beginning of another poem, &c. (although he is in the interpretation of these names as mistaken as he is in that of several other headings; cp. AIJELETH SHAHAR, AL-TASCHITH, &c.). But that Psalm cxxi. was originally meant to stand first can also be proved positively, as it is evidently introductory (even as Psalm cxxxiv. is terminatory) to the whole series, and expresses the leading idea why for one of the several reasons these Psalms are called Songs of Liftings-up, of Goings-up, of Adoring, and of Trusting in, Him Who dwells on *high*, and is the Most High.* Thus: I *lift up* mine eyes (cxxi. 1). To God (*on high*) I called (cxx. 1). I was glad when they said to me, Let us *go* (*up*) to the House of God. For there *went up* the tribes (cxxii. 1, 4). To Thee I *lift up* mine eyes (cxxiii. 1). The righteous God Who is even *higher* than the oppressor, Who is higher than Israel (cxxiv.; see below, cxxix.). Mountains (*up*lands) are round Jerusalem, and God is round His people (cxxv. 2). When God brings back (*up*) the Captivity of Zion (cxxvi. 1). If God (*from on high*) does not build a house (cxxvii. 1). The man fearing God who walketh in His Way (*looketh up* to Him for guidance; cxxviii. 1). The same argument as in cxxiv., though expressed in a somewhat different way (cxxix.). I called from the depths (*to Him on high*; cxxx. 1). Mine eyes are not lifted *up* in pride (but in humility, to God; cxxxi. 1). Let us *go up* to His tabernacles (cxxxii. 7). Brethren (Israel and Judah) to dwell together (on the hills, i.e. *up*lands, of Zion; cxxxiii. 1–3). *Lift up* your hands in holiness (cxxxiv. 2). This explanation does by no means exclude some of the other reasons for calling these poems *Shir Lamma'aloth* and *Shir Hamma'aloth*. No doubt, both before the Captivity and after the return from it, the Hebrew, on going *up* to Jerusalem, recited one or other of these Psalms on such occasions as the three annual festivals, the bringing-*up* the first-fruits, the bringing-*up* the second tithe, &c. Nor does this explanation exclude the ideas that these fifteen Psalms gave rise to the construction of the fifteen steps communicating between the court of the women and the Israelite court, on which the Levites sang and played on the occasion of the "Joy at the Drawing of the Water," and that these fifteen steps gave rise, in their turn, to the superscriptions of the fifteen Psalms, which were apparently recited upon them. These are ideas which are embodied in traditions which are too well founded to be called in question (cp. Mishnah *Middoth*, ii. 5; *Sukkah*, v. 4; and compare with one another Rab Se'adyah's first interpretation, as quoted by Ibn Ezra, and Rashi's and Qimchi's interpretations in loco). What this entirely new explanation does exclude, however, is, first, that these songs ever stood in connexion with the legend concerning the Deep and David and Ahitophel, &c.; a legend to which the Targum in loco alludes, and which the Talmud contains (Babli *Sukkah*, fol. 53 *a*). Such a Midrash, though consistent, is not to be taken seriously, since there is not the least allusion to it in all these fifteen Psalms. What this explanation next excludes is Rab Se'adyah Gaon's second interpretation (see Ibn Ezra), which was adopted by Luther. It was that these poems were therefore called *Shir Hamma'aloth* and *Shir Lamma'aloth*, because they were sung in a *higher*, i.e. a more powerful, key. For this interpretation there is not the slightest warrant or even hint to be found anywhere, be it in these sublime compositions themselves, or even in the traditions of the Talmud and Midrash. What this explanation finally excludes is the stereotyped theory advanced by Ibn Ezra, that fourteen of these Psalms were sung to one and the same tune, and one to a different melody. This is impossible, as these fourteen Psalms differ greatly from one another, not merely in authorship and time of composition, but in sentiment and length of diction. The other theories advanced, that these fifteen Psalms were called *Shir Hamma'aloth* and *Shir Lamma'aloth* because of their "repetitive or ladder-like structure," or because they were the "choicest of all Psalms," scarcely need refutation. [S. M. S.-S.]

DEHAVITES (דְּהָוְאֵא [*Kethib*], דְּהָוְיֵא [*Keri*], ed. Baer; A. [2 Esd.] Δαναῖοι, B. *οἱ εἰσὶν* Ἡλαμαῖοι; *Dieri*) are mentioned but once in Scripture (Ezra iv. 9). They were among the colonists planted in Samaria by the Assyrian monarch Esarhaddon, after the completion of the Captivity of Israel. From their name, taken in conjunction with the fact that they are

* Hence one of God's names in the Bible is עֶלְיוֹן, and in the Talmud גָּבֹהַּ.

coupled with the Susanchites (Susianians, or people of Susa) and the Elamites (Elymaeans, cp. B., natives of the same country), it is conjectured that they are the Daï or Dahi, mentioned by Herodotus (i. 125) among the nomadic tribes of Persia. This people appears to have been widely diffused, being found as Dahae (Δάαι=Dahistan), both in the country east of the Caspian (Strab. xi. 8, § 2; Arrian. *Exped. Al.* iii. 11, &c.) and in the vicinity of the Sea of Azof (Strab. xi. 9, § 3); and again as Dii (Δῖοι, Thucyd. ii. 96), Daï (Δάοι, Strab.), or Daci (Δακοί, Strab., Dio Cass., &c.) upon the Danube. They were an Aryan race, and are regarded by some as having their lineal descendants in the modern Danes (see Grimm's *Geschichte d. Deutsch. Sprach.* i. 192–3). This conjecture, as also that of Friedr. Delitzsch (*Praef.* p. x. to Baer's ed. of Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah), who finds their city Du'-û-a in an Assyrian contract tablet, is questioned by Schrader (*KAT.*² p. 616) and Bertheau-Ryssel (*Die BB. Esra, Nechem., u. Ester*, in loco). The Septuagint form of the name—*Davaeus*—may compare with the *Davus* (=Δάος) of Latin comedy. [G. R.] [F.]

DE'KAR. The son of Deker, *i.e.* BEN-DEKER (בֶּן־דֶּקֶר; *υἱὸς* Δακάρ; *Bendecar*), was Solomon's commissariat officer in the western part of the hill-country of Judah and Benjamin, Shaalbim and Bethshemesh (1 K. iv. 9). [G.]

DELAI'AH (דְּלָיָהוּ and דְּלָיָה = *whom Jehovah hath freed*—cp. ἀπελεύθερος Κυρίου, 1 Cor. vii. 22; also the Phoenician name Δελαιαστάρτος, quoted from Menander by Josephus, *Cont. Ap.* i. 18, and the modern name Godfrey = Gottesfrey), the name of several persons.

1. DELAIAHU (A. Δαλαΐα, B. Μααναί; *Dalaiau*), a priest in the time of David, leader of the twenty-third course of priests (1 Ch. xxiv. 18).

2. DELAIAH; "children of Delaiah" were among the people of uncertain pedigree who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii. 60 [A. Δαλαΐα, B. Λαχεδ; *Dalaia*]; Neh. vii. 62 [ℵA. Δαλαΐα, B. Δαλεδ; *Dalaia*]. In 1 Esd. v. 37 the name is LADAN [A. Δαλάν, B. Ἀσάν]).

3. DELAIAH (ℵA. Δαλαΐα, B. Δαλεδ; *Dalaia*), son of Mehetabeel and father of Shemaiah (Neh. vi. 10).

4. DELAIAHU (Δαλαΐας and Γοδολίας), son of Shemaiah, one of the "princes" (שָׂרִים) about the court of Jehoiakim (Jer. xxxvi. 12, 25).

The name also occurs in the A. V. as DALAIAH. [G.] [F.]

DELI'LAH (דְּלִילָה = *weak* or *feeble*, either in the sense of *delicate* or *pining with desire*, or as a *traitress*; Δαλιδά; Joseph. Δαλίλη; *Dalila*), a woman who dwelt in the valley of Sorek, beloved by Samson (Judg. xvi. 4–18). Her connexion with Samson forms the third and last of those amatory adventures which in his history are so inextricably blended with the craft and prowess of a judge in Israel. She was bribed by the "lords of the Philistines" to win from Samson the secret of his strength, and the means of overcoming it. [SAMSON.]

It is not stated, either in Judges or in Josephus, whether she was an Israelite or a Philistine. Nor can this question be determined by reference to the geography of Sorek; since in the time of the Judges the frontier was shifting and indefinite. [SOREK.] The following considerations, however, supply presumptive evidence that she was a Philistine:—

1. Her *occupation*, which seems to have been that of a courtesan of the higher class, a kind of political Hetaera. The hetaeric and political view of her position is more decided in Josephus than in Judges. He calls her γυνὴ ἑταιριζομένη, and associates her influence over Samson with πότος and συνουσία (*Ant.* v. 8, § 11). He also states more clearly her relation as a political agent to the "lords of the Philistines" (סַרְנֵי, Joseph. οἱ προεστῶτες, τοῖς ἄρχουσι Παλαιστίνων; LXX. ἄρχοντες; *Satrapae*; οἱ τοῦ κοινοῦ; "magistrates," "politician lords," Milton, *Sams. Ag.* 850, 1195), employing under their directions "liers in wait" (אֹרֵב, τὸ ἔνεδρον; *insidiis*: cp. Josh. viii. 14; Josephus, στρατιωτῶν). On the other hand, Chrysostom and many of the Fathers have maintained that Delilah was married to Samson (so Milton, l. 227), a natural but uncritical attempt to save the morality of the Jewish champion (see Judg. xvi. 9, 18, as showing an exclusive command of her establishment inconsistent with the idea of matrimonial connexion; Patrick, in loco). There seems to be little doubt that she was a courtesan; and her employment as a political emissary, together with the large sum which was offered for her services (1100 pieces of silver from each lord = 5,500 shekels, about £700; cp. Judg. iii. 3), and the tact which is attributed to her in Judges, but more especially in Josephus, indicates a position not likely to be occupied by any Israelitish woman at that period of national depression.

2. The special tendency of the Scripture narrative: the sexual temptation represented as acting upon the Israelites from *without* (Num. xxv. 1, 6; xxxi. 15, 16).

3. The special case of Samson (Judg. xiv. 1; xvi. 1).

In Milton Delilah appears as a Philistine, and justifies herself to Samson on the ground of patriotism (*Sams. Ag.* ll. 850, 980). [T. E. B.]

DELUGE. [NOAH.]

DE'LUS (Δῆλος), mentioned in 1 Macc. xv. 23, is the smallest of the islands called Cyclades in the Aegean Sea. It was one of the chief seats of the worship of Apollo, and was celebrated as the birthplace of this god and of his sister Artemis (Diana). We learn from Josephus (*Ant.* xiv. 10, § 8) that Jews resided in this island, which may be accounted for by the fact, that after the fall of Corinth (B.C. 146) it became the centre of an extensive commerce. The sanctity of the spot and its consequent security, its festival, which was a kind of fair, the excellence of its harbour, and its convenient situation on the highway from Italy and Greece to Asia, made it a favourite resort of merchants. So extensive was the commerce carried on in the island, that 10,000 slaves are said to have

changed hands there in one day (Strab. xiv. p. 668). Delus is at present uninhabited, except by a few shepherds. See further, *Dict. of Gr. & Rom. Geogr.* s. v. [W. S.]

DE'MAS (Δημᾶς; *Demas*). The name is probably a shortened form of Demetrius. He was a companion of St. Paul, classed by him (Philem. *v.* 24) with Mark, Aristarchus, and Luke as a fellow-worker, and joined with these in greetings to Philemon. He was not a Jew, for in Col. iv. 14 he is, with Luke, expressly separated from "those of the circumcision." It is noticeable that in the verse quoted Luke has an epithet of affection, while Demas is barely named. This difference forebodes the final contrast in 2 Tim. iv. 10, 11: "Demas forsook me, having loved this present world, and went to Thessalonica . . . Only Luke is with me." It is scarcely fair to conclude with Epiphanius (*Haeres.* li. 6), and, we may add, with Bunyan, that absolute apostasy is implied. We merely gather that he would not stay with St. Paul at Rome under the trying circumstances of his imprisonment. His journey to Thessalonica has been very probably interpreted by Chrysostom as a return home (εἵλετο οἴκοι τρυφᾶν, "he chose to live in luxury *at home*"). Lightfoot (*Col.* iv. 14) inclines to consider him a Thessalonian; and so a fellow-citizen of the more faithful Aristarchus. [E. R. B.]

DEME'TRIUS (Δημήτριος; *Demetrius*). **1.** A master silversmith of Ephesus, employing many men in the manufacture of silver models of the temple of Artemis, which it was customary to wear on the body, or place in houses, as amulets. Demetrius and his fellow-craftsmen, in fear for their trade, raised a tumult against Paul and his companions. For the commercial interests involved in idolatry, cp. Pliny's satisfaction at the renewed demand for "keep" (*pastus*) for sacrificial victims in consequence of the measures which he had taken against Christianity (Plin. *Ep. ad Traj.* 96). The speech of Demetrius has had a commentary provided for it by one of the inscriptions discovered by Mr. Wood at Ephesus, in which the glory of Artemis is set forth in nearly the same language as that which Demetrius uses (see *Contemp. Review*, May 1878, p. 294).

2. A Christian mentioned by St. John (3 John *v.* 12) as deserving the confidence of Gaius, to whom the Epistle is addressed. He is described as having the testimony (1) of all, *i.e.* Christians generally; (2) of the Truth itself, so far as the ideal of Christianity was seen to be realised by him; (3) of St. John and those with him, speaking with the authority of the Church. This commendation of him seems to imply that he was about to visit Gaius, very probably as the bearer of the Epistle. See Westcott, *Epp. of St. John*, in loco. [E. R. B.]

DEME'TRIUS I. (Δημήτριος), surnamed "The Saviour" (Σωτήρ, in recognition of his services to the Babylonians), king of Syria, was the son of Seleucus Philopator, and grandson of Antiochus the Great. While still a boy he was sent by his father as a hostage to Rome (B.C. 175) in exchange for his uncle Antiochus Epiphanes. From his position he was unable to offer any opposition to the usurpation of the Syrian throne by Antiochus IV.; but on the death of that monarch (B.C. 164) he claimed his liberty and the recognition of his claim by the Roman senate in preference to that of his cousin Antiochus V. His petition was refused from selfish policy (Polyb. xxxi. 12); and, by the advice and assistance of Polybius, whose friendship he had gained at Rome (Polyb. xxxi. 19; Just. xxxiv. 3), he left Italy secretly, and landed with a small force at Tripolis in Phoenicia (2 Macc. xiv. 1; 1 Macc. vii. 1; Jos. *Ant.* xii. 10, § 1). The Syrians soon declared in his favour (B.C. 162), and Antiochus and his protector Lysias were put to death (1 Macc. vii. 2, 3; 2 Macc. xiv. 2). Having thus gained possession of the kingdom, Demetrius succeeded in securing the favour of the Romans (Polyb. xxxii. 4), and he turned his attention to the internal organization of his dominions. The Graecizing party were still powerful at Jerusalem, and he supported them by arms. In the first campaign his general Bacchides established Alcimus in the high-priesthood (1 Macc. vii. 5–20); but the success was not permanent. Alcimus was forced to take refuge a second time at the court of Demetrius; and Nicanor, who was commissioned to restore him, was defeated in two successive engagements by Judas Maccabaeus (1 Macc. vii. 31–2, 43–5), and fell on the field. Two other campaigns were undertaken against the Jews by Bacchides (B.C. 161, 158); but in the meantime Judas had completed a treaty with the Romans shortly before his death (B.C. 161), who forbade Demetrius to oppress the Jews (1 Macc. viii. 31). Not long afterwards Demetrius further incurred the displeasure of the Romans by the expulsion of Ariarathes from Cappadocia (Polyb. xxxii. 20; Just. xxxv. 1); and he alienated the affection of his own subjects by his private excesses (Just. *l. c.*; cp. Polyb. xxxiii. 14). When his power was thus shaken (B.C. 152), Alexander Balas was brought forward, with the consent of the Roman senate, as a claimant to the throne, with the powerful support of Ptolemy Philometor, Attalus, and Ariarathes. Demetrius vainly endeavoured to secure the services of Jonathan, who had succeeded his brother Judas as leader of the Jews, and now, from the recollection of his wrongs, warmly favoured the cause of Alexander (1 Macc. x. 1–6). The rivals met in a decisive engagement (B.C. 150), and Demetrius, after displaying the greatest personal bravery, was defeated and slain (1 Macc. x. 48–50; Jos.

Tetradrachm (Attic talent) of Demetrius I.

Obv. Head of Demetrius to the right. Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, in field monogram and MI; in exergue ΑΞΡ (161 of Era Seleuc.). Seated female figure to the left, with sceptre and cornucopia.

Ant. xiii. 2, § 4; Polyb. iii. 5). In addition to the very interesting fragments of Polybius, consult the following references: Just. xxxiv. 3, xxxv. 1; App. *Syr.* 46, 47, 67. [B. F. W.] [R.]

DEME'TRIUS II. (Δημήτριος), "The Victorious" (Νικάτωρ), was the elder son of Demetrius Soter. He was sent by his father, together with his brother Antiochus, with a large treasure, to Cnidus (Just. xxxv. 2), when Alexander Balas laid claim to the throne of Syria. When he was grown up, the weakness and vices of Alexander furnished him with an opportunity of recovering his father's dominions. Accompanied by a force of Cretan mercenaries (Just. *l. c.*; cp. 1 Macc. x. 67), he made a descent on Syria (B.C. 148), and was received with general favour (1 Macc. x. 67 sq.). Jonathan, however, still supported the cause of Alexander, and defeated Apollonius, whom Demetrius had appointed governor of Coele-Syria (1 Macc. x. 74–82). In spite of these hostilities, Jonathan succeeded in gaining the favour of Demetrius when he was established in the kingdom (1 Macc. xi. 23–27), and obtained from him an advantageous commutation of the royal dues and other concessions (1 Macc. xi. 32–37). In return for these favours the Jews rendered important services to Demetrius when Tryphon first claimed the kingdom for Antiochus VI., the son of Alexander (1 Macc. xi. 42), but, afterwards being offended by his faithless ingratitude (1 Macc. xi. 53), they espoused the cause of the young pretender. In the campaign which followed, Jonathan defeated the forces of Demetrius (B.C. 144; 1 Macc. xii. 28); but the treachery to which Jonathan fell a victim (B.C. 143) again altered the policy of the Jews. Simon, the successor of Jonathan, obtained very favourable terms from Demetrius (B.C. 142); but shortly afterwards Demetrius was himself taken prisoner (B.C. 138) by Arsaces VI. (Mithridates), whose dominions he had invaded (1 Macc. xiv. 1–3; Just. xxxvi.). Mithridates treated his captive honourably, and gave him his daughter in marriage (App. *Syr.* 67); and after his death, though Demetrius made several attempts to escape, he still received kind treatment from his successor, Phraates. When Antiochus Sidetes, who had gained possession of the Syrian throne, invaded Parthia, Phraates employed Demetrius to effect a diversion. In this Demetrius succeeded; and when Antiochus fell in battle, he again took possession of the Syrian crown (B.C. 128). Not long afterwards an Egyptian pretender, Alexander Zabinas, supported by Ptolemy VII. Physcon, appeared in

Tetradrachm (Attic talent) of Demetrius II.

Obv. Head of Demetrius to the right. Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ; in exergue ΞΡΘ (169? of Era Seleuc.). Apollo to the left, seated on cortina, with arrow and bow.

the field against him. Demetrius, after suffering a defeat near Damascus, fled to Ptolemais, and thence took ship to Tyre, where, as he was about to land, he was assassinated, according to some (App. *Syr.* 68) by the order of his wife (Just. xxxix. 1; Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 9, 3). [CLEOPATRA.] [B. F. W.] [R.]

DEME'TRIUS III., "The Prosperous" (εὔκαιρος), was the fourth son of Antiochus Grypus, and therefore grandson of Demetrius II. Nicator. The two elder sons of Antiochus Grypus, Seleucus VI. and Antiochus XI., had been defeated and slain by Antiochus X. (Eusebes). The two younger brothers, Philip and Demetrius Eucaerus, were more successful. Philip first ascended the throne, but Demetrius, through the support of Ptolemy Lathurus, was also made king at Damascus; and as Antiochus X. (Eusebes) soon after perished in a war with the Parthians, Philip and Demetrius were for a short time masters of Syria (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 13, § 4). It was at this time that the great Jewish rebellion against king Alexander Jannaeus was at its height. The leaders of the Pharisee faction implored the assistance of king Demetrius, who came to their aid with 3,000 horse and 40,000 foot (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 14, § 5; *Bell. Jud.* i. § 4). A severe engagement near Shechem ended in the complete victory of Demetrius (*circ.* 87 B.C.). Many, however, of the disaffected Jews seem to have dreaded a revival of the Syrian supremacy more than the tyranny of Alexander Jannaeus; and immediately after Demetrius' victory 6,000 of the insurgents went over to the side of the fugitive Asmonean king. Discouraged by this treacherous conduct or by the heavy losses in the recent encounter, Demetrius returned to his own country. A civil war breaking out between the two brothers, Demetrius besieged Philip in the town of Beraea (Aleppo). Mithridates Sinaces, the Parthian king, came to the aid of Philip. Demetrius was defeated and taken prisoner. He was well treated by Mithridates, but ended his days in captivity in Parthia (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 14, §§ 1, 4). The coins which have been discovered bearing the inscription of Demetrius III. Eucaerus belong to the seven years from 95 to 88 B.C. (cp. Gardner's *Catalogue of Greek Coins*, p. 101). [R.]

DEME'TRIUS PHALAREUS (Δημήτριος ὁ Φαλαρεύς). In the Letter of the Pseudo-Aristeas, the Egyptian king, Ptolemy II. Philadelphus (284–247) applies, at the instigation of his librarian Demetrius Phalareus, to Eleazar, the high-priest at Jerusalem, in order to obtain for the great library at Alexandria a copy of the Jewish Law. Demetrius receives the seventy-two Jewish delegates whom the high-priest sends and conducts them with great ceremony to the island of Pharos, where in seventy-two days they completed the Greek version of the Pentateuch (Gallandi, *Biblioth. Patr.* ii. p. 771). According to Eusebius, Aristobulus the Alexandrine Jew (*circ.* 170 B.C.) also connected the name of Demetrius Phalareus with the LXX. translation (*ap* Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* xiii. 12, 1–2: ἡ δὲ ὅλη ἑρμηνεία τῶν διὰ τοῦ νόμου πάντων ἐπὶ τοῦ προσαγορευθέντος Φιλαδέλφου βασιλέως, σοῦ δὲ προγόνου, προσενεγκαμένου μείζονα φιλοτιμίαν, Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως πραγματευσαμένου τὰ περὶ τούτων), but it is more than probable that he has based this statement upon the Letter of the Pseudo-Aristeas, or upon an early version of that legend.

The unhistorical character of the Letter has been often abundantly demonstrated. [See SEPTUAGINT.] It is well illustrated by the use made of the name of Demetrius Phalareus. For it does not appear that Demetrius Phalareus ever resided at Alexandria in the reign of Ptolemy II. Philadelphus. According to one account, which there is no reason to doubt, Demetrius was banished from the court on the death of Ptolemy Lagi, whose favourite he had been (Hermippus Callimachius *ap.* Diog. Laert. v. 78), and died shortly after (*c.* B.C. 283) in exile in Upper Egypt. On his early life and his political career at Athens, see Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Biog.*

The fact that the foundation of the great library at Alexandria was associated in popular tradition with the name of this remarkable man, Attic orator and Alexandrian courtier, a patron of literature, was sufficient to account for his introduction into a Jewish legend, intended to glorify the origin of the Alexandrine Version, regardless of anachronisms. [R.]

DEMETRIUS, a Jewish historian of Alexandria, who lived in the reign of Ptolemy IV. Philopator, B.C. 222–205. Clemens Alexandrinus (*Strom.* i. 21, 141) has preserved an extract of his work *Concerning the Kings in Judaea* (περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ βασιλέων), which deals with the chronology of the Captivity of the Ten Tribes. Other fragments ascribed to him survive in the writings of Eusebius, one relating to the story of Jacob (*ap.* Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* ix. 21), and others to the life of Moses (*id.* ix. 29, 1–3; *Chron. Pasch.* i. 117; and *ap.* Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* ix. 29, 15). It is probable that he was the author of a complete work on Israelite history. The subject of his literary labours and the character of the extant extracts make it practically certain that he was a Jew by birth; and this is the opinion both of Eusebius (*Hist. Ecc.* vi. 13, 17, ἔτι μὴν Φίλωνος καὶ Ἀριστοβούλου, Ἰωσήπου τε καὶ Δημητρίου καὶ Εὐπολέμου, Ἰουδαίων συγγραφέων) and of Jerome (*De Viris Illustr.* xxxviii. 879: "necnon et de Judaeis Aristobulum quemdam et Demetrium et Eupolemum scriptores adversus Gentes refert, qui in similitudinem Josephi ἀρχαιογονίαν Moysi et Judaicae gentis asseverant"). Josephus himself, however, seems to think otherwise; for, speaking of the failure of Gentile historians to do justice to Jewish history, he makes exception in favour of Demetrius, Philo the elder, and Eupolemus, whose slight deviations from accuracy were excusable on the ground of an incomplete acquaintance with Hebrew literature (*contr. Apion.* i. 23, *sub fin.*: ὁ μέντοι Φαληρεὺς Δημήτριος καὶ Φίλων ὁ πρεσβύτερος καὶ Εὐπόλεμος οὐ πολὺ τῆς ἀληθείας διήμαρτον. Οἷς συγγινώσκειν ἄξιον· οὐ γὰρ ἐνῆν αὐτοῖς μετὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας τοῖς ἡμετέροις γράμμασιν παρακολουθεῖν). Josephus, it will be noticed, seems to have confused Demetrius the historian with Demetrius Phalareus; and so far as Demetrius is concerned, this may account for his error. Some scholars, however, have regarded Josephus' statement as sufficient proof that Demetrius was not a Jew (*e.g.* Hody, *De Textibus*, p. 107). [R.]

DEMON (LXX. δαιμόνιον; N. T. δαιμόνιον, or rarely δαίμων. Derivation uncertain. Plato [*Crat.* i. p. 398] connects it with δαήμων, "intelligent," of which indeed the form δαίμων is found in Archil. [B.C. 650]; but it seems more probably derived from δαίω, to "divide" or "assign," in which case it would be similar to Μοῖρα). In sketching out the Scriptural doctrine as to the nature and existence of the demons, we will consider, 1st, the usage of the word δαίμων in classical Greek; 2ndly, notice any modification of it in Jewish hands; and, 3rdly, refer to the passages in the N. T. in which it is employed (cp. Cremer, *Bibl.-theol. Wörterb.*[4]; Thayer, *Gk. Engl. Lex. to N. T.* s. n.).

I. Its usage in classical Greek is various. In Homer, where the gods are but supernatural men, it is used interchangeably with θεός; afterwards in Hesiod (*Op.* 121), when the idea of the gods had become more exalted and less familiar, the δαίμονες are spoken of as intermediate beings, the messengers of the gods to men. This latter usage of the word evidently prevailed afterwards as the correct one, although in poetry, and even in the vague language of philosophy, τὸ δαιμόνιον was sometimes used, as equivalent to τὸ θεῖον, for any superhuman nature. Plato (*Symp.* pp. 202, 203) fixes it distinctly in the more limited sense: πᾶν τὸ δαιμόνιον μεταξύ ἐστι θεοῦ καὶ θνητοῦ . . . . θεὸς ἀνθρώπῳ οὐ μίγνυται, ἀλλὰ διὰ δαιμονίων πᾶσά ἐστιν ἡ ὁμιλία καὶ ἡ διάλεκτος θεοῖς πρὸς ἀνθρώπους. Among them were numbered the spirits of good men, "made perfect" after death (Plat. *Crat.* p. 398, quotation from Hesiod). It was also believed that they became tutelary deities of individuals (to the purest form of which belief Socrates evidently referred in the doctrine of his δαιμόνιον); and hence δαίμων was frequently used in the sense of the "fate" or "destiny" of a man (as in the tragedians constantly), thus recurring, it would seem, directly to its original derivation.

The notion of distinctively *evil* demons appears to have belonged to a later period, and to have been due both to Eastern influence and to the clearer separation of the good and evil in men's thoughts of the supernatural.[a] They were supposed to include the spirits of evil men after death, and to be authors, not only of physical, but of moral evil.

II. In the LXX. the words δαίμων and δαιμόνιον, although not found very frequently, are yet employed to render different Hebrew words; generally in reference to the deities of heathen worship; as in Ps. xcv. 3, for אֱלִילִים, the "empty," the "vanities," rendered χειροποίητοις, &c., in Lev. xix. 4, xxvi. 1; in Deut. xxxii. 17, for שֵׁדִים, "lords" (cp. 1 Cor. viii. 5); in Is. lxv. 11, for גָּד, *Gad*, the god of Fortune: sometimes in the sense of avenging or evil spirits, as in Ps. xci. 6, for קֶטֶב, "pestilence," *i.e.* evidently "the destroyer;" also in Is. xiii. 21, xxxiv. 14, for שָׂעִיר, he-goat, and צִיִּים, "dwellers in the desert," in the same sense in which the A. V. renders "satyrs."

In Josephus we find the word "demons" used always of evil spirits; in *Bell. Jud.* vii. 6, § 3,

[a] Those who imputed lust and envy of man to their gods were hardly likely to have a distinct view of supernatural powers of good and evil, as eternally opposed to each other.

he defines them as τὰ πνεύματα τῶν πονηρῶν, and speaks of their exorcism by fumigation (as in Tob. viii. 2, 3). See also *Ant.* vi. c. 8, § 2; viii. c. 2, § 5. Writing as he did with a constant view to the Gentiles, it is not likely that he would apply the word to heathen divinities.

By Philo the word appears to be used in a more general sense, as equivalent to "angels," and referring to spirits both good and evil.

The change, therefore, of sense in the Hellenistic usage is, first, the division of the good and evil demons, and the more general use of the word for the latter; secondly, the application of the name to the heathen deities.

III. We now come to the use of the term in the N. T. In the Gospels generally, in James ii. 19, and in Rev. xvi. 14, the demons are spoken of as spiritual beings, at enmity with God, and having power to afflict man, not only with disease, but, as is marked by the frequent epithet "unclean," with spiritual pollution also. In Acts xix. 12, 13, &c., they are exactly defined as τὰ πνεύματα τὰ πονηρά. They "believe" in the power of God "and tremble" (Jas. ii. 19); they recognise our Lord as the Son of God (Matt. viii. 29; Luke iv. 41), and acknowledge the authority of His name, used in exorcism, in the place of the name of Jehovah, by His appointed messengers (Acts xix. 15); and look forward in terror to the judgment to come (Matt. viii. 29). The description is precisely that of a nature akin to the angelic [see ANGELS] in knowledge and powers, but with the emphatic addition of the idea of positive and active wickedness. Nothing is said either to support or to contradict the common Jewish belief, that in their ranks might be numbered the spirits of the wicked dead. In support of it are quoted the fact that the demoniacs sometimes haunted the tombs of the dead (Matt. viii. 28), and the supposed reference of the epithet ἀκάθαρτα to the ceremonial uncleanness of a dead body.

In 1 Cor. x. 20, 21, 1 Tim. iv. 1, and Rev. ix. 20, the word δαιμόνια is used of the objects of Gentile worship, and in the first passage is opposed to the word Θεῷ (with a reference to Deut. xxxii. 17). So also is it used by the Athenians in Acts xvii. 18. The same identification of the heathen deities with the evil spirits is found in the description of the damsel having πνεῦμα πύθωνα, or πύθωνος, at Philippi, and the exorcism of her as a demoniac by St. Paul (Acts xvi. 16); and it is to be noticed that in 1 Cor. x. 19, 20, the Apostle is arguing with those who declared an idol to be a pure nullity, and while he accepts the truth that it is so, yet declares that all, which is offered to it, is offered to a "demon." There can be no doubt then of its being a doctrine of Scripture, mysterious (though not *à priori* improbable) as it may be, that in idolatry the influence of the demons was at work, and permitted by God to be effective within certain bounds. There are not a few passages of profane history on which this doctrine throws light; nor is it inconsistent with the existence of remnants of truth in idolatry, or with the possibility of its being, in the case of the ignorant, overruled by God to good.

Of the nature and origin of the demons, Scripture is all but silent. On one remarkable occasion, recorded by the first three Evangelists (Matt. xii. 24–30; Mark iii. 22–30; Luke xi. 14–26), our Lord distinctly identifies Satan with Beelzebub, τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων; and there is a similar though less distinct connexion in Rev. xvi. 14. From these we gather certainly that the demons are agents of Satan in his work of evil, subject to the kingdom of darkness, and doubtless doomed to share in its condemnation; and we conclude probably (though attempts have been made to deny the inference) that they must be the same as "the angels of the devil" (Matt. xxv. 41; Rev. xii. 7, 9), "the principalities and powers" against whom we "wrestle" (Eph. vi. 12, &c.). As to the question of their fall, see SATAN; and on the method of their action on the souls of men, see DEMONIACS.

The language of Scripture, as to their existence and their enmity to man, has suffered the attacks of scepticism, merely on the ground that, in the researches of natural science, there are no traces of superhuman orders of being, and that the fall of spirits, created doubtless in goodness, is to us inconceivable. Both facts are true, but the inference false. The very darkness in which natural science ends, when it approaches the relation of mind to matter, not only does not contradict, but rather gives probability to the existence of supernatural influence. The mystery of the origin of evil in God's creatures is inconceivable; but the difficulty in the case of the angels differs only in degree from that of the existence of sin in man, of which nevertheless as a fact we are only too much assured. The attempts made to explain the words of our Lord and the Apostles as a mere *accommodation* to the belief of the Jews must be dissipated by any careful study of the actual details. They are clearly incompatible with the simple and direct attribution of personality to the demons, as much as to men or to God, and must destroy or impair our faith in the truth and honesty of Holy Scripture itself. [A. B.]

DEMONIACS (δαιμονιζόμενοι, δαιμόνια ἔχοντες). This phrase is frequently used in the N. T., and applied to persons suffering under the possession of a demon or evil spirit [see DEMON], such possession generally showing itself visibly in bodily disease or mental derangement. The word δαιμονᾶν is used in a nearly equivalent sense in classical Greek (as in Aesch. *Choeph.* 566; *Sept. c. Theb.* 1001; Eur. *Phoen.* 888, &c.), except that, as the idea of spirits distinctly evil and rebellious hardly existed, such possession was referred to the will of the gods or to the vague prevalence of an Ἄτη. Neither word is employed in this sense by the LXX., but in our Lord's time (as is seen, for example, constantly in Josephus) the belief in the possession of men by demons, who were either the souls of wicked men after death, or evil angels, was thoroughly established among all the Jews with the exception of the Sadducees alone. With regard to the frequent mention of demoniacs in Scripture, three main opinions have been started.

I. That of the purely mythical school, which makes the whole account merely symbolic, without basis of fact. The possession of the devils is, according to this idea, only a lively symbol of the prevalence of evil in the world, the casting out the devils by our Lord a corresponding symbol of His conquest over that evil

power by His doctrine and His life. The notion stands or falls with the mythical theory as a whole: with regard to the special form of it, it is sufficient to remark the plain, simple, and prosaic relation of the facts as facts, which, whatever might be conceived as possible in highly poetic and avowedly figurative passages, would make their assertion here not a symbol or a figure, but a falsehood. It would be as reasonable to expect a myth or symbolic fable from Thucydides or Tacitus in their accounts of contemporary history.

II. The second theory is, that our Lord and the Evangelists, in referring to demoniacal possession, spoke only in accommodation to the general belief of the Jews, without any assertion as to its truth or its falsity. It is concluded that—since the symptoms of the affliction were frequently those of bodily disease (as dumbness, Matt. ix. 32; blindness, Matt. xii. 22; epilepsy, Mark ix. 17–27), or those seen in cases of ordinary insanity (as in Matt. viii. 28; Mark v. 1–5)—since also the phrase "to have a devil" is constantly used in connexion with, and as apparently equivalent to, "to be mad" (see John vii. 20, viii. 48, x. 20, and perhaps Matt. xi. 18; Luke vii. 33)—and since, lastly, cases of demoniacal possession are not known to occur in our own days—therefore we must suppose that our Lord spoke, and the Evangelists wrote, in accordance with the belief of the time, and with a view to be clearly understood, especially by the sufferers themselves, but that the demoniacs were merely persons suffering under unusual diseases of body and mind.

With regard to this theory also, it must be remarked that it does not accord either with the general principles or with the particular language of Scripture. Accommodation is possible when, in things indifferent, language is used which, although scientifically or etymologically inaccurate, yet conveys a true impression, or when, in things not indifferent, a declaration of truth (1 Cor. iii. 1, 2), or a moral law (Matt. xix. 8), is given, true or right so far as it goes, but imperfect, because of the imperfect progress of its recipients. But certainly here the matter was not indifferent. The age was one of little faith and great superstition; its characteristic the acknowledgment of God as a distant Lawgiver, not an Inspirer of men's hearts. This superstition in things of far less moment was denounced by our Lord; can it be supposed that He would sanction, and the Evangelists be permitted to record for ever, an idea in itself false, which has constantly been the very stronghold of superstition? Nor was the language used such as can be paralleled with mere conventional expression. There is no harm in our "speaking of certain forms of madness as lunacy, not thereby implying that we believe the moon to have or to have had any influence upon them; ... but if we began to describe the cure of such as the moon's ceasing to afflict them, or if a physician were solemnly to address the moon, bidding it abstain from injuring his patient, there would be here a passing over to quite a different region, ... there would be that gulf between our thoughts and words in which the essence of a lie consists. Now Christ does everywhere speak such language as this." (Trench, *On Miracles*, p. 153, where the whole question is most ably treated.) Nor is there, in the whole of the New Testament, the least indication that any "economy" of teaching was employed on account of the "hardness" of the Jews' "hearts." Possession and its cure are recorded plainly and simply; demoniacs are frequently distinguished from those afflicted with bodily sickness (see Mark i. 32, xvi. 17, 18; Luke vi. 17, 18), even, it would seem, from the epileptic (σεληνιαζόμενοι, Matt. iv. 24); the same outward signs are sometimes referred to possession, sometimes merely to disease (cp. Matt. iv. 24 with xvii. 15; Matt. xii. 22 with Mark vii. 32, &c.); the demons are represented as speaking in their own persons with superhuman knowledge,[a] and acknowledging our Lord to be, not as the Jews generally called Him, Son of David, but Son of God (Matt. viii. 29; Mark i. 24, v. 7; Luke iv. 41, &c.). All these things speak of a personal power of evil, and, if in any case they refer to what we might call mere disease, they at any rate tell us of something in it more than a morbid state of bodily organs or self-caused derangement of mind. Nor does our Lord speak of demons as personal spirits of evil to the multitude alone, but in His secret conversations with His disciples, declaring the means and conditions by which power over them could be exercised (Matt. xvii. 21). Twice also He distinctly connects demoniacal possession with the power of the Evil One; once in Luke x. 18, to the seventy disciples, where He speaks of His power and theirs over demoniacs as a "fall of Satan," and again in Matt. xii. 25–30, when He was accused of casting out demons through Beelzebub, and, instead of giving any hint that the possessed were not really under any direct and personal power of evil, He uses an argument, as to the division of Satan against himself, which, if possession be unreal, becomes inconclusive and almost insincere. Lastly, the single fact recorded of the entrance of the demons at Gadara (Mark v. 10–14) into the herd of swine,[b] and the effect which that entrance caused, is sufficient to overthrow the notion that our Lord and the Evangelists do not assert or imply any objective reality of possession. In the face of this mass of evidence it seems difficult to conceive how the theory can be reconciled with anything like truth of Scripture. We may fairly say that it would never have been maintained, except on the supposition that demoniacal possession was in itself a thing absolutely incredible, and against all actual experience.

But how far is this the case? Is such influence really incredible? Clearly to say of a case that it is one of disease or insanity, gives no real explanation of it at all; it merely refers it to a class of cases which we know to exist, but gives no answer to the further question, how did the disease or insanity arise? Even in disease, whenever the mind acts upon the body, (as *e.g.* in nervous disorders, epilepsy, &c.), the

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[a] Compare also the case of the damsel with the spirit of divination (πνεῦμα πύθωνος) at Philippi; where also the power of the evil spirit is referred to under the well-known name of the supposed inspiration of Delphi.

[b] It is almost needless to refer to the subterfuges of interpretation by which the force of this fact is evaded.

mere derangement of the physical organs is not the whole cause of the evil; there is a deeper one lying in the mind. There are (so to speak) two poles of force—the material and the *spiritual*—from which proceed influences telling on the whole nature of man. Insanity may arise, in some cases, from the physical injury or derangement of those bodily organs through which the mind exercises its powers, but far oftener it appears to be due to ideas or emotions acting upon and disordering the mind itself. How are these produced? Sometimes by action or impression of the mind itself; sometimes by action of some other spirit upon it. Nor is this latter action always the plain and ordinary action of communication of thought through word. In fact, modern observation and speculation are now disclosing to us, in startling and *à priori* incredible forms, the extraordinary secret influence—often a morbid and tyrannical influence—of spirit upon spirit, sometimes assuming such dimensions as apparently to leave no room for freewill. If there be spirits of good or evil, stronger than the spirits of men, what improbability is there in the idea of their gaining possession of them? It is an assumption, therefore, which requires proof, that, amidst the many inexplicable phenomena of mental and physical disease in our own days, there are none in which one gifted with "discernment of spirits" might see signs of what the Scripture calls "possession."

The truth is, that here, as in many other instances, the Bible, without contradicting ordinary experience, yet advances to a region whither human science cannot follow. As generally it connects the existence of mental and bodily suffering in the world with the introduction of moral corruption by the Fall, and refers the power of moral evil to a spiritual and personal source; so also it asserts the existence of inferior spirits of evil, and it refers certain cases of bodily and mental disease to the influence which they are permitted to exercise directly over the soul and indirectly over the body. Inexplicable to *us* this influence certainly is, as all action of spirit on spirit is found to be; but no one can pronounce *à priori* whether it be impossible or improbable, and no one has a right to eviscerate the strong expressions of Scripture in order to reduce its declarations to a level with our own ignorance.

III. We are led, therefore, to the ordinary and literal interpretation of these passages, that there are evil spirits [DEMONS], subjects of the Evil One, who, in the days of the Lord Himself and His Apostles especially, were permitted by God to exercise a direct influence over the souls and bodies of certain men. This influence is clearly distinguished from the ordinary power of corruption and temptation wielded by Satan through the permission of God. [SATAN.] Its relation to it, indeed, appears to be not unlike that of a miracle to God's ordinary Providence, or of special prophetic inspiration to the ordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit. Both (that is) are actuated by the same general principles, and tend to the same general object; but the former is a special and direct manifestation of that which is worked out in the latter by a long course of indirect action. The distinguishing feature of possession is the complete or incomplete loss of the sufferer's reason or power of will; his actions, his words, and almost his thoughts are mastered by the evil spirit (Mark i. 24, v. 7; Acts xix. 15), till his personality seems to be destroyed; or, if not destroyed, so overborne as to produce the consciousness of a twofold will within him, like that sometimes felt in a dream. In the ordinary temptations and assaults of Satan, the will itself yields consciously, and by yielding gradually assumes, without losing its apparent freedom of action, the characteristics of the Satanic nature. It is solicited, urged, and persuaded against the strivings of grace, but not overborne.

Still, however, possession is only the special and, as it were, miraculous form of the "law of sin in the members," the power of Satan over the heart itself, recognised by St. Paul as an indwelling and agonizing power (Rom. vii. 21–24). Nor can it be doubted that it was rendered possible in the first instance by the consent of the sufferer to temptation and to sin. That it would be most probable in those who yielded to sensual temptations may easily be conjectured from general observation of the tyranny of a habit of sensual indulgence.[c] The cases of the habitually lustful, the opium-eater, and the drunkard (especially when struggling in the last extremity of delirium tremens) bear, as has been often noticed, many marks very similar to those of the Scriptural possession. There is in them physical disease, but there is often something more. It is also to be noticed that the state of possession, although so awful in its wretched sense of demoniacal tyranny, yet, from the very fact of that consciousness, might be less hopeless and more capable of instant cure than the deliberate hardness of wilful sin. The spirit might still retain marks of its original purity, although, through the flesh and the demoniac power acting by the flesh, it was enslaved. Here also the observation of the suddenness and completeness of conversion, seen in cases of sensualism, compared with the greater difficulty in cases of more refined and spiritual sin, tends to confirm the record of Scripture.

But, while it seems rash to assert that in our own days demoniacal possession does not exist, we can perhaps see reasons why it should have appeared in visible and flagrant intensity at the time of which the Scripture speaks. It was but natural that the power of evil should show itself, in more open and direct hostility than ever, in the age of our Lord and His Apostles, when its time was short. It was natural also that it should take the special form of possession in an age of such unprecedented and brutal sensuality as that which preceded His coming, and continued till the leaven of Christianity was felt. Nor was it less natural that it should have died away gradually before the great direct, and still greater indirect, influence of Christ's kingdom. Accordingly we find early Fathers (as Just. Mart. *Dial. c. Tryph.* p. 311 B; Tertullian, *Apol.* 23, 37, 43) alluding to its

[c] It is to be noticed that almost all the cases of demoniac possession are recorded as occurring among the rude and half-Gentile population of Galilee. St. John, writing mainly of the ministry in Judaea, does not mention any.

existence as a common thing, mentioning the attempts of Jewish exorcism in the name of Jehovah as occasionally successful (see Matt. xii. 27; Acts xix. 13), but especially dwelling on the power of Christian exorcism to cast it out invariably as a test of the truth of the Gospel, and as one well-known benefit which it already conferred on the empire. By degrees the mention is less and less frequent, till the very idea is lost—to be revived hereafter with strange perversions and superstitions in the belief in witchcraft and sorcery in the Middle Ages. The spiritual condition of modern times is wholly different, less open perhaps to exceptional outbursts, more liable to the subtler and more pervasive influences, of evil.

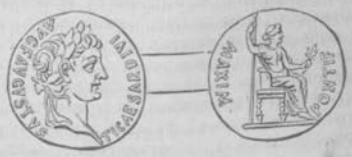
Such is a brief sketch of the Scriptural notices of possession. That round the Jewish notion of it there grew up, in that age of superstition, many foolish and evil practices, and much superstition as to fumigations, &c. (cp. Tob. viii. 1–3; Joseph. *Ant.* viii. c. 2, § 5), in the "vagabond exorcists" (see Acts xix. 13), is obvious and would be inevitable. It is clear that Scripture does not in the least sanction or even condescend to notice such things; but it is certain that, in the Old Testament (see Lev. xix. 31; 1 Sam. xxviii. 7, &c.; 2 K. xxi. 6, xxiii. 24, &c.) as well as in the New, it recognises possession as a real and direct power of evil spirits upon the heart. [A. B.]

DE'MOPHON (Δημοφῶν), a Syrian general in Palestine under Antiochus V. Eupator (2 Macc. xii. 2).

DENA'RIUS (δηνάριον; *denarius*; A. V. "penny," Matt. xviii. 28; xx. 2, 9, 13; xxii. 19;—Mark vi. 37; xii. 15; xiv. 5;—Luke vii. 41; x. 35; xx. 24;—John vi. 7; xii. 5;—Rev. vi. 6), the principal Roman silver coin in the period of the N. T.

The denarius (or properly denarius nummus?) was thus called because it was first struck as equivalent to ten asses. It therefore first bore on the obverse the symbol X, and was called by a name indicating its denary character. The denarius was first issued B.C. 268, and was the chief coin of the first silver issue at Rome. The weight was 70 grains. The half, or quinarius, was equal to 5 asses and bore the mark V, and the quarter, or sestertius, was equal to $2\frac{1}{2}$ asses, and bore the mark IIS. The divisions must have been first issued at the same time as the denarius. The weight of the denarius was reduced *circ.* B.C. 217 to 60 grains, at which it remained until it was further reduced to $52\frac{1}{2}$ grains *circ.* A.D. 60.

By the time of Augustus the denarius had become the chief coin of the Roman world. The drachm of the Attic talent, which from the time of Alexander was the most important Greek monetary standard, had by gradual reduction fallen from the weight of 67·5 grains to the weight of the denarius of Augustus, and the two coins thus came to be regarded as identical. Under the same emperor the Roman money superseded the Greek except in a few issues. The great currency in the precious metals was of coins struck at Rome, and the common silver coin was the denarius. Thus in Palestine in the period of the N. T. denarii must have mainly formed the silver currency. A few local currencies of the neighbouring countries of inferior metal could only have been also in use. It is therefore almost certain that we are to understand the denarius by the terms δραχμὴ and with less certainty ἀργύριον in the N. T., both rendered in the A. V. "piece of silver." [DRACHMA; SILVER, PIECE OF.] The δίδραχμον of the tribute (Matt. xvii. 24) was probably not a current coin, unlike the στατὴρ mentioned in the same passage (v. 27). [STATER.] From the parable of the



Denarius of Tiberius.

Obv. TI CAESAR DIVI AVG F AVGVSTVS. Head of Tiberius, laureate, to the right (Matt. xxii. 19, 20, 21). Rev. PONTIF. MAXIM. Seated female figure to the right.

labourers in the vineyard it seems that a denarius was then the ordinary pay for a husbandman's day's labour (Matt. xx. 2, 4, 7, 9, 10, 13). [See MONEY.] [R. S. P.]

DENS. [CAVES.]

DEPOSIT (פִּקָּדוֹן; παραθήκη, παρακαταθήκη; *depositum*). The arrangement by which one man kept at another's request the property of the latter, until demanded back, was one common to all the nations of antiquity; and the dishonest dealing with such trusts is marked by profane writers with extreme reprobation (Herod. vi. 86; Juv. xiii. 199, &c.; Joseph. *Ant.* iv. 7, § 38; *B. J.* iv. 8, §§ 5, 7). Even our Saviour seems (Luke xvi. 12) to allude to conduct in such cases as a test of honesty.[a] In later times, when no banking system was as yet devised, shrines were often used for the custody of treasure (2 Macc. iii. 10, 12, 15; Xenoph. *Anab.* v. 3, § 7; Cic. *Legg.* ii. 16; Plut. *Lys.* c. 18); but, especially among an agricultural people, the exigencies of war and other causes of absence must often have rendered such a deposit, especially as regards animals, an owner's only course. Nor was the custody of such property burdensome; for the use of it was no doubt, so far as that was consistent with its unimpaired restoration, allowed to the depositary, which office also no one was compelled to accept. The articles specified by the Mosaic law are—(1) "money or stuff;" and (2) "an ass, or an ox, or a sheep, or any beast." The first case was viewed as only liable to loss by theft (probably for loss by accidental fire, &c., no compensation could be claimed), and the thief, if found, was to pay double, *i.e.* probably to compensate the owner's loss, and the unjust suspicion thrown on the depositary. If no theft could be proved, the depositary was to swear before the judges that he had not appropriated the article, and then

[a] Such is probably the meaning of the words ἐν τῷ ἀλλοτρίῳ πιστοί. It may also be remarked that, in the parable of the talents, the "slothful servant" affects to consider himself as a mere *depositarius*, in the words ἴδε ἔχεις τὸ σόν (Matt. xxv. 25).

was quit.[b] In the second, if the beast were to "die or be hurt, or driven away, no man seeing it,"—accidents to which beasts at pasture were easily liable,—the depositary was to purge himself by a similar oath. (Such oaths are probably alluded to Heb. vi. 16, as "an end of all strife.") In case, however, the animal were stolen, the depositary was liable to restitution, which probably was necessary to prevent collusive theft. If it were torn by a wild beast, some proof was easily producible, and, in that case, no restitution was due (Ex. xxii. 7–13). In case of a false oath so taken, the perjured person, besides making restitution, was to "add the fifth part more thereto," to compensate the one injured, and to "bring a ram for a trespass-offering unto the Lord" (Lev. vi. 5, 6). In the Book of Tobit (v. 3) a written acknowledgment of a deposit is mentioned (i. 14 [17], iv. 20 [21]). This, however, merely facilitated the proof of the fact of the original deposit, leaving the law untouched. The Mishnah (*Baba Metzia*, c. iii.; *Shebuoth*, v. 1) shows that the law of the oath of purgation in such cases continued in force among the later Jews. Michaelis on the laws of Moses, ch. 162, may be consulted on this subject. [H. H.]

DEPUTY. The uniform rendering in the A. V. and R. V. of *ἀνθύπατος*, "proconsul" (Acts xiii. 7, 8, 12; xix. 38). The English word is curious in itself, and to a certain extent appropriate, having been applied formerly to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Thus Shaksp. *Hen. VIII.* iii. 2:

> "Plague of your policy,
> You sent me *deputy* for Ireland."

[W. A. W.]

DER'BE (Δέρβη, Acts xiv. 20, 21, xvi. 1; *Eth.* Δερβαῖος, Acts xx. 4). The exact position of this town has but lately been ascertained. It was apparently on one of the main roads from Cilicia to Iconium, and on the great upland plain of LYCAONIA, which stretches from ICONIUM eastwards along the north side of the chain of Taurus. It appears that Cicero went through Derbe on his journey from Cilicia to Iconium (Cic. *ad Fam.* xiii. 73). Such was St. Paul's route on his second missionary journey (Acts xv. 41; xvi. 1, 2), and probably also on the third (xviii. 23, xix. 1). In his first journey (xiv. 20, 21) he approached from the other side, viz. from Iconium, in consequence of persecution in that place and at LYSTRA. No incidents of an adverse character are recorded as having happened at Derbe. In harmony with this, it is not mentioned in the enumeration of places in 2 Tim. iii. 11. "In the apostolic history Lystra and Derbe are commonly mentioned together: in the quotation from the epistle, Lystra is mentioned and not Derbe. The distinction is accurate; for St. Paul is here enumerating his persecutions" (Paley, *Horae Paulinae*, in loco). Gaius, who accompanied St. Paul on his journey from Greece "as far as Asia," was a native of Derbe.

Strabo (p. 535), after describing the ten districts of Cappadocia, adds that there was an eleventh "formed out of Cilicia, consisting of the country about Castabala and Cybistra (*Ereǵli*), extending to Derbe." He states elsewhere (p. 569) that Derbe was "on the side of the Isaurian territory close upon Cappadocia." Ptolemy states (v. 6) that Derbe formed, with Laranda (*Karaman*), Olbasa, and Mousbanda, the "strategia Antiochiane," which was between Lycaonia and Tyanitis. In the *Synecdemus* of Hierocles (Wesseling, p. 675, where the word is Δέρβαι) it is placed, as in the Acts of the Apostles, in Lycaonia. The boundaries of these districts were not very exactly defined. The whole neighbourhood, to the sea-coast of CILICIA, was notorious for robbery and piracy. Antipater, the friend of Cicero (*ad Fam.* xiii. 73), was the bandit chieftain of Lycaonia. Amyntas, king of Galatia (successor of Deiotarus II.), murdered Antipater and incorporated his dominions with his own. Derbe was in the province of CAPPADOCIA, constituted by Tiberius A.D. 17, when the last king Archelaus died. It was probably given the title Claudio-Derbe when transferred by Claudius to LYCAONIA. Afterwards, when Cappadocia and Galatia were united by Vespasian, Lycaonia, with Derbe, was included in the province. [GALATIA.] Derbe does not seem to be mentioned in the Byzantine writers. Leake (p. 102) says that its Bishop was a suffragan of the Metropolitan of Iconium.

Three sites have been assigned to Derbe. (1.) By Col. Leake (*Asia Minor*, p. 101) it was supposed to be at *Bin Bir Kilisseh*, at the foot of the *Karadagh*, a remarkable volcanic mountain which rises from the Lycaonian plain; but this is almost certainly the site of Barata. (2.) Hamilton (*Researches in Asia Minor*, ii. 313) and Texier (*Asie Mineure*, ii. 129, 130) were disposed to place it at *Divlé*, a little to the S.W. of the last position and nearer to the roots of Taurus. In favour of this view there is the important fact that Steph. Byz. says that the place was sometimes called Δελβεία, which in the Lycaonian language (see Acts xiv. 11) meant a "juniper tree." Moreover, he speaks of a λιμὴν here, which (as Leake and the French translators of Strabo suggest) ought probably to be λίμνη; and if this is correct, the requisite condition is satisfied by the proximity of the Lake *Ak Gûl*. Wieseler (*Chronol. der Apost. Zeitalter*, p. 24) takes the same view, though he makes much of the possibility that St. Paul, on his second journey, travelled by a minor pass to the W. of the Cilician Gates. The people of *Divlé* have a tradition that they originally came from *Ambarrarassi*, a small village situated in a recess in the hills close to the eastern end of the marshy lake *Ak Gûl*: there are here the ruins of an old town, and an extensive cemetery, partly of rock-hewn tombs, and partly of sarcophagi now covered by soil washed down from the hills. One of the sarcophagi, of enormous size, 14 ft. and 8 ft. deep, has its lid and sides ornamented with figures in bold relief, similar in style to the sculptures at Pergamum (Davies, *Life in Asiat. Turkey*, p. 280). Above the village the Roman road, which connected it with *Ereǵli*, eighteen miles distant, is well marked by a cutting in the rock (Sir C. Wilson, *MS. Notes*). (3.) Professor W. H. Ramsay argues (*Hist. Geog. of Asia Minor*, p. 336) that Derbe must have been

[b] The Hebrew expression אִם לֹא, Ex. xxii. 8, rendered in the A. V. and R. V. "*to see* whether...(not)," is a common *formula jurandi*.

W. of Laranda, and that it must be placed, as suggested by Professor Sterrett, at *Zosta*, on the road which ran from Cilicia Tracheia through Laranda to Iconium. Winer (*Realwörterbuch*, s. v.) states that Derbe was "S. of Iconium and S.E. of Lystra." [J. S. H.] [W.]

DESERT, a word which is sparingly employed in the A. V. to translate four Hebrew terms, of which three are essentially different in signification. A "desert," in the sense which is ordinarily attached to the word, is a vast, burning, sandy[a] plain, alike destitute of trees and of water. This idea is probably derived from the deserts of Africa—that, for example, which is overlooked by the Pyramids, and with which many travellers are familiar. But it should be distinctly understood that no such region as this is ever mentioned in the Bible as having any connexion with the history of the Israelites, either in their wanderings or their settled existence. With regard to the sand, the author of *Sinai and Palestine* has given the fullest correction to this popular error, and has shown that "sand is the exception and not the rule of the Arabian desert" of the Peninsula of Sinai (*S. & P.*, pp. 8, 9, 64). And as to the other features of a desert, certainly the Peninsula of Sinai is no plain, but a region extremely variable in height, and diversified, even at this day, by oases and valleys of verdure and vegetation, and by frequent wells, which were all probably far more abundant in those earlier times than they now are. This, however, will be more appropriately discussed under the head of WILDERNESS OF THE WANDERINGS. Here it is simply necessary to show that the words rendered in the A. V. by "desert," when used in the historical books, denoted definite localities; and that those localities do not answer to the common conception of a "desert."

1. ARÂBAH (עֲרָבָה). The root of this word, according to Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 1066), is *Arab*, עָרַב, to be dried up as with heat; and it has been already shown that when used, as it invariably is in the historical and topographical records of the Bible, with the definite article, it means that very depressed and enclosed region —the deepest and the hottest chasm in the world—the sunken valley north and south of the Dead Sea, but more particularly the former. [ARABAH.] True, in the present depopulated and neglected state of Palestine the Jordan valley is as arid and desolate a region as can be met with, but it was not always so. On the contrary, we have direct testimony to the fact that when the Israelites were flourishing, and later in the Roman times, the case was emphatically the reverse. Jericho, "the city of palm trees," at the lower end of the valley, Bethshean at the upper, and Phasaelis in the centre, were famed both in Jewish and profane history for the luxuriance of their vegetation (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 2, § 2; xvi. 5, § 2; BETHSHEAN; JERICHO). When the abundant water-resources of the valley were properly husbanded and distributed, the tropical heat caused not barrenness but tropical fertility; and here grew the balsam, the sugar-cane, and other plants requiring great heat, but also rich soil, for their culture. ARABAH in the sense of the Jordan Valley is translated by the A. V. "desert" (R. V. *Arabah*) only in Ezek. xlvii. 8. In a more general sense of waste, deserted country—a meaning easily suggestive by the idea of excessive heat contained in the root—"Desert," as the rendering of *Arabah*, occurs in the Prophets and poetical Books (cp. Is. xxxv. 1, 6, xl. 3, xli. 19, li. 3; Jer. ii. 6, v. 6, xvii. 6, l. 12): but this general sense is never found in the Historical Books. In these, to repeat once more, *Arabah* always denotes the Jordan Valley, the *Ghor* of the modern Arabs. Dean Stanley proposes to use "desert" as the translation of *Arabah* whenever it occurs, and, though not exactly suitable, it is difficult to suggest a better word.

2. But if *Arabah* gives but little support to the ordinary conception of a "desert," still less does the other word which our translators have most frequently rendered by it. MIDBAR (מִדְבָּר) is accurately the "pasture ground," deriving its name from a root *dabar* (דָּבַר), "to drive," significant of the pastoral custom of driving the flocks out to feed in the morning, and home again at night; and therein analogous to the German word *trift*, which is similarly derived from *treiben*, "to drive." Jeremiah (xxiii. 10) speaks of the "pleasant places," R. V. "pastures" (נְאוֹת), of the Midbar. With regard to the Wilderness of the Wanderings—for which MIDBAR is almost invariably used—this signification is most appropriate; for we must never forget that the Israelites had flocks and herds with them during the whole of their passage to the Promised Land. They had them when they left Egypt (Ex. x. 26, xii. 38); they had them at Hazeroth, the middle point of the wanderings (Num. xi. 22), and some of the tribes possessed them in large numbers immediately before the transit of the Jordan (Num. xxxii. 1). Midbar is not often rendered by "desert" in the A. V. Its usual and certainly more appropriate translation is "wilderness," a word in which the idea of vegetation is present. In speaking of the Wilderness of the Wanderings the word "desert" occurs as the rendering of *Midbar*, in Ex. iii. 1, v. 3, xix. 2; Num. xxxiii. 16; and in more than one of these it is evidently employed for the sake of euphony merely. In each case R. V. has "wilderness."

Midbar is most frequently used for those tracts of waste land which lie beyond the cultivated ground in the immediate neighbourhood of the towns and villages of Palestine, and which are a very familiar feature to the traveller in that country. In spring these tracts are covered with a rich green verdure of turf, and small shrubs and herbs of various kinds. But at the end of summer the herbage withers, the turf dries up and is powdered thick with the dust of the chalky soil, and the whole has certainly a most dreary aspect. An example of this is furnished by the hills through which the path from Bethany to Jericho pursues its winding descent. In the spring so abundant is the pasturage of these hills, that they are the resort of the flocks from Jerusalem on the one hand and Jericho on the other, and even from the Arabs on the other side of the Jordan. And

[a] "The sea of sand." See Coleridge's parable on Mystics and Mysticism (*Aids to Refl.* Conclusion).

even in the month of September — when the writer made this journey—though the turf was only visible on close inspection, more than one large flock of goats and sheep was browsing, scattered over the slopes, or stretched out in a long even line like a regiment of soldiers.[b] A striking example of the same thing, and of the manner in which this waste pasture land gradually melts into the cultivated fields, is seen in making one's way up through the mountains of Benjamin, due west, from Jericho to *Mukhmâs* or *Jeb'a*. These *Midbars* seem to have borne the name of the town to which they were most contiguous: for example, Bethaven (in the region last referred to); Ziph, Maon, and Paran, in the south of Judah; Gibeon, Jeruel, &c.

In the poetical Books "desert" (R.V. "wilderness") is found as the translation of *Midbar* in Deut. xxxii. 10; Job xxiv. 5; Is. xxi. 1; Jer. xxv. 24.

3. CHORBAH (חָרְבָּה). This word is perhaps related to *Arabah*, with the substitution of one guttural for another; at any rate it appears to have the same force, of dryness, and thence of desolation. It does not occur in any historical passages. It is rendered "desert" in Ps. cii. 6; Is. xlviii. 21; Ezek. xiii. 4. The term commonly employed for it in the A. V. is "waste places" or "desolation."

4. JESHÎMON (יְשִׁימוֹן; *desert, waste*). This word in the historical books is used with the definite article, apparently to denote the waste tracts on both sides of the Dead Sea. In all these cases it is treated as a proper name in the A. V.; and in the R. V. is translated "the desert" (*marg.* Jeshimon). [JESHIMON; BETH-JESIMOTH.] Without the article it occurs in a few passages of poetry; in the following of which it is rendered "desert" (Ps. lxxviii. 40, cvi. 14; Is. xliii. 19, 20). [G.] [W.]

DES'SAÜ (Δεσσαού, A. Λεσσαού; *Dessau*), a village (not "town;" κώμη, *castellum*) at which Nicanor's army was once encamped during his campaign with Judas (2 Macc. xiv. 16). There is no mention of it in the account of these transactions in 1 Macc. or in Josephus. Ewald conjectures that it may have been Adasa (*Gesch.* iv. 368, note). [G.]

DEU'EL (דְּעוּאֵל; BA. Ῥαγουήλ; *Dehuel*), father of Eliasaph, the "captain" (נָשִׂיא) of the tribe of Gad at the time of the numbering of the people at Sinai (Num. i. 14; vii. 42, 47; x. 20). The same man is mentioned again in ii. 14, but here the name appears as Reuel, owing to an interchange of the two very similar Hebrew letters ד and ר. In this latter passage the Samaritan, Arabic, and Vulg. retain the D; the LXX., as in the other places, has R. [REUEL.] Which of the two was really his name, we have no means of deciding. [G.]

DEUTERONOMY (Δευτερονόμιον, from the [inexact] LXX. rendering of מִשְׁנֵה הַתּוֹרָה הַזֹּאת,[a] xvii. 18, τὸ δευτερονόμιον τοῦτο [cp. Josh. viii. 32]; Vulg. *Deuteronomium*; called by the Jews, from the opening words, אֵלֶּה הַדְּבָרִים, or more briefly דְּבָרִים), the fifth Book of the Pentateuch, recording the events of the last month (i. 3; xxxiv. 8) of the forty years' wanderings of the children of Israel. The greater part of the Book is occupied by the final discourse of Moses delivered in the plains of Moab, setting before the Israelites the laws which they are to obey, and the spirit in which they are to obey them, when they are settled in the Promised Land. This is preceded and followed by other matter, the nature of which will appear more distinctly from a preliminary outline of contents.

I. *Contents and Scope.*

§ 1. i. 1–5. Historical introduction, describing the situation and occasion on which the discourses following were delivered.

i. 6—iv. 40. Moses' *first* discourse, consisting of a review of the circumstances under which the Israelites had arrived at the close of their wanderings, and concluding with an eloquent practical appeal (ch. iv.) not to forget the great truths impressed upon them at Horeb.

iv. 41–43. Historical account of the appointment by Moses of three cities of refuge east of Jordan.

iv. 44–49. Historical introduction to Moses' *second* discourse, forming the legislation *proper*.

v.–xxvi. The legislation, consisting of two parts: (1) v.–xi. Hortatory introduction, developing the first commandment of the Decalogue, and inculcating the *general* theocratic principles by which Israel, as a nation, is to be guided. (2) xii.–xxvi. The *code* of *special* laws.

xxvii. Injunctions (narrated in the third person) relative to a symbolical acceptance by the nation of the preceding code, after taking possession of Canaan.

xxviii.–xxix. 1. Conclusion to the code (connected closely with xxvi. 19), consisting of a solemn declaration of the consequences to follow its observance or neglect.

xxix. 2—xxx. 20. Moses' *third* discourse, embracing (1) the establishment of a fresh covenant between the people and God (ch. xxix.); (2) the promise of restoration, even after the abandonment threatened in ch. xxviii., if the nation should then exhibit due tokens of penitence (xxx. 1–10); (3) the choice set before Israel (xxx. 11–20).

xxxi. 1–13. Moses' farewell of the people, and commission of Joshua. His delivery of the Deuteronomic law to the Levitical priests.

xxxi. 14—xxxii. 47. The Song of Moses, with accompanying historical notices.

xxxii. 48—xxxiv. 12. Conclusion of the whole Book, containing the Blessing of Moses, and describing the circumstances of his death.

§ 2. The Deuteronomic *legislation*, properly so called, is thus included in chs. xii.–xxvi., to which chs. v.–xi. form an introduction. The remaining portions of the Book, differing as they do from these chapters in character and scope,

[b] This practice is not peculiar to Palestine. Mr. Blakesley observed it in Algeria; and gives the reason for it, namely, a more systematic, and therefore complete, consumption of the scanty herbage (*Four Months in Algeria*, p. 303).

[a] Which = *a repetition* (i.e. *copy*) *of this law*, not *this repetition of the law*.

are sometimes spoken of as the "margins"[b] of the legislation proper. In Deut. itself, the code (including its supplement, ch. xxviii.) is referred to continually (i. 5; iv. 8; xvii. 18, 19; xxvii. 3, 8, 26; xxviii. 58, 61; xxix. 29 [Heb. 28]; xxxi. 9, 11, 12, 24, 26) as *this law*, sometimes also as *this book of the law* (xxix. 21, xxx. 10; cf. Josh. i. 8). That these expressions refer to Deut. alone (or the code contained in it[c]), and not to the entire Pentateuch, appears in particular (1) from the wording of i. 5 and iv. 8, 44, which points to a law about to be, or actually being, set forth; (2) from the parallel phrases *this commandment*, *these statutes*, or *these judgments*, often spoken of as inculcated *to-day* (vii. 12 [see *v.* 11]; xv. 5; xix. 9; xxvi. 16; xxx. 11: cf. v. 1; vi. 6; xi. 28, 32), and *this covenant* (xxix. 9, 14), which clearly alludes to the Deuteronomic legislation (cf. 19, 20, "the curse written *in this book*" [ch. xxviii.]), and is distinguished from the covenant made before at Sinai (xxix. 1).[d]

§ 3. In order to gain a right estimate of Deut., it is necessary to compare it carefully with the previous Books of the Pentateuch, upon which, in its historical and legislative portions alike, it is based. Let us consider the latter portions first. In comparing these with the laws in Ex.–Lev., it must be kept in mind that these laws are not homogeneous, but fall into at least *three* distinct codes, each marked by features of its own; and it is important to observe in what manner Deut. is related to each of these. The codes referred to are (1) that contained in Ex. xx.–xxiii., comprising the Decalogue, and what is commonly known as the "Book of the Covenant" (Ex. xxiv. 7), to which must be added the (partial) repetition of the latter in xxxiv. 10–26, and the kindred section xiii. 3–16; (2) the laws, specially on ritual, occupying Ex. xxv.–xxxi., xxxv.–xl., Lev. i.–xvi., xxvii., and the greater part of Numbers, now often termed the "Priests' Code"; (3) the special code contained in Lev. xvii.–xxvi. The following synopsis will show immediately which of the enactments in Deut. relate to subjects not dealt with in the other codes, and which are parallel to provisions there contained.

§ 4. *Synopsis of Laws contained in Deuteronomy.*

Exodus.	Deuteronomy.	The Priests' Code.
xx. 2–17.	v. 6–21 (the Decalogue).	
xxiii. 12.	,, 14 b (object of Sabbath).	
xx. 24.	xii. 1–28 (place of sacrifice).	Lev. xvii. 1–9.
	,, 16, 23; xv. 23 (blood not to be eaten).	,, xvii. 10–14; xix. 26 a.
	xii. 29–xiii. 18 (against seduction to idolatry).	
	xiv. 1 sq. (disfigurement in mourning).	,, xix. 28.
	,, 3–20 (clean and unclean animals).	,, xi. 2–22; xx. 25.
xxii. 31.	,, 21 a (food improperly killed).	,, xvii. 15; xi. 40.
xxiii. 19 b; xxxiv. 26 b.	,, 21 b (kid in mother's milk).	
	,, 22–29 (tithes).	
xxiii. 10 sq.	xv. 1–11 (Sabbatical year).	Lev. xxv. 1–7.
xxi. 2–11.	,, 12–18 (Hebrew slaves).	,, xxv. 39–46.
xxii. 30; xiii. 11, 12; xxxiv. 19.	,, 19–23 (firstlings of ox and sheep).	Ex. xiii. 1 sq.; Num. xviii. 17 sq.
xxiii. 14–17; xxxiv. 18, 20 b, 22–25.	xvi. 1–17 (the three annual pilgrimages).	Lev. xxiii.; Num. xxviii. sq.
	,, 18 (appointment of judges).	
xxiii. 1–3, 6–8.	,, 19 sq. (just judgment).	Lev. xix. 15.
	,, 21 sq. (neither Ashērah nor pillar to be used as a religious symbol).	,, xxvi. 1 a.
	xvii. 1 (offerings to be without blemish: cf. xv. 21).	,, xxii. 17–24.
xxii. 20.	,, 2–7 (idolatry, especially of the "host of heaven").	
	,, 8–13 (court of final appeal).	
	,, 14–20 (law of the king).	
	xviii. 1–8 (rights of the tribe of Levi).	,, vii. 32–34; Num. xviii. 8 20.
	,, 9–22 (law of the prophet).	
	,, 10 a (Molech-worship).	,, xviii. 21; xx. 2–5.
xxii. 18 (witch alone).	,, 10 b–11 (different kinds of divination).	,, xix. 26 b, 31; xx. 6, 27.
xxi. 12–14.	xix. 1–13 (murder and asylum).	,, xxiv. 17, 21; Num. xxxv.
	,, 14 (the landmark).	
xxiii. 1.	,, 15–21 (law of witnesses).	,, xix. 16 b.
	xx. (laws of war and military service: cp. xxiv. 5).	
	xxi. 1–9 (expiation of uncertain murder).	
	,, 10–14 (treatment of female captives).	
	,, 15–17 (primogeniture).	
xxi. 15, 17.	,, 18–21 (undutiful son).	,, xx. 9.
	,, 22 sq. (body of malefactor).	

[b] Kleinert [see full title in § 40], p. 33 sq.

[c] A limitation which seems to be demanded by the nature of the injunction in xxvii. 3, 8.

[d] So Delitzsch (*Genesis*, 1872, p. 21; 1887, pp. 15, 23), with the majority of modern scholars. Keil (*Einleitung*, 1873, § 23, 3) refers *this law* (i. 5) to the legislation *preceding* Deut.; but though it is true that the expression might be used to denote, for instance, the Book of Numbers, this (as we shall see) is not anywhere "explained" in Deut. Ex. xx.–xxiii. is "explained" in Deut., but is too remote to be described by the pronoun "this."

Exodus.	Deuteronomy.	The Priests' Code.
xxiii. 4 sq.	xxii. 1–4 (animals straying or fallen).	
	,, 5 (sexes not to interchange garments).	
	,, 6 sq. (bird's nest).	
	,, 8 (battlement).	
	,, 9–11 (against non-natural mixtures).	Lev. xix. 19.
	,, 12 (law of "fringes").	Num. xv. 37–41.
	,, 13–21 (slander against a maiden).	
	,, 22–27 (adultery).	Lev. xviii. 20; xx. 10.
xxii. 16 sq.	,, 28 sq. (seduction).	
	,, 30 (incest with step-mother).	,, xviii. 8; xx. 11.
	xxiii. 1–8 (conditions of admittance into the theocratic community).	
	,, 9–14 (cleanliness in the camp).	Num. v. 1–4.
	,, 15 sq. (humanity to escaped slave).	
	,, 17 sq. (against *religious* prostitution).	
xxii. 25.	,, 19 (usury).	Lev. xxv. 35–37.
	,, 21–23 (vows).	Num. xxx. 2.
	,, 24 sq. (regard for neighbour's crops).	
	xxiv. 1–4 (divorce).	
xxii. 26 sq.	,, 6, 10–13 (pledges).	
xxi. 16.	,, 7 (man-stealing).	
	,, 8 sq. (leprosy).	Lev. xiii.–xiv.
	,, 14 sq. (justice towards hired servants).	,, xix. 13.
	,, 16 (the family of a criminal not to suffer with him).	
xxii. 21–24, xxiii. 9.	,, 17 sq. (justice towards stranger, widow, and orphan).	,, xix. 33 sq.
	,, 19 sq. (gleanings).	,, xix. 9 sq.; xxiii. 22.
	xxv. 1–3 (moderation in the infliction of the bastinado).	
	,, 4 (ox not to be muzzled while threshing).	
	,, 5–10 (law of the levirate).	
	,, 11 sq. (modesty).	
	,, 13–16 (just weights).	Lev. xix. 35 sq.
xvii. 14.	,, 17–19 (Amalek!).	
cp. xxii. 29 a; xxiii. 19 a; xxxiv. 26 a.	xxvi. 1–15 (form of thanksgiving at the offering of first-fruits and triennial tithes).	cp. Num. xviii. 12 sq.
xiii. 9, 16.	vi. 8; xi. 18 (law of frontlets).	
xxiii. 13; xxxiv. 14.	vi. 14; xi. 16 (against "other gods").	
xiii. 14.	vi. 20 sq. (instruction to children).	
xxiii. 24, 32 sq.; xxxiv. 12 sq., 15 sq.	vii. 2–5, 16; xii. 3 (no compact with Canaanites: their altars and religious emblems to be destroyed).	Num. xxxiii. 52, 55.
xxii. 20, xxiii. 9.	x. 19 (to love the stranger).	Lev. xix. 34.
	xvi. 13, 15 (feast of "booths," "seven days").	,, xxiii. 34, 39, 41–43.
	xvii. 6; xix. 15 ("two or three witnesses").	Num. xxxv. 30.
xxi. 23–25.	xix. 21 (*lex talionis*) (but *in a different application* in each case).	Lev. xxiv. 19 sq.

§ 5. The parallels for xxvii. 15–26 (the imprecations) are as follows:—

Exodus.	Deuteronomy.	Leviticus xvii.–xxvi.
xx. 4, 23; xxxiv. 17.	xxvii. 15 [cp. vii. 25].	xix. 4; xxvi. 1 a.
xxi. 17.	,, 16 [cp. xxi. 18–21].	xx. 9.
	,, 17 [xix. 14].	
	,, 18.	xix. 14.
xxii. 21–24; xxiii. 9.	,, 19 [xxiv. 17].	xix. 33 sq.
	,, 20 [xxii. 30 (xxiii. 1 Heb.)].	xviii. 8; xx. 11.
xxii. 19 [Heb. 18].	,, 21.	xviii. 23; xx. 15.
	,, 22.	xx. 17; cp. xviii. 9.
	,, 23.	xviii. 17; xx. 14.
xxi. 12.	,, 24.	xxiv. 17.
xxiii. 8.	,, 25 [xvi. 19].	

§ 6. In the matter of arrangement, Deut. is not dependent upon any of the other codes. The only principles that can be traced are—(1.) Laws concerning kindred subjects are sometimes placed together. (2.) In the legislation, viewed as a whole, religious duties occupy the first place (chaps. xii.–xvi. mainly); then follow civil ordinances (chaps. xvii.–xx.); lastly, regulations touching social and domestic life (chaps. xxi.–xxv.). If, however, the parallels are examined in detail, it will become apparent that the foundation of the legislation is the code in Ex. xx.–xxiii.: this is evident as well from the numerous verbal coincidences * as from the fact

* *E.g.* Deut. xvi. 1 b and Ex. xxiii. 15 (=xxxiv. 18); 3 m and xiii. 6 (=xxiii. 15=xxxiv. 18); 4 a and xiii. 7;

which is plain from the left-hand column, viz. that nearly the whole ground covered by Ex. xx.–xxiii. is included in it, the chief exception being the special compensations to be paid for various injuries (Ex. xxi. 18—xxii. 15), which would be less necessary in a manual intended for the people.[f] In a few cases the entire law is repeated *verbatim*, elsewhere only particular clauses (*e.g.* vi. 8, 20; xv. 12, 16, 17); more commonly it is explained (xvi. 19 b; xxii. 4 b) or expanded; fresh definitions being added (xvi. 1–17), or a principle applied so as to cover expressly particular cases (xvii. 2–7; xviii. 10 b, 11). Sometimes even the earlier law is modified: discrepancies arising from this cause will be considered subsequently. The additional civil and social enactments make provision chiefly for cases likely to arise in a more complex and developed community than is contemplated in the legislation of Ex. xx.–xxiii.

In the right-hand column most of the parallels are with Lev. xvii.–xxvi. These consist principally of specific moral injunctions; but it cannot be said that the legislation in Deut. is based upon this code, or connected with it organically, as it is with Ex. xx.–xxiii. With the other parts of Lev.-Num. the parallels are less complete, the only remarkable verbal one being afforded by the description of clean and unclean animals in xiv. 4 a, 6–19 a: in some other cases the differences are such (see § 16) as to cause great embarrassment to the harmonizer. Deut. thus stands in a different relation to each of the three codes referred to: it is an *expansion* of that in Ex. xx.–xxiii.; it is, in several features, *parallel* to that in Lev. xvii.–xxvi.; it contains *allusions* to laws such as those codified in the rest of Lev.–Num.

§ 7. In so far as it is a law-book, Deut. may be described as a manual, which without entering into technical details (almost the only exception is xiv. 3–20, which explains itself) would instruct the Israelite in the ordinary duties of life. It gives general directions as to the way in which the annual feasts are to be kept and the principal offerings paid. It lays down a few fundamental rules concerning sacrifice (xii. 5 sq., 20, 23; xv. 23; xvii. 1); for a case in which technical skill would be required, it refers to the priests (xxiv. 8). It prescribes the general principles by which family and domestic life is to be regulated, specifying a number of the cases most likely to occur. Justice is to be equitably and impartially administered (xvi. 18–20); only the terms of compensation, as has been remarked (§ 6), are not again particularized. It prescribes a due position in the community to the prophet (xiii. 1–5; xviii. 9–22), and shows how even the monarchy may be so established as not to contravene the fundamental principles of the theocracy (xvii. 14 sq.).

§ 8. Deuteronomy is, however, more than a mere code of laws: it is the expression of a profound ethical and religious spirit, which determines its character in every part. At the head of the hortatory introduction (chaps. v.–xi.) stands the Decalogue; and the First Commandment forms the text of the chapters which follow. Having already (iv. 12 sq.) dwelt on the *spirituality* of the God of Israel, the lawgiver emphasizes here, far more distinctly than had been done before, His *unity* and *unique Godhead* (vi. 4; x. 17: cp. iii. 24; iv. 35, 39), drawing from this truth the practical consequence that He must be the sole object of the Israelite's reverence (vi. 13; x. 20). He exhorts the people to keep His statutes ever in remembrance (v. 1; vi. 6–9, 17 sq., &c.); warning them with special earnestness lest in days of prosperity and thoughtlessness they should forget Him (vi. 10–12; viii. 11–18, &c.), and yield to the temptations of idolatry; and setting before them the dangers of disobedience (vi. 14 sq.; vii. 4; viii. 19 sq.; xi. 16 sq.: so iv. 25 sq. —a prelude of ch. xxviii.). He reminds them of the noble privileges, undeserved on their part (vii. 7 sq.; ix. 4–6; and the retrospect following, as far as x. 11), which had been bestowed upon them (x. 14 sq., 22; so iv. 37); and re-asserts with fresh emphasis the old idea (Ex. xxiv. 8; xxxiv. 10) of the covenant subsisting between the people and God (v. 2, 3; xxvi. 16–19: so iv. 23, 32; xxix. 12–15), assuring them that if they are true on their side God will be true likewise (vii. 9–13; viii. 18; xi. 22–28). Particularly he emphasizes the love of God (vii. 8, 13; x. 15; xxiii. 5 b: so iv. 37), tracing even in his people's affliction the chastening hand of a father (viii. 2 sq., 5, 16), and dwelling on the providential purposes which His dealings with Israel exemplified.

Duties, however, are not to be performed from secondary motives, such as fear, or dread of consequences: they are to be the spontaneous outcome of a heart from which every taint of worldliness has been removed (x. 16), and which is penetrated by an all-absorbing sense of personal devotion to God ("with *all* the heart, and with *all* the soul": see § 37). Love to God, as the motive of human action, is the characteristic doctrine of Deuteronomy (vi. 5; x. 12; xi. 1, 13, 22; xiii. 3; xix. 9; xxx. 6, 16, 20): as here dwelt upon and expanded, the old phrase *those that love Me* is filled with a moral significance, which the passing use of it, in passages like Ex. xx. 6, Judg. v. 31, would scarcely suggest. No more profound expression of the true principle of human action can be found than this: it was a true instinct which in later times selected Deut. vi. 4–9 for daily recitation by every Israelite[g]; and it is at once intelligible that our Lord should have pointed to the same text, both as the "first commandment of all" (Matt. xxii. 37 sq.; Mark xii. 29 sq.), and as embodying the primary condition for the inheritance of eternal life (Luke x. 27 sq.).

§ 9. The code of special laws (xii.–xxvi.) is dominated by similar principles. Sometimes, indeed, the legislator is satisfied to leave an enactment to explain itself: more commonly he insists upon the object which it is to subserve (*e.g.* xiv. 23, xxi. 23, &c.), or the motive which should be operative in its observance. An ethical and religious aim should underlie the entire life of the community. Local sanctuaries

4 b and xxiii. 18, xxxiv. 25; 16 a and xxiii. 17 (=xxxiv. 23); 16 b and xxiii. 15 (=xxxiv. 20).

[f] The other exceptions are Ex. xx. 25 sq., xxii. 28, 29 b, xxiii. 18.

[g] The *Shemâ'*: see (*e.g.*) C. Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers* (Cambridge, 1877), pp. 52, 130.

were apt to be abused, and to degenerate into homes of superstition and idolatry: all offerings and public worship generally are to take place at the central sanctuary, "the place which the Lord thy God shall choose" (ch. xii. and often). Old enactments are repeated (xii. 3; cp. vii. 5), and fresh enactments to meet special cases (xiii.; xx. 16–18) are added, for the purpose of neutralizing every inducement to worship "other gods." The holiness of the nation is to be its standard of behaviour, even in matters which might appear indifferent (xiv. 1 sq., 3–20, 21); its perfect devotion to its God is to exclude all customs or observances inconsistent with this (xviii. 9–14). Especially are the duties of humanity, philanthropy, and benevolence insisted on, towards those in difficulty or want (xii. 19; xv. 7–11; xxii. 1–4; xxiv. 12 sq., 14 sq.; xxvii. 18), and towards slaves (xv. 13 sq.; xxiii. 15 sq.), in particular upon occasion of the great annual pilgrimages (xii. 12, 18; xiv. 27, 29; xvi. 11, 14; xxvi. 11, 13). Gratitude and a sense of sympathy evoked by the recollection of their own past, are the motives again and again inculcated: two forms of thanksgiving form the termination of the code (ch. xxvi.). Already in the Decalogue the reason assigned for the observance of the fourth commandment, "that thy manservant and thy maidservant may rest as well as thou," and the motive, "And thou shalt remember that thou wast a bondman in the land of Egypt" (v. 14 b, 15), indicate the lines along which the legislator moves, and the principles which it is his desire to impress (add xiii. 5, 10; xv. 15; xvi. 3 b, 12; xxiii. 7; xxiv. 18, 22). Forbearance, equity, and forethought underlie the regulations xx. 5–11, 19 sq.; xxi. 10–14, 15–17; xxii. 8; xxiii. 24, 25; xxiv. 5, 6, 16, 19–22; xxv. 3: humanity towards animals, those in xxii. 7; xxv. 4. Not indeed that similar considerations are absent from the older legislation (see *e.g.* Ex. xxii. 21–24, 27; xxiii. 9, 11, 12), and (as the table will have shown) some of the enactments which have been cited are even borrowed from it; but they are developed in Deut. with an emphasis and distinctness which give a character to the entire work. Nowhere else in the O. T. do we breathe such an atmosphere of generous devotion to God, and of large-hearted benevolence towards man; and nowhere else is it shown with the same fulness of detail how these principles may be made to permeate the entire life of the community.

§ 10. The relation of the *historical* sections of Deut. (i.–iii., ix. sq.) to Ex.–Num. must next be examined. The following table of *verbal coincidences* shows that these are even more closely dependent upon the earlier narrative than are the laws. The reader who desires to apprehend properly the nature and extent of these coincidences, should mark in the margin of his copy of Deut. the references, and underline (or, if he uses the Hebrew text, *over*line) the words in common: he will then be able to see at a glance (1) the passages of Ex.–Num. passed over in Deut.; (2) the variations and additions in Deut. We have only space for the parallels in i. 7–17 and ix. 6 sq.: the reader must work out those in i. 24–46 with parts of Num. xiii. 17–xiv. 25, 40–45, xx. 1, and in ii. 1–iii. 11 with Num. xxi. 4–35 (which are not less noticeable) for himself.

Deut.	
i. 7 a	(Num. xiv. 25)[h]
9 a	(Num. xi. 14)
12	(Num. xi. 17 b)
13 a	Cp. Ex. xviii. 21 a
15	Ex. xviii. 25
17 b	Ex. xviii. 22, 26 (קִישֶׁה)
ix. 6 b	Ex. xxxii. 9; xxxiii. 3, 5; xxxiv. 9
9 a	Ex. xxiv. 12
9 middle	Ex. xxiv. 18 b
9 end	(Ex. xxxiv. 28 a)
10 a	Ex. xxxi. 18 b
12	Ex. xxxii. 7, 8 a
13	Ex. xxxii. 9
14 b	Ex. xxxii. 10 b (Num. xiv. 12 b)
15	Ex. xxxii. 15
16	Ex. xxxii. 19 a, 8 a
17	Ex. xxxii. 19 b
18–19	Ex. xxxiv. 28 (cp. 9)
20	* * *
21	Ex. xxxii. 20
22	(Cp. Num. xi. 1–3; Ex. xvii. 7; Num. xi. 4, 34)[i]
26 [k]	(Ex xxxii. 11 b)
27 a [k]	(Ex. xxxii. 13)
28 [k]	(Num. xiv. 16; cp. Ex. xxxii. 12)
29 b	(Ex. xxxii. 11 b, כֹּחַ גָּדוֹל)
x. 1 a	Ex. xxxiv. 1 a
1 b	Ex. xxxiv. 2
1 c (the *ark*)	* * *
2 a	Ex. xxxiv. 1 b
2 b–3 a (the *ark*)	* * *
3 b	Ex. xxxiv. 4
4	Ex. xxxiv. 28 b
5, 6–9	* * *
10 (=ix. 18)	Cp. Ex. xxxiv. 9 sq., 28
11	(Ex. xxxiii. 1)

The dependence of the retrospects upon the earlier narrative is remarkable. Apart from the verbal coincidences, it will be observed that while there are sometimes omissions, as a rule the substance is reproduced freely with amplificatory additions. The many cases in which a phrase describing originally one incident is applied in Deut. to another are also noticeable. We have here to ask two questions: (1) Do the variations between the two narratives ever assume the character of discrepancies which do not admit of being reconciled? (2) Is the relation between the two narratives such as to be compatible with the traditional view that the author of both is Moses?

II. *Authorship and Date of Deuteronomy.*

§ 11. The consideration of the question just asked will conveniently introduce this part of our subject. Additions such as those in i. 6–8, 16 sq., 20–22, iii. 23–25, obviously cause no difficulty: they relate to personal details which might well have been passed over in the his-

[h] The parenthesis indicates that, though there is a coincidence of language, the passage quoted does not describe the same event, but is borrowed *from another part of the narrative.*

[i] In passages introduced with "cp." the coincidence is not verbal.

[k] Verses 26–29 cannot refer *actually* to Ex. xxxii. 11–13, because the intercession there recorded was made *before* Moses' first descent from the mount, whereas in Deut. *v.* 25 points back to *v.* 18, which clearly relates what took place *after* it (viz. Ex. xxxiv. 9, 28 a).

tonical account. The following variations are, however, of greater importance, and demand closer consideration.

a. i. 9–15. The appointment of officers to assist Moses is considered to be at variance with the account in Ex. xviii. (1) From *v.* 6 it appears to be placed after the departure from Horeb, *i.e.* at the date named in Num. x. 11; whereas in Ex. (xviii. 5, cp. iii. 1) it is said to have occurred at a much earlier period of the encampment there (before the date, xix. 1). (2) The institution is described here as the result of a complaint on Moses' part; whereas in Ex. it is referred to the advice of Jethro, and no allusion is made to the difficulty felt by Moses. (3) There appears to be some confusion with the appointment of seventy elders in Num. xi.: the phrases in *vv.* 9, 12 are borrowed thence: and when it is considered that the narrative following passes at once to Num. xiii. sq. (without any notice of Ex. xix.–xxiv., &c.), the period of Num. xi. seems more probable than that of Ex. xviii. To (1) it may be replied that in a review of incidents which, *ex hypothesi*, occurred nearly forty years previously, the space of a year more or less may reasonably be covered by the expression *at that time*; and that *v.* 18 (pointing apparently to Ex. xxiv. 3, 7) seems to limit the preceding narrative still more decidedly to the period before the actual departure from Horeb. (2) Moses, it may be said, relates here the motives by which he was conscious that he was influenced himself: the narrator in Ex. describes the occurrence from the outside. (3) There cannot be any confusion with Num. xi.: the institution there described had an *administrative* object, and the number of elders was but seventy. Deut. agrees with Ex. in describing the institution of a *judicature*; it agrees also in the far greater number of those selected and in the stress laid upon their moral fitness (see *vv.* 13, 15 in the table). The phraseology borrowed from the description of another incident is shown by the table (and by the other instances in chaps. i.–iii.) to be characteristic of the whole discourse.

b. i. 22–23. The apparent contradiction as regards the originators of the proposal to send out the spies may be removed by supposing that the people, as Deut. states, having preferred their request, Moses refers it to God, who then gives it His sanction, at which point the narrative in Num. xiii. opens.

c. A greater difficulty is the reconciliation of i. 37 sq., which here interrupts the chronology of the retrospect by the notice of an event occurring (Num. xx. 12) thirty-seven years subsequently, after which (*v.* 39) the account of Num. xiv. is resumed. It is true that the exception made in the case of Caleb might suggest the similar one of Joshua; but the stress seems to lie rather on *v.* 37 (cp. iii. 26; iv. 21), and for this there is no point of contact in the present narrative of the spies. It is possible that the notice may allude to some incident not otherwise recorded[l]: in the phraseology nothing points to either Num. xx. 12 or Num. xxvii. 12–23. (The expression *on your account* is commonly reconciled with Num. xx. 12, by being understood to imply that the sin of Moses was in fact a consequence of the unbelief of the people.)

d. i. 44. *Amorites* in lieu of *Amalekites and Canaanites* in Num. xiv. 43–45 (cf. 25). This discrepancy is not important: it may fairly be replied that the native inhabitants of Palestine are here designated, not by their specific names, but by the same generic term applied to them elsewhere: *e.g.* Deut. i. 7, 19, 27.

e. ii. 2–8 *a* appears to differ from Num. xx. 14–21, where the Israelites at Kadesh send to ask permission to pass through the territory of Edom (so as to avoid the *détour* by the Red Sea), which is refused by the Edomites with some show of violence (so Judg. xi. 17). In fact, however, in Deut., the incident of the Edomites' refusal is passed over; and the narrative begins at the point when the Israelites, having abandoned (Num. xx. 21) the idea of a direct passage, have reached the southern extremity of Edom where it abuts on the Red Sea. Only here was their border to be crossed, at a part where, from the nature of the soil, it was more difficult to prevent it than on the rocky western frontier near Kadesh. Journeying afterwards northwards, on the east of Edom, the Israelites, it is added (*v.* 8 *a*), were careful not to encroach on the Edomite territory. In *v.* 29, further, allusion is made to the Edomites supplying Israel with food and water, which seems scarcely compatible with the temper attributed to them in Num. xx. 18–20. The eastern frontier is, however, more weakly defended than the western; and seeing the successful advance of the Israelites, the Edomites may have deemed it expedient to adopt towards them a different attitude.

f. ii. 29. In Judg. xi. 17 the Moabites are stated to have refused permission to the Israelites to pass through their territory, and in Deut. xxiii. 4 are described as *not* offering them bread and water on the way. The variation may be removed by supposing that, though they *sold* the Israelites provisions, perhaps under compulsion, they showed no friendliness in so doing, did not "come to meet" (Is. xxi. 14) them with it, but, on the contrary, hired Balaam to curse them.

g. ix. 9. According to Ex. xxxii.–xxxiv., Moses was three times in the mount; but he is only recorded to have fasted on the third occasion (xxxiv. 28): Deut. in the very words of Ex. describes him as doing so on the *first* occasion. Obviously, Deut. may relate what is passed by in silence in Ex.; but the variation is remarkable.

h. ix. 22–24. These verses interrupt the chronological order, but (unlike i. 37 f.) they are in such close connexion with the general context, the rebelliousness of the people, that their presence is sufficiently explained.

i. ix. 25–29. This, it is plain, must refer either to Ex. xxxii. 30 sq., or more probably (Keil) to xxxiv. 4–28. It is remarkable, now, that the terms of *Moses' own intercession* are borrowed, not from either of these narratives, but from xxxii. 11–13, at the close of his *first* stay upon the mountain. The notice in *v.* 20, however, though an addition to what is distinctly stated in Ex. xxxii. 31 sq., is not contradictory to it.

j. x. 1–5 = Ex. xxxiv. 1–4, 28 sq., with the difference, that here Moses is directed to make, and does actually make, an ark of wood *before* ascending the mountain the second time for the Ten Commandments. That Moses should describe as made by himself what was in fact made by Bezaleel acting on his behalf is, no doubt, natural enough; but in Ex. the command is both given to Bezaleel and executed by him *after* Moses' return from the mountain (xxxvi. 2–4; xxxvii. 1; also xl. 20 sq.): the discrepancy in two narratives, *so circumstantial as each of these is*, is singular.

k. x. 6, 7: cp. Num. xxxiii. 31–33, relating, however, to a period long subsequent to the episode of the golden calf. In Num., moreover, the stations Bene-Jaakan and Moserah are mentioned in the inverse order: and (*v.* 38) the death of Aaron is recorded to have taken place at Mount Hor, three stations beyond Jotbathah. A formal reconciliation is possible by the supposition that the verses in Deut. are parallel, not to Num. xxxiii. 31–33, but to *v.* 37, the journey from Kadesh to Mount Hor, which may have brought the Israelites to some of the stations which they had visited previously (though not in the same order), and by the further assumption that Moserah itself was in the neighbourhood of Mount Hor, perhaps the desert at its foot.[m]

But why is the notice here at all? The ground of its insertion has been supposed to be (Hengst., Keil) to show that Aaron was not only forgiven through Moses' intercession, but was even honoured by the confirmation of the priesthood to his family. No doubt it is the design of the preceding retrospect to illustrate the grace of God as shown in the renewal, at Moses' earnest inter-

[l] Comp. Kosters [see § 40], p. 51.

[m] So Hengst., *Die Authentie des Pent.*, ii. 431–434. But the solution is somewhat artificial.

cession, of the Covenant: but it is difficult to think that, had such been the aim of these verses, it would have been expressed so indirectly; Aaron's own institution to the priesthood, which would be the important point, is passed over in silence. If *vv.* 6 sq. form an integral part of the narrative, they can hardly be reasonably explained, except as introductory to *vv.* 8 sq.: the mention of the ark, *vv.* 1–3, suggests a notice of the tribe of Levi, whose duty it was to guard it, and *vv.* 7 sq. specify the occasion—viz. the sojourn at Jotbathah, or at least the period of Aaron's death—when they were set apart for this purpose. But according to Ex.–Num. their consecration took place as early as the second year of the Exodus. Upon the assumption that the discourse was delivered by Moses, the use of the third person of the Israelites, the transition to the fortieth year and back again—in *v.* 10, if not in *v.* 8—the date assigned for the consecration of the tribe of Levi, seem inexplicable. On that assumption *vv.* 6 sq. can hardly be explained except as a gloss:[n] though the motive for their introduction here is far from evident, and (what is stranger in a gloss) they *are in apparent disagreement* with Num. xxxiii. 31–33. Keil indeed suggests that in order to reproduce the past vividly Moses, by a quotation from the itinerary, "lets the history speak itself:" but this explanation, even if admitted as probable, only relieves a portion of the difficulty. Upon the supposition, however, that together with *vv.* 8 sq. they were written in view of a different tradition from that preserved in Num. xxxiii., or at a date when the consciousness of the interval separating the first and fortieth year had become obscured, they are intelligible: they will then be an integral part of the discourse, in which the author, however, speaks (as in ii. 12) rather to his own readers than in the person of Moses.[o]

l. x. 8, 9. If *vv.* 6 sq. are a gloss, the words *at that time* will refer, of course, to *vv.* 1–5: if they are an integral part of the text, it is both straining this expression and also depriving *vv.* 6 sq. of their *raison d'être*, to refer it to anything except *vv.* 6 sq. Upon the supposition that *vv.* 1–5 are referred to, the allusion is commonly considered to be to the institution of a priesthood related in Ex. xxviii. sq., Lev. viii., and to the separation of the Levites, Num. iii. 6 sq.; but the expression *at that time* gains greatly in force by the conjecture that the verse alludes to some incident connected with Ex. xxxii. 26–29 not recorded in the present text of Exodus.[p]

Such are the historical discrepancies worthy of notice alleged to exist in Deut. Treated singly, the majority are fairly explicable upon the theory of Mosaic authorship. The retrospect in Deut. and the narrative in Ex.–Num. are designed with different objects, and different periods or aspects of the transactions recorded are made prominent in each. At the same time there are some (especially *c*, *j*, *k*) which are undoubtedly more serious; and it is singular that there should be so many cases, from the fasting and intercession of Moses to the slaughter of the sons of Sihon and Og, in which the reconciliation can only be effected by a *duplication* of the event recorded in the earlier narrative. The discrepancies viewed as a whole create, it must be owned, an impression not wholly favourable to the Mosaic authorship of the Book.

§ 12. A further noticeable fact results from a comparison of the historical allusions in Deut. with the earlier narrative of the Pentateuch. In subsequent articles reasons will be given for believing that the Pentateuch is composite in structure, and that the narrative in the main consists of two documents, each by means of phraseological and other criteria readily distinguishable from the other. One of these, comprising the ceremonial law and the narrative attached to it, may be briefly referred to by the letter P (Priests' Code); that which remains when this has been separated, and which includes the "Book of the Covenant" (§ 3), is itself also in its turn composite: but as it is of less importance, and indeed not always possible, to distinguish its component parts, it will be sufficient here to designate it as a whole by the double letters JE. Assuming, now, that the separation of P and JE has been effected in Ex.–Num., we obtain this remarkable result: *the historical allusions in Deut., with hardly an exception, are to events recorded in JE, and not to those recorded in P.* Throughout the parallels referred to in § 10, not the allusions only, but *the words cited*, will be found, all but uniformly, in JE, not in P. Inasmuch now as the two documents repeatedly cross one another, the only explanation of which (as it seems) this fact is capable is, that at the time when Deut. was composed *they were not yet united into a single work*; and *JE alone formed the basis of Deut.*[q] This conclusion, derived primarily from i.–iii. ix. sq., is confirmed by other indications: Deut. speaks regularly of Horeb, not of Sinai, as is done by P: Deut. names Dathan and Abiram (xi. 6), but is silent as to Korah; in the composite narrative, Num. xvi., Dathan and Abiram alone belong to JE. Similarly, in i. 36, the exception of Caleb alone (without Joshua) agrees with JE. The allusions to Gen.–Ex. are likewise consistently to JE: thus, while the promise, i. 8, is found in both JE and P, the *oath* is peculiar to JE. If the author of Deut. was acquainted with P, he can only have quoted it occasionally, and certainly did not make it the basis of his work. The verdict of the *historical* sections in Deut. thus confirms that of the *legislative* sections, § 6 *end.*

§ 13. The conclusion just reached has a bearing on the question of the authorship of Deut. If it be true that Deut. and P are thus unconnected, the question whether both are by the same hand need not detain us: it can, under the circumstances, be answered only in the negative. May, however, the Mosaic authorship of Deut. be maintained in face of the comparison with JE? That a *composite* narrative of the Exodus should have arisen in the lifetime of Moses, and that Moses should himself have drawn upon it in Deut., appears scarcely probable. But even though JE were treated as the work of a single hand, the tenacity with which in general Hebrew writers preserve their individuality of style would almost preclude us from attributing JE

[n] So also Wellh., *Proleg.* p. 394 [=*Hist. of Isr.* p. 371] (cp. *J. D. Th.* xxii. 467 sq.); Reuss, *La Bible*, &c., ii. 297 (together with *vv.* 8 sq.). Dillmann attributes *vv.* 6 sq. to the redactor of Deut. [below, § 26 end].

[o] So Graf, p. 12; Kayser, p. 131; Kuen. *Th. Tijdschr.*, 1881, p. 201 sq. Delitzsch also (*Studien*, xi. p. 565) agrees that (with *vv.* 8 sq.) they are unquestionably an integral part of Deut.; but admits (*Genesis*, 1887, p. 21) that they embody a divergent tradition. It is against Mr. Waller's theory (in Bp. Ellicott's *Comm.*) that the meanings assigned by him to the names are highly questionable.

[p] So Dillmann, *Ex.–Lev.* p. 342, with others.

[q] This was shown independently by Kosters in 1868, and Kayser in 1874 [see titles in § 40], and is generally accepted by critics, *e.g.* by Delitzsch, *Z. K. W. L.* 1882, p. 227; Dillmann, p. 609. Cp. Graf [§ 40], pp. 8–19.

and Deut. to the same author. The style of Deut. is singularly marked (§§ 34–36): and the discourses are pervaded throughout by a uniform colouring and tone, absent from JE. It is true that continuous portions of the narrative in Ex.-Num. are *transcribed* in Deut., and that certain of the Deuteronomic phrases occur in isolation in parts of Ex. (§ 34): but these facts do not lessen the general impression of difference which a comparison of the two writings creates. A final consideration of this question must, however, be reserved.

§ 14. Let us next consider more closely the *laws* in Deut., in their relation to Ex.–Lev. Here we observe in certain cases modifications which can hardly be reasonably accounted for, except on the supposition that they belong to a later stage of society than those in Ex. xx.–xxiii. Even the greater detail and development (§ 6) points in this direction, though not of course so decisively as the cases of modification. *a.* In Ex. xxi. 2sq. a Hebrew bondman is to serve for six years, and to go out free in the seventh (*v.* 2); a woman who comes into service with her husband is to do the same (*v.* 3). But a daughter sold by her father as a bondwoman is on a different footing: she is not to go free as bondmen do (*v.* 7). But in Deut. xv. 17 b the bondwoman (without any limitation) is subject to the same law of manumission as bondmen. This law, it is argued, regulates usage for a state of society in which the power of a father over his daughter had ceased to be so absolute as in primitive times, and places the two sexes on entire equality.[r] *b.* Ex. xxi. 14, immediately following *v.* 13, implies naturally that the "place appointed" in *v.* 13 is identical with the "altar" in *v.* 14; in Deut. definite cities are set apart for asylum. *c.* In Ex. xxiii. 10 sq. the provisions of the sabbatical year have a purely agricultural reference: in Deut. xv. the institution is applied so as to form a check on the power of the creditor. It does not appear reasonable to attribute these modifications to the altered circumstances or prospects of the nation which marked the close of the wanderings in the desert: the provisions of Ex., as is plain both from the tenor of xxiii. 20 sq., and from the various laws implying the existence of houses and the possession of separate holdings of land, are equally designed for the use of the people when settled in Canaan: those of Deut. differ just in being suited to the needs of a more advanced social state.[s]

§ 15. But the difficulties which the Deut. legislation presents culminate in the provisions respecting the Central Sanctuary and the tribe of Levi.

The Central Sanctuary.—In Deut. the law respecting sacrifice is unambiguous and strict: it is not to be offered in Canaan "in every place that thou seest" (xii. 13), but only at the place chosen by God "out of all thy tribes to set His Name there" (xii. 4–18; xiv. 23, and often), *i.e.* at some central sanctuary. Now, in Ex. it is said, in immediate connexion with the law respecting altars (xx. 24 b), "In every place where I record My Name, I will come unto thee and bless thee;" and with the principle here laid down, the practice of Josh.–1 K. vi., it is argued, conforms: in these Books, sacrifices are frequently described as offered in different parts of the land without any indication (and this is the important fact) on the part of either the actor or the narrator that a law such as that of Deut. is being infringed. After the exclusion of all uncertain or exceptional cases, such as Judg. ii. 5, vi. 24, where the theophany may be held to have justified the erection of an altar, there remain as instances of either altars or local sanctuaries, Josh. xxiv. 1 b, 26 b; 1 Sam. vii. 9 sq., 17; ix. 12–14; x. 3, 5, 8 (xiii. 9 sq.); xi. 15; xiv. 35; xx. 6; 2 Sam. xv. 12, 32 ("where men *used to worship God*"). The inference authorized apparently by these passages is met by the contention that the period from the abandonment of Shiloh to the erection of the Temple was an exceptional one, the nation was in disgrace and undergoing a course of discipline, its spiritual privileges being withheld till it was ripe to have them restored; and that, in so far as Samuel appears often as the agent, his function was an extraordinary one, limited to himself. It may be doubted whether this answer is satisfactory. - There is no trace in the narrative of such disciplinary motives having actuated Samuel; and the narrator betrays no consciousness of anything irregular or abnormal having occurred. This is especially clear in 1 Sam. ix. 12 sq., x. 3–5, where ordinary and regular customs are evidently described. The sanctuary at which the Ark and Tent of Meeting were for the time located had doubtless the pre-eminence; but sacrifice at other places, so far as the evidence before us goes, was freely permitted. The law of Deut. was either not known or not felt to be operative. Yet the time assigned in Deut. xii. 10 had arrived, according to Josh. xxi. 44, xxiii. 1, before the death of Joshua. From the time of Joshua therefore the law of Deut. ought to have been in force: and yet, as it appears, practice continued to be regulated by the law of Ex. The difficulty is a great one. The non-observance of a law does not, of course, imply necessarily its non-existence; still, when men who might fairly be presumed to know of it, if it existed, not only make no attempt to put it in force, but disregard it without explanation or excuse, it must be allowed that such an inference is not altogether an unreasonable one. Perhaps on the whole the facts at our disposal would be best explained by the supposition that

[r] The laws have been harmonized by the supposition (1) that the law of Ex. xxi. 2 is meant to be tacitly extended to women; (2) that Deut. xv. 17 b does not abrogate Ex. xxi. 7, but enforces the extension tacitly implied in *v.* 2. But the notice of the special case *v.* 3, and the law *v.* 4, that even a female slave married to a bondman *did not go free with her husband*, renders it improbable that this tacit extension in Ex. can be designed. Bissell (p. 179) says that Ex. "speaks only of Hebrew men as servants;" but this is contradicted by *v.* 7.

[s] The judicial system of Deut., especially the supreme court of appeal (xvii. 8–13), *which is not prescribed, but presupposed as existing*, suggests the same inference. See Kleinert, pp. 128–130 (the force of whose remarks is not met by Keil, *Einl.* § 26, 1; or Bissell, p. 137 sq.); Dillmann, pp. 319, 611. On Deut. xxii. 28 sq, cp. W. R. Smith, *O. T. J. C.*, p. 367 sq.; *Add. Answer*, p. 56 sq. The hypothesis (Bissell, p. 177) that the law in Deut. xv. is a "result of experience in the practical workings of the law" of Ex. xxiii. 10 *during the forty years' wanderings* is surely not a probable one.

the *kernel* of the statute is Mosaic; that the old law, while not superseding local sanctuaries, if properly sanctioned and approved,[t] still encouraged a *preference* for the sanctuary at which the Ark was stationed (as indeed is implied in Ex. xxiii. 19), but that the *exclusiveness* which characterises the law in Deut. arose from the necessities of a later age, when history had shown how impossible it was to secure the local shrines against abuse, and to free them from idolatry. Prophetic authority, which had more and more distinctly taught that Zion was emphatically Jehovah's seat, it may be supposed, sanctioned the reform; Hezekiah gave it effect, at least temporarily (2 K. xviii. 4, 22; xxi. 3), and it is codified in Deut.

§ 16. *The tribe of Levi.*—Here the issues, stated succinctly, are two: (i.) Does Deut. recognise the sharp distinction between the priests and the common Levites as instituted in Ex.–Num., or does it treat every member of the tribe as qualified to exercise priestly functions? (ii.) Do the provisions made in Deut. for the support of both priests and Levites agree with those prescribed in Lev.–Num.? It is admitted on all hands that a complete code of regulations on these subjects is not to be looked for in Deut.: the question is, whether the *resumé* in xviii. 1–8 and the allusions elsewhere are such as might reasonably be expected from a writer having Ex.–Num. before him, or acquainted with their contents.

As will appear, the answer to ii. is so distinct that for our present purpose we are dispensed from the necessity of finding a definite answer to i. The following remarks may therefore suffice. It is true that no stress is laid in Deut. upon the descent of the priests from Aaron; their regular designation is not "the sons of Aaron" (as in the Priests' Code), but "the priests, the Levites," *i.e.* the priests of the tribe of Levi, or more precisely "the Levitical priests" (xvii. 9, 18; xviii. 1; xxiv. 8; xxvii. 9[u]: cp. "the priests the sons of Levi," xxi. 5, xxxi. 9): nor is there any allusion to the privileges of a fixed minority. More than this, xviii. 1 b, 2 b, appear to assign to the *whole* tribe the altar dues reserved in Num. xviii. 20[v] to the priest; and xviii. 6–8, relating to the "Levite" coming from the country to reside at the Central Sanctuary, describe his services there in terms which elsewhere, when used in a ritual connexion,[w] denote regularly *priestly* offices. Even, however, should the inference thus suggested be just, there is nothing in Deut. inconsistent with the *pre-eminence* of a particular family, and the hereditary priesthood of Aaron's line appears to be recognised in x. 6.[x]

(ii.) In Num. xviii. particular provision is made for the support of both priests and Levites; and in Num. xxxv. (cp. Josh. xxi.) forty-eight cities are appointed for their residence. In Deut. the provisions appear to be very different; and the Levites, instead of dwelling in their cities, are represented as scattered about the land ("in thy gates," § 34), and are earnestly commended to the Israelites' charity (xii. 12, 18, 19; xiv. 27, 29; xvi. 11, 14; xviii. 6; xxvi. 11, 12 sq.).

Let us examine the passages in order.

a. xviii. 3, which is in direct contradiction with Lev. vii. 32–34. Various attempts have been made to reconcile the discrepancy. (*α*) The traditional Jewish solution[y] is that the allusion in Deut. is not to sacrifices at all, but to animals slain at home for private use. This is obviously a desperate resource: זֶבַח, as Keil rightly observes, is always used in a sacrificial connexion (the poetical passages Is. xxxiv. 6, &c.,[z] form no exception); and the combination of verb and noun, "sacrifice a sacrifice" (cp. 1 Sam. ii. 13), only brings out the meaning with greater distinctness. (*β*) F. W. Schultz (p. 59) and Mr. Espin consider that, though the reference is to the same sacrifices as Lev. vii., the dues prescribed are not in lieu of those there assigned (which, it is said, are included here in the fire-sacrifices of *v.* 1), but *in addition to* them, and perhaps intended as a compensation for the loss sustained by the abrogation of Lev. xvii. 1 sq. in Deut. xii. 15. If this be the meaning, it is obscurely and strangely expressed; an additional due, introduced in terms which imply that it is a normal and regular institution, is prescribed without a word to indicate that it is any novelty! (*γ*) Keil himself, modifying (*α*), supposes the reference to be, not to the peace-offerings proper, but to the festal meals held in connexion with these at the annual sacrifices (so Bissell, p. 126). But such a limitation is not suggested at all by the phraseology; and it seems incredible that in a statement of "the

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[t] The limitation אשר אזכיר שמי שם should be noticed: cp. W. R. Smith, *Add. Answer*, pp. 57 sq., 68–70; Delitzsch, *Studien*, xi. p. 563. בכל מקום may include with equal propriety places conceived as existing contemporaneously (cp. the same idiomatic use of כל, Lev. xi. 24 b), or selected successively. The plural בכל המקומות would point rather to actually existing places: the singular exactly answers to "in whatever place." The appeal therefore to Hebrew idiom will not determine the dispute between Prof. Green (*Moses and the Prophets*, p. 311) and Dr. W. R. Smith (*The Prophets of Israel*, p. 393). The use of לפני יהוה is not examined by Prof. Green with sufficient thoroughness. With words such as *gathered* or *sat*, there is a presumption from usage that it denotes presence at an altar or sanctuary.

[u] Elsewhere (*a*) Josh. iii. 3, viii. 33; Jer. xxxiii. 18; Ezek. xliii. 19, xliv. 15: (*b*) 2 Ch. v. 5, xxiii. 18, xxx. 27 (all. In Is. lxvi. 21, as also in 1 Ch. ix. 2, Ezra x. 5, Neh. x. 38, 34, xi. 20, there is an asyndeton).

[v] Where, in spite of Bissell, pp. 20, 114, 124, and even Dillmann (see, however, p. 605), there is a *contrast* with *vv.* 21, 24: *Jehovah* is the inheritance of the priests; the *tithes* are the inheritance of the Levites. So in Ezek. xliv. 28, where the same phrase is used, it is applied to the priest.

[w] שרת בשם, *to minister in the name*, as xviii. 5 (of the priest: cp. xvii. 12, xxi. 5); עמד לפני יי, *to stand before Jehovah*, as Ezek. xliv. 15, Judg. xx. 28; cp. Deut. xvii. 12, xviii. 5. *To stand before* is a Hebrew idiom signifying *to wait upon*: see *e.g.* 1 Kings x. 8. The Levites "stand before" *the congregation*: Num. xvi. 9; Ezek. xliv. 11 b. (In 2 Ch. xxix. 11, *priests* are present: see *v.* 4.)

[x] There are points in the history of the tribe which are still not clear. Space forbids here an examination of 2 K. xxiii. 9, Ezek. xliv. 6–15.

[y] Josephus, *Ant.* iv. 4, 4; Philo, *De Praemiis*, § 3 (p. 235 M.): see Keil ad loc.

[z] Quoted by Curtiss [§ 40], p. 43.

priests' *right*" from the people, their appointed due (Lev. vii. 32–34) should be passed over in silence, and a *fresh* due alone be mentioned. The verse must refer to the commonest kind of sacrifices named in *v.* 1, and specify for the people's instruction what parts of these are due to the priest. The only fair interpretation appears to be to treat it as *parallel* to Lev. vii. 32–34, and consequently as belonging to a time when the regulation there laid down was not in force.

b. Verse 4 agrees with Num. xviii. 12 sq. except that "the first of the fleece of thy sheep" is here an addition. But this is a minor discrepancy, which need not detain us.

c. Verse 6. The language of this verse is, it is said, inconsistent with the institution of Levitical cities. The word rendered *sojourneth* is a distinct one: it means *to stay as a guest or stranger*—for a longer or shorter time—in a place;[a] and is not used of residence in a permanent home. To understand it[b] of those Levites who have sold their houses and wandered to other cities involves the improbable supposition that the legislator gives no permission to a Levite to go directly from a Levitical city to the sanctuary: he must become a sojourner elsewhere first! Verse 6 and the allusion *v.* 8 b to property owned by Levites are in no way incompatible with the institution of Levitical cities, supposing it to have been imperfectly put in force: at the same time, worded as they are, these verses come strangely from the lips of one who, if the chronology be correct, had only six months before[c] assigned to the Levites permanent dwelling-places. Why did he not write "from one of the cities which I have appointed them"?

d. Firstlings.—In Deut. xii. 6, 17 *sq.*, xv. 19 sq., it is laid down that the firstlings of the herd and the flock are to be *eaten by the owner* at the central sanctuary: in Num. xviii. 18 they are assigned to Aaron, with these words, "And the flesh of them shall be thine: as the wave-breast and as the right thigh, it shall be thine." Two explanations are offered. (1) The phrase in Num. does not mean that the *whole* of the firstling was the priest's, but only the parts specified in the comparison: the rest therefore would belong to the offerer, and might be consumed by him, as Deut. prescribes.[d] But the text says distinctly "their flesh," without any limitation; and this explanation, though formerly accepted by Keil,[e] is now[f] given up by him. (2) The firstlings were given wholly to the priest, who, however, may not have consumed the flesh of them himself, but may have been at liberty to invite the offerer to share this with him at a sacrificial meal.[g] Whether such an invitation, not prescribed, is likely to have been given, may be doubted; and as before it must be owned that, if this be the meaning of the repeated injunction in Deut., it is expressed with unusual indirectness and obscurity; the primary rather than the secondary disposition of the firstlings would surely have been emphasized. The law, *moreover*, for the disposal of the "wave-breast" and right (or "heave") thigh by the priest, explicitly specifies those of the priest's family as sharing in them (Lev. vii. 34: cf. Num. xviii. 11, "to thy sons and to thy daughters with thee, as a due for ever"); it is remarkable, if it was the purpose of the legislation that the offerer should also regularly (and as a duty) partake in the firstlings, that there should be so little to intimate it in the terms of the original institution.[h]

e. Tithes.—In Num. the tithes—as appears from Lev. xxvii. 30, 32, both vegetable and animal alike—are definitely assigned to the Levites (xviii. 21–24), who in their turn pay a tenth to the priests (*vv.* 26–28): in Deut. there appears to be no injunction respecting the tithes of animal produce; but the reservation of a tithe of *vegetable* produce (xii. 17 sq.; xiv. 22 sq.) is enjoined, which is to be consumed by the offerer, like the firstlings, at a sacrificial feast, in which the Levite shares only in company with others, as the recipient of a charitable benevolence. A large proportion therefore of what is assigned in Num. to the Levites—viz. the whole of the animal tithe, and a part of the vegetable tithe—remains implicitly the property of the lay Israelite in Deut. The discrepancy is commonly removed by the supposition that the allusion in Deut. is not to the *tithe* named in Lev.–Num. at all, but to a *second* or additional tithe, taken on the increase of the field only. It cannot perhaps be shown that a second tithe on a portion of the annual produce would be exacting or oppressive; but the writer must confess that such an interpretation does not appear to him to be fairly consistent with the language of Deut. and the manner in which the tithe is there spoken of. Even supposing the first tithe to be taken for granted, as an established usage, it is incredible that a second tithe should be thus *for the first time instituted*, without a word to indicate that it was an innovation, or in any respect different from what would be ordinarily understood by the word "tithe." And in xxvi. 12 sq., when in the third year the whole "tithe of the produce" has been stored (xiv. 28), and the Hebrew makes a solemn profession that it has been properly spent by him, it is scarcely possible that there should be no allusion to his disposition of the larger and more important tithe, if such were really due from him.[i]

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[a] See *e.g.* Gen. xv. 13, xix. 9, xlvii. 4 (Is. lii. 4); Judg. xix. 16 (opp. to the natives, אנשי המקום), &c. Kittel, in his article cited § 40 (1882, p. 288 f.), does not take sufficient account of this uniform use of גור.

[b] Curtiss, p. 48 sq.

[c] Num. xxxv.; cp. the date xxxiii. 38 with Deut. i. 3.

[d] Hengst. ii. p. 406 sq.; Curtiss, p. 40 sq.

[e] Hävernick, *Einl.*[2], i. 2, 1856, p. 430.

[f] *Comm.* on Deut. xii. 6.

[g] Keil; Green, p. 84; Espin; Bissell, p. 127 sq.

[h] Dr. Moody Stuart [§ 40] would explain xii. 18 on the analogy of xii. 27 (offer)—"eat," viz. not personally, but through the agency of those authorized in P to do so, *i.e.* the priests (pp. 161–3). But is this a case to which the principle *Qui facit per alium facit per se* could be applied?

[i] The tithe of the *third* year, named xiv. 28 sq., xxvi. 12, though sometimes spoken of as the "third tithe," is allowed generally to be merely the tithe elsewhere described in Deut., specially applied in that year. The word δεύτερον, in xxvi. 12, LXX., arises from a false rendering of the Hebrew שנת, "year of," and has no critical value. *The second tithe* would be המעשר השני, of which שנת המעשר is not a probable corruption.

Upon the whole, it is difficult not to feel that the references in Deut. to priests and Levites presuppose the existence of customs and institutions not in agreement with those prescribed in Ex.–Num. The allusions are numerous; and if the speaker were familiar with those institutions, his words, it is reasonable to suppose, however general and popular in scope, would form naturally a *resumé*, the original of which could be at once recognised in those Books. Perhaps the most singular circumstance is the absence of any reference to Num. xviii. or xxxv., and the frequency with which the Levite is commended to the charity of others. That Moses may have foreseen the neglect of his own institutions is indeed thoroughly conceivable; but if this be the explanation of his exhortations, should we not have expected him to introduce them by terms implying distinctly that it was only *a future need* which he was contemplating? The condition of the Levites appears evidently to be that which the writer saw around him, and reminds us involuntarily of Judg. xvii. 7 sq., xix. 1 sq. (note especially the term "sojourn"). Minor discrepancies offer a fair field to the harmonizer: when they are systematic, and can only be removed by means of a *series* of assumptions, each more or less artificial, the legitimacy of the attempt becomes questionable. The points considered under (ii.) do not directly prove Deut. to be non-Mosaic; but they tend independently to confirm the conclusion expressed at the end of § 12.

§ 17. There are, it is alleged, indications that the author lived at a distance from the period which he describes. Thus, if i. 3, "eleventh month," be compared with Num. xxxiii. 38, "fifth month" (fixing the date of Num. xx. 22–28), it appears that the whole of the events reviewed from ii. 2 to iii. 29 had taken place during the six months preceding the time when the words were spoken. In such a situation, however, the repeated "at that time" (ii. 34; iii. 4, 8, 12, 18, 21, 23), as also "unto this day" in iii. 14, though suitable when a longer period had elapsed, appears inappropriate. Ch. v. 3 and xi. 2–7 point in the same direction. The writer, though aware as a fact (viii. 2, 4) of the forty years' wanderings, does not appear to realize fully the length of the interval, and identifies those whom he addresses with the generation that came out of Egypt in a manner which betrays that he is not speaking as a contemporary. In ii. 12 b there is an evident anachronism: however, some writers have treated the notices ii. 10–12, 20–23 (though otherwise in the style of Deut. and similar to iii. 9, 11, xi. 30) as glosses.[j] Keil, who compares (*Einl.* § 25, 3) "his possession" in iii. 20, forgets that there the pronoun refers to the two and a half Transjordanic tribes, not as here to Israel: where the two and a half tribes are meant, they are regularly specified by name. Whether, however, an anachronism is involved in the mention of Gilgal (xi. 30) may be doubted; the Gilgal named may (Keil) be the *Jiljilia* of Robinson,[k]—a height 13 miles S. of Shechem and 2441 ft. (Pal. Expl. Map) above the level of the sea. Or (Dillmann) some other "stone-circle" may be intended.

§ 18. The use of the phrase "beyond Jordan" for E. Palestine in Deut. i. 1, 5, iv. 41, 46, 47, 49 (as elsewhere in the Pentateuch: cp. Num. xxii. 1, xxxiv. 15), exactly as in Josh. ii. 10, vii. 7, ix. 10, &c., Judg. v. 17, x. 8, is said to imply that the author was resident in W. Palestine. It is indeed difficult to resist this inference. On the one hand, Deut. iii. 20, 25, xi. 30, and Josh. v. 1, ix. 1, xii. 7, show that the assumption sometimes made, that עבר הירדן had a fixed geographical sense (like *Gallia Transalpina*, &c.), and was used as a standing designation of the Transjordanic territory, irrespectively of the actual position of the speaker or writer, is incorrect; on the other hand, if its meaning was *not* thus fixed, its employment by a writer, whether in E. or W. Palestine, of the side *on which he himself stood*, is difficult to understand, unless the habit had arisen of viewing the regions on the two sides of Jordan as *contrasted with each other*;[l] and this of itself implies residence in Palestine. The question thus resolves itself into a prior one: was this a habit of the Canaanites, and did the usage suggested by it pass from them to the Israelites, before the latter had set foot in the land, and experienced the conditions likely to naturalize it amongst them? The *possibility* of this cannot, perhaps, be denied; at the same time it may be doubted whether it is probable. The use of the phrase in the Pentateuch generally, exactly as in Josh. ii. 10, &c., creates a presumption that the passages in question were written under similar local conditions.[m]

§ 19. If Deut. be not Mosaic, to what age may it be ascribed? Critics have agreed generally to assign it to the period of either Manasseh or Josiah. Let us inquire what evidence may be adduced in favour of either of these dates.

The composition of Deut. must have been prior to the eighteenth year of king Josiah (B.C. 621). From the narrative 2 K. xxii. 8 sq. relating the memorable discovery in that year by Hilkiah of the "book of the law" in the Temple, it is clear that this must have embraced Deut.; for although the bare description of its contents, and of the effect produced upon those who heard them (xxii. 11, 13, 19), might suit Lev. xxvi. equally with Deut. xxviii., yet the allusions to the *covenant* contained in it (xxiii. 2, 3, 21) which refer evidently to Deut. (xxix. 1, 9, 21, &c.), and the fact that in the reformation

[j] Bissell (p. 267) suggests that the verbs in ii. 12 b may be "prophetic perfects:" but (1) the prophetic perfect hardly occurs in prose; (2) the *comparison* postulates a reference to something *known*, i.e. to something past, not to something still in the future.

[k] *Bibl. Res.* (1856) ii. 265 sq. Still, though this height (as the writer was informed on the spot) is visible on a clear day from the *top* of Gerizim (it is certainly not visible from the plain at its foot), it is no particularly conspicuous one; and it is not easy to understand why it should have been selected as a landmark.

[l] Hence its use in Josh. v. 1; ix. 1; xii. 7, written (presumably) in W. Palestine.

[m] So (since the present article was in type) Dean (now Bishop) Perowne in the *Contemp. Rev.*, Jan. 1888, p. 143 sq. In Deut. iii. 20, 25, the (assumed) position of the speaker is naturally maintained. In v. 8, on the contrary, *in a phrase of common occurrence* (iv. 47; Josh. ii. 10, ix. 10), as in Josh. i. 14, 15, the point of view is that of the narrator, not of the speaker.

based upon it Josiah carries out step by step both the letter and the spirit of Deut.,[n] leave no doubt upon this matter. This gives a posterior limit for its composition: how much earlier may it be? The suggestion has been made that it was the work of Hilkiah the high-priest himself, who either alone or with the assistance of Jeremiah, wishing to introduce a religious reform, compiled this book for the purpose of inculcating his principles, and placed it where, when wanted, it could conveniently be "found"! This view will not bear examination, and has been repudiated repeatedly by the best critics.[o] To say nothing of the incredible "pious fraud" which it involves, it is to be noticed that (1) a book compiled by the high-priest could hardly fail to emphasize the interests of the priestly body at Jerusalem, which Deut. does not do: (2) the hypothesis that Jeremiah was the author cannot be sustained; it is true there is much that is common to Jer. and Deut., but when the two are minutely compared it appears that many of the *characteristic* expressions and ideas of each are absent in the other[p]: (3) the fact that the book was found while the Temple was being cleared out for repairs, strengthens the *primâ facie* impression produced by the narrative that the discovery was an accidental one. The book, however, could hardly have been lost for the first time in the early years of Josiah (who appears throughout to have been devoted to the service of Jehovah); but this might easily have happened during the heathen reaction under Manasseh, when the Temple was desecrated, and fell into disrepair (2 K. xxi. 4–7, xxii. 5). We are thus thrown back to the reign of Manasseh as the latest to which the composition of Deut. can reasonably be assigned.[q]

§ 20. The following considerations have been appealed to for the purpose of fixing the date more closely.

(1.) The circumstances referred to in §§ 14, 17 point more or less conclusively to a period considerably removed from that at which the Israelites took possession of Canaan, and presupposing a changed social condition of the people.

(2.) The law of the kingdom, xvii. 14 sq., is coloured by reminiscences of the monarchy of Solomon. The argument does not deny that Moses may have made provision for the establishment of a monarchy in Israel, but affirms that the form in which the provision is here cast bears traces of a later age (cp. § 24).

(3.) The forms of idolatry alluded to, specially the worship of "the host of heaven" (iv. 19, xvii. 3), are thought to point to the middle period of the monarchy. It is true that the worship of the sun and moon is ancient, as is attested even by the names of places in Canaan; but in the notices (which are frequent) of idolatrous practices in Judg.–Kings, no mention occurs of "the host of heaven" till the period of the later kings (2 K. xxiii. 12 names Ahaz; cp. Is. xvii. 8 *end*, belonging to the same reign: 2 K. xxi. 3, 5 [cp. xxiii. 4, 5, 12], Manasseh:[r] Zeph. i. 5; Jer. viii. 2, xix. 13 [cp. vii. 18, xliv. 17; Ezek. viii. 16], belong to a somewhat later period). That the cult is *presupposed* in Deut. and not merely anticipated prophetically, seems clear from the terms in which it is referred to.[s] While we are not in a position to affirm positively that the danger was not felt earlier, the law, as formulated in Deut., seems designed to meet the form which the cult assumed at a later age.

(4.) Deut. xvii. 8–13, xix. 17, have been thought to presuppose the judicature established by Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. xix. 8–11). Certainly (§ 14, note) the language of Deut. appears to *presuppose* the existence of a supreme court of appeal; and if allowance be made for the point of view from which the Chronicler writes, he may fairly be supposed to describe the same institution which is alluded to in Deut.[t] Still, there is an element of uncertainty in this argument, which forbids our attaching too much weight to it.

(5.) The description in xxviii. 49 sq. has been supposed to betoken a familiarity with the character and dealings of the Assyrians; and that in xxviii. 53 sq., 64 sq., to show an acquaintance with the siege of Samaria (2 K. vi. 28 sq.) and exile of the ten tribes. Both arguments, especially the latter, are of slight weight. Exile and deportation of inhabitants was a familiar experience in the ancient world; and the possibility of such fate may well have presented itself to a writer before the 7th or even before the 8th cent. B.C. All that can be allowed is

[n] Cp. xxii. 13 with Deut. xxix. 27; xxii. 19 with xxviii. 37; xxiii. 3 b, 24 b, with xxvii. 26; *vv.* 4, 5 b, 11, with xvii. 3; *vv.* 5 a, 13 sq. with xii. 2 sq.; *v.* 6 with xvi. 21; *v.* 7 with xxiii. 17 sq.; *v.* 9 b with xviii. 8 a; *v.* 10 with xviii. 10 a; *v.* 14 with xvi. 21 sq.; *vv.* 21, 23 ("in *Jerusalem*") with xii. 13 sq., xvi. 5 sq.; *v.* 24 with xviii. 11; *v.* 25 with vi. 5. Whether the book found by Hilkiah embraced *more* than Deut. is unimportant for our present purpose: Deut. is sufficient to satisfy the terms of the narrative.

[o] Ewald, *Hist.* iv. p. 235; Riehm, p. 105; W. R. Smith, *Answer*, p. 34, *O. T. J. C.* p. 362; Dillmann, p. 614; Kittel [§ 40 *end*], p. 57 sq.

[p] The proof may be found, by the reader who can disentangle it from the irrelevant matter concealing it, in J. L. König's *Alttestamentliche Studien*, ii. (1839). The salient points are exhibited with superior discrimination and scholarship by Kleinert, pp. 186–190, 235. See also Schrader, *Einl.* § 206 *g*; Keil, *Einl.* § 28, 3. Jeremiah's authorship was hinted at by P. von Bohlen (against whom König's book was chiefly directed) in 1835 (*Die Genesis*, § 22): but its only conspicuous advocate has been Colenso (*Pent.* iii. p. 618; vii. pp. 225–227; and App. pp. 85–110).

[q] So Ewald, *Hist.* i. 127, iv. 221; Bleek, *Intr.* § 126; Riehm (in 1854); W. R. Smith, *Add. Answer*, p. 78; Valeton, vii. pp. 222 sq.; Kittel, pp. 57–9. Reuss, *La Bible* (1879), i. 156 sq., *Gesch. d. Heil. Schr. A. T.'s*, §§ 286–288, Kuenen (*Hex.* p. 214), and (though less confidently) Dillmann (p. 613 sq.) prefer the reign of Josiah. Riehm more recently (*St. u. Kr.*, 1873, p. 194) and Delitzsch (*Studien*, xi. p. 561) assign it to the age of Hezekiah. The case against Deuteronomy being suppo-ed to be the work of Hilkiah, or of a member of his circle, is forcibly put by Dean (now Bishop) Perowne, *Cont. Rev.*, Feb. 1888, pp. 255–257: but his arguments do not affect the position that it was composed a generation or more previously, and had since been genuinely lost.

[r] The notices in 2 K. xvii. 16, xxiii. 11, are indefinite.

[s] So Kleinert, p. 106.

[t] Riehm, pp. 86–88: comp. especially *v.* 11 with Deut. xvii. 12. Kleinert's objections, p. 141 sq., do not appear to be conclusive. Cp. Dillmann, pp. 320 sq., 611.

that the form of the description (particularly that of the invading foe) somewhat strengthens the presumption, derived primarily from other indications, in favour of a date after (or during) the great Assyrian invasions of Palestina.

(6.) The influence of Deut. upon subsequent writers is clear and indisputable. It is remarkable, now, that the early Prophets Amos, Hosea, and the undisputed portions of Isaiah show no certain traces of this influence (see § 33); Jeremiah exhibits marks of it on nearly every page; Zephaniah and Ezekiel are also evidently influenced by it. If Deut. were composed in the period between Isaiah and Jeremiah, these facts would be exactly accounted for.

(7.) The language and style of Deut. (§§ 31, 37), clear and flowing, free from archaisms, but purer than that of Jeremiah, would suit the same period. It is difficult in this connexion not to feel the force of Dillmann's remark (p. 611), that "the style of Deut. implies a long development of the art of public oratory, and is not of a character to belong to the first age of Israelitish literature."

(8.) It is believed also (though all will not recognise equally the force of such an argument) that the *prophetic teaching* of Deut., the point of view from which the laws are presented, the principles by which conduct is estimated, presuppose a relatively advanced stage of theological reflection, as they also approximate to what is found in Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

(9.) In Deut. xvi. 22, we read, "Thou shalt not set thee up a *mazzēbah* (obelisk or pillar), which the Lord thy God hateth." Had Isaiah known of this law, would he, it is asked, have adopted the *mazzēbah* (xix. 19) as a symbol of the conversion of Egypt to the true faith? The supposition that *heathen* pillars are meant in Deut. is not favoured by the context (*v.* 21 b); the use of these has, moreover, been proscribed before (vii. 5; xii. 3 [u]).

(10.) Ewald and Riehm [x] (in 1854) sought to fix the date of Deut. more precisely from xxviii. 68. The combination was an ingenious one, but could not be relied upon with any confidence; and Riehm afterwards abandoned it.[y]

(11.) Nor can any more certain inference be drawn from xxiii. 3–8 (prohibiting the naturalization of Ammonites and Moabites, but inculcating a spirit of friendliness towards Edom and Egypt). With Ammon and Edom relations of hostility (so far as appears) prevailed uniformly almost from the earliest times: with Moab there was greater fluctuation, and with Egypt there are traces of intercourse at many different periods. But even if it were clear that these injunctions reflect the temper of a particular age, the materials are too scanty to enable us to fix what that age may have been. Perhaps Delitzsch (p. 560 sq.; cp. Dillmann, p. 605) is right in regarding the injunctions in *vv.* 7 sq. as the oldest, and assigning those in *vv.* 3–6 to a later origin (prior, however, to the date of Deut. itself).

In answer to these considerations some reliance is placed upon the acquaintance which, it is said, is displayed in Deut. with Egyptian customs.[z] It may be doubted whether this argument possesses great cogency, even though it be granted that the customs alluded to in vi. 9 [a] [not 8 [b]], xxv. 2 [c] (the bastinado), 4,[d] xxvii. 2 b,[e] are necessarily derived from Egypt. The mention of a custom by a particular author is not evidence that he was a *contemporary* of its introduction; and the allusions to Egyptian peculiarities in xi. 10, and vii. 15, xxviii. 27, 35, are not more marked than the one in Amos viii. 8, and not so minute as those in Is. xix.

§ 21. If it be true that Deut. is the composition of another than Moses, in what light are we to regard it? In particular, does this view of its origin detract from its authority and value as a part of the Old Testament Canon? Let us consider the manner in which the author must have worked, and the object which he may have had in view. The objection is commonly made that, if this be the origin of the Book, it is a "forgery:" the author, it is asserted, has sought to shelter himself under a great name, and to secure by a fiction recognition or authority for a number of laws devised by himself. It does not appear, however, that this objection can be sustained: and the theory respecting the author's supposed motives is entirely unsupported by fact. *The book does not claim to be written by Moses:* whenever the author speaks himself, he purports to give a description *in the third person* of what Moses did or said.[f] Now, it is the uniform practice of the biblical historians, in both the Old and the New Testaments, to represent their characters as speaking in words and phrases which cannot have been those actually used, but which they themselves select and frame for them: thus in

[u] Repeated from Ex. xxiii. 24, xxxiv. 13. The "Book of the Covenant" enjoins the destruction of *heathen* altars and pillars; but contains no prohibition corresponding to Deut. xvi. 22: in Ex. xxiv. 4 "pillars" are erected beside an altar by Moses.

[x] Ewald, *Hist.* iv. p. 219; Riehm, *Gesetzgeb.* p. 98 sq.

[y] *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1873, p. 194.

[z] Hengstenberg, *Die Bücher Mose's und Aegypten* (1841), pp. 89 sq., 224; whence Schultz, p. 78, &c., and the commentators.

[a] See Wilkinson-Birch, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, ed. 2 (1878), i. 362; Riehm, *Handwörterbuch des Bibl. Altertums* (1884), p. 578.

[b] For this is based upon *Exodus* (xiii. 9, 16); the custom, moreover, of hanging written charms on the *necks* of *children* (Wilkinson-Birch, ii. 334–6) is only partially parallel.

[c] Wilkinson-Birch, i. 305–8.

[d] *Ib.* ii. 418–421.

[e] *Ib.* ii. 286 sq. This is the most plausible. But there appears to be no ground for referring, in explanation of xx. 5, to *ib.* i. 266, 285–87, 300 sq.; or to Rosellini, *I Monimenti dell' Egitto*, II. iii. p. 218. The "officers" named are not mere registrars: they are represented elsewhere as exercising administrative functions, and here they perform merely such duties as would be assigned in the army of any country to similarly constituted officials. The practice of burying viands with the dead—if Dillmann be right in supposing it to be alluded to in xxvi. 14 (otherwise Keil)—though Egyptian (Wilk.-Birch, iii. p. 433), is far from being confined to Egypt (Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, 1871, ii. pp. 26 sq.).

[f] See i. 1–5; iv. 41–43, 44–v. 1; xxvii. 1, 9, 11; xxix. 2 (Heb. 1); xxxi. 1–30. Undoubtedly, the third person *may* have been used by Moses: but it is unreasonable to claim that he *must* have used it, or to contend that passages in which it occurs could *only* have been written by him. The case is stated correctly by Delitzsch, *Studien*, x. p. 503 sq.; more briefly in *Genesis* (1887), p. 22.

the Acts of the Apostles many of the speeches exhibit plain marks of the style of St. Luke; the speeches in the Chronicles (except those borrowed from the Books of Kings) are in the style of the author of that Book; many of those in Kings are in the style of the compiler of Kings.[g] Thus David in 1–2 Sam. speaks in one style; in the Chronicles he speaks in another.[h] In some of these cases the authors no doubt had information as to what was actually said on the occasions in question, which they recast in their own words, only preserving, perhaps, a few characteristic expressions; in other cases, they merely gave articulate expression to the thoughts and feelings which it was presumed that the personages in question would have entertained. This custom of the biblical writers might be abundantly illustrated; and it is important, if we wish to read the Historical Books aright, to bear it in mind. The principle may be applied in the present case. No doubt there was a tradition of a final address delivered by Moses to the people; perhaps, also, a written record of its general purport and scope.[i] Upon this basis the discourses in Deut. are constructed. The historical retrospect is sketched in full; the old laws are explained, and referred to their motives and aim: at the same time the modifications and additions which some had undergone in the course of years, in the effort to adapt to new conditions and otherwise extend the principles of the old legislation, are silently incorporated. To suppose that the ordinances are the author's "inventions" is out of the question,—whether imagined on the one side, or objected on the other; the fact, if true, must have been at once discovered, and have proved fatal to their acceptance by the nation: they are current customs, some as old as the Book of the Covenant, others doubtless more recent, but sanctioned by prophetic or other authority, and obviously such as would be recognised as authoritative by those to whom they were addressed. In thus building upon a foundation supplied by tradition; in adopting laws which were, or were reputed to be, Mosaic; in providing them with hortatory introductions, conceived in the true spirit of the older legislation, there is no dishonesty and no literary fraud.[k]

§ 22. The same conclusion may be reached from another direction. Deut. xii.–xxvi. is not, strictly speaking, *a code:* the discursive, untechnical style which it often assumes is incompatible with the character of a code; it *contains* a code, but is not the code itself. It is (as has been said before) the popularization of a code, a manual taking a code as its basis, and extracting and commenting upon such provisions as were most generally necessary to be known. But a work of this sort obviously pretends to no authority of its own; its authority is derived *from the code which underlies it.* In casting his explanations therefore into a form appropriate to Moses' mouth, the author could not have been actuated by a desire to gain authority for a "new code:" the code existed and was recognised as such; the author's aim is simply to apply and enforce it. His own position is thus, as towards the code, essentially subordinate: he is not an originator, but expounds anew old principles. Not merely then is there *nothing* in the Book implying an interested or dishonest motive on the part of the (post-Mosaic) author; the imputation is refuted by the nature of the case. And this being so, the moral and spiritual greatness of Deut. remains unimpaired: its inspiration and canonical value are in no degree less than those of any other part of the O. T. Scriptures which happens to be anonymous.

§ 23. In fact, it is apparent upon intrinsic grounds that in the main the laws in Deut. are anything but new enactments. In ch. xx., though the form is Deuteronomic, the *substance* is certainly earlier: the law of military service implies a simpler state of society than the age of the later kings; and the injunction to give no quarter to the inhabitants of Canaan (vii. 1–5; xx. 16–18) "points us directly back to the days of Moses."[1] The text itself refers to Ex. xxiii. 31–33; and in any subsequent recapitulation of Mosaic principles it must unquestionably have found a place. The repetition, so far from being nugatory (as is sometimes objected) in the 8th–7th cent. B.C., would indirectly have a real value: occurring, as it does, in close connexion with the prohibition of all intercourse with the Canaanites, it would be an emphatic protest against tendencies which, under Ahaz and Manasseh alike, were dangerously strong. And as regards the laws included in xxi. 10—xxv., the same conclusion is supported by the somewhat unusual expressions which are here found to occur (Dillmann, p. 340).

§ 24. The much-debated "law of the kingdom" (xvii. 14–20) is also undoubtedly in its kernel old (so Dillmann, pp. 322, 604). It will be observed that the limitations laid down are all *theocratic:* the law does not define a political constitution, or limit the autocracy of the king in civil matters. It stands thus out of relation with 1 Sam. viii. 11–17, x. 25. Its object is to show how the monarchy, if established, is to conform to the same Mosaic principles which govern other departments of the community. Verse 15 does not allude, as has been supposed, to the possible danger of a foreign usurper in the 8th or 7th cent., but asserts the primary condition which the monarchy must satisfy,—"Thou mayest not set a stranger to be king over thee:" a condition conceived thoroughly in the spirit of Ex. xxiii. 32 sq., and designed to secure Israel's distinctive nationality against the intrusion of a heathen element in this most important dignity. The prohibitions *vv.* 16 sq. guard against the distractions too often produced by riches and luxury at an Oriental Court; danger from this source may well have been foreseen by Moses: still, these verses certainly wear the appearance of being coloured by recollections of the court of Solomon (1 K. x. 25–28; xi. 2–4), or even of the eagerness of a powerful party in the days of Isaiah to induce the king to strengthen himself by means of Egyptian cavalry (Is. xxx. 16; xxxi. 1; cp.

[g] See for illustrations Delitzsch, *Jesaias*[4] (1889), p. 11 sq. (Engl. Tr. i. 16 sq.)

[h] See *e.g.* 1 Ch. xxviii., xxix. (both the idioms and the ideas of which are throughout *those of the Chronicler:* cp. the writer's *Introduction*, pp. 498 sq., 502 sq.).

[i] So Kleinert, p. 135; Delitzsch, *Studien*, x. p. 508.

[k] Cp. Delitzsch, *ib.* p. 505.

[1] Cp. Dillmann, p. 272: "gewiss uralt."

Jer. ii. 18, 36).[m] The injunctions *vv.* 18 sq. secure the king's personal familiarity with the principles of the Deuteronomic law, for the reason specified in *v.* 20. As the re-formulation of an older law, embodying the theocratic ideal of the monarchy, the law of the kingdom contains nothing that is *ill*-adapted to a date in 8th–7th cent., or that would have sounded "absurd" to the author's contemporaries, supposing that to be the period at which he lived.[n]

That the legislation of Deut. is based generally upon pre-existing sources is fully recognised by critics.[o] In estimating their position it is necessary accordingly to bear this in mind. Arguments[p] which are sufficiently forcible against the view that the laws of Deut. are *inventions* of the 7th[e] cent. B.C. have by no means the same cogency when directed against the position that Deut. is the *reproduction* and *re-formulation* of an older system of laws.

§ 25. *Critical questions connected chiefly with the "margins" of Deut.*—As has been stated (§ 2), ch. v.–xxvi., with ch. xxviii. as a conclusion,[q] belong closely together: they comprise the legislation proper, and are marked throughout by the same spirit and method of treatment.[r] To this iv. 44–49 form a superscription. Ch. xxvii., as it stands, plainly interrupts the connexion, and is probably misplaced; xxviii. 1 would form a natural sequel to xxvi. 19, though the view is highly probable that the two verses xxvii. 9 sq. were the link which originally connected xxvi. 19 with xxviii. 1.[s]

§ 26. What relation, now, does ch. i.–iv. 40 bear to the body of Deut.? Is it by the same hand? The main reasons for answering this question in the negative, and for supposing it added after ch. v. sq. was completed, are[t] (1) the disagreement between ii. 14 b and v. 2 sq., xi. 2–7, and between ii. 29 and xxiii. 3, 4, 7;[u] (2) the separate heading iv. 44–49, which appears to be superfluous after i. 1–4. These are, no doubt, incongruities: but it is doubtful if they are sufficiently grave to outweigh the strong impression produced by the language of ch. i.–iv. that it is by the same hand as ch. v. sq. Not only is the general style and manner of treatment the same — ch. i.–iii. *generally* like ch. ix. x., and ch. iv. *generally* like ch. v. — but there are, besides, remarkable coincidences of phraseology. Not to quote the broader features of the Deuteronomic style,[v] which are readily susceptible of imitation, the following are worthy of notice:—

i. 17, נור (xviii. 22); 27, שנאה (ix. 28); 28, בצורות בשמים (ix. 1); 29, ערץ (vii. 21, xx. 3, xxxi. 6), 31 end (§ 36, No. 24); 43, הזיד (xvii. 13, xviii. 20); 46 b (idiom), cp. ix. 25, xxix. 16 [Heb. 15]; ii. 5, מדרך כף, cp. xi. 24; 27, נטה *changed* to סור (§ 36, No. 21); 30, אמין לבב (xv. 7; only 2 Ch. xxxvi. 13 besides); 33, נתן לפני (§ 36, No. 20); — iii. 24, גדל (v. 21, ix. 26, xi. 2); — iv. 9, אשר ראו עיניך (§ 36, No. 26); 10 b (cp. xii. 1 b); 19 (cf. xvii. 3); 29 b (§ 36, No. 19); 32, cp. xiii. 7 [Heb. 8], xxviii. 64 (all); 34, מסות and מוראים (vii. 19, xxvi. 8); 40 (§ 34, No. 8; § 36, No. 13; § 34, Nos. 3, 4).

The *combination* of minuter and broader features constitutes a strong argument in favour of the unity of authorship. Still, there is justice in the remark that the separate heading iv. 44–9, especially when its *circumstantiality* is considered, wears the appearance of being due to a writer who was not acquainted with the introduction to v.–xxvi. contained in i.–iv. 40. Kleinert, with older scholars (pp. 33, 168 sq.), supposes that iv. 44–xxvi. was the part of Deut. that was first completed, and that i.–iv. 40, 41–43 was prefixed subsequently by the author himself as an introduction. Dillmann, who does not doubt that the *substance* of ch. i.–iv. is by the author of ch. v. sq., but holds that it has been modified in form by the redactor who incorporated Deut. in the Hexateuch, attributes to the latter both ii. 14 b–16 and iv. 44–49.

§ 27. Ch. xxvii. Verses 9 sq. have been spoken of already (§ 25). In the rest of the chapter four distinct ceremonies are enjoined: (1) The inscription of the Deuteronomic law on stones upon Mount Ebal, *vv.* 1–4, 8; (2) the erection of an altar and offering of sacrifices on the same spot, *vv.* 5–7; (3) the ratification of the new covenant by the people standing on *both* mountains, *vv.* 11–13; (4) the twelve curses uttered by the Levites and responded to by the whole people, *vv.* 14–26. It is true that *vv.* 11–13 are disconnected with 1–8, the situation and circumstances being alike different[x]: at the same time some *actual* symbolical ceremony must have been intended in the words xi. 29 sq., and these verses specify what that is. In the opinion of critics, the basis of *vv.* 1–8 is an older narrative, which has been recast by the writer of Deut. in his own phraseology. The connexion of *vv.* 14–26 with *vv.* 11–13 is very imperfect. Verses 12 sq. represent six of the tribes (including Levi, which is reckoned here as a lay-tribe, Ephraim

[m] To "cause the people to return to Egypt," is not to be understood literally, as Num. xiv. 4: what is meant is that in sending to Egypt in quest of cavalry the king will be acting counter to the intention of the words quoted.

[n] With §§ 23 and 24 cp. Delitzsch, *Studien*, xi.

[o] *E.g.* Graf, pp. 20, 22, 24; Riehm, *Stud. u. Krit.* 1873, p. 193; Castelli, *La Legge*, &c., p. 318; Reuss, *La Bible*, i. p. 159 sq.; Dillmann, *Comm. on Deut.*, passim, esp. p. 604 sq. Also Delitzsch, *Genesis* (1887), p. 25.

[p] As those of Mr. Espin and Prof. Bissell (chap. viii.).

[q] Cp. the sections of similar import with which the codes in Ex. xxi.–xxiii. (xxiii. 20–33) and Lev. xvii.–xxvi. (xxvi. 3–45) close.

[r] See esp. Kuenen, *Hex.* pp. 111–115; Dillm. p. 292.

[s] So Ewald, *Hist.* i. 121; Kleinert, p. 183; Kuenen, *Th. Tijdschr.* 1878, p. 302 sq.; *Hex.* p. 125; Dillmann.

[t] The grounds are stated more fully by Kuenen, *Hex.* § 7, 12–17 (following others), and Riehm, *Einl.* pp. 315–317, both of whom express themselves satisfied by them.

[u] The recipients of the Deut. legislation, who in chaps. v. xi. are *identified* with the witnesses of the theophany at Horeb, are in ch. ii. expressly *distinguished* from them. The question which arises is this, Do sufficient grounds exist in the context of the passages quoted to make it probable that one and the same writer would adopt in them two different points of view?

Edom and Moab are placed on the *same* footing in ii. 29, but on a *different* footing in xxiii. 3, 7 sq. However, the injunction in xxiii. 8 is avowedly based upon the "brotherhood" of Edom—a relationship not subsisting in the case of Moab.

[v] The reader who cannot discover them for himself will find them noted in Dillmann, p. 229. The *differences* which Kuenen (p. 120) notes are real but slight.

[x] Kuenen, *Th. Tijdschr.* 1878, p. 304 sq. (cp. *Hex.* § 7, 22); Dillmann, p. 367 sq.

and Manasseh being treated as *one*) on Gerizim and six on Ebal—in tolerable accordance with Josh. viii. 33; and we expect (cp. xi. 29) some invocation of blessings and curses on the two mountains respectively. Verses 14 sq., on the contrary, describe only a series of *curses*, uttered by the *Levites*, to which *all* Israel respond. The two representations are evidently divergent, and give an inconsistent picture of the entire scene. Either something which made the transition clear has dropped out between *vv.* 13 and 14, or *vv.* 14 sq. have been incorporated from some independent source (see Dillmann, pp. 367–9).

§ 28. It is not possible perhaps to feel so confident respecting xxix. 2 (Heb. 1)—xxx. 20, as respecting ch. i.–iv.: for here, though there is no lack of Deuteronomic phrases, the Deuteronomic ring (except in xxx. 11–20, especially 11–14) is not heard quite so distinctly. Several new expressions also make their appearance (*e.g.* xxix. 6b, 9b, 11b [both Josh.]; 17, שקוצים and גלולים; 19, לבו שרירות); and xxix. 22–xxx. 10 is connected imperfectly with the context. Kleinert (p. 202) remarks that the promise of restoration in xxx. 1–10 is alien to the intention of a legislator, whose object throughout the rest of ch. xxviii.–xxx. is exclusively to inculcate motives for the observance of his statutes, and kindred rather to the spirit of a prophet. It may be replied that the author is more than a *mere* legislator: the section, moreover (with xxix. 22–29), is but the expansion of iv. 27–31. But it is true that xxx. 11 (which clearly gives the reason for a *present* duty, and is in no relation[y] with the future contemplated in *vv.* 9, 10) is connected imperfectly with *v.* 10, and can hardly have been originally preceded by xxx. 1–10. Dillmann considers that elements belonging to Deut. have been here united and amplified by the redactor, and agrees, in particular, that xxx. 11–20 is "beyond question original."

§ 29. Ch. xxxi. 1—xxxii. 47, including the Song of Moses (ch. xxxii.).

Argument of the Song.—After an exordium (*vv.* 1–3) the poet states his theme (4a הצור תמים פעלו), viz. the uprightness and faithfulness of Jehovah, as illustrated in His dealings with a corrupt and ungrateful nation (*vv.* 4–6). He dwells on the providential care with which the people had been guided to the home reserved for them (*vv.* 7–11): how it had triumphantly taken possession of the soil of Canaan (*vv.* 13, 14); how prosperity had tempted it to be untrue to its ideal ("Jeshurun") character, to forsake and dishonour its God (*vv.* 15–18), until the punishment decreed for this (*vv.* 19–25) had all but issued in national extinction, and the final step had only been arrested by the thought of the foe's malicious triumph (*vv.* 26–8). Had the nation possessed true wisdom, it would perceive whither its course was tending, and would understand the true ground of its disasters (*vv.* 29–33). But the enemy will not triumph for ever: in His people's extremity Jehovah will Himself interpose (*vv.* 34–36); and when the gods whom they have chosen are powerless to aid them, He Who is God alone, and Lord of life and death, will avenge His servants' cause (*vv.* 37–43). The thought underlying the whole is thus the rescue of the people by an act of grace, at the moment when annihilation seemed imminent. The poem begins reproachfully; but throughout tenderness prevails above severity, and towards its close the strain becomes wholly one of consolation and hope.

The Song shows great originality in form, being a presentation of prophetical thoughts in a poetical dress, which is unique in the O. T. The standpoint—whether assumed or real—from which the poet speaks is, of course, subsequent to the Mosaic age, to which, *vv.* 7–12, he looks back as to a distant past. The style of treatment, as a historical retrospect, is in the manner of Hos. ii., Jer. ii., Ezek. xx., Ps. cvi. The theme is developed with great literary and artistic skill; the images are varied and expressive; the parallelism, though not perfectly regular, is often very forcible.

It would be going too far to affirm that the Song *cannot* be by the same hand as the body of Deut. At the same time most of the characteristic expressions are different, and it presents many fresh thoughts: hence Delitzsch, wishing to vindicate its Mosaic authorship, seeks to show that it is independent of and prior to the discourses, and that in such points of contact as are traceable between them the originality is rather on the side of the Song.[z] In this he appears to be right: at any rate internal evidence, while not indeed precluding the identity of authorship,[a] is far from being strong enough to make it a certainty. If xxxi. 14 sq. be examined carefully, it will be seen that there are really *two* introductions to the Song, viz. *vv.* 14–22 and *vv.* 23–30. These appear to be by different hands; the first exhibiting several phrases not found elsewhere in Deut., the second being in the general style of the body of the Book. Verses 14–22 are considered by critics to form part of JE; and the view taken by them of the Song is that, being already at the time when JE was composed attributed to Moses, it was incorporated in this historical work accordingly.[b] The section containing it was excerpted by the author (or redactor) of Deut., who, adding xxxi. 23–30 and xxxii. 45–47, gave it the place which it now holds. This view presupposes naturally that the Song is older than JE, and *à fortiori* older than Deut. Dillmann, in agreement with Knobel and Schrader (*Einl.* § 205 h), assigns it to the period of the Syrian wars, in particular to the interval between 2 K. xiii. 4, 7, and xiii. 23, 25, xiv. 25 sq. (*circ.* 800 B.C.). Certainly a period such as this is the standpoint from which the Song *purports* to be spoken.

Ch. xxxii. 48–52. This is part of the narrative of P: it has all the marks of P's style, and none of the style of Deut. (*e.g.* אני, *vv.* 49, 52, like Num. xiii. 2, xv. 2, &c., but contrary

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[y] Keil, *Einl.*, § 24, 3 *end.*

[z] *Studien*, x. p. 507.

[a] Keil, aiming to prove more, catches at straws: in what respect are לא־אל and לא־עם better evidence of antiquity than לא־עץ and לא־איש, which are used by Isaiah? Mr. Espin (p. 917), in referring to a "long list" of coincidences given by Colenso, *Pent.* iii. § 799, has neglected to notice that a large number of these are with *Jeremiah*, and consequently have no cogency except for those who believe that Deut. is the work of that Prophet.

[b] So Schrader, *Einl.* (1869), § 191; Klostermann, in the *Stud. u. Krit.* 1871, p. 262 sq. (whose arguments satisfy Wellh. *J. D. Th.* xxi. 585); Dillmann; Riehm, *Einl.* p. 312. Cp. Ewald, *Hist.* i. p. 123 sq. See also Kuenen, §§ 8, 15; and Stade in the *Z. A. T. W.* 1885, pp. 297–300.

to the usage of Deut. [see § 37]). It is partly identical with Num. xxvii. 12–14.

§ 30. Ch. xxxiii. *The Blessing of Moses.*—This offers even fewer points of contact with the discourses of Deut. than ch. xxxii., and is accordingly considered by Delitzsch not to have been among the materials made use of by the author of Deut., but to have been handed down separately; till it was inserted here by the redactor who incorporated Deut. as a whole in the present Pentateuch. A peculiarity of form will be noticed: each blessing is introduced by the narrator separately, speaking in his own person. The exegesis is in many parts difficult, and the text sometimes corrupt (*e.g.* 2 b, 3, probably 21). The blessing on Joseph is evidently moulded on Gen. xlix. 25 sq.: the other blessings are original. Compared, as a whole, with the blessing of Jacob, it may be said to be pitched in a higher key: the tone is more buoyant: while the former in the main has in view the *actual* characteristics of the different tribes, the blessing of Moses contemplates them in their ideal glories, and views them both separately and collectively (*vv.* 26–29), as exercising theocratic functions, and enjoying theocratic privileges. The most salient features are the (apparent) isolation and depression of Judah, the honour and respect with which Levi is viewed, the strength and splendour of the double tribe of Joseph, and the burst of grateful enthusiasm with which (*vv.* 26–29) the poet celebrates the fortune of his nation, settled and secure, with the aid of its God, on the fertile soil of Palestine. Verse 4, if not also *vv.* 27 b, 28 (*drave out, said, dwelt*), implies a date later than Moses; as regards the rest of the Blessing, opinions differ, and, in fact, conclusive criteria fail us. The external evidence, supplied by the title (*v.* 1), is slight: internal evidence, from the obscure nature of some of the allusions, is indecisive, and affords scope for diverging conclusions. Kleinert (pp. 169–175), urging *v.* 7 (Judah's isolation, in agreement with its non-mention in Deborah's song), assigns it to the period of the Judges. Graf,[e] understanding *v.* 7 differently, and remarking the allusion to the Temple in *v.* 12 and the terms in which the power of Joseph is described in *v.* 17, thinks of the prosperous age of Jeroboam II. (2 K. xiv. 25), which is accepted by Kuenen,[d] Reuss,[e] and others. Dillmann (p. 415 sq.), while interpreting *vv.* 7 and 12 similarly, considers that the terms in which Levi and Judah are spoken of are better satisfied by a date very shortly after the division of the kingdom (so Schrader, *Einl.* § 204); and adduces reasons for supposing it to be the work of a poet of the northern kingdom, which afterwards came to be attributed to Moses. Volck,[f] partly on the questionable ground that such concrete traits as the Blessing exhibits are those of the Mosaic age, partly on the ground of its predominant ideal character, defends its Mosaic authorship; and Delitzsch[g] agrees with him (both, however, excepting *v.* 4). The style of ch. xxxiii. is more archaic than that of ch. xxxii.

In ch. xxxiv., verses 1–7 (in the main) consist of J's account of Moses' death, slightly expanded by a later hand, and concluded by *v.* 10 (cp. Ex. xxxiii. 11); *vv.* 8, 9 (cp. Num. xxvii. 22 sq.) belong to P: *vv.* 11 sq. are a compilation of Deüt. phrases, but probably not by D, on account of the indifferent style (לכל); they are attached to *v.* 10 loosely as a supplement.

The structure of Deut. may be exhibited in a tabular form, as follows:—

P						xxxi. 14–22.
JE		xxvii. 5–7 a.				
D	i.–xxvi., xxvii. 1–4.	7 b–8, 9–10, 11–13 (14–26*).	xxviii., xxix. 1–xxxi. 13.			23–30.
P		xxxii. 48–52.		xxxiv. 8–9.		
JE	xxxii. (1–43*), 44.			xxxiv. 1–7.	10.	
D		xxxii. 45–47.	(xxxiii.*)			xxxiv. 11–12.

* Incorporated from independent sources.

§ 31. *Evidence of language on the date of Deut.*—i. Alleged archaisms. "Very incorrectly," writes Delitzsch,[h] abandoning his previous position,[i] "have certain linguistic criteria been appealed to as evidence for the equal and high antiquity of the component parts of the Pentateuch." This verdict is indeed the only one authorized by the facts of philology. The only archaism in the Pentateuch which Delitzsch now admits is the use of נער as a feminine (Gen. xxiv. 14, 16, 28, 55, 57; xxxiv. 3, 12; and in the laws Deut. xxii. 15–29, thirteen times); the feminine נערה occurring but once (xxii. 29). The following is a list of the other principal words or forms which have been cited by Keil, by Delitzsch himself formerly, and others, as archaisms, with an indication of the grounds which compel their rejection.

(1.) The use of הוּא for both genders, which occurs 196 times in the Pentateuch (by the side of 11 times היא), of which 36 are in Deut. The fact that *all* Semitic languages have a feminine with *yod* authorizes the inference that this must have formed part of the original Semitic stock, before the several sister dialects, Hebrew amongst them, acquired independent existence.[k] Whatever, then, be the explanation of the epicene הוּא, *Hebrew in its earliest stage must have had a feminine* היא. In all probability the peculiarity is not original. It is clear, from a comparison of the LXX., that in the older Heb. MSS. the *plena scriptio* was far from being in general use (see the writer's *Notes*

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[d] *Religion of Israel*, i. 378 sq.; *Hex.* p. 234.

[e] *La Bible*, ii. p. 360 sq.

[f] *Der Segen Mose's* (1873), p. 157 sq.

[g] P. 508. But *internal* evidence connecting ch. xxxiii. with ch. xxxii. is slight; "Jeshurun," the figure xxxii. 13 a, xxxiii. 29 b (both occurring elsewhere), and ערף (only xxxii. 2 a, xxxiii. 28 b), being the sole noteworthy resemblances: the others, cited by Volck, p. 167, from Lagarde, are not characteristic. Keil, and those who agree with him, do not perceive the difficulty of *v.* 7.

[h] *Genesis*, 1887, p. 27.

[i] *Genesis*, 1872, p. 22 sq.; cp. this Dict.,[1] ii. 783.

[k] So Nöldeke, the highest living authority on the Semitic languages, *Z. D. M. G.*, 1866, p. 458 sq.; 1878, p. 594; endorsed by Delitzsch, *Studien*, viii. p. 394.

on the Hebrew Text of Samuel, 1890, xxxiii. sq.); and doubtless, in the autographs of the O. T., as on the stone of Mesha for the masculine,[l] and on the inscriptions of Eshmunazar[m] and Yehawmelech of Gebal[n] for both genders, the pronoun of the third pers. sing. was regularly written הוא, though *read*, of course, as *hu'* or *hi'*, as occasion required. When at a comparatively late period the *plena scriptio* was inserted, this for some reason, which we can only supply from conjecture, was in the Pentateuch, with eleven exceptions, always ן.[o]

(2.) האל for האלה, iv. 42, vii. 22, xix. 11, as in Gen. xix. 8, 25, xxvi. 3, 4, Lev. xviii. 27; and אל for אלה, 1 Ch. xx. 8 (not a quotation). This is met with in Phoenician: [p] but the kindred dialects generally have a dissyllabic form,[q] an indication that the pronoun terminated originally in a vowel sound. There is no ground for supposing it an archaism other than its occurrence in books reputed to be ancient: the fact that האלה also is found some eighty times (besides אלה uniformly) in the same Books ought alone to have shown how questionable the inference was.

(3.) The following forms, occurring sporadically in Deut., are no test of antiquity, for the simple reason that they mostly occur likewise sporadically in other books of the O. T. down to Jer. and Ezek. inclusive:—

(α.) תֶּהְיֶין, xxi. 15; תִּמְצָאן, xxxi. 21 (an orthographical variation for the more usual תִּמְצָאנָה, תֶּהְיֶינָה).

(β.) לְרָאוֹת, i. 33; לַעֲשֹׂר, xxvi. 12 (for לְהַרְאוֹת, לְהַעֲשֵׂר).

(γ.) The ending ־ן in 2 and 3 pl. impf., which occurs 305 times in the O. T., of which 56 are in Deut. (On β, γ, see the writer's *Notes on Samuel*, pp. 28 sq., 23.)

(δ.) The ending ־ן, in 3 pl. pf., viii. 3, 16. This occurs besides in Is. xxvi. 16, but is without analogy in the kindred dialects, except in those which are secondary and late.[r] A form which occurs three times in the O. T. and is badly supported by analogy, is due probably to a clerical error. So Nöldeke, p. 411.

(ε.) The construction of the passive with את of the subject (xii. 22, xx. 8: see Ges.[25] § 121, 1; Ewald, § 295 *b*). This is met with at every period of the language, down to at least the time of Jeremiah (xxxv. 14, xxxviii. 4, l. 20), and evidently therefore is no mark of antiquity.

(ζ.) ה- *locale* occurs repeatedly in Kings and Jeremiah (*e.g.* הבלה, more than twenty times).

(4.) Other words are borrowed from the older laws, as אביב, xvi. 1; זכור, xvi. 16 (also xx. 13); ריקם (in sense of *without an offering*), *ib.*, in verbal quotations from Ex. (cp. § 6, *note*): or are technical terms, as נקבה, iv. 16; אשה, xviii. 1.

§ 32. ii. Other forms occurring in Deut. have been claimed as agreeing with a date in the 7th century.[s] Of these the most striking are the *Nithpael* in xxi. 8 (נִכַּפֵּר), which, it is true, occurs again only Ezek. xxiii. 48; the Aramaism מַסָּה, xvi. 10 (not elsewhere); and מַסְכֵּנוּת, viii. 9 (מִסְכֵּן), of which this is a derivative, occurring besides only in the late book Qoheleth iv. 13, ix. 15 sq.):[t] the others are of slight importance.[u]

On the whole, the evidence from language may be regarded as neutral: מסה, נכפר, and מסכנות may be fairly held to balance נער, and זכור in xx. 13. The language of Deut. exhibits nothing which can be characterised as either specially early or specially late: such peculiarities as it presents are too isolated to admit of any wide-reaching conclusion being safely deduced from them. The language of Deut. is thoroughly compatible with a date early in the 7th century B.C.: it contains nothing which can be cited as positively favouring an earlier date, though we are not in a position to affirm that a somewhat earlier date is excluded by it.

§ 33. *Evidence of the Prophets and Historical Books on the date of Deut.*—These are often appealed to as witnessing by their allusions to the existence of Deut. at a date prior to that assigned to it by modern critics. Is their evidence decisive? In determining this question, the nature of the issue is very commonly forgotten; it is thought sufficient to point out the parallel, and to assume at once that the imitation (or dependency) is in favour of the side which is being advocated. A moment's consideration will show how illogical such a method is. Given two similar passages, of which the relative dates are known, it is, of course, immediately obvious on which side the imitation lies; but the inverse problem (which naturally, when the date is under dispute, is the one to be solved)—*Given two similar passages, to determine which is the original*—is vastly more difficult and delicate. Assuming the antiquity of Deut., we may, for instance, say with Hengstenberg that xxx. 3 is the basis of all the passages in which the phrase שב שבות occurs; but there is nothing in the passage itself to render this self-evident, and a critic who held a different view of the date of Deut. might with equal propriety claim Amos ix. 14 as the fundamental passage. So Amos iv. 9 resembles Deut. xxviii. 22; v. 11 b resembles xxviii. 39: the מהפכה ("overthrow") of Sodom and Gomorrha

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[l] Line 6, ויאמר נם הא; line 27, כי הרס הא ("for it was broken down:" cp. 1 K. xviii. 30).

[m] Line 10, אדם הא; line 11, ממלכת הא; line 22 הממלכת הא (*Corp. Inscr. Sem.*, No. 3).

[n] Line 9, מלך צדק הא; line 13, מלאכת הא (*ib.* No. 1). Add *ib.* No. 93, 2 (254 B.C.); 94, 2; 166, *b* 4; 171, 7; and the recently discovered Inscription of Tabnith, l. 6 (*Notes on Samuel*, p. xxvi.).

[o] The epicene הוא appears, in fact, not to be confined to the Pentateuch. As the reader can himself learn from the facsimile published by Strack in 1876, it occurs in the MS. of the 'Later Prophets,' exhibiting the Oriental text and the superlinear punctuation, now at St. Petersburg, and dated A.D. 916. See the passages cited in the *Adnotationes Criticae*, p. 026 (on Ezek. xxx. 18); and cp. Delitzsch, *Genesis* (1887), p. 32.

[p] In Eshmunazar's Inscr., l. 22; in the *C. I. S.* No. 14 (from Larnaca), l. 5: No. 93, l. 3: probably pronounced as a dissyllable (Schroeder, *Phoen. Gr.* 1869, § 61). In the Poenulus, vi. 9, written *ily*: in the Neopunic Inscr. 125 (*Z. D. M. G.* xxix. 240), אלא.

[q] אֵל, אֵלוּ, אֵלִין, אֵלֶּה/אֵלֶּכֶּה (אֵלֶּכֶּם), אֵלּוּ.

[r] Nöldeke, *Z. D. M. G.*, 1884, p. 410: for some examples see Driver's *Hebrew Tenses* (ed. 2, 1881, p. xlv.; ed. 3, 1891, p. 7). The old Semitic ending, as Arab., Eth., and Aram. show, was ־ū.

[s] Ryssel, *De Elohistae Pentateuchi sermone* (1878), p. 27.

[t] Parallels to the strange לְמַסָּע (x. 11) and the *Hothp.* הִטַּמֵּא (xxiv. 4) are met with in Lev. and Num. (P): they form, therefore, part of a larger question [see PENTATEUCH].

[u] On some of them, see *Journ. of Phil.* 1882, p. 235 sq.

is common to Deut. with Amos, Isaiah, Jeremiah; but who will presume to say, without assuming the question in dispute, in which writer each of these phrases is original? Other passages in both Amos and Hosea which have been cited as showing acquaintance with Deut. are too general in their terms to be conclusive. There may well have been a law against *Kedēshōth* in Israel prior to the 7th cent. B.C.: but Hos. iv. 14 is no proof of it, unless it be supposed that the moral enlightenment possessed independently by the Prophet was insufficient to teach him to condemn them. The only law to which Hosea may be held perhaps to allude in v. 10 is that on the landmark (xix. 14); but this does not show his acquaintance with the Book as we have it, for, as has been contended above, Deut. does not prescribe *new* laws, but reproduces *old* ones. Indeed, might there not well exist a popular feeling on the subject, adequate to explain Hosea's language, without the hypothesis of any law whatever? Nor does Is. i. betray acquaintance with the body of Deut.; the parallels advanced by Caspari [x] can surely satisfy no one. The part of Deut. which may be reasonably held to be alluded to by Isaiah, and perhaps by Hosea, is the *Song*: cp. Is. i. 2 a with xxxii. 1; i. 2 b, 4 a ("sons") with xxxii. 5 a, 19 b, 20 b; the thought of i. 2 b with xxxii. 6, 15 b; Hos. v. 14 b, vi. 1, with xxxii. 39; viii. 14 a (cp. xiii. 6) with *v.* 18; ix. 10 with *v.* 10; xi. 3 a (thought) with *v.* 11. But, as we have seen (§ 29), there are independent grounds for regarding the Song as prior to the body of Deut. [y] In the prophets there are no allusions sufficient to establish an acquaintance with Deut. as a whole prior to Jeremiah.

In estimating the allusions in the historical books, we must first put aside those which may refer to the earlier laws embodied in Deut. (as 1 Sam. xxviii. 3, 1 K. xxi. 10), [z] and those in which the reference to Deut. is not evident, as 1 K. xxii. 11, 2 K. vi. 30 [a] (surely the recollection of Deut. xxviii. 53 is not needed to explain the king's horror!). There remain the large number of cases (cp. § 38) in which the phraseology is modelled on that of Deut. These passages, however, do not appear generally to be part of the original sources incorporated in those Books, but to belong to the framework or additional matter due to the post-Deuteronomic redactor. It would, however, be out of place here to state the grounds which justify this opinion: and in so far as they have to be assumed, the present discussion on Deut. must be admitted to be incomplete.

[x] *Beiträge zur Einl. in das Buch Jesaia* (1848), p. 204. Isaiah works out the figure of the sick person (i. 5 sq.) on lines entirely his own. The specific images in Deut. are all different: in xxviii. 35 b the phrase used is one in current use (2 Sam. xiv. 25; Job ii. 7), unlike that in Is. i. 6.

[y] So the introduction in JE to the Song (§ 29) may be alluded to in Hos. iii. 1 b; Mic. iii. 4, 11: cp. xxxi. 18 b, 20 b; 17 a, 18 a; 17 b.

[z] But Judg. ii. 2 sq., xiv. 3, 1 Sam. viii. 3, are sufficiently accounted for by Ex. xxxiv. 12, 13, 15 sq., xxiii. 8, and do not point necessarily (as has been supposed) to Deut. vii. 2, 3, xii. 3, xvi. 19. Indeed, the expostulation in Judg. xiv. 3 seems to be prompted by national feeling, rather than to depend upon an express prohibition.

[a] *Pulpit Comm.* p. x. sq. (from Hengst. ii. pp. 131, 138).

III. *Style of Deuteronomy.*

§ 34. The literary style of Deut. is very marked and individual. In vocabulary, indeed, it presents comparatively few exceptional words; but particular phrases and forms of expression, consisting sometimes of entire clauses, recur with extraordinary frequency, giving *a distinctive colouring* to every part of the work. While, however, the phraseology, in its predominant features, is strongly original, it appears in certain particulars to be based upon that of the narrative which we have termed JE, notably of the sections Ex. xiii. 3–16, xix. 3–8, parts of xx.–xxiii., xxxiv. 10–26. [b]

1. אהב, *to love*, with God as object: vi. 5; vii. 9; x. 12; xi. 1, 13, 22; xiii. 3 [Heb. 4]; xix. 9; xxx. 6, 16, 20. [Josh. xxii. 5, xxiii. 11.] So Ex. xx. 6 (=Deut. v. 10).

Of God's love to His people: iv. 37; vii. 8, 13; x. 15; xxiii. 5 [Heb. 6]. Not so before. Otherwise first in Hosea iii. 1; ix. 15; xi. 1, cf. 4; xiv. 4 [Heb. 5].

2. אלהים אחרים, *other gods*: vi. 14; vii. 4; viii. 19; xi. 16, 28; xiii. 2, 6, 13 [Heb. 3, 7, 14]; xvii. 3; xviii. 20; xxviii. 14, 36, 64; xxix. 26 [Heb. 25]; xxx. 17; xxxi. 18, 20. [Josh. xxiii. 16; xxiv. 2, 16.] So Ex. xx. 3 (= Deut. v. 7); xxiii. 13; cp. xxxiv. 14 (אל אחר). Always in Deut. (except v. 7; xviii. 20; xxxi. 18, 20) with *to serve* or *go after*. Often in Kings and Jeremiah, but (as Kleinert remarks) usually with other verbs.

3. *That your (thy) days may be long* [or *to prolong days*]: iv. 26, 40; v. 33 [Heb. 30]; vi. 2 b; xi. 9; xvii. 20; xxii. 7; xxv. 15; xxx. 18; xxxii. 47. So Ex. xx. 12 (=Deut. v. 16). Elsewhere, only Is. liii. 10, Prov. xxviii. 16, Eccles. viii. 13; and, rather differently, Josh. xxiv. 31=Judg. ii. 7.†

4. *The land* (הארץ: less frequently *the ground*, האדמה) *which Jehovah thy God is giving thee* (also *us, you, them*, i. 20, &c.): iv. 40, xv. 7, and constantly. So Ex. xx. 12 (=Deut. v. 16), האדמה.

5. בית עבדים, *house of bondage* (lit. *of slaves*): vi. 12; vii. 8; viii. 14; xiii. 5, 10 [Heb. 6, 11]. [Josh. xxiv. 17.] So Judg. vi. 8; Mic. vi. 4; Jer. xxxiv. 13 From Ex. xiii. 3, 14, xx. 2 (=Deut. v. 6).†

6. *In thy gates* (of the cities of Israel): xii. 12, 15, 17, 18, 21; xiv. 21, 27–29; xv. 7, 22; xvi. 5, 11, 14, 18; xvii. 2, 8; xviii. 6; xxiii. 16 [Heb. 17]; xxiv. 14; xxvi. 12; xxviii. 52, 55, 57; xxxi. 12. So Ex. xx. 10 (= Deut. v. 14). Nowhere else in this application: but cf. 1 K. viii. 37 =2 Ch. vi. 28.

7 a. עם סגלה, *a people of special possession*: vii. 6; xiv. 2; xxvi. 18.† Cf. Ex. xix. 5 והייתם לי סגלה.

7 b. עם קדוש, *a holy people*: vii. 6; xiv. 2, 21; xxvi. 19; xxviii. 9.† Varied from Ex. xix. 6 גוי קדוש, *a holy nation*.

8. *Which I command thee this day*: iv. 40; vi. 6; vii. 11, and repeatedly. So Ex. xxxiv. 11.

9. *Take heed to thyself (yourselves) lest*, &c.: iv. 9, 23; vi. 12; viii. 11; xi. 16; xii. 13, 19, 30; xv. 9 (cp. xxiv. 8): cp. ii. 4; iv. 15. [Josh. xxiii. 11.] So Ex. xxxiv. 12; cp. xix. 12. (Also Ex. x. 28, Gen. xxiv. 6, xxxi. 24, cp. 29; but with no special force.)

10. *A mighty hand and a stretched out arm*: iv. 34;

[b] In the preparation of §§ 34–36, much help has been derived from the scholarly work of Kleinert, p. 217 sq.—To avoid repetition, and for the sake of the more complete synopsis, the occurrences in the Deuteronomic sections of JOSHUA have been noted here in brackets. The sign † denotes that *all* examples of the word or phrase quoted, occurring in the O. T., have been cited.

v. 15; vii. 19; xi. 2; xxvi. 8. Hence Jer. xxxii. 21 (אזרוע), cf. xxi. 5; 1 K. viii. 42 ||; Ezek. xx. 33, 34; Ps. cxxxvi. 12. The *combination* occurs first in Deut. *Mighty hand* alone: Deut. iii. 24; vi. 21; vii. 8; ix. 26; xxxiv. 12 [cp. Josh. iv. 24]. So Ex. iii. 19; vi. 1; xiii. 9; xxxii. 11 (Num. xx. 20). Hence Dan. ix. 15; Neh. i. 10. *Stretched out arm* alone: Deut. ix. 29 (varied from Ex. xxxii. 11). So Ex. vi. 6 P. Hence Jer. xxvii. 5, xxxii. 17; 2 K. xvii. 36.†

Other coincidences with the same sections of Ex. appear to be instances of quotation or allusion (see § 6, note).[c]

§ 35. There are two or three points of contact between Deut. and Lev. xvii.–xxvi. :—

תועבה, *abomination* (to Jehovah), especially as the final ground of a prohibition: vii. 25 sq.; xii. 31; xiii. 14 [Heb. 15]; xiv. 3; xvii. 1, 4; xviii. 12; xxii. 5; xxiii. 18 [Heb. 19]; xxiv. 4; xxv. 16; xxvii. 15. Cp. Lev. xviii. 22 b, also 26, 27, 29, 30; xx. 13 (but only of sins of unchastity). Not so in Ex.

Thy brother, as used in xv. 3, 7, 9, 11, 12; xvii. 15 b; xxii. 1–4; xxiii. 19 sq. [Heb. 20 sq.]; xxv. 3. Cp. Lev. xix. 17; xxv. 14, 25, 35 sq., 39, 47.

To rejoice before Jehovah (at a sacrificial meal): xii. 12, 18; xvi. 11; xxvii. 7 (cp. xii. 7; xiv. 26 b; xvi. 14; xxvi. 11). So only Lev. xxiii. 40 (of the Feast of Tabernacles); cp. Is. ix. 2.

With the rest of P, Deut. exhibits no phraseological connexion. In the few laws which are in part common, identical expressions occur (as ch. xiv. מין; xxiv. 8, נגע הצרעת); but these are of the nature of *quotations*, and do not constitute any real phraseological similarity between the two writings: they do not *recur* in Deut.

§ 36. Characteristic expressions either not occurring at all in Gen.—Num., or occurring only in the instances cited:—

1. בכל אות נפשוך, *with all the desire of his (thy) soul:* xii. 15, 20, 21; xviii. 6.† Cp. 1 Sam. xxiii. 20 (ל).

2. בחר, *to choose:* of Israel, iv. 37; vii. 6, 7; x. 15; xiv. 2;—the priests, xviii. 5; xxi. 5;—of the future king, xvii. 15;—and especially in the phrase "the place which Jehovah shall choose to place (*or* set) His Name there," xii. 5, 11, 14, 18, 21, 26; xiv. 23–25; xv. 20; xvi. 2, 6, 7, 11, 15, 16; xvii. 8, 10; xxvi. 2; or "the place which Jehovah shall choose," xviii. 6, xxxi. 11. [Josh. ix. 27.] Very characteristic of Deut.: not applied before to God's choice of Israel: often in Kings of Jerusalem (1 K. viii. 44; xi. 32, &c.); in Jeremiah once, xxxiii. 24, of Israel. Also charact. of II. Isaiah (xli. 8, 9; xliii. 10; xliv. 1, 2: cp. *chosen*, xliii. 20, xlv. 4. Of the *future*, xiv. 1; lxv. 9, 15, 22: and applied to Jehovah's ideal Servant, xlii. 1; xlix. 7).

3. ובערת הרע מקרבך (מישראל), *and thou shalt extinguish the evil from thy midst* (or *from Israel*): xiii. 5 [Heb. 6]; xvii. 7, 12; xix. 19; xxi. 21; xxii. 21, 22, 24; xxiv. 7.† This phrase is peculiar to Deut.: but Judg. xx. 13 is similar. The verb בָּעַר occurs also in xix. 13, xxi. 9, xxvi. 13, 14; 2 Sam. iv. 11; and in Kings.

4. *That the Lord thy God may* (or *Because He will*) *bless thee:* xiv. 24, 29; xv. 4, 10; xvi. 10, 15; xxiii. 20 [Heb. 21]; xxiv. 19: cp. xii. 7; xv. 6, 14.

5. *The stranger, the fatherless, and the widow:* x. 18; xxiv. 17, 19, 20, 21; xxvii. 19. Cp. Ex. xxii. 21 sq. Hence Jer. vii. 6, xxii. 3; Ezek. xxii. 7. Together with *the Levite:* xiv. 29; xvi. 11, 14; xxvi. 12, 13.

6. דבק, *to cleave*, of devotion to God: x. 20; xi. 22; xiii. 4 [Heb. 5]; xxx. 20: the corresponding adjective, iv. 4. [Josh. xxii. 5; xxiii. 8.] So 2 K. xviii. 6: with a different object, iii. 3; 1 K. xi. 2.†

7. *And remember that thou wast a bondman in the land of Egypt:* v. 15; xv. 15; xvi. 12; xxiv. 18, 22.†

8. לא תחוס עינך (עליו), *thine eye shall not spare (him)*: vii. 16; xiii. 8 [Heb. 9]; xix. 13, 21; xxv. 12. Also Gen. xlv. 20; Is. xiii. 18; and frequently in Ezek.

9. חזק ואמץ, *be strong and of a good courage:* xxxi. 6, 7, 23. [Josh. i. 6, 7, 9, 18; x. 25.] Cp. ch. iii. 28. The reader may think this phrase an ordinary one; but it occurs besides only in 1 Ch. xxii. 13, xxviii. 20; 2 Ch. xxxii. 7.

10. והיה בך חטא, *and it be sin in thee:* xv. 9; xxiii. 21 [Heb. 22]; xxiv. 15; cp. xxi. 22;—with *not*, xxiii. 22 [Heb. 23].

11. הארץ הטובה, *the good land* of Canaan: i. 35; iii. 25; iv. 21, 22; vi. 18; viii. 10 (cp. 7); ix. 6; xi. 17. [Josh. xxiii. 16.] So 1 Ch. xxviii. 8.† Ch. i. 25 (Num. xiv. 7) and Ex. iii. 8 are rather different.

12. *Which thou* (*ye*) *knowest* (or *knewest*) *not:* viii. 3, 16; xi. 28; xiii. 2, 6, 13 [Heb. 3, 7, 14]; xxviii. 33, 36, 64; xxix. 26 [Heb. 25]. Chiefly with reference to strange gods, or a foreign people. Cp. xxxii. 17.

13. *That it may be well with thee* (למען or אשר ייטב לך): iv. 40; v. 16, 29 [Heb. 26]; vi. 3, 18; xii. 25, 28; xxii. 7. Similarly (לכם) וטוב לך: v. 33 [Heb. 30], xix. 13; and לטוב, vi. 24, x. 13.

14. היטיב, *inf. abs.*, used adverbially = *thoroughly*: ix. 21; xiii. 14 [Heb. 15]; xvii. 4; xix. 18; xxvii. 8. Elsewhere, in this application, only 2 K. xi. 18.†[d]

15. *To fear God* (ליראה): often with *that they may learn* prefixed): iv. 10; v. 29 [Heb. 26]; vi. 24; viii. 6; x. 12; xiv. 23; xvii. 19; xxviii. 58; xxxi. 13, cp. 12.

16. לא תוכל (יוכל), in the sense of *not to be allowed:* vii. 22; xii. 17; xvi. 5; xvii. 15; xxi. 16; xxii. 3, 19, 29; xxiv. 4. A very uncommon use; cp. Gen. xliii. 32.

17. *To do that which is right* (הישר) *in the eyes of Jehovah:* xii. 25; xiii. 18 [Heb. 19]; xxi. 9: with הטוב, *that which is good*, added, vi. 18; xii. 28. So Ex. xv. 26; then Jer. xxxiv. 15; and several times in Kings and Chronicles.

18. *To do that which is evil* (הרע) *in the eyes of Jehovah:* iv. 25[e]; ix. 18[e]; xvii. 2; xxxi. 29. So Num. xxxii. 13; often in the framework of Judges and Kings, Jeremiah, and occasionally elsewhere. Both 17 and 18 gained currency through Deut.; and are rare except in passages written under its influence.

19. *With all thy* (*your*) *heart and with all thy* (*your*) *soul:* iv. 29; vi. 5; x. 12; xi. 13; xiii. 3 [Heb. 4]; xxvi. 16; xxx. 2, 6, 10. [Josh. xxii. 5; xxiii. 14.] A genuine expression of the spirit of the Book (§ 8). Only besides (in the third person), 1 K. ii. 4, viii. 48 ||; 2 K. xxiii. 3, 25 ||; 2 Ch. xv. 12.

20. נתן לפני, in the sense of *delivering up to:* i. 8, 21; ii. 31, 33, 36; vii. 2, 23; xxiii. 14 [Heb. 15]; xxviii. 7 and 25 (with נָגַף); xxxi. 5. [Josh. x. 12; xi. 6.]

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[c] They do not therefore, as Colenso thought (*Pent.* vi. App., §§ 111, 118), show identity of authorship. The relation of Deut. to Ex. xxiii. 22–33 is the same as to Ex. xxiii. 1–21. Note also that בחזק יד, Ex. xiii. 3, 14, 16, and בעבור, xiii. 8, are not Deuteronomic.

[d] In Gen. xxxii. 13 [Keil, § 28] the use is different, and normal. גדל (cited *ib.*) is used *peculiarly* in Deut. (iii. 24; v. 24 [Heb. 21]; ix. 26; xi. 2: *Thy, His greatness*; cp. Ps. cl. 2), and differently from Num. xiv. 19. It is not cited in the text, being of minor importance.

[e] With *to vex him* (להכעיסו) added, as also often in Kings and Jeremiah.

Also Judg. xi. 9; 1 K. viii. 46; Is. xli. 2.† [f] The usual phrase in this sense is נתן ביד.

21. *To turn* (סר) *neither to the right hand nor to the left*: ii. 27 *lit.* (Num. has נטה): so 1 Sam. vi. 12. *Metaph.*: v. 32 [Heb. 29]; xvii. 11, 20; xxviii. 14. [Josh. i. 7; xxiii. 6.] So 2 Kings xxii. 2‖.†

22. מעשה ידים, *the work of the hands* (= enterprise): ii. 7; xiv. 29; xvi. 15; xxiv. 19; xxviii. 12; xxx. 9: in a bad sense, xxxi. 29. In a neutral sense, not very common elsewhere, Hag. ii. 14, 17; Ps. xc. 17; Job i. 10: in a bad sense, Ps. xxviii. 4; 1 K. xvi. 7; 2 K. xxii. 17 *al.*

23. פדה, of the *redemption* from Egypt: vii. 8 (Mic. vi. 4); ix. 26; xiii. 5 [Heb. 6]; xv. 15; xxi. 8; xxiv. 18. Not so before: Ex. xv. 13 uses גאל (to *reclaim*).

24. *Even to* or *unto this place*: i. 31; ix. 7; xi. 5; xxvi. 9; xxix. 7 [Heb. 6].

25. קֶרֶב, in different connexions, especially בקרבך, מקרבך. A favourite word in Deut., though naturally occurring in JE, as also elsewhere. In P תוך is preferred.

26. *Which thine eyes have seen*: iv. 9; vii. 19; x. 21; xxix. 3 [Heb. 2]: cp. xxi. 7.† (Prov. xxv. 7 differently.)

27. *Thy* (*your*) *eyes are those that have seen*: iii. 21; iv. 3; xi. 7.†

28. *To eat and be satisfied*: vi. 11; viii. 10, 12; xi. 15; xiv. 29; xxvi. 12; xxxi. 20.

29. The caution *not to forget*: iv. 9, 23; vi. 12; viii. 11, 14, 19; ix. 7; xxv. 19 b; xxvi. 13 b. Cp. xxxii. 18.

30. *To make His name dwell there* (לְשַׁכֵּן שְׁמוֹ): xii. 11; xiv. 23; xvi. 2, 6, 11; xxvi. 2. Only besides Jer. vii. 12; Ezra vi. 12; Neh. i. 9.† With לָשׂוּם (*to set*): xii. 5, 21; xiv. 24. This occurs also in Kings (together with להיות, יהיה, which are not in Deut.): 1 K. ix. 3; xi. 36; xiv. 21; 2 K. xxi. 4, 7.

31. משלח יד, *that which thou puttest thy hand to*: xii. 7, 18; xv. 10; xxiii. 20 [Heb. 21]; xxviii. 8, 20.†

32. שמע ישראל, *Hear, O Israel*: v. 1; vi. 4; ix. 1; xx. 3; cp. xxvii. 9.

33. *And . . . . shall hear and fear* (of the deterrent effect of punishment): xiii. 11 [Heb. 12]; xvii. 13; xix. 20; xxi. 21.†

34. *To observe to do* (שמר לעשות): v. 1, 32 [Heb. 29], vi. 3, &c. (sixteen times: also four times with an object intervening). [Josh. i. 7, 8; xxii. 5.] Also a few times in Kings and Chronicles.

35. *To observe and do*: iv. 6; vii. 12; xvi. 12; xxiii. 23 [Heb. 24]; xxiv. 8; xxvi. 16; xxviii. 13; cp. xxix. 9 [Heb. 8]. [Josh. xxiii. 6.]

36. *The land whither ye go over* (or *enter in*) *to possess it*: iv. 5, 14, and repeatedly. Hence Ezra ix. 11. לרשתה, *to possess it*, also after *which Jehovah is giving thee* (§ 34): xii. 1; xix. 2, 14; xxi. 1. [Josh. i. 11 *b*.] Cp. Gen. xv. 7. In P, with similar clauses, we have לאחזה: Lev. xiv. 34, xxv. 45; Num. xxxii. 29; Deut. xxxii. 49.

These are the most striking expressions characteristic of Deut. It will be observed that, as a rule, they occur seldom or never elsewhere, or only in passages modelled upon the style of Deut. In addition to these, the attentive reader will notice other recurring features, which combine, with those that have been cited, to give a unity of style to the whole work. The strong and impressive individuality of the author colours whatever he writes: and even a sentence, or part of a sentence, borrowed from elsewhere, assumes, by the setting in which it is placed, a new character, and impresses the reader in a different light.[g] It is plain that the original features in his style preponderate decidedly above those that are derived. It is true there is an element common to Deut. with the parenetic sections of JE, and hence the style of Deut. may be termed, in a certain sense, an extension or development of that of JE[h]; but the development, it must be remembered, is a very considerable one. The question will be before us again, when the structure of JE, as a whole, is examined under the article PENTATEUCH.

The *text* of Deut., except in a few parts of ch. xxxii. xxxiii., is remarkably pure.

§ 37. Some other more general features in the style of Deut. may here be noted. The author is fond of the reflexive dative (פנו, סבו, שובו לכם: i. 7, 40; ii. 3; v. 27; x. 11, &c.); of asyndeta[i]; of the emphatic termination ־ון in 3 pl. impf. (§ 31); of constructions with יד (משה, מתנת, תרומת, נדבת). He prefers לבב (nearly fifty times) to לב (only iv. 11 *metaph.*; xxviii. 65; xxix. 4, 19 [Heb. 3, 18]. He uses always the longer and more emphatic form of the pronoun of the first pers. אנכי (of the two exceptions in the body of the work, xii. 30 *after* the verb is in accordance with usual custom,[k] xxix. 6 [Heb. 5] is a stereotyped formula).[l] His syntax is idiomatic, and remarkably free from irregularities and anomalies; his diction classical and pure. His power as an orator is shown in the long and stately periods with which his work abounds: at the same time the parenetic treatment which his subject often demands always maintains its freshness, and is never either monotonous or prolix. In his use of *figures* (i. 31, 44; viii. 5; xxviii. 29, 49, cp. 13, 44; xxix. 18 b, 19 b) he agrees with other writers of the more elevated prose style.[m] His noble and impressive eloquence has stirred the heart of every reader.

§ 38. The influence of Deut. upon subsequent Books of the O. T. is very great. As it fixed for long the standard by which men and things were to be judged, so it provided the formulae in which these judgments were expressed. Or, to speak more generally, it provided a religious terminology which readily lent itself to adoption, except on the part of writers possessing unusual independence (as Ezek. and II. Isaiah), upon whom it exerted only a partial influence. In

[f] Ex. xxx. 36 and 1 K. xi. 6 (Keil) are not parallel.

[g] *E.g.* xvi. 3 (by the addition of *all the days of thy life*: cp. iv. 9, vi. 2, xvii. 19), 16; and especially in the retrospects, chs. i.–iii., ix.–x.

[h] Delitzsch, *Studien*, x. p. 504; cp. *Genesis* (1887). p. 21.

[i] Those with *all* may be given, on account of their bearing on the interpretation of xviii. 1 a:—ii. 37 b; iii. 4 b; iv. 19; xv. 21; xvi. 21; xvii. 1; xx. 14; xxiii. 19 [Heb. 20]; xxix. 20 [Heb. 19]. They regularly, it will be seen, denote the entire group, of which one or more *representative* items have been specified in the preceding words.

[k] *Journal of Philology*, 1882, pp. 223, 226. The other cases are in the Song, xxxii. 21, 39; and xxxii. 49, 52 (P).

[l] Ex. vii. 17, viii. 18, x. 2; 1 K. xx. 13, 28.

[m] Cp. Ex. xxxiii. 11; Num. xi. 12, xxii. 4, xxvii. 17; Judg. vi. 5, vii. 12, xiv. 6, xv. 14, xvi. 9; 2 Sam. xiv. 17, 20, xvii. 8, 10, 11, 13, &c.

the Historical Books entire sections of Joshua (*e.g.* i.; xxii. 1–6; xxiii.) are largely composed of Deuteronomic phrases: from the subsequent Books, these specimens—mostly comments, or other additions, made by the compiler—may be quoted: Judg. ii. 11–23, iii. 4–6; 1 K. ii. 3, 4, viii. 15–61, ix. 1–9, xi. 1–6, 31–39 (in parts), xiv. 8, 9; 2 K. xvii. 7–23, xviii. 6, xix. 15–19, &c. Differences, however, should be noted as well as resemblances: many of these passages, for instance, contain *new* phrases not met with in Deut.;[n] and it is interesting to trace what is on the whole an increasing accumulation of variations from the original Deuteronomic type, till in (*e.g.*) 2 K. xvii. it is mingled with phrases derived from the Book of Kings itself, Judges, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel. Among the Prophets, Jeremiah, as is well known, shows most prominently the influence of Deut.: it may be traced more subtly in II. Isaiah.

§ 39. However reluctant we may be to abandon the current view of the authorship of Deut., in face of the facts stated above (which do not appear to admit of a satisfactory explanation upon the basis of the current view) it is difficult to maintain it. The *positive* arguments upon which its defenders largely rely certainly appear to be insufficient. *Negatively*, their attack on the critical position derives its strength (1) from the moral argument that Deut., if it be not the work of Moses, is a "forgery;" (2) from the material argument that it contains provisions which, regarded as originating in the 8th cent. B.C., are nugatory and unintelligible. No doubt critics have not always been at sufficient pains to guard themselves against such objections. But the "author" of Deut., it must be recollected, is not the *speaker*, but the *writer of* i. 1–5, who uses, there and elsewhere, the third person (§ 21); and it cannot be shown that this writer is necessarily, or even presumably, Moses.[o] And against the position, which, as we saw (§§ 23, 24), is consonant with the facts, that Deut. is *the prophetical reproduction of an earlier legislation*,[o] the second objection would seem to lose its *primâ facie* cogency. In conclusion, attention is called to the fact that the real difficulties which Deut. presents are not theological, but critical and historical. Were they theological, the entire question might be relegated to a corner of the article MIRACLES: the discussion in the present article has been concerned throughout with arguments of a different character altogether. It is, however, to these arguments that we must look for an approximate solution (which is often all that we can hope to obtain) of the problems which the literary records of the Older Dispensation present to the inquirer.

§ 40. *Literature.*—(*a.*) Commentaries: Joh. Gerhard (Jena, 1657); F. W. Schultz, 1859 (the Mosaic authorship which the author here maintains he afterwards abandoned, no longer considering it to be demanded by xxxi. 9 [cf. § 39, note°]; see the Pref. to *Schöpfungsgesch. nach Naturwiss. u. Bibel*, 1865, pp. viii.–x.); Aug. Knobel, 1861 (in the *Kurzgef. Exeg. Handbuch*), ed. 2 (re-written) by Aug. Dillmann, 1886 (remarkably thorough and complete); F. W. J. Schroeder, 1866 (in Lange's *Bibelwerk*); C. F. Keil (2nd ed. 1870); T. E. Espin, 1871 (in the *Speaker's Comm.*); W. L. Alexander, 1882 (in the *Pulpit Commentary*). On ch. xxxii.: Ewald, "Das grosse Lied im Deut.," in the *Jahrbücher f. Bibl. Wissenschaft*, 1857, pp. 41–65; Ad. Kamphausen, *Das Lied Mose's*, 1862; Klostermann, in the *Studien u. Kritiken*, 1871, p. 249, 1872, pp. 230, 450. On ch. xxxiii.: K. H. Graf, *Der Segen Mose's*, 1857; W. Volck, *Der Segen Mose's*, 1873. Other references on these two chapters are given by Dillmann.

(*b.*) Criticism: Parts of Hengstenberg's *Die Authentie des Pent.*, 1839 (chiefly vol. ii.); Ed. Riehm, *Gesetzgebung Mose's im Lande Moab*, 1854; Ewald, *History of Israel* (Eng. tr. i. 117–128; iv. 220–6); Colenso, *The Pent. and Book of Joshua critically examined*, Part iii. 1863; K. H. Graf, *Die Gesch. Bücher des A. T.*, 1866, pp. 1–25, &c.; W. H. Kosters, *De Historie-Beschouwing van den Deuteronomist*, Leiden, 1868; Paul Kleinert, *Das Deut. u. der Deuteronomiker*, 1872 (assigns Deut. to the close of the period of the Judges), with Riehm's review in the *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1873, pp. 165–200; C. F. Keil, *Einleitung*, ed. 3, 1873 (largely rewritten, especially with reference to Deut.); Aug. Kayser, *Das Vorexilische Buch der Urgeschichte Israels*, 1874, especially p. 122 ff.; Jul. Wellhausen, in the *Jahrb. f. Deutsche Theologie*, xxi. (1876), 584 f., xxii. (1877), 458–479 [reprinted in *Die Composition des Hex. und der hist. Bb. des A. T.'s*, 1889]; S. I. Curtiss, *The Levitical Priests* (1877); Ed. Reuss, *L'Histoire Sainte et la Loi*, 1879, i. 154–211 (Introd. to the author's translation of the whole Bible; comp. his *Gesch. der Heiligen Schriften A. T.'s*, 1881, §§ 216, 226, 286–293); Franz Delitzsch in 12 "Pentateuch-kritische Studien," in the *Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wiss. und kirchliches Leben*, i. (1880), of which ix., x., xi. relate specially to Deut.; also *ib.* 1882, pp. 281–299 (on the Decalogue); W. Robertson Smith, *Additional Answer to the Libel*, &c. (Edinb. 1878), *Answer to the amended Libel* (Edinb. 1879); *Old Test. in the Jewish Church* (1881), Lect. xii.; Rud. Kittel, *Die neueste Wendung der Pent. Frage* in the *Theol. Studien aus Württemberg*, ii. (1881), pp. 29, 147, iii. (1882), p. 278 (an acute criticism of some of Wellhausen's positions: the third art. relates especially to Deut.); Riehm, *Handwörterb. des Bibl. Altertums*, s. v. Priester, p. 1223 sq.; David Castelli, *La Legge del popolo Ebreo nel suo svolgimento storico*, 1884 (especially ch. viii.); Dr. A. Moody Stuart, *The Bible true to itself*, 1884, pp. 47–188, &c.

The following have appeared since the preceding article was written: the writer has not found it necessary to introduce in consequence any substantial change, but has incorporated references, where necessary:—Kuenen, *Historisch-critisch Onderzoek naar het Ontstaan en de Verzameling van de Boeken des Ouden Ver-*

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[n] *E.g.*, 1 K. ii. 4 *to take heed to their way*, and *to walk before me in faithfulness*; xi. 2 *to incline the heart*; xi. 4 *a perfect heart*; Judg. x. 7 *sold* (so only in the Song, xxxii. 30).

[o] This is also the opinion reached in 1880 by Prof. Delitzsch. In that year, as the result of a renewed study of the subject, he expressed the conviction that the immediate Mosaic authorship of Deut. (as upheld in his *Genesis*, ed. 4, 1872, pp. 19–25) is not tenable. He insists upon the literal truth of Deut. xxxi. 9, 24; but considers the statement to refer not to Deut., as we have it, but to its substance, the legal code on which it is based (cp. § 2, note). (*Studien*, x. p. 505; *Genesis*, ed. 5, 1887, pp. 23–25.)

bonds, I. i. (ed. 2), Leiden, 1885 (translated under the title *The Hexateuch*, London, 1886 [p]); E. C. Bissell, *The Pentateuch, its Origin and Structure*, New York and London, 1885; Dillmann's commentary mentioned above; Delitzsch, *Neuer Commentar über die Genesis*, 1887, esp. pp. 22–30 (a *résumé* of the views developed in the articles cited above); Dean (now Bishop) Perowne in the *Contemporary Review*, Jan. and Feb. 1888, pp. 129, 145; Kittel, *Gesch. der Hebräer* (1888), pp. 43–59; Cheyne, *Jeremiah* (in the series called 'Men of the Bible'), pp. 48–86; Riehm, *Einleitung in das A. T.* (posthumous), 1889, §§ 9, 18, 24.[q] [S. R. D.]

DEVIL (Διάβολος; *Diabolus;* properly "one who sets at variance," διαβάλλει; cp. Plat. *Symp.* p. 222 C, D; and generally a "slanderer" or "false accuser").

The use of the name "devil" to render the Greek δαιμόνιον is an error in our A. V. which the R. V. has everywhere corrected.

The word is found in the plural number and adjectival sense of "slanderous" in 1 Tim. iii. 11, 2 Tim. iii. 3, and Tit. ii. 3. In all other cases it is used with the article as a descriptive name of Satan [SATAN], excepting that in John vi. 70 it is applied to Judas (as "Satan" to St. Peter in Matt. xvi. 23), because they — the one permanently, and the other for the moment—were doing Satan's work.

On the personality of the Evil One and the methods of his attacks on men generally, see SATAN. It is sufficient to note the significance of the name "devil" applied to him.

The name describes him as slandering God to man, and man to God.

The former work is, of course, a part of his great work of temptation to evil; and is not only exemplified but illustrated as to its general nature and tendency by the narrative of Gen. iii. We find there that its essential characteristic is the representation of God as an arbitrary and selfish Ruler, seeking His own good and not that of His creatures. The effect is to stir up the spirit of freedom in man to seek a fancied independence; and it is but a slight step further to impute falsehood or cruelty to Him. The success of the devil's slander is seen, not only in the Scriptural narrative of the Fall, but in the corruptions of most mythologies, and especially in the horrible notion of the divine φθόνος, which ran through so many (see *e.g.* Herod. i. 32, vii. 46). Possibly it may be traced in some corruptions of the true idea of God in Christianity itself, and in the rebellion against Him, to which such corruptions have given cause. The same slander is implied rather than expressed in the temptation of our Lord, and overcome by the faith which trusts in God's love, even where its signs may be hidden from the eye (cp. the unmasking of a similar slander by St. Peter in Acts v. 4).

The other work, the slandering or accusing man before God, is, as it must necessarily be, unintelligible to us in its literal sense. The All-Seeing Judge can *need* no accuser, can regard no false accuser; and the All-Pure could, it might seem, have no intercourse with the Evil One. Like the vision of Micaiah (1 K. xxii. 19–22), it may be an accommodation to human ideas and experiences of a mysterious reality, which transcends both. But in truth the question touches on two mysteries, the reality of energy under the Infinite of the finite spirit, and the permission of the existence of evil under the government of Him Who is "the Good." As a part of these it must be viewed,—to the latter especially it belongs; and this latter, while it is the great mystery of all, is also one in which the fact is proved to us by incontrovertible evidence.

The fact of the devil's accusation of man to God is stated generally in Rev. xii. 10, where he is called "the accuser (κατήγωρ) of our brethren, who accused them before our God day and night," and exemplified plainly in the case of Job. Its essence as before is the imputation of selfish motives (Job i. 9, 10), and its refutation is placed in the self-sacrifice of those "who loved not their own lives unto death." [A. B.]

DEW (טַל; δρόσος; *ros*). This in the summer is so copious in Palestine that it supplies to some extent the absence of rain (Ecclus. xviii. 16, xliii. 22), and becomes important to the agriculturist; as a proof of this copiousness the well-known sign of Gideon (Judg. vi. 37, 39, 40) may be adduced. Thus it is coupled in the Divine blessing with rain, or mentioned as a prime source of fertility (Gen. xxvii. 28; Deut. xxxiii. 13; Zech. viii. 12), and its withdrawal is attributed to a curse (2 Sam. i. 21; 1 K. xvii. 1; Hag. i. 10). It becomes a leading object in prophetic imagery by reason of its penetrating moisture without the apparent effort of rain (Deut. xxxii. 2; Job xxix. 12; Ps. cxxxiii. 3; Prov. xix. 12; Is. xxvi. 19; Hos. xiv. 5; Mic. v. 7); while its speedy evanescence typifies the transient goodness of the hypocrite (Hos. vi. 4, xiii. 3). It is mentioned as a token of exposure in the night (Cant. v. 2; Dan. iv. 15, 23, 25–33, v. 21). [H. H.]

DEW OF HERMON. [HERMON.]

DIADEM (צָנִיף, צָנוֹף, or מִצְנֶפֶת; also צְפִירָה) is the word employed in the A. V. as the translation of the above Hebrew terms. They occur in poetical passages, in which neither the Hebrew nor the English words appear to be used with any special force. מִצְנֶפֶת is strictly used for the "mitre" of the high-priest. [MITRE.]

What the "diadem" of the Jews was we do not know. That of other nations of antiquity was a fillet of silk, two inches broad, bound round the

[p] The references are to the *original* pagination, repeated on the margin of the English translation.

[q] [The preceding article exhibits the views of modern critics respecting the date and authorship of Deuteronomy. The article PENTATEUCH (*Dict of the Bible*, 1st ed.) states the arguments in favour of the Mosaic origin of the Book. Differing, to some extent, from the Writers of both articles, we think it is clear from xxxi. 24–26 that Moses must have *written* the substance of the Book in the first instance; but we do not see any objection to admitting, if the evidence seems to point that way, that a posthumous edition, embodying later Temple usages, may have been put forth subsequently by authority, just as geographical glosses appear to have been added. Even if the post-Mosaic authorship be admitted, the inspiration and canonical value of the Book remain unimpaired, as the Writer of the preceding article has been careful to point out (see §§ 21, 22, 39).—EDITORS.]

head and tied behind, the invention of which is attributed to Liber (Dionysus; Plin. *H. N.* vii. 56, 57). Its colour was generally white (Tac. *An.* vi. 37; Sil. Ital. xvi. 241); sometimes, however, it was of blue, like that of Darius, *cerulea fascia albo distincta* (Q. Curt. iii. 3, vi. 20; Xen. *Cyr.* viii. 3, § 13); and it was inwoven with pearls or other gems (Gibbon, i. 392; Zech. ix. 16), and enriched with gold (Rev. ix. 7). It was peculiarly the mark of Oriental sovereigns (1 Macc. xiii. 32, τὸ διάδημα τῆς Ἀσίας), and hence the deep offence caused by the attempt of Caesar to substitute it for the laurel crown appropriated to Roman emperors (*sedebat . . . coronatus; . . . diadema ostendis*, Cic. *Phil.* ii. 34): when some one crowned his statue with a laurel-wreath, *candidae fasciae praeligatam*, the tribunes instantly ordered the *fillet* or diadem to be removed, and the man to be thrown into prison (Suet. *Caes.* 79). Caligula's attempt to introduce it was considered an act of insanity (Suet. *Cal.* 22). Heliogabalus only wore it in private. Antony assumed it in Egypt (Flor. iv. 11), but Diocletian (or, according to Aurel. Victor, Aurelian) first assumed it as a *badge* of the empire. Representations of it may be seen on the coins of any of the later emperors (Tillemont, *Hist. Imp.* iii. 531). Isidore (*Orig.* xix. 31) defines *diadema* thus: "Ornamentum capitis matronarum, ex auro et gemmis contextum, quod in se circumactis extremitatibus retro astringitur."

Diadem on head of Dionysus. (Coin of Naxos in Sicily. British Museum.)

A crown was used by the kings of Israel, even in battle (2 Sam. i. 10; similarly it is represented on coins of Theodosius and other emperors as *encircling* the helmet); but in all probability this was not the state crown (2 Sam. xii. 30), although the same word is used in describing the coronation of Joash (2 K. xi. 12). Kitto supposes that the state crown may have been in the possession of Athaliah; but perhaps we ought not to lay any great stress on the word נֵזֶר in this place, especially as it is very likely that the state crown was kept in the Temple.

In Esth. i. 11, ii. 17, we have כֶּתֶר (κίταρις, κίδαρις) for the turban (στολὴ βυσσίνη, vi. 8) worn by the Persian king, queen, or other eminent persons to whom it was conceded as a special favour (viii. 15, διάδημα βύσσινον πορφυροῦν). The diadem of the king differed from that of others in having an *erect* triangular peak (κυρβασία, Aristoph. *Av.* 487; ἦν οἱ βασιλεῖς μόνον ὀρθὴν ἐφόρουν παρὰ Πέρσαις, οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ κεκλιμένην, Suid. *s. v.* τίαρα, and Hesych.). The כְּרְבֹּלָא of Dan. iii. 21 used to be considered a turban (as in LXX., where, however, Drusius and others *invert* the words καὶ τιάραις καὶ περικνημῖσι), A. V. "hat," but the rendering "tunic" (R. V.) is now generally preferred. Some render it by *tibiale* or *calceamentum*. Schleusner suggests that κρώβυλος may be derived from it. The tiara generally had pendent flaps falling on the shoulders (see Paschalius, *de Corona*, p. 573; Brissonius, *de Regn. Pers.*, &c.; Layard, ii. 320; Scacchius, *Myrothec.* iii. 38; Fabricius, *Bibl. Ant.* xiv. 13).

The words סְרוּחִין טְבוּלִים in Ezek. xxiii. 15, "exceeding in dyed attire" (R. V. marg. Or, *with dyed turbans*), mean long and flowing turbans of gorgeous colours (LXX. παράβαπτα, where a better reading is τιάραι βαπταί), though Fried. Delitzsch prefers for טבול the sense of a many-folded rather than vari-coloured fillet. [CROWN.] [F. W. F.]

Obverse of Tetradrachm of Tigranes, king of Syria.

DIAL (מַעֲלוֹת; ἀναβαθμοί; *horologium*). The word is the same as that rendered "steps" in A. V. (Ex. xx. 26; 1 K. x. 19), and "degrees" in A. V. (2 K. xx. 9, 10, 11; Is. xxxviii. 8), where, to give a consistent rendering, we should read with the margin the "degrees" rather than the "dial" of Ahaz. In the absence of any materials for determining the shape and structure of the solar instrument, which certainly appears intended, the best course is to follow the most strictly natural meaning of the words, and to consider with Cyril of Alexandria and Jerome (*Comm. on Is.* xxxviii. 8: see Delitzsch[4] in loco), that the מַעֲלוֹת were really stairs, and that the shadow (perhaps of some column or obelisk on the top; cp. the picture in *TSBA.* iii. 36) fell on a greater or smaller number of them according as the sun was low or high. The terrace of a palace might easily be thus ornamented. Ahaz's tastes seem to have led him in pursuit of foreign curiosities (2 K. xvi. 10), and his intimacy with Tiglath-pileser gave him probably an opportunity of procuring from Assyria the pattern of some such structure; and this might readily lead the "princes of Babylon" (2 Ch. xxxii. 31) to "inquire of the wonder," viz. the alteration of the shadow, in the reign of Hezekiah. Herodotus (ii. 109) mentions that the Egyptians received from the Babylonians the πόλος and the γνώμων, and the division of the day into twelve hours. Of such division, however, the O. T. contains no undoubted trace; nor does any word, proved to be equivalent to the "hour," occur in the course of it, although it is possible that Pss. cii. 11 and cix. 23 may contain allusion to the progress of a shadow as measuring diurnal time. In John xi. 9 the day is spoken of as consisting of twelve hours. As regards the physical character of the sign of the retrogression of the shadow in Is. xxxviii. 8, it seems useless to attempt to analyse it; no doubt an alteration in the inclination of the gnomon, or column, &c., might easily effect such an apparent retrogression; but the whole idea, which is that of Divine interference with the course of nature in behalf of the king, resists such an attempt to bring it within the compass of mechanism.

It has been suggested that the חַמָּנִים of Is. xvii. 8, xxvii. 9; Ezek. vi. 4, 6, rendered in the

margin of the A. V. "sun-images," were gnomons to measure time, but there seems no adequate ground for this theory. [H. H.]

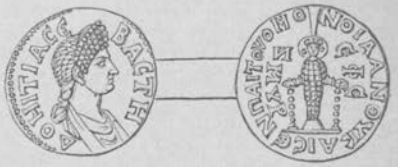
DIAMOND (יַהֲלֹם; ἴασπις; *jaspis*), a precious stone, the third in the second row on the breast-plate of the high-priest (Ex. xxviii. 18 [R. V. marg. Or, *sardonyx*], xxxix. 11), and mentioned by Ezekiel (xxviii. 13) among the precious stones of the king of Tyre. Gesenius has noticed the difficulty of identifying the terms used in the Versions for each of the Hebrew names of precious stones in the above passages, the translators or transcribers having apparently altered the order in which they stand. ἴασπις seems to be the word in the LXX. corresponding to יַהֲלֹם, but most ancient commentators give ὄνυξ, ὀνύχιον, *onychinus*. Our translation, "diamond," is derived from Ibn Ezra, and is defended by Braun (*de Vest. Sacerd.* ii. 13). Kalisch (on Ex. p. 536) says, "perhaps emerald."

The etymology (from חָלַם, to strike or crush) leads us to suppose a hard stone. The emerald, which is of a green colour, of various depths, is nearly as hard as the topaz, and stands next to the ruby in value. The same authority doubts whether the art of engraving on the diamond was known to the ancients, since they did not even understand how to cut the ruby. Modern commentators prefer onyx (see Knobel-Dillmann on Ex. xxviii. 18).

Respecting שָׁמִיר, which is translated "diamond" in Jer. xvii. 1, see ADAMANT. [W. D.]

DIA'NA. This Latin word, properly denoting a Roman divinity, is the representative of the Greek *Artemis* (Ἄρτεμις), the tutelary goddess of the Ephesians, who plays so important a part in the narrative of Acts xix. The Ephesian Artemis was, however, invested with very different attributes, and made the object of a different worship, from the ordinary Artemis of the Greeks, and is rather perhaps to be regarded as a personification of Nature and to be generally identified with the divinity who, under various names, such as Cybele or Ma or Anaïtis, was worshipped in Phrygia, Lydia, Cappadocia, and even as far as Armenia and Bactria (E. Curtius, *Alterthum und Gegenwart*, ii. 100). K. O. Müller says (*Hist. of the Dorians*, i. 403, Eng. trans.), "Everything that is related of this deity is singular and foreign to the Greeks."

Guhl, indeed (*Ephesiaca*, pp. 78–86), takes the contrary view, and endeavours in almost all points to identify her with the true Greek goddess. And in some respects there was doubtless a fusion of the two. On the other hand, the statement that the temple of Diana at Ephesus was formerly washed by the sea (Plin. ii. 87, § 201), points to her worship having probably been introduced by Phoenician mariners (E. Curtius, ii. 101). Coressus, the hill S.W. of the city, is connected by Stephanus Byzantinus with κόρη. It was also fancied that, when the temple was burnt on the night of Alexander's birth, the calamity occurred because the goddess was absent in the character of Lucina (Plut. *Alex.* 3). Again, on coins of Ephesus we sometimes find her exhibited as a huntress and with a stag. But the true Ephesian Artemis is represented in a form entirely alien from Greek art. St. Jerome's words are (*Praefat. ad Ephes.*), "Scribebat Paulus ad Ephesios Dianam colentes, non hanc venatricem, quae arcum tenet et succincta est, sed istam *multimammiam*, quam Graeci πολύμαστον vocant, ut scilicet et ipsa effigie mentirentur omnium eam bestiarum et viventium esse nutricem." Guhl indeed supposes this mode of representation to have reference simply to the fountains over which the goddess presided, conceiving the multiplication of breasts to be similar to the multiplication of eyes in Argus or of heads in Typhoeus. But the correct view is undoubtedly that which treats this peculiar form as a symbol of the productive and nutritive powers of nature. This is the form under which the Ephesian Artemis, so called for distinction, was always represented, wherever worshipped; and the worship extended to many places, such as Samos, Mitylene, Perga, Hierapolis, and Gortyna, to mention those only which occur in the N. T. or in the Apocrypha. The coin below will



Greek imperial copper coin commemorating a reconciliation (Ὁμόνοια) between Ephesus and Smyrna; Domitia (A.D. 73–83), with name of proconsul, *Caesennius Paetus*.

Obv.: ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑ CЄΒΑCΤΗ. Bust to right. Rev.: ΑΝΘΥ ΚΑΙCЄΝ ΠΑΙΤΟΥ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ ЄΦЄ ΖΜΥΡ. Ephesian Diana. There is a similar coin of Antoninus Pius, Mionnet, *Ionie*, Nos. 289, 1291.

give some notion of the image, which was grotesque and archaic in character. The head wore a mural crown, each hand rested on a prop (sometimes supposed to be a falling ribbon), and the lower part ended in a rude block covered with figures of animals and mystic inscriptions. This idol was regarded as an object of peculiar sanctity, and was believed to have fallen down from heaven (τοῦ Διοπετοῦς, Acts xix. 35). The image worshipped in the temple was made either of the wood of the vine or of ebony, gold and ivory; and it is said to have survived all the seven restorations of the temple (Plin. xvi. 79, § 213). A representation of it was stamped on amulets of terracotta inscribed with γράμματα Ἐφέσια and used as charms. Such an amulet, probably of the 2nd century B.C., may be seen in the museum at Syracuse, copied in Stephani's *Mélanges gréco-romains*, 1, taf. 1; Daremberg and Saglio's *Dict. des Ant.* s. v. *amulettes;* and in Schreiber's *Bilderatlas*, I. xii. 2.

The Oriental character of the goddess is shown by the nature of her hierarchy, which consisted of a number of vestals (Μέλισσαι?), under a eunuch-priest (Μεγάβυζος). There was also a college of priests called Ἐσσῆνες. These terms have probably some connexion with the fact that the bee was sacred to Artemis (Aristoph. *Ran.* 1273). In the period between B.C. 295 and 288 "the bee which had for so many ages maintained its place on the obverse of the coinage of Ephesus as the signet of the high-priest (or King Bee, ἐσσὴν) gives way," for the first time, "to a purely Hellenic type, the head of the Greek huntress-goddess whose bow and quiver occupies

the whole field of the reverse; the bee being relegated to the copper coins, and as the silver to an inferior position, as a mere symbol or mint-mark" (Head's *Coins of Ephesus*, 1880, p. 41; *ib.* p. 8; and cp. Weniger, *Zur Symbolik der Biene in der antiken Mythologie*, quoted by E. Curtius, *op. cit.* ii. 102). But even before B.C. 480 the fore part of a stag, suggestive of the goddess of the hunt, appears on the coins (*ib.* p. 15). It was the duty of the priestesses to deck the idol with robes and ribbons, *κόσμημα τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος* (*Corp. Insc. Gr.* 3001–3; *Inscr. British Museum*, iii. No. 481, l. 369, p. 134, ed. Hicks; the epitaph of a *κοσμητείρη*, *ib.* No. 655. Cp. esp. *ib.* pp. 83–87).

For the temple considered as a work of art we must refer to the article EPHESUS. No arms were allowed to be worn in its precincts. No bloody sacrifices were offered. Here also, as in the temple of Apollo at Daphne, were the privileges of asylum. This is indicated on some of the coins of Ephesus (Akerman, in *Trans. of the Numismatic Soc.* 1841); and we find an interesting proof of the continuance of these privileges in imperial times in Tac. *Ann.* iii. 61 (Strab. xiv. 641; Paus. vii. 2, §§ 7, 8; Cic. *Verr.* II. i. 33, § 85; *Inscr. Brit. Mus.* iii. p. 177 ff.). The temple had a large revenue from endowments of various kinds. It was also the public treasury of the city, and was regarded as the safest bank for private individuals.

The cry of the mob (Acts xix. 28), "Great is Diana of the Ephesians!" and the strong expression in *v.* 27, "whom all Asia and the world worshippeth," may be abundantly illustrated from a variety of sources. The term *μεγάλη* was evidently a title of honour recognised as belonging to the Ephesian goddess. We find it in inscriptions (as in Boeckh, *Corp. Insc. Gr.* 2963 c, *ib.* 6797, *Ἐφέσου ἅνασσα*, and *Inscr. Brit. Mus.* iii. No. 481, l. 220, p. 131, *ἡ μεγίστη θεὰ Ἄρτεμις*), and in Xenophon's *Ephesiaca*, i. 11. (For the Ephesian Xenophon, see *Dict. of Biog. and Mythol.*) As to the enthusiasm with which "all ASIA" regarded this worship, independently of the fact that Ephesus was the capital of the province, we may refer to such passages as the following: "communiter a civitatibus Asiae factum," Liv. i. 45; "tota Asia extruente," Plin. xvi. 79, § 213; "factum a tota Asia," *ib.* xxxvi. 21, § 95. As to the notoriety of the worship of the Ephesian Diana throughout "the world," the evidence of inscriptions and coins shows that it existed at Mitylene, Cyzicus, Claros, Clazomenae, in Samos, Chios, Crete, and elsewhere (Guhl, *l. c.* 104). Her chief festival in spring was called the *Artemisia* (see Roscher's *Lex. der Mythologie*, i. 591, and Hicks in *Inscr. Brit. Mus.* iii. p. 79).

Lastly, Pausanias tells us (iv. 31, § 8) that the Ephesian Artemis was more honoured privately than any other deity, which accounts for the large manufacture and wide-spread sale of the "silver shrines" mentioned by St. Luke (Acts xix. 24), and not by him only. In this connexion Dionysius Hal. *Ant. Rom.* ii. 22, *τὰ τῆς Ἐφεσίας Ἀρτέμιδος ἀφιδρύματα*, is quoted in Conybeare and Howson's *St. Paul*, ch. xvi., ii. 89, ed. 1865; but Mr. E. L. Hicks, in an article on "Demetrius the Silversmith," in the *Expositor*, June 1890, No. 6, treating of the light thrown on the narrative in the Acts by the inscriptions from Ephesus in the British Museum, holds that there is no evidence for supposing that these "silver shrines" were sold to pilgrims. They may, nevertheless, be regarded as silver counterparts of the extant terracotta and marble shrines which were used as votive offerings to Artemis (E. Curtius, in *Athenische Mittheilungen*, ii. 49, and Prof. W. M. Ramsay in the *Expositor* for July 1890, p. 9). This specific worship was publicly adopted also, as we have seen, in various and distant places: nor ought we to omit the games celebrated at Ephesus in connexion with it, or the treaties made with other cities on this half-religious, half-political basis.

[J. S. H.] [J. E. S.]

DIBLA'IM (דִּבְלָיִם, of uncertain etymology; A. *Δεβηλαείμ*; *Debelaim*), probably the father (Manger, Gesen., Hengst., Maurer) of Hosea's wife Gomer (Hos. i. 3). [W.]

DIB'LATH (accurately Diblah [R. V.], דִּבְלָה, the word in the text being דִּבְלָתָה = "toward Diblah;" *Δεβλαθά*; *Deblatha*), a place named only in Ezek. vi. 14, as if situated at one of the extremities of the land of Israel: "I will ... make the land desolate ... 'from' the wilderness (*Midbar*) toward Diblah." The word *Midbar* being frequently used for the nomad country on the south and south-east of Palestine, it is natural to infer that Diblah was in the north. To this position Beth-diblathaim or Almon-diblathaim in Moab, on the east of the Dead Sea, are obviously unsuitable; and indeed a place which like Diblathaim was on the extreme east border of Moab, and never included even in the allotments of Reuben or Gad, could hardly be chosen as a landmark of the boundary of Israel. The only name in the north at all like it is RIBLAH, and the letters D (ד) and R (ר) are so much alike and so frequently[a] interchanged, owing to the carelessness of copyists, that there is a strong probability that Riblah is the right reading. The conjecture is due to Jerome (*Comm.* in loc.), but it has been endorsed by Michaelis, Gesenius, and most modern scholars (Ges. *Thes.* p. 312; see Davidson, *Heb. Text*, Ezek. vi. 14). Riblah, though an old town, is not heard of till shortly before the date of Ezekiel's prophecy, when it started into a terrible prominence from its being the scene of the cruelties inflicted on the last king of Judah, and of the massacres of the priests and chief men of Jerusalem perpetrated there by order of the king of Babylon.

[G.] [W.]

DIBLATHAIM. [ALMON-DIBLATHAIM; BETH-DIBLATHAIM.]

DI'BON (דִּיבֹן; *Dibon*), a town on the east side of Jordan, in the rich pastoral country, which was taken possession of and rebuilt by the children of Gad (Num. xxxii. 3, 34 [BA. *Δαιβών*, F. in *v.* 34 *Δεβών*]). From this circumstance it possibly received the name of DIBON-GAD. Its first mention is in the ancient fragment of poetry Num. xxi. 30 [BAF. *Δαι-*

[a] See DEUEL, DIMNAH, &c. It is in the LXX. Version that the corruption of D into R is frequently to be observed. A case in point is Riblah itself, which in the LXX. is more often *Δεβλαθά* than *Ῥεβλαθά*.

βών], and from this it appears to have belonged originally to the Moabites. The tribes of Reuben and Gad being both engaged in pastoral pursuits, are not likely to have observed the division of towns originally made with the same strictness as the more settled people on the west, and accordingly we find Dibon counted to Reuben in the lists of Joshua (xiii. 9 [B. Δαιδαβάν, B.^{a2b} Μαι-, A (β sup ras A.^{a2}) Μαιδαβά], 17 [BA. Δαιβών]). In the time of Isaiah and Jeremiah, however, it was again in possession of Moab (Is. xv. 2 [T.^{7} Δηβών, Aℵ.^{1} Δαιβηδών]; Jer. xlviii. 18, 22 [T.^{7} ℵ.^{1} (bis) Δαιβών, ℵ. (bis) Δεβών], cp. *v.* 24). In the same denunciations of Isaiah (*v.* 9) it appears, probably, under the name of DIMON, M and B being convertible in Hebrew, and the change admitting of a play characteristic of Hebrew poetry. The two names were both in existence in the time of Jerome (*Comm. on Is.* xv., quoted by Reland, p. 735). The last passages appear to indicate that Dibon was on an elevated situation; not only is it expressly said to be a "high place" (Is. xv. 2), but its inhabitants are bid to "come down" from their glory or their stronghold. It was the chief sanctuary of Chemosh (Jerome, *Comm. on Is.* xv.). Under the name of Debon it is mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome in the *Onomasticon* (*OS.*^{2} pp. 148, 8; 257, 42). It was then a very large village (κώμη παμμεγέθης) beyond the Arnon. In modern times the name *Dhibân* has been discovered by Seetzen, Irby and Mangles (p. 142), and Burckhardt (*Syr.* p. 372), as attached to extensive ruins on the Roman road, about three miles north of the Arnon (*Wâdy Mojîb*. See also Dillmann^{2} on Num. xxi. 30). All agree in describing these ruins as lying low; but, looked at from the east, they are on high ground, and being situated on two hills, the first that rise from the east, the cry "come down" would be exceedingly applicable. The ruins cover the tops and sides of two adjacent knolls, and are surrounded by a wall (Tristram, *Land of Moab*, pp. 132–7). It was at *Dhibân* that Mr. Klein discovered, in 1868, the celebrated Moabite stone, with an inscription of Mesa, king of Moab, who was apparently himself a Dibonite (see *Records of the Past*, N.S. ii. 194, &c.).

2. One of the towns which were re-inhabited by the men of Judah after the return from Captivity (Neh. xi. 25, ℵ$^{c.\ a\ ms}$ Δεβών, B. omits; *Dibon*). From its mention with Jekabzeel, Moladah, and other towns of the south, there can be no doubt that it is identical with DIMONAH. [G.] [W.]

DI'BON-GAD (דִּיבֹן גָּד; Δαιβὼν Γάδ; *Dibon-gad*), one of the halting-places of the Israelites. It was in Moab between IJE-ABARIM and ALMON-DIBLATHAIM (Num. xxxiii. 45, 46). It was no doubt the same place which is generally called DIBON (cp. Dillmann^{2} in loco); but whether it received the name of Gad from the tribe, or originally possessed it, cannot be ascertained. [G.] [W.]

DIB'RI (דִּבְרִי; B. Δαβρεί, AF. -ρί; *Dibri*), a Danite, father of Shelomith, a woman who had married an Egyptian and whose son was stoned for having "blasphemed the Name" [*i.e.* of Jehovah] (Lev. xxiv. 11). [G.]

DIDRACHMON (δίδραχμον; *didrachma*). [MONEY; SHEKEL.]

DID'YMUS (Δίδυμος), that is, *the Twin*, a surname of the Apostle Thomas (John xi. 16, xx. 24, xxi. 2). [THOMAS.] [G.]

DIK'LAH (דִּקְלָה). The form דקלן occurs on the Teimâ Inscriptions [MV.^{11}]; Δεκλά; *Decla*; Gen. x. 27; 1 Ch. i. 21 [A. Δεκλάμ, B. om.]), a son of Joktan, whose settlements, in common with those of the other sons of Joktan, must be looked for in Arabia. The name in Aramaic signifies "*a palm-tree*," and the cognate word in Arabic (دَقَلَة), "an inferior kind of date-palm:" hence it is thought that Diklah is a part of Arabia containing many palm-trees. The city Φοινίκων, in the north-west of Arabia Felix, has been suggested as preserving the Joktanite name (Boch. *Phaleg*, ii. 22); but Bochart, and after him Gesenius, refer the descendants of Diklah to the Minaei, a people of Arabia Felix inhabiting a palmiferous country. Whether we follow Bochart and most others in placing the Minaei on the east borders of the *Hijáz*, southwards towards the *Yemen*, or follow Fresnel in his identification of the *Wâdy Doán* with the territory of this people, the connexion of the latter with Diklah is uncertain and unsatisfactory. No trace of Diklah is known to exist in Arabic works, except the mention of a place called *Dakalah* دَقَلَة = דִּקְלָה) in *El-Yemámeh* (*Kámoos*, s. v.), with many palm-trees (*Marasid*, s. v.). "Nakhleh" (نَخْلَة) also signifies a palm-tree, and is the name of many places, especially *Nakhleh el-Yemáneeyeh*, and *Nakhleh esh-Shámeeyeh* (here meaning the Southern and Northern Nakhleh), two well-known towns situated near each other. According to some, the former was a seat of the worship of El-Látt, and a settlement of the tribe of Thakeef; and in a tradition of Mohammad, this tribe was not of unmixed Ishmaelite blood, but one of four which he thus excepts:—"All the Arabs are [descended] from Ishmael, except four tribes: Sulaf [Sheleph], Hadramáwt [Hazarmaveth], El-Arwáh [?], and Thakeef" (*Mir-át ez-Zemán*, *bis*).

Therefore, 1. Diklah may probably be recovered in the place called Dakalah above mentioned; or, possibly, 2. in one of the places named Nakhleh.

A discussion of the vexed and intricate question of the Minaei is beyond the limits of this article; but as they are regarded by some authorities of high repute as representing Diklah, it is important to record an identification of their true position. They who have written on the subject have argued on the vague and contradictory statements of the Greek geographers, from the fact that no native mention of so important a people as the Minaei had been discovered (cp. Bochart, *Phaleg*; Fresnel's *Lettres*, *Journal Asiatique*; Jomard, *Essai*, in Mengin's *Hist. de l'Égypte*, vol. iii.; Caussin, *Essai*, &c.). There is, however, a city and people in the Yemen which

appear to correspond in every respect to the position and name of the Minaei. The latter is written Μειναῖοι, Μιναῖοι, and Μινναῖοι, which may be fairly rendered "people of Μειν, of Μιν, and of Μιννι;" while the first exhibits the sound of a diphthong, or an attempt at a diphthong. The Greek account places them, generally, between the Sabaeans (identified with Seba, or Ma-rib: see ARABIA) and the Erythraean Sea. It is therefore remarkable that where it should be sought we find a city with a fortress, called *Ma'een* or *Ma'in*, معين (*Kámoos*, *Marásid*, s. v.), well known, and therefore not carefully described in the Arabic geographical dictionaries, but apparently near *San'á*; and further that in the same province are situated the town of *Mo'eyn* (معين, abbr. dim. of the former), whence the *Benee-Mo'eyn*; and the town of *Ma'eeneh* (fem. of *Ma'een*). The gent. n. would be *Ma'eenee*, &c. The township in which are the latter two places is named Sinhán (cp. Niebuhr, *Descr.* p. 201), which was one of the confederation formed by the ancient tribe of Jenb, جنب (*Marásid*, s. v.), grandson of Kahlán, who was brother of Himyer the Joktanite. This identification is reconcilable with all that is known of the Minaei. See further in art. UZAL. [E. S. P.]

DIL'EAN (דִּלְעָן; B. Δαλάλ, A. Δαλαδ; *Delean*; R. V. *Dilan*), one of the cities of Judah, in the *Shefelah* or low country (Josh. xv. 38). If Gesenius's interpretation, "gourd" or "cucumber," be correct, the name is very suitable for a place situated in that rich district. It is not elsewhere mentioned, nor has it yet been identified. [G.] [W.]

DILL, Matt. xxiii. 23; A.V. and R.V. marg. [ANISE.]

DIM'NAH (דִּמְנָה; B. omits, or has another name, Σελλά, A. Δαμνά; *Damna*), a city in the tribe of Zebulun, given to the Merarite Levites (Josh. xxi. 35). The name does not occur in the list of cities belonging to the tribe (Josh. xix. 10–16); but the name RIMMON is given (*v.* 13). This name also occurs in the list of Levitical cities in 1 Ch. vi. 77 [Heb. *v.* 62], more accurately Rimmono or -nah (רִמּוֹנוֹ or רִמּוֹנָה), which may possibly be a variation of Dimnah, ד being often changed into ר. In this case Rimmon is probably the real name (Bertheau, *Chronik*, pp. 72–3; Movers, *Chronik*, p. 72. Cp. Dillmann[2] on Josh. xxi. 35). This may perhaps be *Rummâneh*, N. of Nazareth. [G.] [W.]

DI'MON, THE WATERS OF (מֵי דִימוֹן; τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ Δειμών, Δαιμών, T.[7] א.[1] Δεμ'μων, A[23] Ρεμ'μων; *Dibon*), some streams on the east of the Dead Sea, in the land of Moab, against which Isaiah is here uttering denunciations (Is. xv. 9). From Dibon being named in *v.* 2, as well as in the lists of Moabite towns in Jer. xlviii., and no place named Dimon being elsewhere mentioned as belonging to Moab, Gesenius (*Comment. über Jes.* p. 534), followed by most modern commentators, conjectures that the two names are the same, the form "Dimon" being used for the sake of the play between it and the word *Dam* (דָּם), "blood." [DIBON, 1.] It may, however, be *Dimnah*, S. of the Arnon (Tristram, *Bible Places*, p. 355). [G.] [W.]

DIMO'NAH (דִּימוֹנָה; B. Ῥεγμά, A. Διμωνά; *Dimona*), a city in the south of Judah, the part bordering on the desert of Idumaea (Josh. xv. 22). Dimonah is mentioned in the *Onomasticon* (*OS.*[2] pp. 149, 32; 258, 63), but was evidently not known to Eusebius and Jerome, nor has it been identified in later times. It probably occurs under the altered name of DIBON in Neh. xi. 25. Knobel-Dillmann[2] in loco thinks Dimonah = Dibon may be *ed-Dheib*, a heap of ruins at the head of a *wády* of the same name, 5 miles N. of *Tell 'Aráid*. Keil (*Book of Joshua*, p. 159) regards this conjecture as possibly correct. See also Tristram, *Bible Places*, p. 16. [G.] [W.]

DI'NAH (דִּינָה, *judged* or *avenged*, from the same root as DAN; Δείνα; *Dina*), the daughter of Jacob by Leah (Gen. xxx. 21). She accompanied her father from Mesopotamia to Canaan, and, having ventured among the inhabitants to take part in a feast (Josephus), was violated by Shechem the son of Hamor, the chieftain of the territory in which her father had settled (Gen. xxxiv.). Her age at this time, judging by the subsequent notice of Joseph's age (Gen. xxxvii. 2), may have been from 13 to 15, the ordinary period of marriage in Eastern countries (Lane's *Mod. Egypt.* i. 208). Shechem proposed to make the usual reparation by paying a sum to the father and marrying her (Gen. xxxiv. 12); such reparation would have been deemed sufficient under the Mosaic law (Deut. xxii. 28, 29) among the members of the Hebrew nation. But in this case the suitor was an alien, and the crown of the offence consisted in its having been committed by an alien against the favoured people of God; he had "wrought folly in Israel" (xxxiv. 7). The proposals of Hamor, who acted as his deputy, were framed on the recognition of the hitherto complete separation of the two peoples; he proposed the fusion of the two by the establishment of the rights of intermarriage and commerce; just as among the Romans the *jus connubii* and the *jus commercii* constituted the essence of *civitas*. The sons of Jacob, bent upon revenge, availed themselves of the eagerness, which Shechem showed, to effect their purpose; they demanded, as a condition of the proposed union, the circumcision of the Shechemites: the practice could not have been unknown to the Hivites, for the Phoenicians (Her. ii. 104) and probably most of the Canaanite tribes were circumcised. They therefore assented; and on the third day, when the pain and fever resulting from the operation were at the highest [CIRCUMCISION], Simeon and Levi, own brothers to Dinah, as Josephus observes (*Ant.* i. 21, § 1; ὁμομήτριοι ἀδελφοί), attacked them unexpectedly, slew all the males and plundered their city. Jacob's remark (*v.* 30) does not imply any guiltiness on the part of his sons in this transaction; for the brothers were regarded as the proper guardians of their sister's honour, as is still the case among the Bedouins; but he dreaded the

revenge of the neighbouring peoples, and even of the family of Hamor, some of whom appear to have survived the massacre (Judg. ix. 28). His escape, which was wonderful, considering the extreme rigour with which the laws of blood-revenge have in all ages prevailed in the East [BLOOD-REVENGE], is ascribed to the special interference of Jehovah (xxxv. 5). Josephus omits all reference to the treachery of the sons of Jacob, and explains the easy capture of the city as occurring during the celebration of a feast (*Ant.* i. 21, § 2). The object for which this narrative is introduced into the Book of Genesis probably is, partly to explain the allusion in Gen. xlix. 5-7, and partly to exhibit the consequences of any association on the part of the Hebrews with the heathens about them. Ewald (*Geschichte*, i. 488) assumes that the historical foundation of the narrative was furnished by an actual fusion of the nomad Israelites with the aborigines of Shechem, on the ground that the daughters of the patriarchs are generally noticed with an ethnological view; the form in which the narrative appears being merely the colouring of a late author: such a view appears to us perfectly inconsistent with the letter and the spirit of the text. Wellhausen (*Die Composition des Hexateuchs*, u.s.w. p. 47, &c.) discovers the hands of two narrators in the section, and counts the chapter questionable. [W. L. B.] [F.]

DI'NAITES (דִּינָיֵא; Δειναῖοι; *Dinaei*, Ezra iv. 9), the name of some of the Cuthaean colonists who were placed in the cities of Samaria by the Assyrian governor, after the conquest and captivity of the ten tribes under Shalmaneser. They remained under the dominion of Persia, and united with their fellow-colonists in opposition to the Jews; but nothing more is known of them. Junius (*Comm.* in loc.), without any authority, identifies them with the people known to geographers by the name *Dennani*. The name has been compared with the name of a land and race, Dai-a-i-ni, mentioned in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser I. (Schrader, *Keil. Bibliothek*, i. 30), but this would be a part of Western Armenia, and not likely to be alluded to in this passage of Ezra. Fried. Delitzsch (Pref. p. x. to Baer's ed. of *Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah*) compares the name with *Din-Šarru*, i.e. (the city of) King Din, near Susa. [W. A. W.] [F.]

DINHA'BAH (דִּנְהָבָה; Δενναβά; *Denaba*; Gen. xxxvi. 32; 1 Ch. i. 43), the capital city, and probably the birthplace, of Bela, son of Beor, king of Edom. The place is not identified. Eusebius (*OS.*[2] s. n. Δαναβᾶ, p. 247, 35) mentions a village Dannea (Damnaba, Jerome, *OS.*[2] p. 148, 31), 8 miles from Areopolis, or Ar of Moab (on the road to Arnon: Jerome), and another on Mount Peor, 7 miles from Esbus (Heshbon); but neither of these has claim to be the Dinhabah of Scripture. R. Joseph, in his Targum (on 1 Ch. i. 43, ed. Wilkins), finds a significance in the name. After identifying Balaam the son of Beor with Laban the Syrian, he adds, "And the name of his capital city was Dinhabah, for it was given (אִיתְיְהִיבַת) him as a present." With as little probability Gesenius conjectured that it might signify *dominus*, i.e. *locus direptionis*, i.e. *praedonum latibulum*. The name is not uncommon among Semitic races. Ptolemy (v. 15, § 24) mentions Δανάβα in Palmyrene Syria, afterwards a Bishop's see; and according to Zosimus (iii. 27) there was a Δανάβη in Babylonia (Knobel in Dillmann, *Genesis*,[5] in loco). The Peshitto Syriac has ܕܢܒܐ, *Dailab*, probably a mistake for ܕܢܒܐ. [W. A. W.] [F.]

DINNER. [MEALS.]

DIONY'SIA (Διονύσια; *Bacchanalia*), "the feast of Bacchus," which was celebrated, especially in later times, with wild extravagance and licentious enthusiasm. Women, as well as men, joined in the processions (θίασοι), acting the part of Maenads, crowned with ivy and bearing the thyrsus (cp. Ovid, *Fast.* iii. 767 sq.; Broudkh. *ad Tib.* iii. 6, 2, who gives a coin of *Maroneia*, bearing a head of Dionysus crowned with ivy); and the phallus was a principal object in the train (Herod. ii. 48, 49. See *Dict. of Gk. and Rom. Antiq.* s. v.). Shortly before the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, 168 B.C., in which the Jews "were compelled to go in procession to Bacchus carrying ivy" (2 Macc. vi. 7), the secret celebration of the Bacchanalia in Italy had been revealed to the Roman senate (B.C. 186). The whole state was alarmed by the description of the excesses with which the festival was attended (Liv. xxxix. 8 sq.), and a decree was passed forbidding its observance in Rome or Italy. This fact offers the best commentary on the conduct of Antiochus; for it is evident that rites which were felt to be incompatible with the comparative simplicity of early Roman worship must have been peculiarly revolting to Jews of the Hasmonaean age (cp. Herod. iv. 79, Σκύθαι τοῦ Βακχεύειν περὶ Ἕλλησιν ὀνειδίζουσι). As the greatest of the Dionysiac festivals (Διονύσια ἐν ἄστει or μεγάλα) was celebrated in the spring in the month of Elaphebolion (March–April), it nearly synchronised with the Jewish Passover. Antiochus therefore probably hoped, by the introduction of the great Hellenic festival at Jerusalem, to supplant the most sacred of the national Feasts in the affections of the people, and to substitute in lieu thereof the most licentious, seductive, and extravagant rites that received the sanction of Hellenic religion. [B. F. W.] [R.]

DIONY'SIUS (Διονύσιος; *Dionysius*), an Athenian converted by St. Paul (Acts xvii. 34). He was a person of some distinction, being a member of the Council of Areopagus [AREOPAGUS]. He is said to have been the first Bishop of Athens, and the evidence is stronger than is usually the case regarding early episcopates. Eusebius (*H. E.* iv. 23) says that another Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth, stated in his epistle to the Athenians that Dionysius the Areopagite was the first to be entrusted with the episcopate at Athens (πρῶτος τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις παροικίας τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἐγκεχείριστο). Rufinus, the translator of Eusebius, gratuitously adds that he was appointed by St. Paul himself. The strength of the evidence lies in its early date, Dionysius of Corinth writing apparently about A.D. 170. Lightfoot (*Philippians*,[2] p. 214), however, doubts

its cogency. The martyrdom of Dionysius is described in early martyrologies on the authority of the apology of Aristides the Athenian, but it contains no mention of Dionysius. See Aristides in *Texts and Studies*, vol. i. p. 18. Writings are extant bearing the name of Dionysius the Areopagite. They are first mentioned and appealed to in the Monophysite controversies of the 6th century. They were held in honour in the Church till the Reformation period, since which time their authenticity has been gradually but completely discredited. The date of their authorship is still a matter of dispute. See *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.*; and Bp. Westcott, *Religious Thought in the West*, pp. 147–155. [E. R. B.]

DIONY'SUS (Διόνυσος, Διώνυσος, of uncertain derivation), also called BACCHUS (Βάκχος, Ἴακχος, *the noisy god:* after the time of Herodotus), was properly the god of wine. In Homer he appears simply as the "frenzied" god (*Il.* vi. 132), and yet "a joy to mortals" (*Il.* xiv. 325); but in later times the most varied attributes were centred in him as the source of the luxuriant fertility of nature, and the god of civilization, gladness, and inspiration. The eastern wanderings of Dionysus are well known (Strab. xv. 7, p. 687; *Dict. Biogr.* s. v.), but they do not seem to have left any special trace in Palestine (yet cp. Luc. *de Syrâ Dea*, p. 886, ed. Bened.). His worship, however, was greatly modified by the incorporation of Eastern elements, and assumed the twofold form of wild orgies [DIONYSIA] and mystic rites. To the Jew Dionysus would necessarily appear as the embodiment of Paganism in its most material shape, sanctioning the most tumultuous passions and the worst excesses. Thus Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 5) rejects the tradition that the Jews worshipped Bacchus (*Liberum patrem;* cp. Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* iv. 6), on the ground of the "entire diversity of their principles" (*nequaquam congruentibus institutis*), though he interprets this difference to their discredit. The consciousness of the fundamental opposition of the God of Israel and Dionysus possibly explains the punishment which Ptolemaeus Philopator inflicted on the Jews (3 Macc. ii. 29), "branding them with the ivy-leaf of Dionysus." But the more probable explanation of this occurrence is that of Grimm (see note in loc.), who points out that Dionysus was the family god of the Ptolemies as Apollo was of the Seleucids; and traces of the cult of Dionysus as the form of Hellenic worship most attractive to Orientals are found in many parts of Syria and Palestine. The representation of Dionysus upon the coins of Caesarea, Damascus, Scythopolis, and cities of the Hauran, testify to the wide popularity of his worship during the Roman period (cp. Schürer, *Gesch. d. Jüd. Volkes*,[2] ii. 15–20). Nicanor's threat which he is said to have made, to erect a temple of Dionysus at Jerusalem (2 Macc. xiv. 33), has on this account a special significance. For while the Dionysiac worship would be most abhorrent to the pious Jew, to the Hellenizing Jew and to the resident Greeks it apparently presented especial fascinations. At a later time, when Jerusalem became a Roman colony with the name of Aelia Capitolina, dedicated to Jupiter, it appears from extant coins that Dionysus was among the other deities to whose charge the city was committed (cp. Schürer, i. 586). [B. F. W.] [R.]

DIOSCORINTHIUS. [MONTHS.]

DIOTREPHES (Διοτρέφης; *Diotrephes*). An ambitious member of an unnamed Church, whose conduct is condemned by St. John in his letter to Gaius (3 John, *vv.* 9, 10). He had even been able to withstand the authority of a letter from St. John himself, and had "prated against him with wicked words." While Gaius had been ready to receive with hospitality brethren from distant Churches, Diotrephes had repelled them, and had prevented others from receiving them by the threat or act of excommunication. These "brethren and strangers" (*v.* 5) were probably travelling evangelists. [E.-R. B.]

DISCIPLE. [EDUCATION; SCHOOLS.]

DISCOVER (*dis* a negative prefix), a word frequently used in the A. V. in the sense of "uncover," by which word the R. V. replaces it in Deut. xxii. 30, but not in Micah i. 6. In 2 Sam. xxii. 6 the R. V. has "laid bare," in Ps. xxix. 9 "strippeth bare." [F.]

DISCUS (δίσκος), one of the exercises in the Grecian gymnasia, which Jason the high-priest introduced among the Jews in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, and which he induced even the priests to practise (2 Macc. iv. 14). The discus was a circular plate of stone or metal, made for throwing to a distance as an exercise of strength and dexterity. It was indeed one of the principal gymnastic exercises of the Greeks, and was practised in the heroic age. For details and authorities, see *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq.* s. v. [W. S.]

Discobolus. (Osterley, *Denk. der alt. Kunst*, vol. i. No. 189.)

DISEASES. [MEDICINE.]

DISH. 1. קְעָרָה, Gesen. p. 965: see BASIN. 2. צֵלָחָה, in plur. only צְלָחוֹת, צְלָחִית, or צְלָחֹת; ὑδρίσκη, ὁ ἀλάβαστρος, λέβης; *vas, lebes.* 3. קְשָׂרָה; see CHARGER.

In N. T. τρυβλίον, Matt. xxvi. 23, Mark xiv. 20. In ancient Egypt, and also in Judaea, guests at the table handled their food with the fingers, but spoons were used for soup or other liquid food, when required (Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* i. 183–4 [smaller ed., 1878]). The same is the case in modern Egypt. Each person breaks off a small piece of bread, dips it in the dish, and then conveys it to his mouth, together with a small portion of the meat or other contents of the dish. To pick out a delicate morsel and hand it to a friend is esteemed a compliment, and to refuse such an offering is contrary to good manners. Judas dipping his hand in the same dish with our Lord was showing especial friendliness and intimacy. τρυβλίον is used in LXX. for קְשָׂרָה, sometimes in A. V. "charger" (Ex. xxv. 29 [R. V. "spoons"]; Num. iv. 7 [R. V. "spoons"], vii. 13, 19). This is also rendered κοτύλη or half sextarius, *i.e.* probably a cup or flask rather than a dish. τρυβλίον is in Vulg., Matt. xxvi. 23, *paropsis;* in Mark xiv. 20, *catinus.* Cp. Schleusner, *Lex. in N. T.* τρυβλίον (Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 193; Chardin, *Voy.* iv. 53, 54; Niebuhr, *Descr. de l'Arab.* p. 46). [BASIN.] [H. W. P.]

DI'SHAN (דִּישָׁן; *Disan*), the youngest son of Seir the Horite (Gen. xxxvi. 21 [A. Ῥεισών, *DE.* Ῥισών], 28, 30 (bis) [A. Ῥεισών, E. Ῥησών]; 1 Ch. i. 38 [A. Ῥισών, B. om.], 42 [BA. Δαισών]). [W. L. B.] [F.]

DI'SHON (דִּישׁוֹן [the name may mean a *gazelle* (cp. Deut. xiv. 5), from a root signifying *to spring.* There are cognate words in Aramaic, Syriac, and Assyrian (see MV.[11])]; *Dison*). **1.** The fifth son of Seir (Gen. xxxvi. 21, 26, 30 [A. Δησών]; 1 Ch. i. 38 [BA. Δησών]). **2.** The son of Anah and grandson of Seir (Gen. xxxvi. 25; 1 Ch. i. 41 [BA. Δαισών]). Dishon and Dishan are among the names in the list of the descendants of Seir the Horite which are derived from animals (cp. a similar nomenclature among the Red Indians). This is only natural amongst those whose forefathers were Troglodytes (cp. Delitzsch [1887] on Gen. xxxvi. 20–28; Dillmann,[5] do. *v.* 29 sq.), but does not warrant the assumption that their worship was animal worship (cp. Jacobs, *Archaeological Review*, iii. 150 sq.). The geographical position of the tribes descended from these patriarchs is uncertain. Knobel (cp. Dillmann[5] in loco) places them to E. and S.E. of the *Gulf of Akaba*, on the ground that the names of the sons of Dishon, Eshban, and Hemdan may be identified with *Usbany* and *Humeidy*, branches of the tribe of *Omran.* Such identifications must be received with caution (Delitzsch), as similar names are found in other parts of Arabia—*Hamde*, for instance, near Tayf, and again *Hamdan*, which bears a still closer resemblance to the original name, near *Sana* (Burckhardt's *Arabia*, i. 156, i. 376). [W. L. B.] [F.]

DISPERSION, THE JEWS OF THE, or simply THE DISPERSION, was the general title applied to those Jews who remained settled in foreign countries after the return from the Babylonian exile, and during the period of the second Temple. The original word applied to these foreign settlers (גָּלוּת; cp. Jer. xxiv. 5, xxviii. 4, &c., from גָּלָה, to strip naked; so בְּנֵי הַגּוֹלָה, Ezra vi. 16) conveys the notion of spoliation and bereavement, as of men removed from the Temple and home of their fathers; but in the LXX. the ideas of a "sojourning" (μετοικεσία) and of a "colony" (ἀποικία) were combined with that of a "captivity" (αἰχμαλωσία), while the term "dispersion" (διασπορά, first in Deut. xxviii. 25, לְזַעֲוָה; cp. Jer. xxxiv. 17), which finally prevailed, seemed to imply that the people thus scattered "to the utmost parts of heaven" (Deut. xxx. 4), "in bondage among the Gentiles" (2 Macc. i. 27), and shut out from the full privileges of the chosen race (John vii. 35), should yet be as the seed sown for a future harvest (cp. Is. xlix. 6, Hebr.) in the strange lands where they found a temporary resting-place (1 Pet. i. 1, παρεπιδήμοις διασπορᾶς). The schism which had divided the first kingdom was forgotten in the results of the general calamity. The dispersion was not limited to the exiles of Judah, but included "the twelve tribes" (Jas. i. 1, ταῖς δώδεκα φυλαῖς ταῖς ἐν τῇ διασπορᾷ), which expressed the completeness of the whole Jewish nation (Acts xxvi. 7, τὸ δωδεκάφυλον).

The Dispersion, as a distinct element influencing the entire character of the Jews, dates from the Babylonian exile. Uncertain legends point to earlier settlements in Arabia, Ethiopia, and Abyssinia; but even if these settlements were made, they were isolated and casual, while the Dispersion, of which Babylon was the acknowledged centre, was the outward proof that a *faith* had succeeded to a *kingdom.* Apart from the necessary influence which Jewish communities bound by common laws, ennobled by the possession of the same truths, and animated by kindred hopes, must have exercised on the nations among whom they were scattered, the difficulties which set aside the literal observance of the Mosaic ritual led to a wider view of the scope of the Law, and a stronger sense of its spiritual significance. Outwardly and inwardly, by its effects both on the Gentiles and on the people of Israel, the Dispersion appears to have been the clearest providential preparation for the spread of Christianity.

But while the fact of a recognised Dispersion must have weakened the local and ceremonial influences which were essential to the first training of the people of God, the Dispersion was still bound together in itself and to its mother country by religious ties. The Temple was the acknowledged centre of Judaism, and the faithful Jew everywhere contributed the half-shekel towards its maintenance (τὸ δίδραχμον, Matt. xvii. 24: cp. Mishna, *Shekalim*, 7, 4; Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 6); and, in part at least, the ecclesiastical calendar was fixed at Jerusalem, whence beacon-fires spread abroad the true date of the new moons (Mishna, *Rosh-Hashana*, 2, 4). The tribute was indeed the simplest and most striking outward proof of the religious unity of the nation. Treasuries were established to receive the payments of different districts (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 9, § 1; cp. *Ant.* xvi. 6, §§ 5, 6), and the collected sums were forwarded to Jerusalem, as in later times the Mahometan offerings were sent to Mecca (Jost, *Gesch. d. Judenth.* i. 337 n.; Cic. *pro Flacco*, xxviii.).

At the beginning of the Christian era the Dispersion was divided into three great sections, the Babylonian, the Syrian, and the Egyptian. Precedence was yielded to the first. The jealousy which had originally existed between the poor who returned to Palestine and their wealthier countrymen at Babylon had passed away, and Gamaliel wrote "to the sons of the Dispersion in Babylonia, and to our brethren in Media . . . and to all the Dispersion of Israel" (Frankel, *Monatsschrift*, 1853, p. 413). From Babylon the Jews spread throughout Persia, Media, and Parthia; but the settlements in China belong to a modern date (Frankel, *l. c.* p. 463). The few details of their history which have been preserved bear witness to their prosperity and influence (Jos. *Ant.* xi. 5, § 2, xv. 2, § 2 sq., xviii. 9; *Bell. Jud.* vi. 6, § 2). No schools of learning are noticed, but Hillel the Elder and Nahum the Mede are mentioned as coming from Babylon to Jerusalem (Frankel).

The Greek conquests in Asia extended the limits of the Dispersion. Seleucus Nicator transplanted large bodies of Jewish colonists from Babylonia to the capitals of his western provinces. His policy was followed by his successor Antiochus the Great; and the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes only served to push forward the Jewish emigration to the remoter districts of his empire. In Armenia the Jews arrived at the greatest dignities, and Nisibis became a new centre of colonization (Frankel, pp. 454–6). The Jews of Cappadocia (1 Pet. i. 1) are casually mentioned in the Mishna; and a prince and princess of Adiabene adopted the Jewish faith only thirty years before the destruction of the Temple (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 2). Large settlements of Jews were established in Cyprus, in the islands of the Aegaean (Cos, Delos: Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10), and on the western coast of Asia Minor (Ephesus, Miletus, Pergamus, Halicarnassus, Sardis: Jos. *Ant.* l. c.). The Romans confirmed to them the privileges which they had obtained from the Syrian kings; and though they were exposed to sudden outbursts of popular violence (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 9; *Bell. Jud.* vii. 3), the Jews of the Syrian provinces gradually formed a closer connexion with their new homes, and together with the Greek language adopted in many respects Greek ideas. [HELLENISTS.]

This Hellenizing tendency, however, found its most free development at Alexandria [ALEXANDRIA]. The Jewish settlements established there by Alexander and Ptolemy I. became the source of the African Dispersion, which spread over the north coast of Africa, and perhaps inland to Abyssinia (the *Falasha*). At Cyrene (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 7, 2; JASON) and Berenice (Tripoli) the Jewish inhabitants formed a considerable portion of the population, and an inscription lately discovered at the latter place (Frankel, p. 442) speaks of the justice and clemency which they received from a Roman governor (cp. Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 6, 5). The African Dispersion, like all other Jews, preserved their veneration for the "holy city" (Philo, *Leg. ad Caium*, § 36; *c. Flacc.* c. 7), and recognised the universal claims of the Temple by the annual tribute (Jos. *l. c.*). But the distinction in language led to wider differences, which were averted in Babylon by the currency of an Aramaic dialect. The Scriptures were no longer read on the Sabbath (Frankel, p. 420; *Vorstudien*, p. 52, sq.), and no fire-signals conveyed the dates of the new moons to Egypt (cp. Frankel, p. 419 n.). Still the national spirit of the African Jews was not destroyed. After the destruction of the Temple the Zealots found a reception in Cyrene (Joseph. *B. J.* vii. 11); and towards the close of the reign of Trajan, A.D. 115, the Jewish population in Africa rose with terrible ferocity (Dio Cass. lxviii. 32). The insurrection was put down by a war of extermination (Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 2); and the remnant who escaped established themselves on the opposite coast of Europe, as the beginning of a new Dispersion.

The Jewish settlements in Rome were consequent upon the occupation of Jerusalem by Pompey, B.C. 63. The captives and emigrants whom he brought with him were located in the trans-Tiberine quarter, and by degrees rose in station and importance (Philo, *Leg. ad Caium*, § 23 sq.). They were favoured by Augustus and Tiberius after the fall of Sejanus (Philo, *l. c.*); and a Jewish school was founded at Rome (Frankel, p. 459). In the reign of Claudius [CLAUDIUS] the Jews became objects of suspicion from their immense numbers (Dio Cass. lx. 6); and the internal disputes consequent, perhaps, upon the preaching of Christianity, led to their banishment from the city (Suet. *Claud.* 25: "Judaeos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit." Cp. Acts xviii. 2). This expulsion, if general, can only have been temporary, for in a few years the Jews at Rome were numerous (Acts xxviii. 17 sq.), and continued to be sufficiently conspicuous to attract the attention of the satirists (Mart. *Ep.* xi. 94; Juv. *Sat.* iii. 14). [See Hindekoper, *Judaism at Rome*, N. Y. 1876; Schürer, *Die Gemeindeverfassung der Juden in Rom in der Kaiserzeit*, 1879; Hudson, *History of the Jews in Rome*, 1884; Morrison, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 1890.]

The influence of the Dispersion on the rapid promulgation of Christianity can scarcely be overrated. The course of the apostolic preaching followed in a regular progress the line of Jewish settlements. The mixed assembly from which the first converts were gathered on the day of Pentecost represented each division of the Dispersion (Acts ii. 9–11; (*a*) Parthians . . . Mesopotamia; (*b*) Judaea (i.e *Syria*) . . . Pamphylia; (*c*) Egypt . . . Greece; (*d*) Romans . . .), and these converts naturally prepared the way for the Apostles in the interval which preceded the beginning of the separate apostolic missions. The names of the seven Deacons are all Greek, and one is specially described as a proselyte (Acts vi. 5). The Church at Antioch, by which St. Paul was entrusted with his great work among the heathen (Acts xiii. 1), included Barnabas of Cyprus (Acts iv. 36), Lucius of Cyrene, and Simeon, surnamed *Niger*; and among his "fellow-labourers" at a later time are found Aquila of Pontus (Acts xviii. 2), Apollos of Alexandria (Acts xviii. 24; cp. 1 Cor. iii. 6), Urbanus (Rom. xvi. 9), and Clement (Phil. iv. 3), whose names at least are Roman. Antioch itself became a centre of the Christian Church (Acts xiii. 1, xiv. 26, xv. 22, xviii. 22), as it had been of the Jewish Dispersion; and throughout the apostolic journeys the Jews were the class to whom "it was necessary (*ἀναγκαῖον*) that the word of God should be first spoken"

(Acts xiii. 46), and they in turn were united with the mass of the population by the intermediate body of "the devout" (*οἱ σεβόμενοι*), which had recognised in various degrees "the faith of the God of Israel."

The most important original authorities on the Dispersion are Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 10, xiv. 7; *c. Apion.* ii. 5;—Philo, *Leg. ad Caium*; id. *c. Flaccum.* Frankel has collected the various points together in an exhaustive essay in his *Monatsschrift*, Nov. Dec. 1853, pp. 409–11, 449–51. A valuable contribution to our knowledge of this subject is presented in § 31, *Das Judenthum in der Zerstreuung* in Schürer's *Geschichte d. Jüd. Volkes*,[2] Bd. ii., where exhaustive use is made of the available literary materials. Cp. Jost, *Gesch. d. Judenth.* 336, 344; Ewald, *Hist. of Isr.* (Eng. Tr.) vol. v. sec. ii. A; Herzfeld, *Gesch. d. Volkes Isr.* iii. 425–479; Grätz, *Gesch. d. Jüden*, iii. 26–54; Hausrath, *NTliche Zeitgesch.*[2] iii. 383–392; Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, i. chs. i. ii. [B. F. W.] [R.]

DISTAFF (Prov. xxxi. 19). [SPINNING.]

DIVES. [LAZARUS.]

DIVINATION (מִקְסָם; *μαντεία*, Ezek. xiii. 7; *μαγεία*, Wisd. xvii. 7; כְּשָׁפִים, *φαρμακεία, veneficium, divinatio*, Is. xlvii. 9; לַחַשׁ, *ψιθυρισμός*, &c.). This art "of taking an aim of Divine matters by human, which cannot but breed mixture of imaginations" (Bacon, *Ess.* xvii.), has been universal in all ages, and in all nations alike civilised and savage. It arises from an impression that in the absence of direct, visible, guiding Providence, the Deity suffers His Will to be known to men, partly by inspiring those who from purity of character or elevation of spirit are susceptible of the divine afflatus (*θεομάντεις, ἐνθουσιασταί, ἐκστατικοί*), and partly by giving perpetual indications of the future, which must be learnt from experience and observation (Cic. *Div.* i. 18; Plin. xxx. 5).

The first kind of divination is called Natural (*ἄτεχνος, ἀδίδακτος*), in which the person inspired with prophetic gifts is transported from his own individuality, and becomes the passive instrument of supernatural utterances (*Aen.* vi. 47; Ov. *Met.* ii. 640, &c.). As this process involved violent convulsions, the word *μαντική* is derived from *μαίνεσθαι*, and alludes to the foaming mouth and streaming hair of the possessed seer (Plat. *Tim.* 72 B, where the *μάντις* is carefully distinguished from the *προφήτης*). But even when the recorded prophecies of Scripture are of the most passionate character, their utterance was not accompanied by these unnatural distortions (Num. xxiii. 5; Ps. xxxix. 3; Jer. xx. 9), although, as we shall see, they were well-known phenomena (1 Sam. xviii. 10, xix. 24), and were characteristic of pretenders to the gift.

The other kind of divination was artificial (*τεχνική*), and probably originated in an honest conviction that external nature sympathised with and frequently indicated the condition and prospects of mankind; a conviction not in itself ridiculous, and fostered by the accidental synchronism of natural phenomena with human catastrophes (Thuc. iii. 89; Jos. *B. J.* vi. 5, § 3; Foxe's *Martyrs*, iii. 406, &c.). When once this feeling was established, the supposed manifestations were infinitely multiplied, and hence the numberless forms of imposture or ignorance called kapnomancy, pyromancy, arithmomancy, libanomancy, botanomancy, kephalomancy, &c., of which there are abundant accounts in Cic. *de Div.*; Cardan, *de Sapientiâ*; Anton. v. Dale, *de Orig. Idol.*; Fabricius, *Bibl. Ant.* pp. 409–426; Carpzov. *App. Crit.* pp. 540–549; Potter's *Antiq.* i. ch. viii. sq. Indeed there was scarcely any possible event or appearance which was not pressed into the service of augury, and it may be said of the ancient Greeks and Romans, as of the modern New Zealanders, that "after uttering their karakias (or charms), the whistling of the wind, the moving of trees, the flash of lightning, the peal of thunder, the flying of a bird, even the buzz of an insect would be regarded as an answer" (Taylor's *New Zealand*, p. 74; Bowring's *Siam*, i. 153 sq.). A system commenced in fanaticism ended in deceit. Hence Cato's famous saying that it was strange how two augurs could meet without laughing in each other's face. But the supposed knowledge became in all nations an engine of political power, and hence interest was enlisted in its support (Cic. *de Legg.* ii. 12; Liv. vi. 27; Soph. *Ant.* 1055; Mic. iii. 11). It fell into the hands of a priestly caste (Gen. xli. 8; Is. xlvii. 13; Jer. v. 31; Dan. ii. 2), who in all nations made it subservient to their own purposes. Thus Chardin says that, in Persia, the astrologers would make even the Shah rise at midnight and travel in the worst weather in obedience to their suggestions.

The invention of divination is ascribed to Prometheus (Aesch. *Pr. Vinct.* 492), to the Phrygians and Etrurians, especially sages (Cic. *de Div.* 1; and Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 526, where there is a great deal more on the subject), or (as by the Fathers generally) to the devil (Firmic. Maternus, *de Errore*, Prooem.; Lactant. ii. 16; Minuc. Felix. *Oct.* 27). In the same way Zoroaster ascribes all magic to Ahriman (Nork, *Bram. und Rab.* p. 97). Similar opinions have prevailed in more modern times (Sir Thomas Browne, *Vulg. Err.* chs. i. xi.).

Many forms of divination are mentioned in Scripture, and the subject is so frequently alluded to that it deserves careful examination. We shall proceed to give a brief analysis of its main aspects as presented in the sacred writers, following as far as possible the order of the Books in which the professors of the art are spoken of.

They are first mentioned as a prominent body in the Egyptian court, Gen. xli. 8. 1. חַרְטֻמִּים (*ἐξηγηταί*; Hesych. *ὁ περὶ ἱερέων καὶ διοσημείων ἐξηγούμενος*; Aqu. *κρυφιασταί*). They were a class of Egyptian priests, eminent for learning (*ἱερογραμματεῖς*). The name may be derived from חֶרֶט, *a style*; or, according to Jablonski, from an Egyptian word Chertom = *thaumaturgus* (Gesen. *s. v.* Cp. Harkavy, *Journ. Asiat.* [1870] p. 168 sq. See MV.[11] reff. For other conjectures see Kalisch, *Gen.* p. 647; Heidegger, *Hist. Patr.* xx. 23). If their divination was connected with drawn figures, it is paralleled by the Persian *Rummal* (Calmet); the modern Egyptian *Zärgeh*, a table of letters ascribed to Idrees or Enoch (Lane, i. 354); the diagrams of the Chinese *Yih-king*, revealed to Fuh-hi on the back of a tortoise, which explain everything,

and on which 1450 learned commentaries have been written (Huc's *China*, i. 123 sq.); and the *Jamassu* or marks on paper, of Japan (Kempfer's *Hist.* ch. xv.).

2. חַכְמִים (*σοφισταί*, Ex. vii. 11; Suid. *οὕτως ἔλεγον πάντας τοὺς πεπαιδευμένους*; *conjectores*). Possibly these, as well as their predecessors, were merely a learned class, invested by vulgar superstition with hidden power. Daniel was made head of the college by Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. v. 11). Cp. the "college of males" at Babylon (*Records of the Past*, N. S. iv. 110).

3. מְכַשְּׁפִים (*ἐπαοιδοί*, Ex. vii. 11, בַּשָּׁפִים, *φαρμακοί*; *incantatores:* the variety of words used in the Versions to render these names shows how vague was the meaning attached to them). The original meaning of בָּשַׁף *is to mutter;* and in Ex. vii. 11, the word seems to denote mere jugglers, of the class to which belonged Jannes and Jambres (2 Tim. iii. 8). How they produced the wonders which hardened the heart of Pharaoh, whether by mechanical or chemical means, or by mere legerdemain, or by demoniacal assistance (as supposed by the Fathers and Joseph. *Ant.* ii. 5), it is idle to conjecture. Michaelis (adopting an Arabic derivation of בּוּשַׁף) explains them to be "astrologers," such as in ancient times were supposed (from their power to foretell eclipses, &c.) to be able to control the sun and moon by spells (Virg. *Aen.* iv. 489; Ov. *Met.* xii. 263. "While the labouring moon eclipses at their charms," Milton. "A witch, and one so strong she could control the moon," Shaksp. *The Tempest*). Women were supposed to be peculiarly addicted to these magical arts (Ex. xxii. 18), which were forbidden to the Jews on theocratic grounds, independently of their liability to abuse.

4. יִדְּעֹנִים, Lev. xix. 31, xx. 6 (*γνωσταί, sciolae; wizards,* from יָדַע, *to know:* cp. *weiser Mann, kluge Frau,* as *δαίμων*, from *δάημι*): they who could by whatever means reveal the future. The Rabbis derive this word from a certain beast יִדּוּעַ, in shape like a man (*καταβλεπάδα*), the bones of which the diviner held in his teeth (Sanhedrin, f. 65; Maimon. *de Idol.* vi. 3; Bulenger, *de Div.* iii. 33; Delrio, *Disquis. Mag.* iv. 2; Godwin's *Mos. and Aar.* iv. 10; Carpzov. *App. Crit.* p. 545). The Greek diviner ate *τὰ κυριώτατα μόρια ζώων μαντικῶν* (Porphyr. *de Abstinent.* ii.). For other bone divinations see Rubruquis' *China*, p. 65, and Pennant's *Scotland*, p. 88 (in Pinkerton). For allusions to a conjurer with human bones, see *Berachoth*, f. 59, 1. For other Talmudic allusions to various forms of witchcraft and necromancy, see *Sanhedrin*, f. 65, 2, f. 66, 1; *Eiruvin*, f. 64, 2; *Baba Bathra*, f. 58, 1. King Alexander Jannaeus on one occasion hung eighty witches at once (*Sanhedrin*, f. 45, 1; and Rashi ad loco). Many of the Talmudic passages are translated in Hershon's *Talmudic Miscellany*, pp. 229–236.

5. אֹבוֹת, Lev. xx. 6; Is. viii. 19, xix. 3; *ἐγγαστρίμυθοι νεκρομάντεις*; *qui Pythones consulet, ventriloqui* [אִטִּים, Is. xix. 3]. The word properly means "spirits of the dead," and then by an easy metonomy those who consulted them (שֹׁאֵל אוֹב, Deut. xviii. 10; דֹּרְשִׁין אֶל הַמֵּתִים; *οἱ ἐπερωτῶντες τοὺς νεκρούς, quaerentes a mortuis veritatem.* But Shuckford, who denies that the Jews in early ages believed in spirits, makes it mean "consulters of dead idols," *Connect.* ii. 395 sq.). They are also called Pythones; *ἐγγαστρ. πάλαι νυνὶ Πύθωνας καλουμένους* (Plut. *de Def. Or.* 414; Cic. *de Div.* i. 19). Hence the *πνεῦμα Πύθωνος*, Acts xvi. 16. These ventriloquists "peeped and muttered" (cp. *τρίζειν, Il.* xxxiii. 101; "squeak and gibber," Shaksp. *Jul. Caes.*) from the earth to imitate the voice of the revealing "familiar" (Is. xxix. 4, &c.; 1 Sam. xxviii. 8; Lev. xx. 27: cp. *στερνόμαντις*, Soph. *Frag.*). אוֹב properly means a bottle (Job xxxii. 19), and was applied to the magician, because he was supposed to be *inflated* by the spirit (*δαιμονοληπτός*), like the ancient Εὐρυκλεῖς (*εἰς ἀλλοτρίας γαστέρας ἐνδύς*, Ar. *Vesp.* 1017; *malum spiritum per verenda naturae excipiebat*, Schol. in Ar. *Plut.*). The Talmud says, "A Python is a familiar spirit who speaks from the arm-pits" (*Sanhedrin*, f. 65). Of this class was the witch of Endor (Jos. *Ant.* vi. 14, § 2), in whose case *intended* imposture *may* have been overruled into genuine necromancy (Ecclus. xlvi. 20). On this wide subject see Chrysost. *ad* 1 Cor. xii.; Tert. *adv. Marc.* iv. 25, *de Anima*, 57; Aug. *de doctr. Christ.* § 33; Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* i. 16, and the commentators on *Aen.* vi.; *Critici Sacri*, vi. 331; Winer, s. v. *Todtenbeschwörer;* Le Moyne, *Var. Sacr.* p. 993 sq.; Selden, *de Diis Syr.* i. 2, and above all Böttcher, *de Inferis*, pp. 101–121, where the research displayed is marvellous. Those who sought inspiration, either from the demons or the spirits of the dead, haunted tombs and caverns (Is. lxv. 4), and invited the unclean communications by voluntary fasts (Maimon. *de Idol.* ix. 15; Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.* ad Matt. x. 1). That the supposed *ψυχομαντεία* was often effected by ventriloquism and illusion is certain; for a specimen of this even in modern times, see the Life of Benvenuto Cellini.

6. קֹסֵם קְסָמִים (*μαντευόμενος μαντείαν*; *qui ariolos scisciteur:* Deut. xviii. 10. As the most complete list of diviners is given in this passage, we shall follow the order of the kinds there enumerated). This word involves the notion of "cutting," and therefore may imply the same thing as the Chald. גָּזְרִין (from גָּזַר, to cut), Dan. ii. 27, iv. 4, &c., and be taken to mean astrologers, magi, genethliaci, &c. (*Dict. of Gk. and Rom. Ant.* art. *Astrologia*; Juv. vi. 582 sq.; Diod. Sic. ii. 30; Winer, s. vv. *Magier, Sterne*). Others refer it to the *κληρομάντεις* (Schol. *ad* Eur. *Hipp.* 1057), since the use of lots was very familiar to the Jews (Gataker, *On Lots*, ad init.); but it required no art to explain their use, for they were regarded as directly under God's control (Num. xxvi. 55; Esth. iii. 7; Prov. xvi. 33, xviii. 18). Both lots and *digitorum micatio* (odd and even) were used in distributing the duties of the Temple (Otho, *Lex. Rab.* s. v. *Digitis micando*).

7. מְעוֹנֵן, Mic. v. 12, 2 K. xxi. 6; *observans somnia;* A. V. "an observer of times;" *κληδονιζόμενος* (always in LXX., except in Lev. xix. 26, where probably they followed a different reading, from עוֹף, *a bird,* *ὀρνιθοσκοπεῖν*) = *ὁ ἐκ τῶν λαλουμένων στοχαζόμενος, Lex. Cyr.*; *ἀπὸ ἀκοῆς*, Hesych. It is derived from עָנַן, *to cover,* and may mean *generally* "using hidden arts"

(Is. ii. 6; Jer. xxvii. 9). If the LXX. understand it correctly, it refers to that λόγων παρατήρησις (Suid.), which was common among the Jews, and which they called Bath Kol; or which remarkable instances are found in Gen. xxiv. 14; 1 Sam. xiv. 9, 10; 1 K. xx. 33. For Talmudic allusions to the Bath Kol, see *Berachoth*, f. 61, 2; *Baba Bathra*, f. 18, 1; *Moed Katon*, f. 9, 1, and many other passages; but a distinction must be drawn between the use of the term to imply an actual "voice from heaven," and its application to chance omens (see Hamburger, *RE.* ii. 92). After the extinction of the spirit of prophecy the Bath Kol was considered by the Jews as a sort of substitute for the loss. For a curious dissertation on it, see Lightfoot *ad Matt.* iii. 13. A belief in the significance of chance words was very prevalent among the Egyptians (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 304; Plut. *de Is.* 14), and the accidental sigh of the engineer was sufficient to prevent even Amasis from removing the monolithic shrine to Saïs (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* ii. 310). The universality of the belief among the ancients is known to every scholar (Cic. *de Div.* i.; Herod. ii. 90; Virg. *Aen.* vii. 116, &c.). From the general theory of the possibility of such omens sprang the use of the Sortes Biblicae, &c. (Niceph. Greg. viii.; Aug. *Ep.* 119; Prideaux, *Connect.* ii. 376, &c.; Cardan, *de Varietate*, p. 1040).

If מְעוֹנֵן be derived from עַיִן, it will mean "one who fascinates with the eyes," as in the Syr. Vers. (cp. Vitringa, *Comment. ad Is.* ii. 6). A belief in the ὀφθαλμὸς βάσκανος (עַיִן רָעָ) was universal, and is often alluded to in Scripture (Deut. xxiii. 6; Matt. xx. 15; Tob. iv. 7, μὴ φθονησάτω σου ὁ ὀφθαλμός: 1 Sam. xviii. 9, "Saul *eyed* David"). The well-known passages of Pliny and the ancients on the subject are collected in Potter's *Ant.* i. 383 sq.

Others again make the עֹנְנִים (Is. ii. 6, &c.) to be "soothsayers" who predicted "times" as in A. V. and R. V., from the observation of the clouds (Aben Ezra on Lev. xix. 26) and other διοσημίαι, as lightnings, comets, meteors, &c. (Jer. x. 2), like the Etruscan Fulguratores (Cic. *de Div.* i. 18; Plin. ii. 43, 53; Plut. *de Superst.*; Hom. *Od.* v. 102; Virg. *Ecl.* i. 16; Humboldt's *Cosmos*, ii. 135, ed. Sabine). Possibly the *position* of the diviner in making these observations originated the Jewish names for East and West, viz. front and back (Godwin, iv. 10, but Carpzov disputes the assertion, *App. Crit.* p. 541). The practice naturally led to the tabulation of certain days as lucky or unlucky (Job iii. 5, "monthly prognosticators;" Is. xlvii. 13, ἡμερὰς παρατηρεῖσθε, Gal. iv. 10), just as the Greeks and Romans regarded some days as *candidi*, others as *atri* (Hes. *Opp. et D.* 770; Suet. *Aug.* 92, &c.). If we had space, every one of the superstitions alluded to might be paralleled in modern times.

In Judg. ix. 37, the expression "terebinth of *Meonenim* (enchantments)" refers not so much to the general sacredness of great trees (Hom. *Od.* xiv. 328; *habitae Graiis oracula quercus*, Virg. *Georg.*), as to the fact that (probably) here Jacob had buried the idolatrous amulets which his wives had brought from Syria (Gen. xxxv. 4; Stanley, *Sin. and Pal.* p. 142).

8. מְנַחֲשִׁים (οἰωνιζόμενοι; *observantes auguria*; Ps. lviii. 5; 2 K. xvii. 17, xxi. 6, &c.): A. V. enchanters; *ophiomants* (Bochart, *Hieroz.* ii. p. 383), from נָחַשׁ, *to hiss*; people who, like the ancient Psylli (Plin. *H. N.* vii. 2; xviii. 4) and Marmaridae (Sil. Ital. iii. 301),

> "Ad quorum cantus serpens oblita veneni,
> Ad quorum tactum mites jacuere cerastae,"

were supposed to render serpents innocuous and obedient (Ex. vii. 9; Jer. viii. 17; Eccles. x. 11), chiefly by the power of music (Nicand. *Meriac.* 162; Luc. ix. 891; Sil. Ital. 8, 495; *Aen.* vii. 753; Niebuhr's *Travels*, i. 189); but also no doubt by the possession of some genuine and often hereditary secret (Lane, *Mod. Egypt.* ii. 106 sq.; Arnob. *adv. Gent.* ii. 32). They had a similar power over scorpions (Francklen's *Tour to Persia*). The whole subject is exhausted by Bochart (*Hieroz.*, torx. II. iii. 6, *de Aspide Surdâ*).

נָחַשׁ has, however, a general meaning of "learning by experience," like "to augur," in English, Gen. xxx. 27, 1 K. xx. 33; either because ophiomancy (Ter. *Phorm.* iv. 4, 26) was common, or because the word meant (as the Rabbis say) an observation of ἐνόδια σύμβολα, &c. (Jer. x. 2; Plin. xxviii. 5, 7). Some understand it of *divinatio ex pelvibus* (Plin. *H. N.* xxx. 2; Poli *Syn. ad Deut.* xviii. 10).

9. מְכַשְּׁפִים (φαρμακοί; *malefici, venefici*, A. V. wizards), from the Arabic, "to reveal," meaning not only astrologers proper (Chaldaeans), but generally all who practised occult means of discovering the unknown. It might no doubt involve the use of divining-rods for the purpose of Aquaelicium, &c., dependent on physical laws only partially understood (Mayo's *Pop. Superstitions*).

10. חֹבֵר חָבָרִים (ἐπαείδοντες ἐπαοιδήν; *incantatores*), from חָבַר, *to bind* (cp. bannen = binden, Gesen. *s. v.*). Those who acquired power by uttering spells, &c. (καταδέω; and ὕμνος δέσμιος, Aesch. *Eum.* 296:

> "So the spell now works around thee,
> And the clankless chain hath bound thee."
> *Manfred*, i. 1.)

In Onkelos it is rendered רַטְיָן, *a mutterer*; and this would connect these "enchanters" with the Nekromanteis (No. 5. Is. xxix. 4).

11. Belomants. Alluded to in Ezek. xxi. 21 (Heb. *v.* 26), where Nebuchadnezzar, at the parting of two ways, uses divination to decide whether he shall proceed against Jerusalem or Rabbah, and קִלְקַל בְּחִצִּים (τοῦ ἀναβράσαι ῥάβδον, LXX.; but it should be rather ῥίψαι βέλη, or as Vulg. *commiscens sagittas*; R. V. "he shook the arrows to and fro." The other explanations are untenable). The practice of lots-by-arrows was Babylonian (Lenormant, *La Divination chez les Chaldéens*, p. 21). Jerome (ad loc.) explains it of mingling in a quiver arrows on which were inscribed the names of various cities, that city being attacked the name of which was drawn out (Prid. *Connect.* i. 85). Estius says, "He threw up a bundle of arrows to see which way they would light, and since they fell on the right hand he marched towards Jerusalem." (For the Arabic practice, see Dozy, *Hist. de l'Islamisme*, p. 10.) The A. V.

"made his arrows bright," seems to allude to a sort of σιδηρομαντεία, — incorrectly. The arrows used were parti-coloured, and seven such were kept at Mecca. Pietro della Valle saw a divination derived from the changes of eight arrows at Aleppo, and attributed it to diabolical agency. We read of a somewhat similar custom in use among the ancient Teutons (Tac. *Germ.* x.), and among the Alani (Am. Marcell. xxxi.): also among the modern Egyptians (Lane, ii. 111). "But of another kind was that practised by Elisha, 2 K. xiii. 15" (Sir Thos. Browne, *Vulg. Errors*, v. 23, 7).

12. Closely connected with this was ξυλο- or ῥαβδο-μαντεία (Hos. iv. 12), יְשַׁאֵל מַקֵּל. Δύο ἱστάντες ῥάβδους . . . πιπτούσας ἐπετήρουν ὅπου φέροιντο, Cyr. Alex. (ad loc.), and so too Theophylact. Another explanation is that the positive or negative answer to the required question was decided by the equal or unequal number of *spans* in the staff (Godwin, *l. c.*). Parallels are found among the Scythians (Herod. iv. 67, and Schol. Nicandri Σκύθαι μυρικίνῳ μαντεύονται ξύλῳ), Persians (Strab. xv. p. 847), Assyrians (Athen. *Deipn.* xii. 7), Chinese (Stavorinus' *Java;* Pinkerton, xi. 132), and New Zealanders (called *Niu*, Taylor's *New Zeal.* 91). These kinds of divination are expressly forbidden in the Koran, and are called *al Meisar* (ch. v. Sale's *Prelim. Dissert.* p. 89).

13. Κυλικομαντεία, Gen. xliv. 5 (גְּבִיעַ; τὸ κόνδυ τὸ ἀργυροῦν . . . αὐτὸς δὲ οἰωνισμοὺς οἰωνίζεται ἐν αὐτῷ; Hesych. κόνδυ, ποτήριον βασιλικόν. *In quo augurari solet*). Parkhurst and others, denying that divination is intended, make it a mere cup of office (Bruce's *Travels*, ii. 657), "for which he would search carefully" (a meaning which נָחַשׁ may bear). But in all probability the A. V. and R. V. are right. The Nile was called the cup of Egypt, and the silver vessel which symbolised it had prophetic and mysterious properties (Hävernick, *Introd. to the Pentateuch*, ad loc. Cp. also the notes of Delitzsch [1887] and of Knobel in Dillmann[5] on this passage). The divination was by means of radiations from the water, or from magically inscribed gems, &c. thrown into it; a sort of ὑδρομαντεία, κατοπτρομαντεία, or κρυσταλλομαντεία (Cardan, *de rerum Variet.* cap. 93), like the famous *mirror of ink* (Lane, ii. 362), and the crystal divining globes, the properties of which depend on a natural law brought into notice in the exhibitions of Mesmerism. The jewelled cup of Jemsheed was a divining cup, and such a one was made by Merlin (*Faerie Queen*, iii. 2, 19). Jul. Serenus (*de Fato*, ix. 18) says that after certain incantations, a demon *vocem instar sibili edebat in aquis.* It is curious to find κυλικομαντεία even in the South Sea Islands (*Daily Bib. Illustr.* i. 424). For illustrations of Egyptian cups, see Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* i. 180, and index s. n. "Vases" [1878]. This kind of divination must not be confused with Cyathomanteia (Suid. *s. v.* κοτταβίζειν).

14. Consultation of Teraphim (Zech. x. 2; Ezek. xxi. 21; ἐπερωτῆσαι ἐν τοῖς γλυπτοῖς; 1 Sam. xv. 23, תְּרָפָה = an inquirer). These were wooden images (1 Sam. xix. 13) consulted as "idols," from which the excited worshippers fancied that they received oracular responses. The notion that they were the embalmed heads of infants on a gold plate inscribed with the name of an unclean spirit, is Rabbi Eliezer's invention. Other Rabbis think that they may mean "astrolabes, &c." [TERAPHIM.]

15. Ἡπατοσκοπία, or *extispicium* (Ezek. xxi. 21, κατασκοπησάσθαι al. ἥπατι κ., LXX., רָאָה בַכָּבֵד). The liver was the most important part of the sacrifice (Artemid. *Oneirocr.* ii. 75; Suet. *Aug.* 95; Cic. *de Div.* ii. 13; Sen. *Oedip.* 360). Thus the deaths of both Alexander and Hephaestion were foretold ὅτι ἄλοβον τὸ ἧπαρ ἦν ἱερείου (Arrian, *Alex.* vii. 18).

16. Ὀνειρομαντεία (Deut. xiii. 2, 3; Judg. vii. 13; Jer. xxiii. 32; Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 6, § 4). God frequently revealed Himself by dreams when the soul was thought to be least debased by contact with the body (εὕδουσα γὰρ φρὴν ὕμμασιν λαμπρύνεται, Aesch. *Eum.* 104). Many warnings occur in Scripture against the impostures attendant on the interpretation of dreams (Zech. x. 2, &c.). We find however no direct trace of *seeking* for dreams such as occurs in Virg. *Aen.* vii. 81; Plaut. *Curcul.* i. 1, 2, 61. [DREAMS.]

17. The consultation of oracles may be considered as another form of divination (Is. xli. 21–24, xliv. 7). The term oracle is applied to the Holy of Holies (1 K. vi. 16; Ps. xxviii. 2, דְּבִיר, δαβὴρ τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων ὀνομάζει, Lex. Ms.; Hottinger, *Thes. Phil.* p. 366). That there were several oracles of heathen gods known to the Jews we may infer both from the mention of that of Baal-zebub at Ekron (2 K. i. 2–6), and from the towns named Debir. "Debir quod nos *oraculum* sive *responsum* possumus appellare, et ut contentiosius verbum exprimamus e verbo λαλητήριον, vel locutorium dicere" (Hieron. *ad Eph.* i.). The word "oracles" is applied in the N. T. to the Scriptures (Acts vii. 38; Rom. iii. 2, &c.). On the general subject of oracles, see Anton. v. Dale, *de Oraculis; Dict. of Ant.* art. *Oraculum;* Potter's *Antiq.* i. 286–326; Sir T. Browne, *Tract* vi., and *Vulg. Err.* vii. 12, &c.; W. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, i., index s. n.

18. It only remains to allude to the fact that superstitious importance was peculiarly attached to the words of dying men. And although the observed fact that "men sometimes at the hour of their departure do speak and reason above themselves" (*Relig. Medici*, ch. xi.) does not of course take away from the death-bed prophecies of Scripture their supernatural character (Gen. xlix.; 2 K. xiii., &c.), yet it is interesting to find that there are analogies which resemble them (*Il.* xxii. 355, and the story of Calanus; Cic. *de Div.* i. 30; Shaksp. *Rich. II.*, ii. 1; Daniell, *Civil Wars*, iii. 62, &c.).

Moses forbade every species of divination (cp. *Koran*, ch. v.; Cato, *de Re Rust.* 5, *vanâ superstitione rudes animos infestant;* Columell. ii. 1), because a prying into the future clouds the mind with superstition, and because it would have been (as it actually proved to be, Is. ii. 6; 2 K. xxi. 6) an incentive to idolatry; indeed the frequent denunciations of the sin in the Prophets tend to prove that these forbidden arts presented peculiar temptations to apostate Israel (Hottinger, *Jur. Hebr. Lex.* pp. 253, 254). But God had supplied His people with substitutes for

divination, which would have rendered it superfluous, and would have left them in no doubt as to His Will in circumstances of danger, had they continued faithful. It was only when they were unfaithful that the revelation was withdrawn (1 Sam. xxviii. 6; 2 Sam. ii. 1, v. 23, &c.). According to the Rabbis, the Urim and Thummim lasted, until the Temple; the spirit of prophecy until Malachi; and the Bath Kol, as the sole means of guidance from that time downwards (Lightfoot, *l. c.*; Maimonides, *de Fundam. Leg.* cap. 7; Abarbanel, *Prolegg. in Daniel.*).

How far Moses and the Prophets believed in the *reality* of necromancy, &c., as distinguished from various forms of imposture, is a question which at present does not concern us. But even if, in those times, they did hold such a belief, no one will now urge that we are bound to do so at the present day. And yet such was the opinion of Bacon, Bp. Hall, Baxter, Sir Thos. Browne, Lavater, Glanville, Henry More, and numberless other eminent men. Such also was the opinion which led Sir M. Hale to burn Amy Duny and Rose Cullenden at Bury in 1664; and caused even Wesley to say, that "to give up a belief in witchcraft was to give up the Bible." We recommend this statement, in contrast with the all but universal disbelief in such superstitions now, to thoughtful consideration. For a curious statute against witchcraft (5 Eliz. cap. 15), see Collier's *Eccl. Hist.* vi. 366.

Superstition not unfrequently goes hand in hand with scepticism, and hence, amid the general infidelity prevalent through the Roman empire at our Lord's coming, imposture was rampant; as a glance at the pages of Tacitus will suffice to prove. Hence the lucrative trades of such men as Simon Magus (Acts viii. 9), Bar-jesus (Acts xiii. 6, 8), the slave with the spirit of Python (Acts xvi. 16), the vagabond Jews, exorcists (Luke xi. 19; Acts xix. 13), and other γόητες (2 Tim. iii. 13; Rev. xix. 20, &c.), as well as the notorious dealers in magical βίβλοι (Ἐφέσια γράμματα) and περίεργα at Ephesus (Acts xix. 19). Among the Jews these flagrant impostors (ἀπατεῶνες, Jos.) had become dangerously numerous, especially during the Jewish war; and we find them constantly alluded to in writers of that age (Jos. *Bell. Jud.* vi. 5, §§ 1, 2; cp. Matt. xxiv. 23, 24; Tac. *Hist.* v. 12; Jos. *Ant.* xx. 5, § 1, &c.). As was natural, they, like most Orientals, especially connected the name of Solomon with their spells and incantations (Jos. *Ant.* viii. 2). The names of the main writers on this wide and interesting subject are mentioned in the course of the article, and others are referred to in Fabricius, *Bibl. Antiq.* cap. xii., and Böttcher, *de Inferis*, pp. 101 sq. [F. W. F.]

DIVORCE. The law regulating this subject is found in Deut. xxiv. 1–4, and the cases in which the right of a husband to divorce his wife was lost are stated in *ib.* xxii. 19, 29. The ground of divorce was what the text calls a עֶרְוַת דָּבָר, on the meaning of which the Jewish doctors of the period of the N. T. widely differed; the school of Shammai seeming to limit it to a moral delinquency in the woman, whilst that of Hillel extended it to trifling causes, *e.g.* if the wife burnt the food she was cooking for her husband.[a] The Pharisees wished perhaps to embroil our Saviour with these rival schools by their question (Matt. xix. 3); He, however, by His answer as well as by His previous maxim (*v.* 31), declares that but for their hardened state of heart, such questions would have no place. Yet from the distinction made, "but I say unto you" (*vv.* 31, 32), it seems to follow, that He regarded all the lesser causes than "fornication" as standing on too weak ground, and declined the question of how to interpret the words of Moses. It would be unreasonable, therefore, to suppose that by דְּבַר עֶרְוָת, to which he limited the remedy of divorce, Moses meant what our Lord calls λόγος πορνείας, for that interpretation would at once make void the distinction referred to above between His teaching and that of Moses. Still less can Moses by that expression have intended adultery, for that would have been to stultify the law "that such should be stoned" (John viii. 5; Lev. xx. 10). The practical difficulty, however, which attends on the doubt which is *now* found in interpreting Moses' words will be lessened if we consider that the mere giving "a bill (or rather "book," סֵפֶר) of divorcement" (cp. Is. l. 1; Jer. iii. 8) would in ancient times require the intervention of a Levite, not only to secure the formal correctness of the instrument, but because the art of writing was then generally unknown. This would bring the matter under the cognizance of legal authority, and tend to check the rash exercise of the right by the husband. Traditional opinion and prescriptive practice would probably fix the standard of the עֶרְוָה, and, doubtless with the lax general morality which marks the decline of the Jewish polity, that standard would be lowered (Mal. ii. 14–16). Thus the Gemar. Babyl. *Gittin*, 9 (ap. Selden, *de Ux. Heb.* iii. 17) allows divorce for a wife's spinning in public, or going out with head uncovered or clothes so torn as not properly to conceal her person from sight. But the absence of any case in point in the period which lay nearest to the lawgiver himself, or in any, save a much more recent one, makes the whole question one of great uncertainty. The case of Phalti and Michal is not in point, being merely an example of one arbitrary act redressed by another (1 Sam. xxv. 44; cp. 2 Sam. iii. 14–16). Selden (*de Ux. Heb.* iii. 19) quoting *Zohar*, Praef. p. 8 b, &c., speaks of an alleged custom of the husband, when going to war, giving the wife the *libellus divortii*; but the authority is of slight value, and the fact improbable. It is contrary to all known Oriental usage to suppose that the right of quitting their husband and choosing another was allowed to women (Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 7, § 10). Salome is noted (*ibid.*) as the first example of it;—one, no doubt, derived from the growing prevalence of heathen laxity. Hence also, probably, the caution given in 1 Cor. vii. 10. Winer is surely mistaken (s. v. *Ehescheidung*) in supposing that a man might take back as wife her whom he had divorced, except in the cases when her

[a] Mishna *Gittin*, ix. 10. R. Akibah allowed divorce if the husband merely saw a woman whose appearance pleased him better. Cp. Riehm, *HWB.* "Ehe," § 8; Hamburger, *RE.* "Scheidung."

second husband had died or had divorced her. Such resumption is contemplated by the lawgiver as only possible in those two cases, and therefore is in them only expressly forbidden (Jer. iii. 1; cp. Deut. xxiv. 3, 4). For the question of divorce in the N. T., see ADULTERY; where it is suggested that the λόγος πορνείας of Matt. v. 32 means fornication before marriage, presumed to be fraudulently concealed. For another view of the matter, see Origen in *Catena*, p. 128; Photius, p. 136; Chrysostom on 1 Cor. vii. 12; Hammond on *Divorce*, i. p. 606; Bp. Colenso on *Divorce*, Works, iv. p. 496; Gerhard, *Loci Theol.* vii. pp. 692–743. The only case in the N. T. in which separation of man and wife is clearly permitted is that of a Christian and unbeliever (1 Cor. vii. 12), where, however, continued union is recommended.

For the view taken among later Jews on this subject, see Joseph. *Ant.* iv. 8, § 23; xvi. 7, § 3; *Vit.* 76: a writer whose practice seems to have been in accordance with the views of Hillel. On the general subject, Buxtorf, *de Sponsal. et Divort.* pp. 82–85; Selden, *Uxor. Hebr.* iii. 17 sq.; and Michaelis, *Laws of Moses*, ii. 336, may be consulted. See also the additional remarks in *D. B.*, Amer. edit. [H. H.]

DI-ZA'HAB (דִּיזָהָב; καταχρύσεα; *ubi auri est plurimum*), a place in the Arabian desert, mentioned Deut. i. 1, as limiting the position of the spot in which Moses is there represented as addressing the Israelites. It has been identified by Robinson (i. 147, ii. 187, note) with *Dahab*, a cape on the W. shore of the *Gulf of Akabah*, about two-thirds down its length; but this identification is given up as being too far south (cp. Dillmann[2] in loco). The LXX. and Vulg. may perpetuate a tradition that it was a place where gold had been found. [F.]

DOCTOR (διδάσκαλος), Luke ii. 46; and "doctor of the Law" (νομοδιδάσκαλος), Luke v. 17, Acts v. 34. [LAWYER; RABBI; SCRIBES.]

DO'CUS (Δώκ; Ald. Δῶκος; Jos. Δαγών; *Doch*; Syr. ܕܘܟ, *Doak*), a "little hold" (τὸ ὀχυρωμάτιον; *munitiunculum*) near Jericho (1 Macc. xvi. 15, cp. *v.* 14) built by Ptolemaeus the son of Abubus, and in which he entertained and murdered his father-in-law Simon Maccabaeus, with his two sons. By Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 8, § 1; *B. J.* i. 2, § 3) it is called Dagon, and is said to have been one of the fortresses (ἐρυμάτων) above Jericho. The name still remains in the neighbourhood, attached to the copious and excellent springs of *'Ain Dûk*, which burst forth in the *Wâdy Nûeiâmeh*, at the foot of the mountain of Quarantania (*Kuruntul*), about 4 miles N.W. of Jericho. Above the springs are traces of ancient foundations, which may be those of Ptolemy's castle, but more probably of that of the Templars, one of whose stations this was: it stood as late as the latter end of the 13th century, when it was visited by Brocardus (see Rob. i. 571, 572, note; also *PEF. Mem.* iii. 173, 191, 205). [G.] [W.]

DO'DAI (דּוֹדַי; B. Δωδειά; A. -δια; *Dudia*), an Ahohite who was chief of the course of the second month (1 Ch. xxvii. 4). Probably the same as Dodo, whose name in the *Kethîb* and in the LXX. is Dodai; the words "Eleazar son of" having been omitted from the above passage in Chronicles. [DODO, 2.] [G.]

DODA'NIM (דֳּדָנִים; Ῥόδιοι; *Dodanim*), Gen. x. 4; 1 Ch. i. 7 (in R. V. and in marg. of A. V. 1 Ch. i. 7, RODANIM, רֳדָנִים), a family or race descended from Javan, the son of Japhet (Gen. x. 4; 1 Ch. i. 7). Authorities vary as to the form of the name: the Hebrew text has both. Dodanim appears in the Syriac, Chaldee, Vulgate, Persian, and Arabic Versions, and in the Targum of Onkelos; Rodanim is supported by the LXX., the Samaritan Version, and some early writers, as Eusebius and Cosmas. The weight of authority is in favour of the former; the substitution of Ῥόδιοι in the LXX. may have arisen from familiarity with that name (cp. Ezek. xxvii. 15, where it is again substituted for Dedan). Dodanim is regarded as identical with Dardani (Ges. *Thesaur.* p. 1266; Delitzsch [1887] on Gen. x. 4), the latter, which is the original form, having been modified by the change of the liquid *r* into *o*, as in Barmilcar and Bomilcar, Hamilcar and Hamilco. Thus the Targum of Jonathan, that on Chronicles, and the Jerusalem Talmud give Dardania for Dodanim. The Dardani were found in historical times in Illyricum and Troy: the former district was regarded as their original seat. They were probably a semi-Pelasgic race, and are grouped with the Chittim in the genealogical table, as more closely related to them than to the other branches of the Pelasgic race (Knobel, *Völkertafel*, pp. 104 sq.). The similarity of the name Dodona in Epirus has led to the identification of Dodanim with that place; but a mere *local* designation appears too restricted for the general tenor of Gen. x. Kalisch (*Comm. on Gen.*) identifies Dodanim with the Daunians, who occupied the coast of Apulia: he regards the name as referring to Italy generally. The wide and unexplained difference of the names, and the comparative unimportance of the Daunians, form objections to this view. Dillmann[5] prefers the reading Rodanim, and understands the inhabitants of the Rhodian islands, or the islands of the Aegean Sea. [W. L. B.] [F.]

DODA'VAH (acc. DODAVAHU, דּוֹדָוָהוּ; B. Ὠδειά, A. Ὠδία; *Dodaou*), a man of Maresha in Judah, father of Eliezer who denounced Jehoshaphat's alliance with Ahaziah (2 Ch. xx. 37). In the Jewish traditions Dodavah is the son of Jehoshaphat, who was also his uncle (Jerome, *Qu. Heb.* in loco).

DO'DO. The name appears under the form Dûdu in the cuneiform tablets of the 15th century B.C., discovered at Tel-el-Amarna in Upper Egypt (*Records of the Past*, N. S. iii. 57).

1. (דּוֹדוֹ; *patruus ejus*), a man of Bethlehem, father of Elhanan, who was one of David's "thirty" captains (2 Sam. xxiii. 24 [B. Δουδεί, A. Δουδεί]; 1 Ch. xi. 26 [B. Δωδῶε, A. -ωαι]). He is a different person from

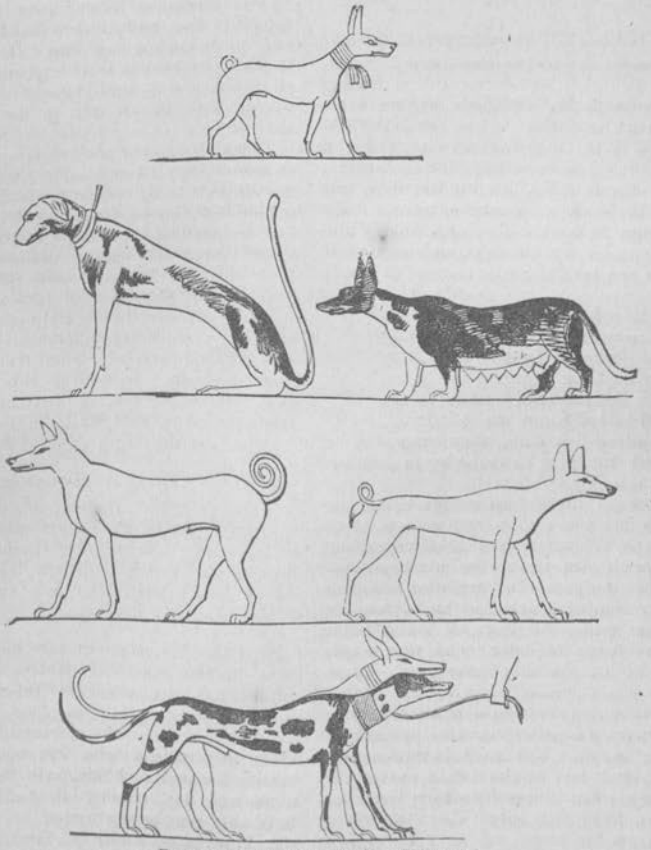
2. DODO THE AHOHITE, father of Eleazar, the second of the three "mighty men" who were over the "thirty" (2 Sam. xxiii. 9 [see Driver, *Notes on the Heb. Text of the BB. of Sam.*; B. Σουσεί; B[vid] Δουδεί, A. Σωσεί]; 1 Ch. xi. 12 [B. Δωδαί, ℵ. -δε]). He, or his son—in which

case we must suppose the words "Eleazar son of" to have escaped from the text—probably had the command of the second monthly course (1 Ch. xxvii. 4). In the latter passage the name is DODAI (דּוֹדַי; B. Δωδεια, A. Δωδία); but this form occurs in the Hebrew text (*Kethib*) of 2 Sam. xxiii. 9 (*Keri* דודו), in the LXX. of all, and in Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 12, § 4; Δωδεῖος); and is believed by Kennicott (*Dissertation, &c.* p. 134), who has examined these lists with great minuteness, to be the correct one. The Jewish tradition (Jerome, *Qu. Hebr.* on 1 Ch. xi. 12) was, that Dodo was the brother of Jesse.

3. A man of Issachar, forefather of Tola the Judge (Judg. x. 1). The LXX. and Vulg. renderings are translations: *πατραδέλφου αὐτοῦ*; *patrui Abimelech.* [G.] [W.]

DO'EG (דֹּאֵג = *fearful*; Δωήκ; *Doeg*), an Idumean (LXX. and Joseph. *Ant.* vi. 12, § 1, *ὁ Σύρος*), chief of Saul's herdmen ("having charge of the mules"). He was at Nob when Ahimelech gave David the sword of Goliath; and not only gave information to Saul, but, when others declined the office, executed the king's order to destroy the priests of Nob, with their families, to the number of 85 persons, together with all their property (1 Sam. xxi. 7, xxii. 9, 17, 22; Ps. lii.). A question has arisen on the nature of the business by which he was "detained before the Lord" (נֶעְצָר לִפְנֵי יְהוָה, *συνεχόμενος Νεεσσαρὰν ἐνώπιον κυρίου; intus in tabernaculo Domini*). The difficulty which lies in the idea that Doeg was a foreigner, and so incapable of a Nazarite vow (Mishna *de Votis*, ix. 1, Surenh.), is explained by the probable supposition that he was a proselyte, attending under some vow or some act of purification at the Tabernacle (Patrick; Calmet on 1 Sam. xxi. 7; Ges. p. 1059; Winer, s. v. *Doeg;* Thenius, *ad loc.* in *Kurzg. exeg. Hdb.*). [H. W. P.]

DOG (כֶּלֶב, *keleb*; *κυών, κυνάριον*; *canis*; Arab. كلب, *kelb*). The dog is mentioned forty times in Scripture. The derivation of the name is from an unused root, כָּלַב, "to make a noise" by clapping, whence the German *klaffen*, "to bark or yelp." Gesenius observes, "transfertur



Egyptian dogs, from the sculptures. (Wilkinson.)

ad latratum canum." Bochart would derive it from the tenacity of a dog's grip, adducing the Arabic كلبة, "pincers;" but this is more probably itself derived from كلب. Though the dog was domesticated among the Jews, yet its position in the household was very different

from that which it holds among modern nations, and it never was a domestic and cherished pet. Nor were the various breeds of dogs carefully cultivated as among the Egyptians, nor their instinct utilized for the purposes of the chase, as by the latter people; the Jews never having been from the time of Jacob a hunting nation. In the greater part of their thickly-populated territory there was no scope for the sports of the field, had they been so inclined. The principal use of the dog among the Jews was for

Babylonian Dog. (From a black stone found at Babylon.)

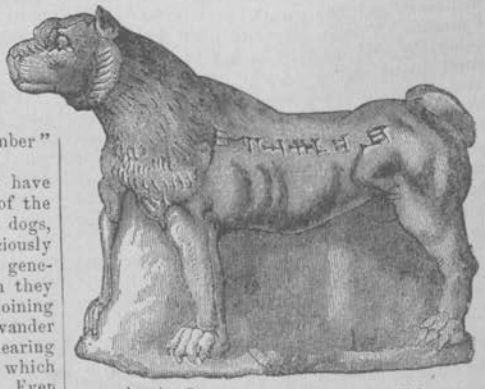
guarding the flocks. "Whose fathers I disdained to set with the dogs of my flock" (Job xxx. 1, R. V.). But the shepherd's dog in the East, though of apparently the same race as our sheep-dog or collie, is never trained to tend or drive the flock as among ourselves. The sheep always follow the shepherd, who is himself accompanied by his dogs, and only avails himself of the natural canine instinct of watchfulness in the night, and aversion to all wild animals, in order to protect the flocks from the nocturnal attacks of prowling wolves or jackals. In the same way dogs were used for guarding the house, as is still the universal custom in the East. "His watchmen are blind: ... they are all dumb dogs, they cannot bark; dreaming, lying down, loving to slumber" (Is. lvi. 10, R. V.).

But, besides the domestic dogs, there have ever been in all the cities and villages of the East, troops of hungry and half-savage dogs, which own allegiance to no one, but tenaciously maintain their rights to a particular and generally very limited district, within which they will never permit the dogs of the adjoining street or village to enter; and who wander about at night, the only scavengers, clearing away carcases and offal of every kind, which but for them might create a pestilence. Even human graves, unless well secured, are not safe from their search. This habit is most exactly described by the Psalmist: "At evening let them return; let them make a noise like a dog, and go round about the city. They shall wander up and down for meat, and tarry all night if they be not satisfied" (Ps. lix. 14, 15, R. V.). "In the place where dogs licked the blood of Naboth, shall dogs lick thy blood." "The dogs shall eat Jezebel by the rampart of Jezreel." "Him that dieth of Ahab in the city the dogs shall eat" (1 K. xxi. 19, 23, 24, R. V.). On the very spot on the mounds of Jezreel, outside the modern hovels, as Dean Stanley remarks, and as the writer has often seen, the descendants doubtless of those very dogs may be seen searching for refuse. With the passage in Prov. xxvi. 11 may be compared, "Vixisset canis immundus, vel amica luto sus" (Hor. *Ep.* i. 2, 26).

It is from this habit of these uncared-for outcasts, as well as from its being ceremonially unclean, that the dog is almost always in Scripture spoken of with more or less aversion or contempt. In every language of the East the term *dog* is applied as a name of scorn or reproach. "Am I a dog, that thou comest to me with staves?" (1 Sam. xvii. 43.) "Why should this dead dog curse my lord?" (2 Sam. xvi. 9.) As the Jews contemptuously applied the term "dog" to the Gentiles, so to the present day a Mohammedan will rarely speak of a Christian without the epithet "dog." "Dog of a Jew," "dog of a Christian," are expressions rarely out of his mouth.

The word was also frequently used as a term of the most abject humility, applied by the speaker to himself, in the presence of a superior. "After whom dost thou pursue? after a dead dog?" (1 Sam. xxiv. 14.) "That thou shouldest look upon such a dead dog as I am" (2 Sam. ix. 8). The name was also applied to a woman of ill-fame (Deut. xxiii. 13). So "a shameless woman shall be counted as a dog" (Ecclus. xxvi. 25).

Though we have spoken of the ownerless dogs as half savage, yet even these exhibit all the wonderful sagacity and confidence in man which is characteristic of the domestic breeds. If a traveller camp near a town or village, one or two of these pariah dogs will come and endeavour to attract attention. If the least notice be taken of them, or a morsel of food be given



Assyrian Dog. (Terra-cotta from Kouyunjik.)

them, they will establish themselves as sentries outside the tent, and faithfully guard the camp night and day, chasing away all other dogs, until they see the baggage packed and the tents struck, when they will at once rejoin their less fortunate comrades, declining to leave their hereditary settlement. On one occasion, close to Jerusalem, one of these dogs visited our camp, and being kindly received, immediately ran off, but soon returned with a blind pup in her

mouth, which she deposited in a corner outside one of the tents; and as soon as, in separate journeys, she had brought her whole litter of four, whence we could not ascertain, she took her station, and for a fortnight, till our departure, faithfully protected us, never taking any food save what was given her, nor allowing any foragers in our neighbourhood. If, however, the pariah dog be taken young enough, it shows no such local attachment, but devotes itself to persons exclusively. The writer had one, which he had found when a few weeks old, and which was faithful for months, exhibiting the sagacity of a sheep-dog, watching the horses and mules of the party, driving away all others from their pasturage, and selecting camping-places towards nightfall, showing great disgust if the journey were persisted in further than he approved. The many instances of sagacity shown by these Oriental dogs lead us to the belief that their ancestors have at one time been very much more reclaimed and associated with man than at present; for the wild original, the jackal, even when tamed, shows no such instinct or intelligence.

In the conversation of our Lord with the Syrophoenician woman, *κυνάριον* instead of *κύων*, "little dogs" or "young dogs," is used. From this we may infer that the dog was not at this time held in such abhorrence as in earlier days; and that the young dogs at least were reared and cherished within the house. Perhaps it was owing to the introduction of Roman fashions, that the dog had begun to take a higher position. Our Lord, in using the familiar diminutive, refers to the dependence of the dog on the family of his master, rather than to its uncleanness, and the woman's response confirms the inference, "Yea, Lord, for even the dogs too eat," as the Vulgate has rightly, "Etiam, Domine! nam et catelli edunt."

There is no difference in type between the shepherd's and the pariah or ownerless dog of Palestine. Though larger than the jackal, probably the wild original, it has the same sharp-pointed ears and snout, and generally a similar tawny coat, differing from the "collie" only in having a less bushy tail. Other breeds have been introduced by Europeans, and the Bedawee possess also the Persian greyhound, larger and stronger than our greyhound, with long silky hair on the ears, and a fringe of the same fine hair on the tail. It is used for the chase of the gazelle.

Neglected as are the dogs of the East, canine madness is a disease unknown. [H. B. T.]

DOORS. [GATES.]

DOPH'KAH דָּפְקָה; B. Ῥαφακά, A. -αν, the LXX. apparently reading ר for ד; *Daphca*), a place mentioned in Num. xxxiii. 12, as a station in the Desert where the Israelites encamped. It is not yet certainly identified: conjectures may be seen in Knobel-Dillmann on Ex. xvii. 1. [H. H.]

DOR (דּוֹר and דֹּאר, *a habitation;* in Josh. xvii. 11, Judg. i. 27, and 1 Ch. vii. 29, Δώρ; in Josh. xi. 2, xii. 23, and 1 K. iv. 11, Φεναεδδώρ, Φεννεαλδώρ, Ναφεδδώρ, Νεφθαδώραι; in 1 Macc. xv. 11, 13, 25, Δωρᾶ; *Dor*, in 1 K. *Nephathdor*), a royal city of the Canaanites whose king, as an ally of Jabin king of Hazor, took part in the battle by the waters of Merom (Josh. xi. 1, 2; xii. 23). It belonged to Manasseh, but appears to have been situated in the territory either of Issachar, or Asher (Josh. xvii. 11; 1 Ch. vii. 29); it is not said which of the two, though there is no doubt from other indications that it was the latter. According to Josephus (*Ant.* v. 1, § 22) it marked the western limit of Manasseh and the northern limit of Dan. The Canaanites who dwelt in the city were not driven out, but they were put to tribute (R. V. taskwork) when Israel was strong (Judg. i. 27, 28). During the reign of Solomon it was the station of Ben-Abinadab, who was one of the twelve officers appointed to provide victuals for the king and his household, and who was also married to the king's daughter (1 K. iv. 11); his district is said (Jos. *Ant.* viii. 2, § 3) to have included the region of Dor and the sea-coast. In the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. Dor was an important fortress, strongly fortified and well garrisoned; it was fruitlessly besieged by Antiochus III. during his war with Ptolemy Philopator (Polyb. v. 6); the usurper Tryphon fled thither when driven from the throne by Antiochus VII. (Sidetes), and there he was besieged, *circ.* 139 B.C., by Antiochus, who made several ineffectual attempts to take the place by assault (1 Macc. xv. 11–25; Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 7, § 2; *B. J.* i. 2. § 2). During the civil war between Antiochus Philometor and Antiochus Cyzicenus it was held, with Strato's Tower, by the tyrant Zoilus, who was able to maintain his position against Alexander Jannaeus, but was afterwards subdued by Ptolemy Lathyrus (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 12, §§ 2, 4). At a later period it must have fallen into the hands of the Jews, for it was taken from them by Pompey, who made it a free city, and placed it under the jurisdiction of the Governor of Syria (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 4, § 4; *B. J.* i. 7, § 7). A few years afterwards it was rebuilt by Gabinius * (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 5, § 3); and during the reign of Herod Agrippa I. it was the scene of a riot during which a statue of Caesar was set up in a synagogue of the Jews (Jos. *Ant.* xix. 6, § 3). The coins of Dor show that, like other autonomous towns in Palestine, it adopted the era of Ptolemy; and the legend which some of them bear, ΔΩΡ . ΙΕΡ . ΑCΥΛ . ΑΥΤ . ΝΑΥΑΡ., attest its importance under the Empire. In the 4th century A.D. it was deserted, but Jerome speaks of it as having once been a very powerful city (*Ep. S. Paulae*, v.); it was an episcopal city of Palaestina Prima, and one of its Bishops took part in the Council of Constantinople. In the time of the Crusades it was sometimes called Pirgul, perhaps from Πύργος.

Dor is included in Phoenicia by Josephus (*Vit.* 8; *B. J.* i. 21, § 5), who states that it was a maritime city near Mount Carmel, and that it had no harbour to protect ships from the S. wind (*Ant.* xv. 9, § 6; *cont. Ap.* ii. 10). According to Claudius Julius, quoted by Stephen of Byzantium (Reland, p. 739), it was a small town inhabited by Phoenicians, who, attracted by the abundance of the shell-fish from which the purple dye was obtained, had settled there,

* In *B. J.* i. 8, § 4, the name of the town rebuilt by Gabinius is Ἀδωρεός, as if it were Adoraim, now *Dûra*.

made a harbour, and called the place, in their own tongue, Dora. Some, however, maintained that the town was founded by Dorus, a son of Neptune. Scylax (42) calls it a city of the Sidonians, and in the inscription on the sarcophagus of Eshmunazar it is stated to have been added to the dominions of Sidon by that monarch.[b] Under the form Du-u-ru it is mentioned with Megiddo in an Assyrian geographical list (Schrader, p. 168). In the *Onomasticon* it is said to be 9 miles from Caesarea Palaestina on the road to Tyre; in the Peutinger Table it is written Thora, and the distance is given as 8 miles.

Dor is now *Kh. Tantûrah*, a little N. of the village of the same name. The most conspicuous ruins are a mound and mediaeval tower, picturesquely situated on a low promontory, and separated from each other by a rock-hewn ditch. North of the promontory are the remains of the ancient harbour, and of a paved road which ran up the coast; there are also traces of a colonnade, and several rock-hewn tombs and cisterns (*PEF. Mem.* ii. 3, 7–10; Guérin, *Samarie*, ii. 305–15).

There is much difference amongst commentators and translators as to the meaning of the word נָפַת, used in connexion with Dor in Josh. xi. 2, xii. 23, and 1 K. iv. 11. In A. V. it is rendered "border," "coast," and "region," but in R. V. "height" of Dor; the LXX. take it to be a proper name, Φεναεδδὼρ or Νεφθαδώρ; the Vulgate has, in Josh. xi. 2, *et regionibus Dor juxta mare*, in Josh. xii. 23, *Dor et provinciae Dor*, and in 1 K. iv. 11, *Nephathdor*. In the *Onomasticon* (*OS.*[2] 250, 56; 283, 3) Eusebius has Δὼρ τοῦ Ναφὰθ and Ναφεθδώρ, which he identifies with maritime Dor; and Jerome (*OS.*[2] 115, 22; 142, 13) Dor Naphet and Nefeddor, to which he adds, *quod Symmachus interpretatur maritimam*. In Josh. xvii. 11, where the word occurs again, the renderings are still more remarkable: A. V. "even three countries;" R. V. "even the three heights"; LXX. τὸ τρίτον τῆς Μαφετὰ (A. Ναφεθά); and the Vulgate, *tertia pars urbis Nopheth*. [W.]

DORA (Δωρᾶ; *Dora*), 1 Macc. xv. 11, 13, 25. [DOR.]

DOR'CAS. [TABITHA.]

DORYMENES (Δορυμένης), father of Ptolemy-Macron (1 Macc. iii. 38; 2 Macc. iv. 45). As this Ptolemy was in the service of Ptolemy Philometor, king of Egypt, before he deserted to Antiochus Epiphanes, it is probable that his father Dorymenes is the same as he who fought against Antiochus the Great (Polyb. v. 61). [W. A. W.]

DO'SITHEUS (Δωσίθεος; *Dositheus, Dosithaeus*). **1.** One of the captains of Judas Maccabaeus in the battle against Timotheus (2 Macc. xii. 19, 24).

2. A horse-soldier of Bacenor's company, a man of prodigious strength, who, in attempting to capture Gorgias, was cut down by a Thracian (2 Macc. xii. 35).

3. The son of Drimylus, a Jew, who had renounced the law of his fathers, and was in the camp of Ptolemy Philopator at Raphia (3 Macc. i. 3). He appears to have frustrated the attempt of Theodotus to assassinate the king. According to the Syriac Version, he put in the king's tent a man of low rank (ἄσημόν τινα), who was slain instead of his master. Polybius (v. 81) tells us that it was the king's physician who thus perished. Dositheus was perhaps a chamberlain. [W. A. W.]

4. "A priest and Levite," who carried the translation of Esther to Egypt (Esth. xi. 1, 2). It is scarcely likely that he is identical with the Dositheus mentioned (Joseph. *c. Ap.* ii. 5) as one of the "commanders of the forces" of Ptolemy VI. Philometor, though he probably lived in the reign of that monarch. [B. F. W.]

DO'THAIM. [DOTHAN.]

DO'THAN (once דֹּתַיִן, DOTHAIN, and in contracted form דֹּתָן; = possibly *two wells* —Ges. pp. 332, 568; *Dothain;* in 2 K. *Dothan*, but ed. 1590 *Dothain*), a place first mentioned (Gen. xxxvii. 17; ADE. Δωθάειμ) in connexion with the history of Joseph, and apparently as in the neighbourhood of Shechem. It next appears as the residence of Elisha (2 K. vi. 13; BA. Δωθάειμ), and the scene of a remarkable vision of horses and chariots of fire surrounding "the mountain" (הָהָר), on which the city stood. It is not again mentioned in the O. T.; but later still we encounter it—then evidently well known—as a landmark in the account of Holofernes' campaign against Bethulia (Judith iv. 6; vii. 3, 18; viii. 3). The change in the name DOTHAIM is due to the Greek text, from which this book is translated. In the Vat. and Alex. and Vulg. texts, it is also mentioned in Judith iii. 9, where the E. V. has "Judea" (Ἰουδαίας for Δωταίας. Cp. *Speaker's Comm.* in loco), and all these passages testify to its situation being in the centre of the country near the southern edge of the great plain of Esdraelon.

Dothain was known to Eusebius (*OS.*[2] 249, 38), who places it 12 miles to the N. of Sebaste (Samaria); and here it has been at length discovered in our own times by Mr. Van de Velde (i. 364, &c.) and Dr. Robinson (iii. 122), still bearing its ancient name unimpaired, and situated at the south end of a plain of the richest pasturage, 4 or 5 miles S.W. of *Jenin*, and separated only by a swell or two of hills from the plain of Esdraelon. The *Tell*, or mound on which the ruins stand, is described as very large ("huge," Van de Velde, i. 364); at its southern foot is still a fine spring. Close to it is an ancient road, running N. and S., the remains of the massive (Jewish?) pavement of which are still distinguishable (V. de Velde, pp. 369–70). The great road from *Beisân* to Egypt also passes near *Dothân* (Rob. iii. 122). The traditional site was at the *Khân Jubb Yûsuf* near *Tell Hûm*, at the N. of the Sea of Galilee (see the quotations in Rob. ii. 419). It need hardly be said that this position is not in accordance with the requirements of the narrative. See also *PEF. Mem.* ii. 169, 215; Guérin, *Samarie*, ii. 219–222. [G.] [W.]

[b] The orthography דאר which occurs in the Eshmunazar inscription is confirmed by the cuneiform inscriptions (see MV.[11]), and is equivalent to the Arabic دار.

DO TO WIT. The words occur in the A.V. of 2 Cor. viii. 1, "We do you to wit of the grace of God." The phrase, now obsolete, is replaced in the R. V. by the words "We make known to you," &c. "Do" was formerly used in the sense of "make" or "cause," and "to wit" in the sense of "to know." See *D. B.*, Amer. edit. [F.]

DOVE, PIGEON (יוֹנָה, *yónah*; περιστερά; *columba*), TURTLE, TURTLE-DOVE (תּוֹר, *tór*; τρυγών; *turtur*). As these birds are closely allied, and as they generally are mentioned in connexion with each other, it will be convenient to treat of them together. *Yónah* is used of the pigeon tribe in general, comprising both pigeons and turtle-doves; but more frequently for birds of the genus *Columba*, as distinguished from *tór*, the genus *Turtur*; while *tór* is used only of the latter. But of both genera there are several very distinct species in the Holy Land.

יוֹנָה is derived by Stade from an unused root יָנַה, which may be an older pronunciation of אָנַה, "to sigh," "to mourn." The derivations suggested by Gesenius for תּוֹר seem less satisfactory, for the name is phonetic, evidently derived from the plaintive cooing of the dove, like the Latin *turtur*. גּוֹזָל, *gôzál*, translated in Gen. xv. 9 "a young pigeon," is, as may be seen from Deut. xxxii. 11, simply the young of any bird, as we should say "a cheeper," from its cry (Lat. *pipiens*). The dove is mentioned more than sixty times in the sacred writings, and from the connexion in which the names occur we see that the Hebrews, while they distinguished the pigeon (*yônah*), indifferently termed "dove" in both our Versions, from the turtle-dove (*tór*), were perfectly aware of their natural affinity. The first mention of the dove is in Gen. viii. 8–12, where Noah three times sent out a dove from the ark, as the waters began to abate. Possibly already the dove had been domesticated even before the Deluge; and certainly so far as we have any historical record, it was the earliest domesticated bird, retained by man in the same semi-domestic state in Egypt and the East as at this day in our own country. We have no evidence of any other bird being domesticated by the Jews before the time of Solomon, who introduced peacocks, and most probably at the same time barn-door fowls and other gallinaceous birds from India. Ducks and geese, reclaimed from a very early date in colder climates, are rarely kept in Palestine, the heat and drought being, unless in a very few localities, obstacles to their successful cultivation. But tame pigeons, all of them from the same original wild stock, the Rock-dove or Blue-rock (*Columba livia*), have always been universally reared in the East. To this day, in Syria, the pigeon is the invariable companion of man wherever he has a settled habitation. The richer people and the village sheikhs have large isolated dovecots built of clay or sun-dried brick, filled with wide-mouthed earthen pots laid on their side, each of which is the home of a pair of birds. The poorer people have similar jars, or square pigeon-holes, in long rows inside their houses, just under the roof, opposite to the door which is the only mode of exit and entry for the winged as for the human inhabitants. It is interesting to note, as also illustrating the extreme antiquity of their domestication, that all the principal "fancy" races, as fantails, trumpeters, jacobins, and especially black carriers, are much valued throughout the East, where they seem to have originated, and whence they were introduced into Western Europe.

The pigeon and turtle-dove were the only birds recognised for sacrifice under the Mosaic law, and indeed their use for this purpose dates much further back, as may be seen from Gen. xv. 9, where Abram is enjoined to offer a turtle-dove and a young pigeon. The two are almost always mentioned together. A pair of the one or the other is constantly enjoined as a substitute for those who were too poor to provide a lamb or a kid, and these birds were admissible as trespass, sin, or burnt offering. So, for the purification of the leper, "two turtledoves, or two young pigeons, such as he is able to get; the one shall be a sin offering, and the other a burnt offering" (Lev. xiv. 22). The like is commanded for ordinary purification (Lev. xv. 14, 29). For the purification of the Nazarite who had been accidentally defiled, two turtles or two young pigeons were exclusively enjoined. For the purification of women after childbirth, "if she be not able to bring a lamb, then she shall bring two turtledoves or two young pigeons" (Lev. xii. 8, R. V.), as was done by the mother of our Lord (Luke ii. 22–24).

From the great abundance of pigeons, the offering must have been one within the reach of the poorest, and the offerer was accepted according to that he had, and not according to that he had not. There is a significance also in the expression *young* pigeons, and also in the alternative, *turtle-doves*, which was a still further concession to extreme poverty: for unlike the dovecot pigeon, the turtle-dove, from its migratory habit and its timid disposition, has never yet been kept in a state of free domestication like its congener. But being extremely numerous from spring to autumn, and never shunning the neighbourhood of man, while it resorts to gardens and olive-yards for nidification, its young might easily be found and captured by those who were so poor as not even to possess pigeons. Again the turtle-dove is easily captured by snares or nets on the ground, and many are thus taken at the present day in Syria; but the wild pigeon is much more wary and suspicious. But while the turtle-dove is a migrant, and can only be taken from spring to autumn, the wild rock-doves, which abound in "clouds" in Palestine, are permanent residents, roosting in the cliffs and deep glens which seam the hill-country, and in old wells in the plains. Not only so, but they rear several broods in the year; their food being always abundant in a country where the characteristic herbage is of the *Leguminosae* order, on the leaves as well as the fruit of which the pigeon tribe principally subsist. There is also force in the adjective "young;" for while the adult turtle-dove can be trapped, it was hopeless, before the introduction of fire-arms, to secure the old *pigeon*, while the nest-

lings could easily be procured among the cliffs, and therefore are specially permitted for use in sacrifice.

Various characteristics of the dove, both tame and wild, are alluded to in Scripture. Either may be intended by the Prophet when he asks, "Who are these that fly as a cloud, and as the doves to their windows?" (Is. lx. 8), where the windows may refer either to the latticed openings in the dovecots, to permit the passage of the birds, or to the clefts and fissures of the rocks to which the wild pigeons resort. The distinctive and characteristic habit of the rock-dove, the wild original of our dovecot pigeon, is that, contrary to the habit of all the other species, it invariably selects cliffs, deep ravines, or in their absence wells or ancient cisterns for nesting and roosting, and always avoids trees or the neighbourhood of man. This is referred to in Canticles: "O my dove, that art in the clefts of the rock, in the secret places of the stairs" ["in the covert of the steep place," R. V.] (ii. 14). "O ye that dwell in Moab, leave the cities, and dwell in the rock, and be like the dove that maketh her nest in the sides of the hole's mouth" (Jer. xlviii. 28), which may refer to its resorting to deserted wells and cisterns. Again, "They shall be on the mountains like doves of the valleys, all of them mourning" (Ezek. vii. 16), "valleys" (גֵּאָיוֹת) here being גַּיְא, "a ravine where there is no water" (Gesen.). The myriads of rock-doves in the wilder parts of Palestine are beyond computation, far exceeding the numbers of the domestic birds. The country, especially the parts abutting on the Jordan valley, is admirably adapted for them, abounding in deep gorges or "wâdys" with precipitous cliffs of soft limestone, honeycombed in all directions by fissures and caves natural and artificial. Several of these gorges are named "Wâdy Hamam," *i.e.* Pigeon ravine. One of the most remarkable of these is the Wady Hamam leading up to Hattin from the Plain of Gennesaret, where the famous "robbers' caves" are inhabited by thousands of rock-doves, whose swift flight and roosting-places far in the fissures render them secure from the attacks of the birds of prey which share the caverns with them. Above all, they remain in the cliffs of the ravines of the Arnon and Callirrhoë of Moab, in "clouds" as numerous as in the days of Jeremiah. It is to the rock-dove that the Psalmist makes reference when he speaks of "the wings of a dove covered with silver, and her feathers with yellow gold" (Ps. lxviii. 13); alluding to the metallic lustre, especially on the neck, which glistens like silver, and the wings with the gleam of gold in the sunshine. The swift flight of the pigeon is alluded to in several passages. "Oh that I had wings like a dove, for then would I fly away and be at rest" (Ps. lv. 6, and so Hos. xi. 11). Some of the scriptural allusions apply equally to the pigeon and the turtle, as for instance those referring to the plaintive mournful note: "I did mourn as a dove" (Is. xxxviii. 14. See also ch. lix. 11, and Nah. ii. 7). The "coo" of each species of the *Columbidae* is perfectly distinct, and can be discriminated by the naturalist, but all consist of two notes of similar character. The amativeness of the dove is also referred to in Cant. ii. 14, vi. 9. On this account it was sacred to Venus both among the Phoenicians and the Greeks. Stanley (*S. & P.*, p. 257), speaking of Askalon as the haunt of the Syrian Venus, says, "Her temple is destroyed, but the sacred doves —sacred by immemorial legends on the spot, and celebrated there even as late as Eusebius— still fill with their cooings the luxuriant gardens which grow in the sandy hollow within the ruined walls." It is supposed that the dove was placed upon the standards of the Assyrians and Babylonians in honour of Semiramis. Tibullus (i. 7) says:—

> "Quid referam ut volitet crebras intacta per urbes
> Alba Palestino sancta columba Syro."

Its gentle eye has supplied several comparisons, as in Cant. i. 16, iv. 1. The bright red skin round the dark eye of the turtle explains the verse, "His eyes are like doves beside the water brooks; washed with milk, *and* fitly set" (v. 12, R. V.).

But, above all, our blessed Lord has laid hold of the innocence and gentleness of the dove, to exemplify the Christian character, "harmless as doves." The same character rendered it the fitting emblem under which the appearance of the Holy Spirit is described, when He appeared in a visible form at the Baptism of the Saviour, "descending like a dove, and lighting upon Him" (Matt. iii. 16).

Three or four species of dove, and three of turtle, inhabit Palestine. Of the former, the most abundant, *Columba livia* (L.), or Rock-dove, has already been treated of. It is the only pigeon of the coast. It is found in all suitable localities in Europe, from Norway to Portugal and the Black Sea; in all North Africa as far as Sierra Leone and Abyssinia; and in the whole of Asia. The bird of the Jordan Valley, Moab and Egypt, as well as of a great part of Southern Asia, has been distinguished as *Columba schimperi* (Bp.), from its rump being ashy instead of white. But I have found the two interbreeding, and having every intermediate grade of coloration, which leads me to doubt the specific value of the distinction. The Stock dove, *Columba aenas* (L.), is also found, but not in large numbers, and only in the wooded parts of the country. In winter the highlands, north and south, Mount Carmel, and especially the forests of Gilead, are visited by myriads of the common wood-pigeon or ring-dove, *Columba palumbus* (L.), which all quit the country for the north early in March.

Of the genus *Turtur*, or Turtle-dove, three species are found. Of these the Collared Turtle, *Turtur risorius* (L.), the largest species of the group, resides throughout the year in considerable numbers in the Jordan valley, wherever there are trees. In summer it is sparsely spread through Gilead, and in the woods of Tabor and Carmel. It is a strictly Asiatic species; and though it straggles as far as the Bosphorus, Palestine may be looked on as its ordinary western limit, and India as its central home. It is the original of the blanched and somewhat degenerated turtle-dove of our English aviaries. The second species, the Palm Turtle (*Turtur senegalensis*, L.), has a rather wider range in Palestine than the former, but is nowhere very numerous, except near the Dead Sea, where it resides throughout the year, and is extremely common.

It is also a permanent resident in Jerusalem, many pairs living in the enclosure of the Mosque of Omar, and in the gardens of the city. It is very familiar and confiding in man, and is never molested. Its natural home is among the palm-trees, and in Arabia and in all the oases of the Sahara it swarms wherever the palm grows. It is not impossible that it in some measure may have supplied the sacrifices in the wilderness. In Arabia every palm-tree is the home of two or three pairs. In the crown of a single date-tree I have found five or six nests placed together. In such camps as that of Elim a considerable supply of these doves may have been obtained.

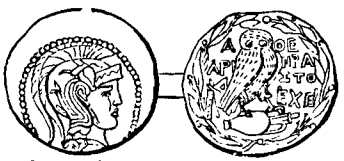
But the turtle-dove which is most abundant, and that to which undoubtedly the scriptural allusions refer, is our own turtle-dove, *Turtur communis* (Selby), well known during the summer months in the southern counties of England. Its return in spring is one of the best marked epochs in the ornithological calendar. This regularity of migration is alluded to by Jeremiah (viii. 7), "The turtle and the crane and the swallow observe the time of their coming." And in Cant. ii. 11, 12 we have this exquisite picture of spring: "Lo, the winter is past; the rain is over and gone: the flowers appear on the earth; the time of the singing of birds is come, and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land." So Pliny, "Hyeme mutis, a vere vocalibus;" and Aristotle (*Hist. An.* ix. 8), "Turtle-doves spend the summer in cold countries, the winter in warm ones." But elsewhere (viii. 5) he makes it hybernate (φολεῖ). There is no more sure evidence of the return of spring in Mediterranean countries than the arrival of the turtle-dove. Especially is this the case in Palestine. Search the glades and valleys even by sultry Jordan at the end of March, and not a turtle-dove is to be seen. Return in the second week of April, and clouds of turtle-doves are feeding on the trefoils of the plain. They stock every thicket and tree; at every step they flutter up from the herbage in front of you—they perch on every tree and bush—they overspread the whole face of the land. So universal, so simultaneous, so conspicuous is their migration, that the Prophet might well place the turtle-dove at the head of those birds which "observe the time of their coming." While other songsters are heard chiefly in the morning, or only at intervals; the turtle, immediately on its arrival, pours forth from every garden, grove, and wooded hill, its melancholy yet soothing ditty, unceasingly from early dawn till sunset. If any surprise be felt at the great multitudes of these birds, and the question be asked how they all find sustenance, we must remember that the rank herbage of the plains is now in its full luxuriance, and consists largely of clovers, lucernes, and astragalus, the leaves of which plants are the favourite food of the dove. There is therefore no limit to the number which the country can maintain in spring and early summer. The common turtle-dove inhabits in summer all the temperate parts of Europe, Western Asia as far as Affghanistan, and Africa north of the Sahara. Its winter-quarters are in Central Africa. In Eastern Asia it is represented by a closely allied species, *Turtur orientalis* (Lath.). [H. B. T.]

DOVE'S DUNG (חֲרִיּוֹנִים, *chiryônîm*; Keri, דְּבְיוֹנִים, *dibyônîm*: κόπρος περιστερῶν: *stercus columbarum*). Various explanations have been given of the passage in 2 K. vi. 25, which describes the famine of Samaria to have been so excessive, that "an ass's head was sold for four-score pieces of silver, and the fourth part of a cab of dove's dung for five pieces of silver." The old Versions and very many ancient commentators are in favour of a literal interpretation of the Hebrew word. Bochart (*Hieroz.* ii. 572) has laboured to show that it denotes a species of *cicer*, "chick-pea," which he says the Arabs call *usnân* (أسنان), and sometimes improperly "dove's or sparrow's dung." Linnaeus suggested that the *chiryônim* may signify the *Ornithogalum umbellatum*, "Star of Bethlehem." On this subject the late Dr. Edward Smith remarks (*English Botany*, iv. p. 130, ed. 1814): "If Linnaeus is right, we obtain a sort of clue to the derivation of *ornithogalum* (birds' milk), which has puzzled all the etymologists. May not this observation apply to the white fluid which always accompanies the dung of birds, and is their urine? One may almost perceive a similar combination of colours in the green and white of this flower, which accords precisely in this respect with the description which Dioscorides gives of his ornithogalum" (see also Linnaeus, *Prelectiones*, ed. P. D. Gisekc, p. 287). Sprengel (*Comment.* on Dioscorides, ii. 173) is inclined to adopt the explanation of Linnaeus. Fuller (*Miscell. Sacr.* vi. 2, p. 724) understood by the term the crops of pigeons with their indigested contents. Josephus (*Antiq.* ix. 4) thought that dove's dung might have been used instead of salt. Harmer (*Observat.* iii. 185) was of opinion, that as pigeon's dung was a valuable manure for the cultivation of melons, it might have been needed during the siege of Samaria for that purpose. Most of these interpretations have little to recommend them, and have been refuted by Bochart and others. With regard to Bochart's own opinion, Celsius (*Hierob.* ii. 30) and Rosenmüller (*Not. ad* Bochart, *Hieroz.* ii. 582) have shown that it is founded on an error, and that he confuses the Arabic حمض, the name of some species of saltwort (*Salsola*), with حمص, *cicer*, a "vetch," or chick-pea. The explanation of Linnaeus appears to us to be far-fetched; and there is no evidence whatever to show that the Arabs ever called this plant by a name equivalent to dove's dung. On the other hand, it is true that the Arabs apply this or a kindred expression to some plants. Thus it was sometimes used to denote a kind of moss or lichen (*Kuz-kendem*, Arabicè); also some alkali-yielding plant, perhaps of the genus *Salsola* (*ashnan*, or *usnan*, Arab.). In favour of this explanation, it is usual to compare the German *Teufelsdreck* ("devil's dung") as expressive of the odour of *asafoetida* (see Gesenius, *Thes.* p. 516). A small species of *Holcus sorghum*, perhaps identical with the Hebrew *chiryônîm*, is still extensively cultivated in Kurdistan. This millet, from being small and round, may have been called by the Hebrews in olden time *Kharē of Doves*, or, as we should say, "Doves' seed."

The advocates for the literal meaning of the expression, viz. that dove's dung was absolutely used as food during the siege, appeal to the following reference in Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* v. 13, 7): "Some persons were driven to such terrible distress as to search the common sewers and old dunghills of cattle, and to eat the dung which they got there, and what they of old could not endure so much as to look upon they now used for food." See also Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 6): "Indeed necessity forced them to apply their teeth to everything; and gathering what was no food even for the filthiest of irrational animals, they devoured it." Celsius, who is strongly in favour of the literal meaning, quotes the following passage from Bruson (*Memorabil.* ii. c. 41): "Cretenses, obsidente Metello, ob penuriam vini aquarumque jumentorum urina sitim sedasse;" and one much to the point from a Spanish writer, who states that in the year 1316 so great a famine distressed the English, that "men ate their own children, dogs, mice, and *pigeon's dung*." Lady Callcott (*Scrip. Herb.* p. 130) thinks that by the pigeon's dung is meant the *Ornithogalum umbellatum*. We cannot allow this explanation; because, if the edible and agreeable bulb of this plant was denoted, it is impossible that it should have been mentioned by the Spanish chronicler along with dogs, mice, &c. As an additional argument in favour of the literal interpretation of the passage in question may be adduced the language of Rabshakeh to the Jews in the time of Hezekiah (2 K. xviii. 27; Is. xxxvi. 12). Keil's cautious comment is (*Comment.* l. c.): "The above-stated facts prove no doubt the possibility, even the probability, of the literal meaning, but not its necessity; for which reason we refrain, with Gesenius, from deciding." Without venturing on any dogmatic statement, we recall, after comparing these many authorities, the trite remark, that the simplest explanation is often the best. [W. H.] [H. B. T.]

DOWRY. [MARRIAGE.]

DRACHMA (δραχμή; *drachma;* 2 Macc. iv. 19, x. 20, xii. 43;[a] Luke xv. 8, 9), a Greek silver coin varying in weight on account of the use of different talents. The Jews at the time to which the Second Book of Maccabees relates must have used drachmae of two talents,—the Attic, of which the drachma then weighed about 64 grs., and the Phoenician, about 59 grs. at Aradus, and elsewhere about 56; they may also have used the Rhodian drachma of 60 grs. The Maccabaean shekels follow the Phoenician talent.



Attic drachma: late. (British Museum. Actual size.)

In St. Luke denarii seem to be intended by drachmae, for in the Evangelist's time the Attic drachma, the last survivor of the Greek drachmae, had fallen to the weight of the Roman denarius and practically lost its identity. In Palestine denarii must have been the common silver coins. [MONEY.] [R. S. P.]

DRAGON. In the A. V. two similar but distinct Hebrew words have been so rendered: תַּן, *tan*, and תַּנִּין, *tannin*. In this identification the translators followed the Vulgate; and the confusion is the more easily accounted for, since the masculine plural of תַּן is written in Lam. iv. 3 תַּנִּין instead of תַּנִּינִים, and on the other hand the plural תַּנִּים is used for the singular תַּנִּין in Ezek. xxix. 3 and xxxii. 2. The LXX. however have recognised the distinctness of the words, and so has the R. V., which invariably translates תַּן correctly by "jackal."

I. *Tan* occurs, always in the plural, in the following passages: "I am a brother to dragons, and a companion to ostriches" (Job xxx. 29); "An habitation of dragons and a court for ostriches" (Is. xxxiv. 13); "The dragons and the ostriches" (ib. xliii. 20), in all which the LXX. has σειρῆνες. In Is. xiii. 22, where the LXX. has στρουθοί, the A. V. reads: "The wild beasts of the islands shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces;" but the R. V.: "Wolves shall cry in their castles, and jackals in the pleasant palaces." In Jer. ix. 11, xiv. 6, li. 37, and Mic. i. 8, the LXX. has δράκοντες. Gesenius derives the word from an unused root, תָּנַן, "to extend," "draw out," cognate with the Sanscrit *tan*, τείνω, *tendo, tenuis*, German *dünn, dehnen*, and applied to the jackal from its long-drawn howl. One of the Arabic names for a wolf is تيتان, *teynán*, and for the jackal ابن اوي, "son of howling." In all the passages of Scripture where the word occurs, it is in connexion either with ostriches, with wild beasts, with deserts, or with the sound of wailing, or snuffing up the wind. Now all these suit the jackal exactly, and certainly point to no serpent or monster. The jackal (*Canis aureus*, L., from its tawny yellow colour) is and always has been extremely common in all the countries south and east of the Mediterranean to the far east of Asia. It inhabits the whole of Africa, and in Europe it is found in Southern Russia, Turkey, and Greece, as far as the northern point of the Adriatic. The Holy Land, from the number of caves and old tombs which afford it concealment everywhere, is an especial home of the jackal. The traveller, whether in towns or in camp, nightly hears the wailing cry, as the packs scour the country in seach of food. But though ever on the alert to seize any stray sheep or kid, they are most inoffensive to man. Nowhere are they more numerous than in the ruins of Baalbek, where indeed "the jackals howl in the pleasant palaces."

II. *Tannin*, תַּנִּין (plur. תַּנִּינִים), is always rendered by δράκων in the LXX. except in Gen. i. 21—where we find κῆτος, A. V. "great whales," R. V. "great sea-monsters." It seems to refer to any great monster, whether of the land or the sea, being more usually applied to some kind of reptile or serpent, but not exclu-

[a] In the first and second of these passages the Vulg. has *didrachma*.

sively restricted to that sense. It is identical with the Arabic تنين, of which there are many fabulous accounts, suggesting the stories of the sea-serpent. When referring to the sea, it is used as a parallel to לִוְיָתָן, *leviathan*, as in Is. xxvii. 1 (A. V. and R. V. "dragon"). When we examine special passages, we find the word used in Gen. i. 21 of the great sea-monsters, the representatives of the inhabitants of the deep. The same sense is given to it in Ps. lxxiv. 13 (where it is again connected with "leviathan"), Ps. cxlviii. 7, and in Job vii. 12 (Vulg. *cetus*, A. V. "whale," R. V. "sea-monster"). On the other hand, in Ex. vii. 9, 10, 12, it refers to a land serpent, in Deut. xxxii. 33 to a poisonous land serpent, and in Ps. xci. 13 to a powerful land reptile, where A. V. has "dragon" and R. V. "serpent." It is also applied in several passages metaphorically to symbolize the power of Pharaoh and of Egypt, of which the crocodile, the great monster of the Nile, was the emblem. "Art thou not it that hath cut Rahab, and wounded the dragon?" (Is. li. 9.) "Pharaoh, king of Egypt, the great dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers" (Ezek. xxix. 3). "Thou camest forth with thy rivers, and troublest the waters with thy feet" (ch. xxxii. 2). The mention of feet in the latter passage shows that neither a whale nor a serpent is intended. [See LEVIATHAN.] The same word is also applied to Nebuchadnezzar in Jer. li. 34. Though no crocodile is found at the present day in the Euphrates or the Tigris, yet there is every reason to believe that they formerly existed there, as they do still on all the other great rivers of Asia; and even in small streams, as under Mount Carmel; but they were extirpated, as in Lower Egypt, by the dense population which once lived on the banks of those rivers. If, as some have supposed, the land of Uz was on the Upper Tigris, Job may have had personal knowledge of the crocodile.

Such is the usage of the word "dragon" in the O. T. In the N. T. it is only found in the Apocalypse (Rev. xii. 3, 4, 7, 9, 16, 17, &c.) as applied metaphorically to "the Old Serpent, called the Devil and Satan," the description of the "dragon" being dictated by the symbolical meaning of the image, rather than by any reference to any actually existing creature. Of similar personification, either of an evil spirit or of the powers of material nature, as distinct from God, we have traces in the extensive prevalence of dragon-worship and existence of dragon-temples of peculiar serpentine form; the use of dragon-standards, both in the East, especially in Egypt (see also the apocryphal history of Bel and the Dragon), in China and Japan to the present day; and in the west, more particularly among the Keltic tribes. The most remarkable of all, perhaps, is found in the Greek legend of Apollo as the slayer of the Python, and the supplanter of serpent-worship by a higher wisdom. The reason at least of the scriptural symbol is to be sought, not only in the union of gigantic power with craft and malignity, of which the serpent is the natural emblem, but in the record of the serpent's agency in the temptation and fall (Gen. iii.). [SERPENT.] [A. B.] [H. B. T.]

DRAGON WELL (עֵין הַתַּנִּין), R. V. *Dragon's Well*, but more correctly "Dragon's Fountain." The LXX., apparently reading עֵין־הַתְּאֵנִים, translate πηγὴ τῶν συκῶν, "fountain of fig-trees"; the Vulgate, *fons Draconis*), a spring, or perhaps an outflow from an aqueduct, in the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem, which is mentioned in the account of Nehemiah's night inspection of the city walls (Neh. ii. 13). It was probably in the valley to the west of Jerusalem, now called "valley of Hinnom;" and may have been an outflow of the aqueduct from "Solomon's Pools."[a] No true spring is known in the "valley of Hinnom" at the present day. Robinson (i. 514, 1st ed.) supposes it to be another name of GIHON, and places it in the northern part of the "valley of Hinnom;" Barclay (*City of Great King*, p. 315, 1st ed.), below the "Jaffa Gate;" and so also Riehm (*s. v.*). Sepp (*Jerusalem u. d. H. L.* i. 330) identifies it with the *Hammâm esh-Shefa* well in the Tyropoeon Valley; and Sayce (*PEFQy. Stat.* 1883, p. 217), placing it in the same valley, connects it with the rock-hewn conduit discovered by Sir C. Warren on the west side of the Temple Hill. [W.]

DRAM. [DARIC.]

DREAMS (חֲלֹמוֹת; ἐνύπνια; *somnia; κατ' ὕπνον* in LXX., and *κατ' ὄναρ* in St. Matthew, are generally used for "in a dream"). The Scriptural record of God's communication with man by dreams has been so often supposed to involve psychological difficulty, that it seems not out of place to refer briefly to the nature and characteristics of dreams generally, before enumerating and classifying the dreams recorded in Scripture.

I. The main difference between our sleeping and waking thoughts appears to lie in this,—that, in the former case, the perceptive faculties of the mind (the sensational powers,[b] and the imagination which combines the impressions derived from them) are active, while the reflective powers (the reason or judgment by which we control those impressions, and distinguish between those which are imaginary or subjective and those which correspond to, and are produced by, objective realities) are generally asleep. Milton's account of dreams (in *Par. Lost*, Book v. 100–113) seems as accurate as it is striking:—

> "But know, that in the mind
> Are many lesser faculties, that serve
> Reason as chief: among these Fancy next
> Her office holds; of all external things,
> Which the five watchful senses represent,
> She forms imaginations, airy shapes,
> Which Reason, joining or disjoining, frames
> All what we affirm, or what deny, and call
> Our knowledge or opinion; then retires
> Into her private cell, when Nature sleeps."

[a] May not the aqueduct, with its long winding course from "Solomon's Pools," have been called the "Tannin," "Dragon," or "Monster," as the winding ascent to the fortress of Masada was called "the Serpent"?

[b] These *powers* are to be carefully distinguished (as in Butler's *Analogy*, part i. ch. 1) from the *organs* through which they are exercised when we are awake.

Thus it is that the impressions of dreams are in themselves vivid, natural, and picturesque, occasionally gifted with an intuition beyond our ordinary powers, but strangely incongruous and often grotesque. The feeling of surprise or incredulity, which arises from a sense of incongruity, or of unlikeness to the ordinary course of events, is in dreams a thing almost unknown; and even the moral judgment, with its delight in good and horror of evil, is at least languid, if not altogether dormant. The mind seems to be surrendered to that power of association, by which, even in its waking hours, if it be inactive and inclined to "musing," it is often carried through a series of thoughts connected together by some vague and accidental association, until the reason, when it starts again into activity, is scarcely able to trace back the slender line of connexion. The difference is, that, in this latter case, we are aware that the connexion is of our own making, while in sleep it appears to be caused by an actual succession of events.

Such is usually the case; yet there is a class of dreams, seldom noticed and indeed less common, but recognised by the experience of many, in which the reason and conscience are not wholly asleep. In these cases the mind seems to look on as it were from without, and so to have a double consciousness: on the one hand we enter into the events of the dream, as though real, on the other we have a sense that it is but a dream, and that ere long we shall awake and its pageant pass away.

In either case the ideas suggested are accepted by the mind in dreams at once and inevitably, instead of being weighed and tested, as in our waking hours. But it is evident that the method of such suggestion is still undetermined, and in fact is no more capable of being accounted for by any single cause than the suggestion of waking thoughts. The material of these latter is supplied either by ourselves, through the senses, the memory, and the imagination, or by other men, generally through the medium of words, or lastly by the direct action of the Spirit of God, or of created spirits of orders superior to our own, on the spirit within us. So also it is in dreams. In the first place, although memory and imagination supply most of the material of dreams, yet physical sensations of cold and heat, of pain or of relief, even actual impressions of sound or of light, will often mould or suggest dreams, and the physical organs of speech will occasionally be made use of to express the emotions of the dreamer. In the second place, instances have been known where a few words whispered into a sleeper's ear have produced a dream corresponding to their subject. On these two points experience gives undoubted testimony; as to the third, it can, from the nature of the case, speak but vaguely and uncertainly. But modern psychological investigation certainly seems to disclose to us the reality of a secret power of one spirit upon another, exercised by means utterly mysterious to us. Nor can we dismiss as merely delusive the many records extant of strange prophetic intuition in dreams, beyond the limits of the mind's own ordinary insight. The Scripture, as usual, goes beyond these doubtful and hesitating results of speculation. Viewing as it does all human life from a Divine standpoint, it declares, not as any strange thing, but as a thing of course, that the influence of the Spirit of God upon the soul extends to its sleeping as well as its waking thoughts. It declares that God communicates with the spirit of man directly in dreams, and also that He permits created spirits to have a like communication with it. Its declaration is to be weighed, not as an isolated thing, but in connexion with the general doctrine of spiritual influence; because any theory of dreams must be regarded as a part of the general theory of the origination of all thought.

II. It is, of course, with this last class of dreams that we have to do in Scripture. The dreams of memory or imagination are indeed referred to in Eccles. v. 3, Is. xxix. 8; but it is the history of the Revelation of the Spirit of God to the spirit of man, whether sleeping or waking, which is the proper subject of Scripture itself.

It must be observed that, in accordance with the principle enunciated by St. Paul in 1 Cor. xiv. 15, dreams, in which the understanding is asleep, are recognised indeed as a method of Divine Revelation, but placed below the visions of prophecy, in which the understanding plays its part.[a] It is true that the Book of Job, standing as it does on the basis of "natural religion," dwells on dreams and "visions in deep sleep" as the chosen method of God's revelation of Himself to man (see Job iv. 13, vii. 14, xxxiii. 15). But in Num. xii. 6; Deut. xiii. 1, 3, 5; Jer. xxvii. 9; Joel ii. 28, &c., dreamers of dreams, whether true or false, are placed below "prophets," and even below "diviners;" and similarly in the climax of 1 Sam. xxviii. 6, we read that "the Lord answered Saul not, neither by dreams, nor by Urim [by symbol], nor by prophets." Under the Christian dispensation, while we read frequently of trances (*ἐκστάσεις*) and visions (*ὀπτασίαι, ὁράματα*), dreams are never referred to as vehicles of Divine revelation. In exact accordance with this principle are the actual records of the dreams sent by God. The greater number of such dreams were granted, for prediction or for warning, to those who were aliens to the Jewish covenant. Thus we have the record of the dreams of Abimelech (Gen. xx. 3–7), of Laban (Gen. xxxi. 24), of the chief butler and baker (Gen. xl. 5), of Pharaoh (Gen. xli. 1–8), of the Midianite (Judg. vii. 13), of Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. ii. 1, &c., iv. 10–18), of the Magi (Matt. ii. 12), and of Pilate's wife (Matt. xxvii. 19). Many of these dreams, moreover, were symbolical and obscure, so as to require an interpreter. And, where dreams are recorded as means of God's Revelation to His chosen servants, they are almost always referred to the periods of their earliest and most imperfect knowledge of Him. So it is in the case of Abraham (Gen. xv. 12, and perhaps *vv.* 1–9), of Jacob (Gen. xxviii. 12–15), of Joseph (Gen. xxxvii. 5–10), of Solomon (1 K. iii. 5), and, in the N. T., of Joseph (Matt. i. 20; ii. 13, 19, 22). It is to be observed, moreover, that they belong especially to the earliest age, and become less frequent as the revelations

[a] The same order, as being the natural one, is found in the earliest record of European mythology—

Ἀλλ' ἄγε δή τινα μάντιν ἐρείομεν, ἢ ἱερῆα
Ἢ καὶ ὀνειρόπολον, καὶ γὰρ τόνδαρ ἐκ Διός ἐστι.
Hom. *Il.* i. 63.

of prophecy increase. The only exception to this is found in the dreams and "visions of the night" given to Daniel (ii. 19, vii. 1), apparently designed to meet the Chaldaean belief in prophetic dreams and in the power of interpretation, putting to shame its errors and superstitions, and yet bringing out the truth latent therein (cp. St. Paul's miracles at Ephesus, Acts xix. 11, 12, and their effect, *vv.* 18–20).

The general conclusion therefore is, first, that the Scripture claims the dream, as it does every other action of the human mind, as a medium through which God may speak to man either directly, and specially, or indirectly in virtue of a general influence upon all his thoughts; and secondly, that it lays far greater stress on that Divine influence by which the understanding also is affected, and leads us to believe that as such influence extends more and more, revelation by dreams, unless in very peculiar circumstances, might be expected to pass away. [A. B.]

DRESS. This subject includes the following particulars:—1. Materials. 2. Colour and decoration. 3. Names, forms, and mode of wearing the various articles. 4. Special usages relating thereto. 1. The materials were various, and multiplied with the advance of civilisation. The earliest and simplest robe was made out of the leaves of a tree (תְּאֵנָה, A. V. "fig-tree"—and cp. the present Arabic name for the fig, *tîn*, or *teen*), portions of which were sewn together, so as to form an apron (Gen. iii. 7). Ascetic Jews occasionally used a similar material in later times. Josephus (*Vita*, § 2) records this of Banus (*ἐσθῆτι μὲν ἀπὸ δένδρων χρώμενον*); but whether it was made of the leaves, or the bark, is uncertain. After the Fall, the skins of animals supplied a more durable material (Gen. iii. 21), which was adapted to a rude state of society, and is stated to have been used by various ancient nations (Diod. Sic. i. 43, ii. 38; Arrian, *Ind.* cap. 7, § 3). Skins were not wholly disused at later periods: the *addereth* (אַדֶּרֶת) worn by Elijah appears to have been the skin of a sheep or some other animal with the wool left on: in the LXX. the word is rendered *μηλωτή* (1 K. xix. 13, 19; 2 K. ii. 13), *δορά* (Gen. xxv. 25), and *δέρρις* (Zech. xiii. 4); and it may be connected with *δορὰ* etymologically (Saalschütz, *Archaeol.* i. 19); Gesenius, however, prefers the notion of *amplitude*, אָדַר, in which case it = אֶדֶר (Micah ii. 8; *Thesaur.* p. 29). The same material is implied in the description אִישׁ בַּעַל שֵׂעָר; *ἀνὴρ δασύς*, LXX.; A. V. "hairy man," 2 K. i. 8), though these words may also be understood of the hair of the Prophet; and in the comparison of Esau's skin to such a robe (Gen. xxv. 25). It was characteristic of a Prophet's office from its mean appearance (Zech. xiii. 4; cp. Matt. vii. 15). Pelisses of sheep-skin[a] still form an ordinary article of dress in the East (Burckhardt's *Notes on Bedouins*, i. 50). The *aḏdereth* worn by the king of Nineveh (Jonah iii. 6), and the "goodly Babylonish garment" found at Ai (Josh. vii. 21), were of a different character, either robes trimmed with valuable furs, or the skins themselves ornamented with embroidery. The art of weaving hair was known to the Hebrews at an early period (Ex. xxvi. 7; xxxv. 6); the sackcloth used by mourners was of this material [SACKCLOTH], and by many writers the *addereth* of the prophets is supposed to have been such. John the Baptist's robe was of camel's hair (Matt. iii. 4), and a similar material was in common use among the poor of that day (Joseph. *B. J.* i. 24, § 3), probably of goats' hair, which was employed in the Roman *cilicium*. At what period the use of wool, and of still more artificial textures, such as cotton and linen, became known, is uncertain: the first of these, we may presume, was introduced at a very early period, the flocks of the pastoral families being kept partly for their wool (Gen. xxxviii. 12): it was at all times largely employed, particularly for the outer garments (Lev. xviii. 47; Deut. xxii. 11; Job xxxi. 20; Prov. xxvii. 26, xxxi. 13; Ezek. xxxiv. 3). [WOOL.] The occurrence of the term *cetoneth* in the Book of Genesis (iii. 21; xxxvii. 3, 23) seems to indicate an acquaintance, even at that early day, with the finer materials: for that term, though significant of a particular robe, originally appears to have referred to the material employed (the root being preserved in our *cotton*; cp. Bohlen's *Introd.* ii. 51; Saalschütz, *Archaeol.* i. 8), and was applied by the later Jews to flax or linen, as stated by Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 7, § 2, *Κεθωμένη μὲν καλεῖται. Λίνεον τοῦτο σημαίνει, χέθον γὰρ τὸ λίνον ἡμεῖς καλοῦμεν*). No conclusion, however, can be drawn from the use of the word: it is evidently applied generally, and without any view to the material, as in Gen. iii. 21. It is probable that the acquaintance of the Hebrews with linen, and perhaps cotton, dates from the period of the captivity in Egypt, when they were instructed in the manufacture (1 Ch. iv. 21). After their return to Palestine we have frequent notices of linen, the finest kind being named *shesh* (שֵׁשׁ), and at a later period *butz* (בּוּץ), the latter a word of Syrian and the former of Egyptian origin, and each indicating the quarter whence the material was procured: the term *chûr* (חוּר) was also applied to it from its brilliant appearance (Is. xix. 9; Esth. i. 6, viii. 15). It is the *βύσσος* of the LXX. and the N. T. (Luke xvi. 19; Rev. xviii. 12, 16), and the "fine linen" of the A. V. It was used in the vestments of the high-priests (Ex. xxviii. 5 ff.), as well as by the wealthy (Gen. xli. 42; Prov. xxxi. 22; Luke xiv. 19). [LINEN.] A less costly kind was named *bad* (בַּד; *λίνεος*), which was used for certain portions of the high-priest's dress (Ex. xxviii. 42; Lev. xvi. 4, 23, 32), and for the ephods of Samuel (1 Sam. ii. 18) and David (2 Sam. vi. 14): it is worthy of notice, in reference to its quality and appearance, that it is the material in which Angels are represented (Ezek. ix. 3, 11; x. 2, 6, 7; Dan. x. 5, xii. 6; Rev. xv. 6). A coarser kind of linen, termed *ὠμόλινον* (Ecclus. xl. 4), was used by the very poor [LINEN]. The Hebrew term *sadin* (סָדִין; cp. *σινδών*, and *satin*) expresses a fine kind of linen, especially

[a] The sheep-skin coat is frequently represented in the sculptures of Khorsabad: it was made with sleeves, and was worn over the tunic: it fell over the back, and terminated in its natural state. The people wearing it have been identified with the Sagartii (Bonomi's *Nineveh*, p. 193).

adapted for summer wear, as distinct from the *saraballa*, which was thick (Talmud, *Menach.* p. 41, 1). What may have been the distinction between *shesh* and *sadin* (Prov. xxxi. 22, 24) we know not: the probability is that the latter name passed from the material to a particular kind of robe. Silk was not introduced until a very late period (Rev. xviii. 12): the term *meshi* (מֶשִׁי; *τρίχαπτον*; Ezek. xvi. 10) is of doubtful meaning [SILK]. The use of a mixed material (שַׁעַטְנֵז; *κίβδηλον*, i.e. *spurious*, LXX.; *ἀντιδιακείμενον*, Aquil.; *ἐριόλινον*, Gr. Ven.), such as wool and flax, was forbidden (Lev. xix. 19; Deut. xxii. 11), on the ground, according to Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 8, § 11), that such was reserved for the priests, or as being a practice usual among idolaters (Spencer, *Leg. Heb. Rit.* ii. 32), but more probably with the view of enforcing the general idea of purity and simplicity.

2. Colour and decoration. The prevailing colour of the Hebrew dress was the natural white of the materials employed, which might be brought to a high state of brilliancy by the art of the fuller (Mark ix. 3). Some of the terms applied to these materials (*e.g.* שֵׁשׁ, בּוּץ, חוּר) are connected with words significant of whiteness, while many of the allusions to garments have special reference to this quality (Job xxxviii. 14; Ps. civ. 1, 2; Is. lxiii. 3): white was held to be peculiarly appropriate to festive occasions (Eccles. ix. 8; cp. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 2, 60), as well as symbolical of purity (Rev. iii. 4, 5; iv. 4; vii. 9, 13). It is uncertain when the art of dyeing became known to the Hebrews; the *cetoneth passim* worn by Joseph (Gen. xxxvii. 3, 23) is variously taken to be either a "coat of divers colours" (*ποικίλος*; *polymita*, Vulg.; cp. the Greek *πάσσειν*, *Il.* iii. 126, xxii. 441), or a tunic furnished with sleeves and reaching down to the ankles, as in the Versions of Aquila, *ἀστραγάλειος*, *καρπωτός*, and of Symmachus, *χειριδωτός*, and in the Vulg. (2 Sam. xiii. 18), *talaris*, and as described by Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 8, § 1). The latter is probably the correct sense, in which case we have no evidence of the use of variegated robes previously to the sojourn of the Hebrews in Egypt, though the notice of scarlet thread (Gen. xxxviii. 28) implies some acquaintance with dyeing, and the light summer robe (צָעִיף; *θέριστρον*; *veil*, A. V. and R. V.) worn by Rebecca and Tamar (Gen. xxiv. 65; xxxviii. 14, 19) was probably of an ornamental character. The Egyptians had carried the art of weaving and embroidery to a high state of perfection, and from them the Hebrews learned various methods of producing decorated stuffs. The elements of ornamentation were—(1) weaving with threads previously dyed (Ex. xxxv. 25; cp. Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* ii. 79–81 [1878]); (2) the introduction of gold thread or wire (Ex. xxviii. 6 sq.); (3) the addition of figures, probably of animals and hunting or battle scenes (cp. Layard, ii. 297), in the case of garments, in the same manner as the cherubim were represented in the curtains of the Tabernacle (Ex. xxvi. 1, 31; xxxvi. 8, 35). These devices may have been either woven into the stuff, or cut out of other stuff and afterwards attached by needlework: in the former case the pattern would appear only on one side, in the latter the pattern might be varied. Such is the distinction, according to Talmudical writers, between *cunning-work* and *needlework*, or as marked by the use of the singular and dual number, רִקְמָה, *needlework*, and רִקְמָתַיִם, *needlework* [R.V. "embroidery"] *on both sides* (Judg. v. 30, A. V.), though the latter term may after all be accepted in a simpler way as a dual=*two embroidered robes* (Bertheau, *Comm.* in loco). The account of the corslet of Amasis (Herod. iii. 47) illustrates the processes of decoration described in Exodus. Robes decorated with gold (מְשֻׁבָּצוֹת, Ps. xlv. 13), and at a later period with silver thread (Joseph. *Ant.* xix. 8, § 2; cp. Acts xii. 21), were worn by royal personages: other kinds of embroidered robes were worn by the wealthy both of Tyre (Ezek. xvi. 13) and Palestine (Judg. v. 30; Ps. xlv. 14). The art does not appear to have been maintained among the Hebrews: the Babylonians and other Eastern nations (Josh. vii. 21; Ezek. xxvii. 24), as well as the Egyptians (Ezek. xxvii. 7), excelled in it. Nor does the art of dyeing appear to have been followed up in Palestine: dyed robes were imported from foreign countries (Zeph. i. 8), particularly from Phoenicia, and were not much used on account of their expensiveness; purple (Prov. xxxi. 22; Luke xvi. 19) and scarlet (2 Sam. i. 24) were occasionally worn by the wealthy. The surrounding nations were more lavish in their use of them: the wealthy Tyrians (Ezek. xxvii. 7), the Midianitish kings (Judg. viii. 26), the Assyrian nobles (Ezek. xxiii. 6), and Persian officers (Esth. viii. 15), are all represented in purple. The general hue of the Persian dress was more brilliant than that of the Jews: hence Ezekiel (xxiii. 12) describes the Assyrians as לְבֻשֵׁי מִכְלוֹל, lit. *clothed in perfection* (A. V. and R. V. "clothed most gorgeously"); according to the LXX. *εὐπάρυφα*, wearing robes with *handsome borders*. With regard to the head-dress in particular, described as סְרוּחֵי מְבוּלִים (*τιάραι βαπταί*; A. V. and R. V. "dyed attire;" cp. Ov. *Met.* xiv. 654, *mitra picta*), some doubt exists whether the word rendered "dyed" does not rather mean *flowing* (Ges. *Thesaur.* p. 542; Layard, ii. 308).

3. The names, forms, and mode of wearing the robes. It is difficult to give a satisfactory account of the various articles of dress mentioned in the Bible: the notices are for the most part incidental, and refer to a lengthened period of time, during which the fashions must have frequently changed: while the collateral sources of information, such as sculpture, painting, or contemporary records, are but scanty. The general characteristics of Oriental dress have indeed preserved a remarkable uniformity in all ages: the modern Arab dresses much as the ancient Hebrew did; there are the same flowing robes, the same distinction between the outer and inner garments, the former heavy and warm, the latter light, adapted to the rapid and excessive changes of temperature in those countries; and there is the same distinction between the costume of the rich and the poor, consisting in the multiplication of robes of a finer texture and more ample dimensions. Hence the numerous illustrations of ancient costume, which may be drawn from the usages of modern Orientals,

supplying in great measure the want of contemporaneous representations. With regard to the figures which some have identified as Jews in Egyptian paintings and Assyrian sculptures, we cannot but consider the evidence insufficient. The figures in the painting at Beni Hassan, delineated by Wilkinson (*Anc. Egypt.*[1], ii. 296), and supposed by him to represent the arrival of Joseph's brethren, are dressed in a manner at variance with our ideas of Hebrew costume: the more important personages wear a double tunic, the upper one constructed so as to pass over the left shoulder and under the right arm, leaving the right shoulder exposed: the servants wear nothing more than a skirt or kilt, reaching from the loins to the knee. Wilkinson suggests some collateral reasons for doubting whether they were really Jews: to which we may add a further objection that the presents, which these persons bring with them, are not what we should expect from Gen. xliii. 11. Certain figures inscribed on the face of a rock at *Behistun*, near Kermanshah, were supposed by Sir R. K. Porter to represent Samaritans captured by Shalmaneser: they are given in Vaux's *Nineveh*, p. 372. These sculptures are now recognised as of a later date, and the figures evidently represent people of different nations, for the tunics are alternately short and long. In another instance the figures are simply dressed in a short tunic, with sleeves reaching nearly to the elbow, and confined at the waist by a girdle, a style of dress which was so widely spread throughout the East that it is impossible to pronounce what particular nation they may have belonged to: the style of head-dress seems an objection to the supposition that they are Jews. These figures are given in Bonomi's *Nineveh*, p. 381.

The costume of the men and women was very similar; there was sufficient difference, however, to mark the sex, and it was strictly forbidden to a woman to wear the appendages (כְּלִי; *σκευή*), such as the staff, signet-ring, and other ornaments, or, according to Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 8, § 43), the weapons of a man; as well as to a man to wear the outer robe (שִׂמְלָה) of a woman (Deut. xxii. 5): the reason of the prohibition, according to Maimonides (*Mor. Neboch.* iii. 37), being that such was the practice of idolaters (cp. Carpzov. *Appar.* p. 514); but more probably it was based upon the general principle of propriety. We shall first describe the robes which were common to the two sexes, and then those which were peculiar to women.

(1.) The *cetoneth* (כְּתֹנֶת, cp. the Greek *χίτων*) was the most essential article of dress. It was a closely-fitting garment, resembling in form and use our *shirt*, rather than the *coat* of the A. V. and R. V. The material of which it was made was either wool, cotton, or linen. From Josephus' observation (*Ant.* iii. 7, § 4) with regard to the *meil*, that it was *οὐκ ἐκ δυοῖν περιτμημάτων*, we may probably infer that the ordinary *cetoneth* or tunic was made in two pieces, which were sewn together at the sides. In this case the *χίτων ἄῤῥαφος* worn by our Lord (John xix. 23) was either a singular one, or, as is more probable, was the upper tunic or *meil*. The primitive *cetoneth* was without sleeves and reached only to the knee, like the Doric *χίτων*; it may also have been, like the latter, partially opened at one side, so that a person in rapid motion was exposed (2 Sam. vi. 20). Another kind, which we may compare with the Ionian *χίτων*, reached to the wrists and ankles: such was probably the *cetoneth passim* worn by Joseph (Gen. xxxvii. 3, 23) and Tamar (2 Sam. xiii. 18), and that which the priests wore (Joseph. *Ant.* iii. 7, § 2). It was in either case kept close to the body by a girdle [GIRDLE], and the fold formed by the overlapping of the robe served as an inner pocket, in which a letter or any other small article might be carried (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 5, § 7). A person wearing the *cetoneth* alone was described as עֵרֹם, *naked*, A. V.: we may compare the use of the term *γυμνοί* as applied to the Spartan virgins (Plut. *Lyc.* 14), of the Latin *nudus* (Virg. *Georg.* i. 299), and of our expression *stripped*. Thus it is used of Saul after having taken off his *upper* garments (בְּגָדָיו, 1 Sam. xix. 24); of Isaiah (Is. xx. 2) when he had put off his sackcloth, which was usually worn over the tunic (cp. Jon. iii. 6), and only on special occasions next the skin (2 K. vi. 30); of a warrior who has cast off his military cloak (Amos ii. 16; cp. Liv. iii. 23, *inermes nudique*); and of St. Peter without his fisher's coat (John xxi. 7). The same expression is elsewhere applied to the poorly clad (Job xxii. 6; Is. lviii. 7; Jas. ii. 15).

Fig. 1 on the next page represents the simplest style of Oriental dress, a long loose shirt or *cetoneth* without a girdle, reaching nearly to the ankle. The same robe, with the addition of the girdle, is shown in fig. 4.

In fig. 2 we have the ordinary dress of the modern Bedouin; the tunic overlaps the girdle at the waist, leaving an ample fold, which serves as a pocket. Over the tunic he wears the *abba*, or striped plaid, which completes his costume.

(2.) The *sadin* (סָדִין) appears to have been a wrapper of fine linen (*σινδών*, LXX.), which might be used in various ways, but especially as a night-shirt (Mark xiv. 51; cp. Schleusner and Grimm-Thayer,[2] *Lex. in N. T.* s. v.). The Hebrew term is given in the Syriac N. T. as = *σουδάριον* (Luke xix. 20) and *λέντιον* (John xiii. 4). The material or robe is mentioned in Judg. xiv. 12, 13 ("sheet," marg. *shirt*, A. V.; "linen garment," R. V.), Prov. xxxi. 24, and Is. iii. 23 ("fine linen," A. V. and R. V.); but in none of these passages is there anything to decide its specific meaning. The Talmudical writers occasionally describe the *talith* under that name, as being made of fine linen; hence Lightfoot (*Exercitations* on Mark xiv. 51) identifies the *σινδών* worn by the young man as a *talith*, which he had put on in his haste without his other garments.

(3.) The *meil* (מְעִיל) was an upper or second tunic, the difference being that it was longer than the first. It is hence termed in the LXX. *ὑποδύτης ποδήρης*, and probably in this sense the term is applied to the *cetoneth passim* (2 Sam. xiii. 18), implying that it reached down to the feet. The sacerdotal *meil* is described elsewhere [PRIEST]. As an article of ordinary dress it was worn by kings (1 Sam. xxiv. 4), prophets (1 Sam. xxviii. 14), nobles (Job i. 20), and youths (1 Sam. ii. 19). It may, however, be

doubted whether the term is used in its specific sense in these passages, and not rather in its broad etymological sense (from מָעַל, *to cover*), for any robe that chanced to be worn over the *cetoneth*. In the LXX. the renderings vary between ἐπενδύτης (1 Sam. xviii. 4; 2 Sam. xiii. 18; 1 Sam. ii. 19, Theodot.), a term properly applied to an upper garment, and specially used in John xxi. 7 for the linen coat worn by the Phoenician and Syrian fishermen (Theophyl. in loco), διπλοΐς (1 Sam. ii. 19, xv. 27, xxiv. 4, 11, xxviii. 14; Job xxix. 14), ἱμάτια (Job i. 20), στόλη (1 Ch. xv. 27; Job ii. 12), and ὑποδύτης (Exod. xxxix. 21; Lev. viii. 7), showing that generally speaking it was regarded as an upper garment. This further appears from the passages in which notice of it occurs: in 1 Sam. xviii. 4 it is the "robe" which Jonathan first takes off; in 1 Sam. xxviii. 14 it is the "mantle" in which Samuel is enveloped; in 1 Sam. xv. 27 it is the "mantle," the skirt of which is rent (cp. 1 K. xi. 30, where the שַׂלְמָה is similarly treated); in 1 Sam. xxiv. 4 it is the "robe," under which Saul slept (generally the בֶּגֶד was so used); and in Job i. 20, ii. 12, it is the "mantle" which he rends (cp. Ezra ix. 3, 5): in these passages it evidently describes an outer robe, whether the *simlah*, or the *meil* itself used as a *simlah*. Where two tunics are mentioned (Luke iii. 11) as being worn at the same time, the second would be a *meil;* travellers generally wore two (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 5, § 7), but the practice was forbidden to the disciples (Matt. x. 10; Luke ix. 3).

The dress of the middle and upper classes in modern Egypt (fig. 3) illustrates the customs of the Hebrews. In addition to the shirt, they wear a long vest of striped silk and cotton, called *kaftān*, descending to the ankles, and with ample sleeves, so that the hands may be concealed at pleasure. The girdle surrounds this vest. The outer robe consists of a long

Fig. 1. An Egyptian. (Lane's *Modern Egyptians.*)

Fig. 2. A Bedouin. (Lynch, *Dead Sea.*)

Fig. 3. An Egyptian of the upper classes. (Lane.)

cloth coat, called *gibbeh*, with sleeves reaching nearly to the wrist. In cold weather the *abba* is thrown over the shoulders.

(4.) The ordinary outer garment consisted of a quadrangular piece of woollen cloth, probably resembling in shape a Scotch plaid. The size and texture would vary with the means of the wearer. The Hebrew terms referring to it are —*simlah* (שִׂמְלָה, occasionally שַׂלְמָה), which appears to have had the broadest sense, and sometimes is put for clothes generally (Gen. xxxv. 2, xxxvii. 34; Ex. iii. 22, xxii. 9; Deut. x. 18; Is. iii. 7, iv. 1), though once used specifically of the warrior's cloak (Is. ix. 5); *beged* (בֶּגֶד), which is more usual in speaking of robes of a handsome and substantial character (Gen. xxvii. 15, xli. 42; Ex. xxviii. 2; 1 K. xxii. 10; 2 Ch. xviii. 9; Is. lxiii. 1); *cesuth* (כְּסוּת), appropriate to passages where covering or protection is the prominent idea (Ex. xxii. 26; Job xxvi. 6, xxxi. 19); and lastly *lebûsh* (לְבוּשׁ), usual in poetry, but specially applied to a warrior's cloak (2 Sam. xx. 8), priests' vestments (2 K. x. 22), and royal apparel (Esth. vi. 11; viii. 15). A cognate term (*malbush*, מַלְבּוּשׁ) describes specifically a state-dress, whether as used in a royal household (1 K. x. 5; 2 Ch. ix. 4), or for religious festivals (2 K. x. 22): elsewhere it is used generally for robes of a handsome character (Job xxvii. 16; Is. lxiii. 3; Ezek. xvi. 13; Zeph. i. 8). Another term, *mad* (מַד), with its derivatives, מְדָּה (Ps. cxxxiii. 2) and מִדּוֹ (2 Sam. x. 4; 1 Ch. xix. 4), is expressive of the *length* of the Hebrew garments (1 Sam. iv. 12; xviii. 4), and is specifically applied to a long cloak (Judg. iii. 16; 2 Sam. xx. 8), and to the priest's coat (Lev. vi. 10). The Greek terms ἱμάτιον and στόλη express the corresponding idea, the latter being specially appropriate to robes of more than ordinary grandeur (1 Macc. x. 21, xiv. 9; Mark xii. 38, xvi. 5; Luke xv. 22, xx. 46; Rev. vi. 11, vii. 9, 13); the χίτων and ἱμάτιον (*tunica, pal-*

lium, Vulg.; *coat, cloak*, A. V.) are brought into juxtaposition in Matt. v. 40 and Acts ix. 39. The *beged* might be worn in various ways, either wrapped round the body, or worn over the shoulders, like a shawl, with the ends or "skirts" (כְּנָפַיִם; πτερύγια; *anguli*) hanging down in front; or it might be thrown over the head, so as to conceal the face (2 Sam. xv. 30; Esth. vi. 12). The ends were skirted with a fringe and bound with a purple riband (Num. xv. 38): it was confined at the waist by a girdle, and the fold (חֵיק; κόλπος; *sinus*), formed by the overlapping of the robe, served as a pocket in which a considerable quantity of articles might be carried (2 K. iv. 39; Ps. lxxix. 12; Hag. ii. 12; Niebuhr, *Description*, p. 56), or as a purse (Prov. xvii. 23, xxi. 14; Is. lxv. 6, 7; Jer. xxxii. 18; Luke vi. 38).

The ordinary mode of wearing the outer robe, called *abba* or *abáyeh*, at the present time, is exhibited in figs. 2 and 5. The arms, when falling down, are completely covered by it, as in fig. 5: but in holding any weapon, or in active work, the lower part of the arm is exposed, as in fig. 2.

The dress of the women differed from that of the men in regard to the outer garment, the *cetoneth* being worn equally by both sexes (Cant. v. 3). The names of their distinctive robes were as follows: — (1) *mitpachath* (מִטְפַּחַת; περίζωμα; *pallium, linteamen; veil, wimple*, A. V.), a kind of shawl (Ruth iii. 15; Is. iii. 22); (2) *maatapha* (מַעֲטָפָה; *palliolum; mantle*, A. V.), another kind of shawl (Is. iii. 22), but, how differing from the one just mentioned, we know not; the etymological meaning of the first name is *expansion*, of the second *enveloping*: (3) *tsaiph* (צָעִיף; θέριστρον; *veil*, A. V.), a robe worn by Rebecca on approaching Isaac (Gen. xxiv. 65), and by Tamar when she assumed the guise of a

Figs. 4, 5. Egyptians of the lower orders. (Lane.)

Fig. 6. An Egyptian woman. (Lane.)

Fig. 7. A woman of the Southern Province of Upper Egypt. (Lane.)

harlot (Gen. xxxviii. 14, 19); it was probably, as the LXX. represents it, a light summer dress of handsome appearance (περιέβαλε τὸ θέριστρον καὶ ἐκαλλωπίσατο, Gen. xxxviii. 14), and of ample dimensions, so that it might be thrown over the head at pleasure: (4) *rádid* (רְדִיד; A. V. "veil"), a similar robe (Is. iii. 23; Cant. v. 7; R. V. "mantle"), and substituted for the *tsaiph* in the Chaldee Version: we may conceive of these robes as resembling the *peplum* of the Greeks, which might be worn over the head, as represented in *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq.* ii. 321, or again as resembling the *habarah* and *miláyeh* of the modern Egyptians (Lane, i. 73, 75): (5) *pethigil* (פְּתִגִיל; χιτὼν μεσοπόρφυρος; *stomacher*, A. V.), a term of doubtful origin, but probably significant of a gay holiday dress (Is. iii. 24); to the various explanations enumerated by Gesenius (*Thesaur.* p. 1137), we may add one proposed by Saalschütz (*Archaeol.* i. 31), פְּתִי, *wide* or *foolish*, and גִּיל, *pleasure*, in which case it = *unbridled pleasure*, and has no reference to dress at all: (6) *gilyonim* (גִּלְיֹנִים, Is. iii. 23), also a doubtful word (see MV.[11]), explained in the LXX. as a transparent dress, *i.e.* of gauze (διαφανῆ Λακωνικά); Schroeder (*de Vest. mul. Heb.* p. 311) supports this view, but more probably the word means, as in the A. V., "glasses," R. V. "hand-mirrors." The garments of females were terminated by an ample border or fringe (שׁוּל, שֹׁבֶל; ὀπίσθια; *skirts*), which concealed the feet (Is. xlvii. 2; Jer. xiii. 22).

Figs. 6 and 7 illustrate some of the peculiarities of female dress: the former is an Egyptian woman (in her walking dress); the latter represents a dress, probably of great antiquity, still worn by the peasants in the south of Egypt: the outer robe, or *hulaleeyeh*, is a large piece of woollen stuff wound round the body, the upper parts being attached at the shoulders: another piece of the same stuff is used for the head-veil, or *tarhah*.

Having now completed our description of

Hebrew dress, we add a few remarks relative to the selection of equivalent terms in our own language. It must at once strike every Biblical student as a great defect in our A. V.—a defect not altogether removed in the R. V.—that the same English word should represent various Hebrew words: *e.g.* that "veil" should be promiscuously used for *radid* (Is. iii. 23), *tsaiph* (Gen. xxiv. 65), *mitpachath* (Ruth iii. 15; R. V. "mantle"), *masveh* (Ex. xxxiv. 33); "robe" for *meil* (1 Sam. xviii. 4), *cetoneth* (Is. xxii. 21), *addereth* (Jonah iii. 6), *salmah* (Micah ii. 8); "mantle" for *meil* (1 Sam. xv. 27; R. V. "robe"), *addereth* (1 K. xix. 13), *maatapha* (Is. iii. 22); and "coat" for *meil* (1 Sam. ii. 19; R. V. "robe"), *cetoneth* (Gen. iii. 21): and conversely that different English words should be promiscuously used for the same Hebrew one; *meil* being translated "coat," "robe," "mantle"; *addereth* "robe," "mantle." Uniformity would be desirable, in so far as it could be attained, so that the English reader might understand that the same Hebrew term occurred in the original text, where the same English term was found in the translation. Beyond uniformity, correctness of translation would also be desirable: the difficulty of attaining this in the subject of dress, with regard to which the customs and associations are so widely at variance in our own country and in the East, is very great. Take, for instance, the *cetoneth:* at once an under-garment, and yet not unfrequently worn without anything over it; a *shirt,* as being worn next the skin; and a *coat,* as being the upper garment worn in a house: deprive the Hebrew of his *cetoneth,* and he was positively naked; deprive the Englishman of his *coat,* and he has under-garments still. The *beged* again: in shape probably like a Scotch *plaid,* though the use of such a term would not be intelligible to the minds of English peasants; in use unlike any garment with which we are familiar, for we only wear a *great-coat* or a *cloak* in bad weather, whereas the Hebrew and his *beged* were inseparable. With such difficulties attending the subject, any attempt to render the Hebrew terms must be, more or less, a *compromise* between correctness and modern usage; and the English terms which we are about to propose must be regarded merely in the light of suggestions. *Cetoneth* answers in many respects to "frock;" the sailor's "frock" is constantly worn next the skin, and either with or without a coat over it; the "smock-frock" was once familiar as an upper-garment. In shape and material these correspond with *cetoneth,* and, like it, the term "frock" is applied to both sexes. In the sacerdotal dress a more technical term might be used: "vestment," in its specific sense as = the chasuble, or *casula,* would represent it very aptly. *Meil* may perhaps be best rendered "gown," for this too applies to both sexes, and, when to men, always in an official sense, as the academic gown, the alderman's gown, the barrister's gown, just as *meil* appears to have represented an official, or at all events a special, dress. In sacerdotal dress "alb" exactly meets it, and retains still, in the Greek Church, the very name, *poderis,* by which the *meil* is described in the LXX. The sacerdotal ephod approaches, perhaps, most nearly to the term "pall," the *ὠμοφόριον* of the Greek Church, which we may compare with the *ἐπωμὶς* of the LXX. *Addereth* answers in several respects to "pelisse," although this term is now applied almost exclusively to female dress. *Sadin* = "linen wrapper." *Simlah* we would render "garment," and in the plural "clothes," as the broadest term of the kind; *beged,* "vestment," as being of superior quality; *lebush,* "robe," as still superior; *mad,* "cloak," as being long; and *malbush,* "dress," in the specific sense in which the term is not unfrequently used as = *fine* dress. In female costume *mitpachath* might be rendered "shawl," *maatapha* "mantle," *tsaiph* "handsome dress," and *radid* "cloak."

In addition to these terms, which we have thus far extracted from the Bible, we have in the Talmudical writers an entirely new nomenclature. The *talith* (טלית) is frequently noticed; it was made of fine linen, and had a fringe attached to it, like the *beged;* it was of ample dimensions, so that the head might be enveloped in it, as was usual among the Jews in the act of prayer. The *kolbin* (קולבין) was probably another name for the *talith,* derived from the Greek *κολόβιον*; Epiphanius (i. 15) represents the *στολαὶ* of the Pharisees as identical with the *Dalmatica* or the *Colobium;* the latter, as known to us, was a close tunic without sleeves. The *chaluk* (חלוק) was a woollen shirt, worn as an under tunic. The *mactoren* (מקטורן) was a mantle or outer garment (cp. Lightfoot, *Exercitation* on Matt. v. 40; Mark xiv. 51; Luke ix. 3, &c.). Gloves (כף קסיה or כף) are also noticed (*Chelim,* xvi. 6; xxiv. 15; xxvi. 3), not, however, as worn for luxury, but for the protection of the hands in manual labour.

With regard to other articles of dress, see GIRDLE; HANDKERCHIEF; HEAD-DRESS; HEM OF GARMENT; SANDALS; SHOES; VEIL.

The dresses of foreign nations are occasionally referred to in the Bible; that of the Babylonians is described in Dan. iii. 21 in terms which have been variously understood (see *Speaker's Comm.,*[2] Meinhold [in Strack u. Zöckler's *Kgf. Komm.*] in loco, and consult MV.[11]), but which may be identified with the statements of Herodotus (i. 195; vii. 61) in the following manner:—

(1) The *sarbalin* (סַרְבָּלִין; A. V. "coats," R. V. "hosen") = either *ἀναξυρίδες* or *drawers,* or, more probably, underclothing; (2) the *patish* (פַּטִּישׁ; A. V. "hosen") = *κιθὼν ποδηνεκὴς λίνεος* or inner tunic (so R. V.; in marg., Or, *turbans*); (3) the *carbala* (כְּרְבָּלָא; A. V. "hat," R. V. "mantle") = *ἄλλος εἰρίνεος κιθών,* or upper tunic, corresponding to the *meil* of the Hebrews; (4) the *lebush* (לְבוּשׁ; A. V. "garment"), a general term for the rest of the dress worn by these three Jews, or = *χλανίδιον λευκὸν* or cloak, which was worn, like the *beged,* over all. In addition to these terms, we have notice of a robe of state of fine linen, *tachrich* (תַּכְרִיךְ; *διάδημα*; *sericum pallium*), so called from its ample dimensions (Esth. viii. 15). The same expression is used for *purple garments* in the Chaldee of Ezek. xxvii. 16.

The references to Greek or Roman dress are few: the *χλαμὺς* (2 Macc. xii. 35; Matt. xxvii.

28) was either the *paludamentum*, the military scarf of the Roman soldiery, or the Greek *chlamys* itself, which was introduced under the Emperors [*Dict. of Gr. & Rom. Ant.* art. CHLAMYS]; it was especially worn by officers. The travelling *cloak* (φελόνης) referred to by St. Paul (2 Tim. iv. 13) is generally identified with the Roman *paenula*, of which it may be a corruption; the Talmudical writers have a similar name (פליון or פלניא). It is, however, otherwise explained as a travelling case for carrying clothes or books (Conybeare, *St. Paul*, ii. 499).

4. The customs and associations connected with dress are numerous and important, mostly arising from the peculiar form and mode of wearing the outer garments. The *beged*, for instance, could be applied to many purposes besides its proper use as a vestment; it was sometimes used to carry a burden (Ex. xii. 34; Judg. viii. 25; Prov. xxx. 4), as Ruth used her shawl (Ruth iii. 15); or to wrap up an article (1 Sam. xxi. 9); or again as an *impromptu* saddle (Matt. xxi. 7). Its most important use, however, was a coverlet at night (Ex. xxii. 27; Ruth iii. 9; Ezek. xvi. 8), whence the word is sometimes taken for bed-clothes (1 Sam. xix. 13; 1 K. i. 1): the Bedouin applies his *abba* to a similar purpose (Niebuhr, *Description*, p. 56). On this account a creditor could not retain it after sunset (Ex. xxii. 26; Deut. xxiv. 12, 13; cp. Job xxii. 6, xxiv. 7; Amos ii. 8). The custom of placing garments in pawn appears to have been very common, so much so that עֲבוֹט, *pledge* = a garment (Deut. xxiv. 12, 13); the accumulation of such pledges is referred to in Hab. ii. 6 (*that loadeth himself with* עַבְטִים, i.e. *pledges* [so R.V.]; where the A.V., following the LXX. and Vulg., reads עָב טִיט, "thick clay"); this custom prevailed in the time of our Lord, Who bids His disciples give up the ἱμάτιον=*beged*, in which they slept, as well as the χιτών (Matt. v. 40). At the present day it is not unusual to seize the *abba* as compensation for an injury: an instance is given in Wortabet's *Syria*, i. 293.

The loose flowing character of the Hebrew robes admitted of a variety of symbolical actions; rending them was expressive of various emotions, as grief (Gen. xxxvii. 29, 34; Job i. 20; 2 Sam. i. 2) [MOURNING], fear (1 K. xxi. 27; 2 K. xxii. 11, 19), indignation (2 K. v. 7, xi. 14; Matt. xxvi. 65), or despair (Judg. xi. 35; Esth. iv. 1): generally the outer garment alone was thus rent (Gen. xxxvii. 34; Job i. 20, ii. 12), occasionally the inner (2 Sam. xv. 32), and occasionally both (Ezra ix. 3; Matt. xxvi. 65, compared with Mark xiv. 63). Shaking the garments, or shaking the dust off them, was a sign of renunciation (Acts xviii. 6); spreading them before a person, of loyalty and joyous reception (2 K. ix. 13; Matt. xxi. 8); wrapping them round the head, of awe (1 K. xix. 13), or of grief (2 Sam. xv. 30; Esth. vi. 12; Jer. xiv. 3, 4); casting them off, of excitement (Acts xxii. 23); laying hold of them, of supplication (1 Sam. xv. 27; Is. iii. 6, iv. 1; Zech. viii. 23).

The length of the dress rendered it inconvenient for active exercise; hence the outer garments were either left in the house by a person working close by (Matt. xxiv. 18) or were thrown off when the occasion arose (Mark x. 50; John xiii. 4; Acts vii. 58); or, if this was not possible, as in the case of a person travelling, they were girded up (1 K. xviii. 46; 2 K. iv. 29, ix. 1; 1 Pet. i. 13): on entering a house, the upper garment was probably laid aside and resumed on going out (Acts xii. 8). In a sitting posture, the garments concealed the feet; this was held to be an act of reverence (Is. vi. 2; see Lowth's note). The proverbial expression in 1 Sam. xxv. 22; 1 K. xiv. 10, xxi. 21; 2 K. ix. 8, probably owes its origin to the length of the garments, which made another habit more natural (cp. Her. ii. 35; Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 2, § 16; Ammian. Marcell. xxiii. 6); the expression is variously understood to mean the *lowest* or the *youngest* of the people (Gesen. *Thesaur.* p. 1397; Jahn, *Archaeol.* i. 8, § 120). To cut the garments short was the grossest insult that a Jew could receive (2 Sam. x. 4; the word there used מדו is peculiarly expressive of the length of the garments). To raise the border or skirt of a woman's dress was a similar insult, implying her unchastity (Is. xlvii. 2; Jer. xiii. 22, 26; Nah. iii. 5).

The putting on and off of garments, and the ease with which it was accomplished, are frequently referred to; the Hebrew expressions for the first of these operations, as regards the outer robe, are לָבַשׁ, *to put on*, עָטָה, כָּסָה, and עָטַף, lit. *to cover*, the last three having special reference to the amplitude of the robes; and for the second פָּשַׁט, lit. *to expand*, which was the natural result of taking off a wide, loose garment. The ease of these operations forms the point of comparison in Ps. cii. 26; Jer. xliii. 12. In the case of closely-fitting robes the expression is חָגַר, lit. *to gird*, which is applied to the ephod (1 Sam. ii. 18; 2 Sam. vi. 14), to sackcloth (2 Sam. iii. 31; Is. xxxii. 11; Jer. iv. 8); the use of the term may illustrate Gen. iii. 7, where the garments used by our first parents are called חֲגֹרֹת (A. V. "aprons"), probably meaning such as could be wound round the body (see marg. rendering). The converse term is פָּתַח, *to loosen* or *unbind* (Ps. xxx. 11; Is. xx. 2).

The number of suits possessed by the Hebrews was considerable: a single suit consisted of an under and upper garment, and was termed עֵרֶךְ בְּגָדִים (στολὴ ἱματίων, i.e. *apparatus vestium*, LXX.; Judg. xvii. 10). Where more than one is spoken of, the suits are termed חֲלִיפוֹת (ἀλλασσόμεναι στολαί; cp. Hom. *Od.* viii. 249, εἵματα ἑξήμοιβά; *changes of raiment*, A. V.). These formed in ancient times one of the most usual presents among Orientals (Harmer, *Observations*, ii. 397 sq.); five (Gen. xlv. 22) and even ten changes (2 K. v. 5) were thus presented, while as many as thirty were proposed as a wager (Judg. xiv. 12, 19). The highest token of affection was to present the robe actually worn by the giver (1 Sam. xviii. 4; cp. Hom. *Il.* vi. 230; Harmer, ii. 388). The presentation of a robe in many instances amounted to installation or investiture (Gen. xli. 42; Esth. viii. 15; Is. xxii. 21; cp. Morier, *Second Journey*, p. 93); on the other hand, taking it away amounted to dismissal from office (2 Macc. iv. 38). The

production of the best robe was a mark of special honour in a household (Luke xv. 22). The number of robes thus received or kept in store for presents was very large, and formed one of the main elements of wealth in the East (Job xxvii. 16; Matt. vi. 19; Jas. v. 2), so that *to have clothing* = to be wealthy and powerful (Is. iii. 6, 7). On grand occasions the entertainer offered becoming robes to his guests (Trench on *Parables*, p. 231). Hence in large households a wardrobe (מְלְתָּחָה) was required for their preservation (2 K. x. 22; cp. Harmer, ii. 382), superintended by a special officer, named שֹׁמֵר הַבְּגָדִים, *keeper of the wardrobe* (2 Ch. xxxiv. 22). Robes reserved for special occasions are termed מַחֲלָצוֹת (A. V. "changeable suits"; R. V. "the festival robes" in Is. iii. 22; A. V. "change of raiment," R. V. "rich apparel" in Zech. iii. 4), because laid aside when the occasion was past.

The colour of the garment was, as we have already observed, generally white; hence a spot or stain readily showed itself (Is. lxiii. 3; Jude 23; Rev. iii. 4); reference is made in Lev. xiii. 47 sq. to a greenish or reddish spot of a leprous character. Jahn (*Archaeol.* i. 8, § 135) conceives this to be not the result of leprosy, but the depredations of a small insect. Schiling (*de Lepra*, p. 192) states that human leprosy taints clothes, and adds *sunt maculae omnino indelibiles;* but Dillmann points out that the passage in Lev. does not necessarily allude to clothes thus infected (Knobel-Dillmann in loco). Frequent washings and the application of the fuller's art were necessary to preserve the purity of the Hebrew dress. [SOAP; FULLER.]

The business of making clothes devolved upon women in a family (Prov. xxxi. 22; Acts ix. 39); little art was required in what we may term the tailoring department; the garments came forth for the most part ready made from the loom, so that the weaver supplanted the tailor. The references to sewing are therefore few: the term תָּפַר (Gen. iii. 7; Job xvi. 15; Eccles. iii. 7; Ezek. xiii. 18) was applied by the later Jews to *mending* rather than making clothes.

The Hebrews were open to the charge of extravagance in dress; Isaiah in particular (iii. 16 sq.) dilates on the numerous robes and ornaments worn by the women of his day. The same subject is referred to in Jer. iv. 30; Ezek. xvi. 10; Zeph. i. 8; Ecclus. xi. 4; 1 Tim. ii. 9; 1 Pet. iii. 3. [W. L. B.] [F.]

DRINK, STRONG (שֵׁכָר; σίκερα). The Hebrew term *shekar*, in its etymological sense, applies to any beverage that had *intoxicating* qualities: it is generally found connected with wine, either as an exhaustive expression for all other liquors (*e.g.* Judg. xiii. 4; Luke i. 15), or as parallel to it, particularly in poetical passages (*e.g.* Is. v. 11; Mic. ii. 11); in Num. xxviii. 7 and Ps. lxix. 12, however, it stands by itself and must be regarded as including wine. The Bible itself throws little light upon the nature of the mixtures described under this term. We may infer from Cant. viii. 2 that the Hebrews were in the habit of expressing the juice of other fruits besides the grape for the purpose of making wine: the pomegranate, which is there noticed, was probably one out of many fruits so used. In Is. xxiv. 9 there may be a reference to the *sweetness* of some kind of strong drink. In Num. xxviii. 7 *strong drink* is clearly used as equivalent to wine, which was ordered in Ex. xxix. 40. With regard to the application of the term in later times we have the explicit statement of Jerome (*Ep. ad Nepot.*[a]), as well as other sources of information, from which we may state that the following beverages were known to the Jews:—1. *Beer*, which was largely consumed in Egypt under the name of *zythus* (Herod. ii. 77; Diod. Sic. i. 34), and was thence introduced into Palestine (Mishna *Pesach.* 3, § 1). It was made of barley; certain herbs, such as lupin and skirrett, were used as substitutes for hops (Colum. x. 114). The *boozah* of modern Egypt is made of barley-bread, crumbled in water and left until it has fermented (Lane, i. 131): the Arabians mix it with spices (Burckhardt's *Arabia*, i. 213), as described in Is. v. 22. The Mishna (*l. c.*) seems to apply the term *shekar* more especially to a Median drink, probably a kind of beer made in the same manner as the modern *boozah;* the Edomite *chomets*, noticed in the same place, was probably another kind of beer, and may have held the same position among the Jews that bitter beer does among ourselves. 2. *Cider*, which is noticed in the Mishna (*Terum.* 11, § 2) as *apple-wine*. 3. *Honey-wine*, of which there were two sorts, one like the *οἰνόμελι* of the Greeks, which is noticed in the Mishna (*Shabb.* 20, § 2; *Terum.* 11, § 1) under a Hebraized form of that name, consisting of a mixture of wine, honey, and pepper; the other a decoction of the juice of the grape, termed *debash* (honey) by the Hebrews, and *dibs* by the modern Syrians, resembling the *ἕψημα* of the Greeks and the *defrutum* of the Romans, and similarly used, being mixed with wine, milk, or water. 4. *Date-wine*, which was also manufactured in Egypt (*οἶνος φοινικήϊος*, Herod. ii. 86, iii. 20). It was made by mashing the fruit in water in certain proportions (Plin. xiv. 19, § 3). A similar method is still used in Arabia, except that the fruit is not mashed (Burckhardt's *Arabia*, ii. 264): the palm-wine of modern Egypt is the sap of the tree itself, obtained by making an incision into its heart (Wilkinson, ii. 174 [1878]). 5. Various other fruits and vegetables are enumerated by Pliny (xiv. 19) as supplying materials for *factitious* or home-made wine, such as figs, millet, the carob fruit, &c. It is not improbable that the Hebrews applied *raisins* to this purpose in the simple Arabian manner (Burckhardt, ii. 377), viz., by putting them in jars of water and burying them in the ground until fermentation takes place. [W. L. B.]

DROMEDARY. The representative in the A. V. of the Hebrew words *bĕcer* or *bicrah*, *recesh* and *rammâc*. As to the two former terms, see under CAMEL.

1. *Recesh* (רֶכֶשׁ; *ἱππεύειν*, *ἅρμα*; *jumenta*, *veredarii*) is variously interpreted in the A. V.

[a] "Sicera Hebraeo sermone omnis potio, quae inebriare potest, sive illa, quae frumento conficitur sive pomorum succo, aut cum favi decoquuntur in dulcem et barbaram potionem, aut palmarum fructus exprimuntur in liquorem, coctisque frugibus aqua pinguior coloratur."

by "dromedaries" (1 K. iv. 28), "mules" (Esth. viii. 10, 14), "swift beasts" (Mic. i. 13), in all which passages the R. V. has "swift steeds." There seems to be no doubt that *recesh* denotes a "superior kind of horse," such as would be required when dispatch was necessary. It is derived from רָכַשׁ, "to *collect* the feet," and so "to gallop;" *i.e.* "the swift runner," or "galloper," applied especially to stallions.

2. *Rammâk* (רַמָּךְ: LXX. and Vulg. omit) occurs only in plur. form in Esth. viii. 10, in connexion with *benê*, "sons;" the expression *benê rammâkim* being an epexegesis of the Hebrew word *achashterânim*, "mules, the sons of mares." The Hebrew רַמָּךְ, "a mare," which the A. V. renders incorrectly "dromedary," but the R. V. accurately, "bred of the stud," is evidently allied to the Arabic رَمَكَة, *ramakah*, "a brood mare." [W. H.] [H. B. T.]

DRUSILLA (Δρουσίλλα; *Drusilla*). She was the third and youngest daughter of Herod Agrippa I., and was six years old at the time of his death (Jos. *Ant.* xix. 9, § 1). She had been betrothed by her father to Epiphanes, son of Antiochus, king of Commagene. But on the refusal of Epiphanes to conform to Judaism, Drusilla was given by her brother Herod Agrippa II. to Aziz, king of Emesa, who consented to be circumcised. This marriage did not turn out happily, and the envious illwill of her sister Berenice [BERNICE] added to her troubles. Felix, the procurator of Judaea, happened to see her, was struck with her remarkable beauty, and employed a friend of his, one Simon, a pretended sorcerer, to entice Drusilla to forsake her husband. This man is by some identified with Simon Magus, but his description as "a Cyprian" is against the identification. Simon succeeded, and we find Drusilla the wife of Felix at the time of St. Paul's imprisonment at Caesarea (Acts xxiv. 24). She must then have been about eighteen. Josephus, who gives the story, seems to think her transgression lay only in marrying one who was neither a Jew nor a proselyte (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 7, §§ 1, 2). She had a son by Felix named Agrippa, who died with his wife in the great eruption of Vesuvius in the reign of Titus. Drusilla's presence when Paul had his audience, and the fact of her being a Jewess, seem to be mentioned (Acts xxiv. 24) partly to account for Felix showing this interest in Christianity, and partly to give point to the Apostle's fearless preaching of self-control (ἐγκράτεια). [E. R. B.]

DUKE, Gen. xxxvi. 15, 40; Ex. xv. 15; Josh. xiii. 21 (R. V. marg. Or, *chief*), the Latin *dux* = a leader. Lumby points out that the title was extinct in England in 1611 when the A. V. was made, and the word was used literally of any chief (*Glossary of Bible Words* in Eyre and Spottiswoode's *Teachers' Bible*). [F.]

DULCIMER occurs in the A. V. and R. V. in Dan. iii. 5 (in *v.* 10 is another form of the same word) and *v.* 15.

Whatever the etymology of this so-called Latino-Greek word may be, the fact that "the people of the music of the future" call it *Hackbret* ("chopping-board") shows at once that *dulcimer* cannot be a wind-instrument. But if it be no wind-instrument, how can it represent the *Sumponeyah* (סוּמְפֹנְיָה), or *Supponeya* (סוּפַנְיָה), both of which, surely, are the equivalent of the Greek *συμφωνία*? The opinion expressed that *Sumponeyah* meant "a tube," "a pipe," is quite correct; but the "Semitic" *Sympon* (סִמְפוֹן) itself rests only on the Danielic passages quoted above. Now, these passages are hundreds of years older than any Talmudic or Midrashic passages which have the word *Sympon*. It is also noteworthy that the Rab Se'adyah, who explains *Sumponeyah* by *Sympon*, is not the exact and famous scholar, the *Gaon* (Head of the Academy of Suro. See Schiller-Szinessy, "Saadia," *Encycl. Britannica*,[9] vol. xxi.). The revisers of the A. V. were,

Assyrian Dulcimer. (Kouyunjik.)

therefore, nearer the truth when they gave (in marg. of Dan. iii. 5) for "dulcimer" the alternative rendering, *bagpipe*. [S. M. S.-S.]

DU'MAH (דּוּמָה; Δουμά, Ἰδουμά, Ἰδουμαία; *Duma*), an Ishmaelite tribe of Arabia, and thence the name of the principal place, or district, inhabited by that tribe. In Gen. xxv. 14, and 1 Ch. i. 30, the name occurs in the list of the sons of Ishmael; and in Isaiah (xxi. 11), in the "burden of Dumah," it is coupled with Seir, the forest of Arabia, and Kedar. The name of a town in the northern part of the peninsula, about halfway between Petra and the Euphrates, *Dûmat-el-Jendel*, is held by Gesenius, and other European authorities, to have been thus derived; and the opinion is strengthened by Arab traditionists, who have the same belief (*Mir-ât ez-Zemân*). The latter, however, err in writing

"*Dawmat-el-Jendel*" (دومة الجندل); while the lexicographers and geographers of their nation expressly state that it is correctly "*Dûmat-el-Jendel*," or "*Dûmá-el-Jendel*" (دومة الجندل, or دومآء الجندل), signifying "Dûmah of the stones or blocks of stone," of which it is said to have been built (*Sihâh*; Yâkût, *Mo'jam*, and *Mushtarak*, s. v.), indicating, perhaps, that the place was built of unhewn or Cyclopean masonry, similar to that of very ancient structures. The town itself, which is one of the "*Kureyyât*" of *Wâdi-l-Kurâ* (Yâkût, *Mo'jam*, *s. v.* Dûmah), is now called "*Jôf*" (see MV.[11]); and the fortress which it contains, appears to have had the special appellation of "*Mârid*" (مارد).

There are two *Dûmahs*; that named in this article, and *D. el-'Irâk*. The chief of one, a contemporary of Mohammad, is said to have founded the other, or to have given it the name of Dûmah; but most Arab authorities, and probability also, are in favour of the prior antiquity of the former. [E. S. P.]

DU'MAH (דּוּמָה = *silence*; B. Ῥεμνά, A. Ῥουμά; *Ruma*), a city in the mountainous district of Judah, near Hebron (Josh. xv. 52). In the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius and Jerome (*OS.*[2] 116, 4; 250, 68) it is named as a very large place (κώμη μεγίστη), 17 miles from Eleutheropolis, in the district of Daroma (*i.e.* "the south," from the Hebrew דָּרוֹם). It is now *ed-Dômeh*, a large ruin, with rock-hewn tombs first noticed by Robinson (i. 212). It is about 6 miles S.W. of Hebron, and 14 English miles from *Beit Jibrîn*, Eleutheropolis (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 313, 328; Guérin, *Judée*, iii. 359–60). [G.] [W.]

DUNG (גֵּלֶל, גָּלָל, צֵאָה, the latter always, and the two former generally, applied to men; דֹּמֶן, פֶּרֶשׁ, צֵפִיעַ, to brute animals, the second exclusively to animals offered in sacrifice, and the third to the dung of cows or camels). The uses of dung were twofold, as manure and as fuel. The manure consisted either of straw steeped in liquid manure (בְּמֵי מַדְמֵנָה, lit. *in dung water*, Is. xxv. 10), or the *sweepings* (סוֹחָה, Is. v. 25) of the streets and roads, which were carefully removed from about the houses and collected in heaps (אַשְׁפַּת) outside the walls of the towns at fixed spots (hence the dung-gate at Jerusalem, Neh. ii. 13), and thence removed in due course to the fields (Mishna *Sheb.* 3, §§ 1–3). To sit on a dung-heap was a sign of the deepest dejection (1 Sam. ii. 8; Ps. cxiii. 7; Lam. iv. 5: cp. Job ii. 8, LXX. and Vulg.). The mode of applying manure to trees was by digging holes about their roots and inserting it (Luke xiii. 8), as still practised in Southern Italy (Trench, *Parables*, p. 356). In the case of sacrifices the dung was burnt outside the camp (Ex. xxix. 14; Lev. iv. 11, viii. 17; Num. xix. 5): hence the extreme opprobrium of the threat in Mal. ii. 3. Particular directions were laid down in the Law to enforce cleanliness with regard to human ordure (Deut. xxiii. 12 sq.): it was the grossest insult to turn a man's house into a receptacle for it (מְחָרָאָה, 2 K. x. 27; נְוָלִי, Ezra vi. 11; Dan. ii. 5, iii. 29, "dunghill" A. V.). Public establishments of that nature are still found in the large towns of the East (Russell's *Aleppo*, i. 34). The expression to "cast out as dung" implied not only the offensiveness of the object, but also the ideas of *removal* (1 K. xiv. 10), and still more *exposure* (2 K. ix. 37; Jer. viii. 2). The reverence of the later Hebrews would not permit the pronunciation of some of the terms used in Scripture, and accordingly more delicate words were substituted in the margin (2 K. vi. 25, x. 27, xviii. 27; Is. xxxvi. 12). The occurrence of such names as Gilalai, Dimnah, Madmenah, and Madmannah, shows that these ideas of delicacy did not extend to ordinary matters. The term σκύβαλα ("dung," A. V., Phil. iii. 8) applies to refuse of any kind (cp. Ecclus. xxvii. 4).

The difficulty of procuring fuel in Syria, Arabia, and Egypt, has made dung in all ages valuable as a substitute: it was probably used for heating ovens and for baking cakes (Ezek. iv. 12, 15), the equable heat which it produced adapting it peculiarly for the latter operation. Cow's and camel's dung is still used for a similar purpose by the Bedouins (Burckhardt's *Notes*, i. 57): they even form a species of pan for frying eggs out of it (Russell, i. 39): in Egypt the dung is mixed with straw and formed into flat round cakes, which are dried in the sun (Lane, i. 252; ii. 141). [W. L. B.]

DUNGEON. [PRISON.]

DUNG PORT (Neh. ii. 13), one of the gates of Jerusalem. [W.]

DU'RA (דּוּרָא; Δεειρά; *Dura*), the plain where Nebuchadnezzar set up the golden image (Dan. iii. 1), has been sometimes identified with a tract a little below *Tekrit* (Ammianus Marcellinus) on the left bank of the Tigris (Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* p. 469), where the name of Dur is still found. But (1) this tract probably never belonged to Babylon; (2) at any rate it is too far from that site to be the place where the image was set up, for the plain of Dura was in the *province* or *district* of Babylon (בְּמְדִינַת בָּבֶל) probably corresponding in meaning with the native *ina piḫat Bâbili*, "in the district of Babylon"), and must therefore have been within or near the city. M. J. Oppert places the plain (or, as he calls it, "valley") of Dura to the south-east of Babylon, in the vicinity of the mound Dowair or Dúair, on which site he discovered the pedestal of a colossal statue. He regards the modern name as a corruption of the ancient appellation. That it is the plain of Shinar (as has been thought) is a mere conjecture. German Assyriologists seem inclined to identify Dura with the Babylonian Dûru, a word which simply means "the wall" or "fortification." It is noteworthy that the Greek form is Δεειρά, implying that the LXX. identified it with a name containing long *ê* (or *êi*) as the middle vowel. This would point to some such name as Dêru, which, however, seems to offer an even less satisfactory solution than the other. [G. R.] [T. G. P.]

E

EAGLE (נֶשֶׁר, *nesher;* Arab. نسر, *niss'r;* ἀετός; *aquila*). The Hebrew word, which occurs frequently in the O. T., is derived from a root signifying "to tear with the beak"; and is rendered "eagle" in A. V. and R. V. in all passages (but cp. Lev. xi. 13, Deut. xiv. 12, R. V. marg., *great vulture;* and in Micah i. 16, R. V. marg., *vulture*). The bird denoted by the Hebrew and Arabic name is beyond doubt the griffon vulture, *Gyps fulvus* (Gm.) of naturalists, a majestic bird, most abundant and never out of sight, whether on the mountains or the plains of Palestine. Everywhere it is a feature in the sky, as it circles higher and higher, till lost to all but the keenest sight, and then rapidly swoops down again. The Arabs never apply the term *niss'r* to any other bird than this, unless it be to the comparatively rarer species, the *cinereus* or black, and the eared vulture (*Vultur cinereus*, Gm., and *Otogyps auricularis*, Daud.), which they do not discriminate, and which have the same general characteristics and habits. The bird commonly known as the Egyptian vulture (Heb. רָחָם, Arab. رخمة), the universal scavenger of the East, *Neophron percnopterus* (L.), is always distinguished by its special name, and is an object of contempt, while the griffon is one of reverence. The true Eagle family is distinguished in Hebrew by many different names, rendered in the A. V. as ossifrage, kite, glede, osprey, &c.; and in Arabic eagles are designated collectively as عقاب, *uqab*, with a specific adjective for the various species. Our translators seem to have shrunk from the true rendering of *nesher*, through confusing the idea of the griffon with that of the Egyptian scavenger. Although the griffon feeds on carrion, or rather on fresh carcases, this habit is no less characteristic of the true eagles, which will never kill for themselves if they can find dead flesh; and it is very possible that the larger eagles which sometimes consort with the griffon are embraced under the same name; but while the latter may be seen by hundreds, the less conspicuous eagles are only to be counted by a few individuals here and there.

Eagle-headed figure. (N.W. Palace, Nimrud.)

The Assyrian deity Nisroch, in whose temple Sennacherib was murdered, is by Sir H. Layard considered to be typified by the eagle or griffon headed figure of a divinity so familiar in Assyrian monuments. This eagle-headed or vulture-headed human figure is continually introduced into the sculptures of Nineveh, contending with other mythic animals, and in their contests it appears to be always the conqueror. This illustrates the reverence in which the creature, so adopted as a symbol, was held. We may refer also to a fragment of the Zoroastrian oracles preserved by Eusebius: "God is he that has the head of a hawk." Sometimes the griffon head is attached to the body of a lion, and resembles the gryphon of Greek mythology, and is the original of the griffon of West European heraldry. The range of the griffon vulture is from Spain to India, and from the Alps to the Cape of Good Hope.

At least eight distinct kinds of eagles have been observed in Palestine: viz., the golden eagle (*Aquila Chrysaëtus*, L.), the spotted eagle (*Aquila clanga*, Pall.), the commonest species in the rocky districts (see *Ibis*, i. 23), the imperial eagle (*Aquila Heliaca*, Sav.), and the very common *Circaetos gallicus* (Gm.), which preys on the numerous *reptilia* of Palestine (for a figure of this, see OSPREY). The other four—*Aquila fasciata* V., *Aquila nipalensis* Hodg., *Aquila rapax* Tem., and *Aquila pennata* Gm.—are comparatively rare.[a]

[a] The reader will find the vernacular Arabic names of different species of Vulturidæ and Falconidæ in Loche's

The Persians used the eagle as their military emblem and standard. In Is. xlvi. 11, Cyrus is alluded to under the symbol of this bird: "calling a ravenous bird (עַיִט) from the East" (cp. Xen. *Cyrop.* vii. 4); and from Assyria and Persia the Romans probably borrowed the ensign, which has been adopted by so many modern nations, with more appropriateness of character than its bearers would be willing to acknowledge.

Aquila Heliaca.

Job accurately describes the habits of the griffon: "Doth the eagle (*nesher*) mount up at thy command, and make her nest on high? She dwelleth on the rock, and hath her lodging *there*, upon the crag of the rock and the strong hold. From thence she spieth out the prey; her eyes behold it afar off. Her young ones also suck up blood; and where the slain are, there is she" (xxxix. 27–30, R. V.).

So the fastnesses of Edom, amid the gorges of Petra, are described by Jeremiah as no security against the vengeance of Jehovah: "O thou that dwellest in the clefts of the rock, that holdest the height of the hill: though thou shouldest make thy nest as high as the eagle (*nesher*), I will bring thee down from thence, saith the Lord" (Job xlix. 16). While the eagles and other birds are content with lower elevations, and sometimes even with trees, the griffon alone, with the lammergeier, selects the stupendous gorges of Arabia Petraea and of the defiles of Palestine, and there in great communities rears its young, where the most intrepid climber can only with ropes and other appliances reach its nest.

The griffon's or eagle's swiftness of flight is the subject of frequent allusion in Scripture (Deut. xxviii. 49; 2 Sam. i. 23; Jer. iv. 13, xlix. 22; Lam. iv. 19, &c.); its mounting high into the air is referred to (in Prov. xxiii. 5, xxx. 19; Is. xl. 31; Jer. xlix. 16); its strength and vigour (in Ps. ciii. 5); its predaceous habits (in Job ix. 26; Prov. xxx. 17); the care in training its young to fly (in Ex. xix. 4; Deut. xxxii. 11); its powers of vision (in Job xxxix. 29).

The passage in Micah i. 16, "Enlarge thy baldness as the eagle" (R. V. marg. or, *vulture*), has been understood by Bochart (*Hieroz.* ii. 744) and others to refer to the eagle at the time of its moulting in the spring. Oedman (*Vermisch. Samm.* i. 64) erroneously refers the baldness spoken of by the prophet to point to the *Gypaetus barbatus*, the bearded vulture or lammergeier, which he supposed was bald. It is extremely improbable that there is any reference in the passage under consideration to eagles moulting. Allusion is here made to the custom of shaving the head as a token of mourning; but there would be little or no appropriateness in the comparison of a shaved head with an eagle at the time of moulting. But in the case of the griffon vulture (*Vultur fulvus*), the simile is peculiarly appropriate; it may be remarked that the Hebrew verb *kârach* (קָרַח) signifies "to make bald on the back part of the head;" the notion here conveyed is very applicable to the whole head and neck of this bird, which is destitute of true feathers, and either naked or thinly covered with a powdery down.

With regard to the texts referred to above, which compare the watchful and sustaining care of His people by the Almighty with that exhibited by the eagle in training its young ones to fly, we may quote a passage from Sir Humphry Davy, who says, "I once saw a very interesting sight above one of the crags of Ben Nevis, as I was going in the pursuit of black game. Two parent eagles were teaching their offspring, two young birds, the manœuvres of flight. They began by rising from the top of the mountain, in the eye of the sun. It was about mid-day, and bright for this climate. They at first made small circles, and the young birds imitated them. They paused on their wings, waiting till they had made their first flight, and then took a second and larger gyration; always rising towards the sun, and enlarging their circle of flight so as to make a gradually ascending spiral. The young ones still and slowly followed, apparently flying better as they mounted; and they continued this sublime exercise, always rising, till they became mere points in the air, and the young ones were lost, and afterwards their parents, to our aching sight." The expression in Exodus and Deuteronomy (*ll. cc.*), "beareth them on her wings," has been understood by Rabbinical writers and others to mean that the eagle does actually carry her young ones on her wings and shoulders. This is putting on the words a construction which they by no means are intended to convey; at the same time, it is not improbable that the parent bird assists the first efforts of her young by flying under them, thus sustaining them for a moment, and encouraging them in their early lessons.

In this connexion we may note that the griffon appears to have been sacred in the Egyptian mythology to Maut, the goddess of maternity.

In Ps. ciii. 5 it is said, "Thy youth is renewed like the eagle" (R. V.; see also Is. xl. 31). Some Jewish interpreters have illustrated this passage by a reference to the old fables about

Catalogue des Oiseaux observés en Algérie; and in *Ibis*, vols. i. ii., Tristram's papers on the Ornithology of North Africa.

the eagle being able to renew his strength when very old (see Bochart, *Hieroz.* ii. 747). Modern commentators for the most part are inclined to think that these words refer to the eagle after the moulting season, when the bird is more full of activity than before. We much prefer Hengstenberg's explanation on Ps. ciii. 5, "Thy youth is renewed, so that in point of strength thou art like the eagle."

The eagle (*nesher*), as emblematic of the Divine attributes, is one of the four living creatures in the vision of Ezekiel (i. 10), as also in that of St. John (Rev. iv. 7); to whom, from his keen insight into heavenly truths, and his near approach to the brightness of the Divine glory in the Revelation vouchsafed to him, this bird has been assigned as an emblem.

The ἀετοί of Matt. xxiv. 28, Luke xvii. 37, have evidently an inclusive sense; comprehending all the ravenous birds which invariably congregate round a field of battle. These are all the species of vulture, of eagle, and of

Eagles and Hare. (Nimrud.)

buzzard: among all these the griffon will preponderate in the proportion of twenty to one. These birds also accompany armies in their march, on the watch for the dead horses and baggage animals. During the Crimean war, round Sebastopol, where the griffon had previously been very scarce, immense numbers congregated; and came, as the Turks said, from the ends of the earth. The writer noticed during that period an unusual scarcity of these birds in North Africa.

Eagles are frequently represented in Assyrian sculptures attending the soldiers in their battles; portraying the common feature in Eastern battle-field scenery, of birds of prey awaiting to satisfy their hunger on the bodies of the slain. [W. H.] [H. B. T.]

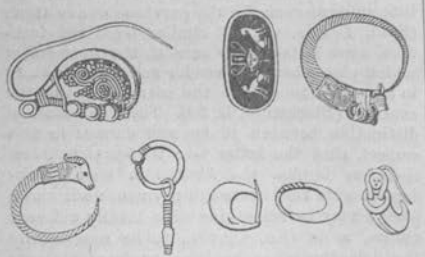
E'ANES (B. Μάνης; *Esses*), 1 Esd. ix. 21, a name which, according to the margin, stands for Harim in Ezra (x. 21), but which is really all that remains of the three names in Ezra—HARIM, MAASEIAH, and ELIJAH. The form Eanes is due to the Aldine misprint 'Ηάνης for Μάνης (see *Speaker's Comm.* in loco). [F.]

EAR, EARED, EARING (Gen. xlv. 6; Ex. xxxiv. 21; Deut. xxi. 4; 1 Sam. viii. 12; Is. xxx. 24) of the A. V. is now replaced in the R. V. by the modern equivalent "plough" or "plow." It comes from the Lat. *arare*, through the A.-S. *erian* (cp. *earth*, arable, i.e. *earable*, ground), and was one of the words "very reluctantly abandoned, and only because their meaning was unknown to many persons of good intelligence and education" (Revisers' Pref. to O. T.). [F.]

EARNEST. This term occurs only thrice in the A. V. and R. V. (2 Cor. i. 22, v. 5; Ephes. i. 14). The equivalent in the original is ἀρραβών, a Graecised form of עֵרָבוֹן, which was introduced by the Phoenicians into Greece, and also into Italy, where it reappears under the forms *arrhabo* and *arrha* (see further in MV.[11]). It may again be traced in the French *arrhes*, and in the Old English expression *Earl's* or *Arle's* money. The Hebrew word was used generally for *pledge* (Gen. xxxviii. 17), and in its cognate forms for *surety* (Prov. xvii. 18) and *hostage* (2 K. xiv. 14). The Greek derivative, however, acquired a more technical sense as signifying the *deposit* paid by the purchaser on entering into an agreement for the purchase of any thing (Suid. *Lex.* s. v.). A similar legal and technical sense attaches to *earnest*, the payment of which places both the vendor and the purchaser in a position to enforce the carrying out of the contract (Blackstone, ii. 30). There is a marked distinction between *pledge* and *earnest* in this respect, that the latter is a *part-payment*, and therefore implies the *identity* in kind of the deposit with the future full payment; whereas a pledge may be something of a totally different nature, as in Gen. xxxviii., to be resumed by the depositor when he has completed his contract. Thus the expression "*earnest* of the Spirit" implies, beyond the idea of security, the *identity* in kind, though not in degree, and the *continuity* of the Christian's privileges in this world and in the next. The payment of earnest-money under the name of *arrabon* is still a common occurrence of Arab life. [W. L. B.]

EARRINGS. The word נֶזֶם, by which these ornaments are usually described, is unfortunately ambiguous, originally referring to the nose-ring and thence transferred to the earring. The full expression for the latter is נֶזֶם אֲשֶׁר בְּאָזְנִים (Gen. xxxv. 4. Cp. Ex. xxxii. 2; Prov. xxv. 12), in contradistinction to נֶזֶם עַל-אַף (Gen. xxiv. 47. Cp. Prov. xi. 22; Is. iii. 21; Ezek. xvi. 12). In the majority of cases, however, the kind is not specified, and the only clue to the meaning is the context. The term occurs in this undefined sense in Judg. viii. 24, Job xlii. 11, Hos. ii. 13; the probability being that the nose-ring is intended. The material

of which the earring was made was generally gold (Ex. xxxii. 2), and its form circular, as we may infer from the name עֲגִיל, by which it is described (Num. xxxi. 50; Ezek. xvi. 12): such was the shape usual in Egypt (Wilkinson's *Anc. Egypt.* ii. 336, 338, 345). They were worn by the Hebrew women, by the youth of both sexes (Ex. *l. c.*), and—less commonly (cp. Kamphausen in Riehm's *HWB.* s. n. *Ohrringe*)—by men (Judg. viii. 24). In the latter passage the *amount of the gold* is the peculiarity adverted to, and not the character of the ornament, a peculiarity which is still noticeable among the inhabitants of Southern Arabia (Wellsted's *Travels*, i. 321). The earring appears to have been regarded with superstitious reverence as an amulet: thus it is named in the Chaldee and Samaritan Versions קְדִישָׁא, *a holy thing*; and in Is. iii. 20 the word לְחָשִׁים, prop. *amulets* (R. V.), is rendered in the A. V., after the LXX. and Vulg., *earrings*. [AMULET.] On this account they were surrendered along with the idols by Jacob's household (Gen. xxxv. 4). Chardin describes earrings, with talismanic figures and characters on them, as still existing in the East (Brown's *Antiquities*, ii. 305). Jewels were sometimes attached to the rings: they were called נְטִיפוֹת (from נָטַף, *to drop*), a word rendered in Judg. viii. 26 ὅρμισκοι, *monilia*; "collars," marg. or *sweet jewels*, A. V. (R. V. "pendants"), and in Is. iii. 19, κάθεμα; *torques*; "chains," marg. or *sweet balls*, A. V. (R. V. "pendants"). The size



Egyptian Earrings. (From Wilkinson.)

of the earrings still worn in Eastern countries far exceeds what is usual among ourselves (Harmer's *Obs.*, iv. 311, 314); hence they form a handsome present (Job xlii. 11), or offering to the service of God (Num. xxxi. 50). [W. L. B.] [F.]

EARTH. This term is used in two widely different senses: (1) for the material of which the earth's surface is composed; (2) as the name of the planet on which man dwells. The Hebrew language discriminates between these two by the use of separate terms, *Adamah* (אַדָמָה) for the former, *Erets* (אֶרֶץ) for the latter. As the two are essentially distinct, we shall notice them separately.

1. *Adamah* is the *earth* in the sense of soil or ground, particularly as being susceptible of cultivation; hence the expression *ish adamah* for an agriculturist (Gen. ix. 20). The *earth* supplied the elementary substance of which man's body was formed, and the terms *adam* and *adamah* are brought into juxtaposition, implying an etymological connexion (Gen. ii. 7). [ADAM.] The opinion that man's body was formed of earth prevailed among the Greeks (Hesiod, *Op. et Di.* 61, 70; Plat. *Rep.* p. 269), the Romans (Virg. *Georg.* ii. 341; Ovid, *Met.* i. 82), the Egyptians (Diod. Sic. i. 10), and other ancient nations. It is evidently based on the observation of the material into which the body is resolved after death (Job x. 9; Eccles. xii. 7). The law prescribed earth as the material out of which altars were to be raised (Ex. xx. 24); Bähr (*Symb.* i. 488) sees in this a reference to the name *adam*: others with more reason compare the *ara de cespite* of the Romans (Ov. *Trist.* v. 5, 9; Hor. *Od.* iii. 8. 4, 5), and view it as a precept of simplicity. Naaman's request for two mules' burthen of earth (2 K. v. 17) was based on the idea that Jehovah, like the heathen deities, was a local god, and could be worshipped acceptably only on his own soil.

2. *Erets*, the etymology of which is still uncertain (cp. Delitzsch [1887] on Gen. i. 10, and, on the other hand, MV.[11] s.n. אֶרֶץ), is applied in a more or less extended sense:—1, to the whole world (Gen. i. 1); 2, to land as opposed to sea (Gen. i. 10); 3, to a country (Gen. xxi. 32); 4, to a plot of ground (Gen. xxiii. 15); and 5, to the ground on which a man stands (Gen. xxxiii. 3). The two former senses alone concern us, the first involving an inquiry into the opinions of the Hebrews on Cosmogony, the second on Geography.

I. COSMOGONY.—The views of the Hebrews on this subject are confessedly imperfect and obscure. This arises partly from the ulterior objects which led them to the study of natural science, and still more from the poetical colouring with which they expressed their opinions. The Books of Genesis, Job, and Psalms supply the most numerous notices: of these, the two latter are strictly poetical works, and their language must be measured by the laws of poetical expression; in the first alone have we anything approaching to an historical and systematic statement, and even this is but a sketch—an outline—which ought to be regarded at the same distance, from the same point of view, and through the same religious medium as its author regarded it. The act of Creation itself, as recorded in the first chapter of Genesis, is a subject beyond and above the experience of man; human language, derived, as it originally was, from the sensible and material world, fails to find an adequate term to describe the act; for our word "create" and the Hebrew *bara*, though most appropriate to express the idea of an original creation, are yet applicable and must necessarily be applicable to other modes of creation; nor does the addition of such expressions as "out of things that were not" (ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, 2 Macc. vii. 28) or "not from things which appear" (μὴ ἐκ φαινομένων, Heb. xi. 3) contribute much to the force of the declaration. The absence of a term which shall describe exclusively an original creation is a necessary infirmity of language: as the event occurred but once, the corresponding term must, in order to be adequate, have been coined for the occasion and reserved for it alone, which would have been impossible. The same observation applies, though in a modified degree, to the description of the various processes subsequent to the existence of original matter (cp. Delitzsch, *Genesis* [1887], p. 40). Moses viewed

matter and all the forms of matter in their relations primarily to God, and secondarily to man—as manifesting the glory of the former, and as designed for the use of the latter. In relation to the former, he describes Creation with the special view of illustrating the Divine attributes of power, goodness, wisdom, and accordingly he throws this narrative into a form which impresses the reader with the sense of these attributes. In relation to the latter he selects his materials with the special view of illustrating the subordination of all the orders of material things to the necessities and comforts of man. With these objects in view, it ought not to be a matter of surprise, if the simple narrative of Creation omits much that scientific research has since supplied, and appears in a guise adapted to those objects. The subject itself is throughout one of a transcendental character; it should consequently be subjected to the same standard of interpretation as other passages of the Bible, descriptive of objects which are entirely beyond the experience of man, such as the day of judgment, the states of heaven and hell, and the representations of the Divine Majesty. The style of criticism applied to Gen. i. by the opponents, and not unfrequently by the supporters of Revelation, is such as would be subversive of many of the most noble and valuable portions of the Bible. With these prefatory remarks we proceed to lay down what appear to us to be the leading features of Hebrew Cosmogony.[a]

1. The earth was regarded not only as the central point of the universe, but as the universe itself, every other body—the heavens, sun, moon, and stars—being subsidiary to and, as it were, the complement of the earth. The Hebrew language has no expression equivalent to our *universe:* "the heavens and the earth" (Gen. i. 1, xiv. 19; Ex. xxxi. 17) has been regarded as such; but it is clear that the heavens were looked upon as a necessary adjunct of the earth —the curtain of the tent in which man dwells (Is. xl. 22), the sphere above which fitted the sphere below (cp. Job xxii. 14 and Is. xl. 22)—designed solely for purposes of beneficence in the economy of the earth. This appears from the account of its creation and offices: the existence of the heaven was not prior to or contemporaneous with that of the earth, but subsequent to it; it was created on the second day (Gen. i. 6). The term under which it is described, *rakia* (רָקִיעַ), is significant of its *extension*, that it was *stretched out* as a curtain (Ps. civ. 2) over the surface of the earth. Moreover it depended upon the earth; it had its "foundations" (2 Sam. xxii. 8) on the edges of the earth's circle, where it was supported by the mountains as by massive pillars (Job xxvi. 11). Its offices were (1) to support the waters which were above it (Gen. i. 7; Ps. cxlviii. 4), and thus to form a mighty reservoir of rain and snow, which were to pour forth through its windows (Gen. vii. 11; Is. xxiv. 18) and doors (Ps. lxxviii. 23), as through opened sluice-gates, for the fructification of the earth; (2) to serve as the *substratum* (στερέωμα or firmament) in which the celestial bodies were to be fixed. As with the heaven itself, so also with the heavenly bodies; they were regarded solely as the ministers of the earth. Their offices were (1) to give light; (2) to separate between day and night; (3) to be for *signs*, as in the case of eclipses or other extraordinary phenomena; for *seasons*, as regulating seed-time and harvest, summer and winter, as well as religious festivals; and for *days* and *years*, the length of the former being dependent on the sun, the latter being estimated by the motions both of sun and moon (Gen. i. 14–18); so that while it might truly be said that they held "dominion" over the earth (Job xxxviii. 33), that dominion was exercised solely for the convenience of the tenants of earth (Ps. civ. 19–23). So entirely indeed was the existence of heaven and the heavenly bodies designed for the earth, that with the earth they shall simultaneously perish (2 Pet. iii. 10): the curtain of the tent shall be rolled up and the stars shall of necessity drop off (Is. xxxiv. 4; Matt. xxiv. 29)—their sympathy with earth's destruction being the counterpart of their joyous song when its foundations were laid (Job xxxviii. 7).

2. The earth was regarded in a twofold aspect: in relation to God, as the manifestation of His infinite attributes; in relation to man, as the scene of his abode. (1.) The Hebrew cosmogony is based upon the leading principle that the universe exists, not independently of God, by any necessity or any inherent power, nor yet contemporaneously with God, as being co-existent with Him, nor yet in opposition to God, as a hostile element, but dependently upon Him, subsequently to Him, and in subjection to Him. The opening words of Genesis express in broad terms this leading principle; however difficult it may be, as we have already observed, to express this truth adequately in human language, yet there can be no doubt that the subordination of matter to God in every respect is implied in that passage, as well as in other passages, too numerous to quote, which comment upon it. The same great principle runs through the whole history of Creation: matter owed all its forms and modifications to the Will of God: in itself dull and inert, it received its first vivifying capacities from the influence of the Spirit of God brooding over the deep (Gen. i. 2); the progressive improvements in its condition were the direct and miraculous effects of God's Will; no interposition of secondary causes is recognised: "He spake, and it was" (Ps. xxxiii. 9); and the pointed terseness and sharpness with which the [Elohistic] writer sums up the whole transaction in the three expressions "God said," "it was so," "God saw that it was good"—the first declaring the Divine volition, the second the immediate result, the third the perfectness of the work—harmonise aptly with the view which he intended to express. Thus the earth became in the eyes of the pious Hebrew the scene on which the Divine perfections were displayed:

[a] The student may compare the Hebrew with the Phoenician and Babylonian cosmogonies by the aid of Delitzsch, *Genesis* [1887], pp. 40–1; Lenormant, *Origines de l'Histoire*, I. 1 sq., 36 sq., 536 sq.; G. Smith, *The Chaldean Account of Genesis* [*Records of the Past*, N. S. i. 122 sq.]; Jensen, *Kosmologie d. Babylonier*. Cp. also on the subject, "Genesis and Science," Driver, *The Cosmogony of Genesis* (*Expositor*, 1886, p. 23 sq.); Stokes, Pritchard, and Bonney (*Expositor*, 1891, pp. 42, &c.): and for exegetical treatment, Bishop Perowne (*Expositor*, 1890, p. 241 sq.). Consult also the *Com.* of Dillmann[6]; and see GENESIS.—[F.]

the heavens (Ps. xix. 1), the earth (Ps. xxiv. 1, civ. 24), the sea (Job xxvi. 10; Ps. lxxxix. 9; Jer. v. 22), "mountains and hills, fruitful trees and all cedars, beasts and all cattle, creeping things and flying fowl" (Ps. cxlviii. 9, 10), all displayed one or other of the leading attributes of His character. So also with the ordinary operations of nature—the thunder was His voice (Job xxxvii. 5); the lightnings His arrows (Ps. lxxvii. 17); wind and storm His messengers (Ps. cxlviii. 8); the earthquake, the eclipse, and the comet, the signs of His Presence (Joel ii. 10; Matt. xxiv. 29; Luke xxi. 25).

(2.) The earth was regarded in relation to man, and accordingly each act of creation is a preparation of the earth for his abode—light, as the primary condition of all life; the heavens, for purposes already detailed; the dry land, for his home; "grass for the cattle, and herb for the service of man" (Ps. civ. 14); the alternations of day and night, the one for his work and the other for his rest (Ps. civ. 23); fish, fowl, and flesh for his food; the beasts of burden, to lighten his toil. The work of each day of Creation has its specific application to the requirements and the comforts of man, and is recorded with that special view.

3. Creation was regarded as a progressive work—a gradual development from the inferior to the superior orders of things. Thus it was with the earth's surface, at first a chaotic mass, *waste and empty*, well described in the paronomastic terms *tohu*, *bohu*, overspread with waters and enveloped in darkness (Gen. i. 2), and thence gradually brought into a state of order and beauty so conspicuous as to have led the Latins to describe it by the name *Mundus*. Thus also with the different portions of the universe, the earth before the light, the light before the firmament, the firmament before the dry land. Thus also with light itself: at first the elementary principle, separated from the darkness, but without defined boundaries; afterwards the illuminating bodies with their distinct powers and offices—a progression that is well expressed in the Hebrew language by the terms *ôr* and *maôr* (מָאוֹר, אוֹר). Thus also with the orders of living beings: first, plants; secondly, fish and birds; thirdly, cattle; and lastly, man. From "good" in the several parts to "very good" as a whole (Gen. i. 31), such was its progress in the judgment of the Omnipotent Workman.

4. Order involves time; a succession of events implies a succession of periods; and accordingly Moses assigns the work of creation to six days, each having its specific portion—light to the first, the firmament to the second, the dry land and plants to the third, the heavenly bodies to the fourth, fish and fowl to the fifth, beasts and man to the sixth. The manner in which these acts are described as having been done, precludes all idea of time in relation to their performance: it was miraculous and perhaps instantaneous: "God said" and then "it was." But the progressiveness, and consequently the individuality of the acts, do involve an idea of time as elapsing between the completion of one and the commencement of another; otherwise the work of Creation would have resolved itself into a single continuous act. The period assigned to each individual act is a day—the only period which represents the entire cessation of a work through the interposition of night. That a natural day is represented under the expression "evening was and morning was," admits, we think, of no doubt; the term "day," when alone, may refer sometimes to an indefinite period contemporaneous with a single event; but when the individual parts of a day, "evening and morning," are specified, and when a series of such days are noticed in their numerical order, no analogy of language admits of our understanding the term in anything else than its literal sense [Driver, p. 26]. The Hebrews had no other means of expressing the civil day of 24 hours than as "evening *and* morning" (עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר, Dan. viii. 14; R.V.), similar to the Greek *νυχθήμερον*; and although the alternation of light and darkness lay at the root of the expression, yet the Hebrews in their use of it no more thought of those elements than do we when we use the term *fortnight* or *se'nnight:* in each case the lapse of a certain time, and not the elements by which that time is calculated, is intended; so that, without the least inconsistency either of language or of reality, the expression may be applied to the days previous to the creation of the sun. The application of the same expression to the events subsequent to the creation of the sun, as well as the use of the word "day" in the fourth commandment without any indications that it is used in a different sense, or in any other than the literal acceptation of Gen. i. 5 sq., confirm the view above stated. The interpretation that "evening and morning" = *beginning* and *end*, is opposed not only to the order in which the words stand, but to the sense of the words elsewhere.

5. The Hebrews, though regarding Creation as the immediate act of God, did not ignore the evident fact that existing materials and intermediate agencies were employed both then and in the subsequent operations of nature. Thus the simple fact "God created man" (Gen. i. 27) is amplified by the subsequent notice of the material substance of which his body was made (Gen. ii. 7); and so also of the animals (Gen. i. 24, ii. 19). The separation of sea and land, attributed in Gen. i. 6 to the Divine fiat, was seen to involve the process of partial elevations of the earth's surface (Ps. civ. 8, "the mountains ascend, the valleys descend;" cp. Prov. viii. 25–28). The formation of clouds and the supply of moisture to the earth, which in Gen. i. 7 was provided by the creation of the firmament, was afterwards attributed to its true cause in the continual return of the waters from the earth's surface (Eccles. i. 7). The existence of the element of light, as distinct from the sun (Gen. i. 3, 14; Job xxxviii. 19), has likewise been explained as the result of a philosophically correct view as to the nature of light; more probably, however, it was founded upon the incorrect view that the light of the moon was independent of the sun.

6. With regard to the earth's body, the Hebrews conceived its surface to be an immense disc, supported, like the flat roof of an Eastern house, by pillars (Job ix. 6; Ps. lxxv. 3), which rested on solid foundations (Job xxxviii. 4, 6; Ps. civ. 5; Prov. viii. 29); but where those foundations were on which the "sockets" of the pillars rested, none could tell (Job xxxviii. 6). The more philosophical view of the earth being

suspended in free space seems to be implied in Job xxvi. 7; nor is there any absolute contradiction between this and the former view, as the pillars of the earth's surface may be conceived to have been founded on the deep bases of the mountains, which bases themselves were unsupported. Other passages (Ps. xxiv. 2, cxxxvi. 6) seem to imply the existence of a vast subterraneous ocean; the words, however, are essentially poetical, even if susceptible of the sense that the earth was elevated above the level of the seas (cp. Delitzsch and Perowne, *Comm.* in loc.); and that this is the sense in which they are to be accepted, appears from the converse expression "water under the earth" (Ex. xx. 4), which, as contrasted with "heaven above" and "earth beneath," evidently implies the comparative elevation of the three bodies.

Beneath the earth's surface was *sheol* (שְׁאוֹל), the *hollow* place, "hell" [R.V. "pit"] (Num. xvi. 30; Deut. xxxii. 22; Job xi. 8), the "house appointed for the living" (Job xxx. 23), a "land of darkness" (Job x. 21), to which were ascribed in poetical language gates (Is. xxxviii. 10) and bars (Job xvii. 16), and which had its valleys or deep places (Prov. ix. 18). It extended beneath the sea (Job xxvi. 5, 6), and was thus supposed to be conterminous with the upper world.

II. GEOGRAPHY.—We shall notice (1) the views of the Hebrews as to the form and size of the earth, its natural divisions, and physical features; (2) the countries into which they divided it and their progressive acquaintance with those countries. The world in the latter sense was sometimes described by the poetical term *tebel* (תֵּבֵל), corresponding to the Greek *οἰκουμένη* (Is. xiv. 21).

1. In the absence of positive statements we have to gather the views of the Hebrews as to the form of the earth from scattered allusions, and these for the most part in the poetical Books, where it is difficult to decide how far the language is to be regarded as literal, and how far as metaphorical. There seem to be traces of the same ideas as prevailed among the Greeks, that the world was a disc (Is. xl. 22; the word חוּג, *circle*, is applied exclusively to the circle of the horizon whether bounded by earth, sea, or sky), bordered by the ocean (Deut. xxx. 13; Job xxvi. 10; Ps. cxxxix. 9; Prov. viii. 27), with Jerusalem as its centre (Ezek. v. 5), which was thus regarded, like Delphi, as the *navel* (טַבּוּר; Judg. ix. 37; Ezek. xxxviii. 12; LXX.; Vulg.), or, according to another view (Gesen. *Thesaur.* s. v.), the highest point of the world. The passages quoted in support of this view admit of a different interpretation: Jerusalem might be regarded as the centre of the world, not only as the seat of religious light and truth, but to a certain extent in a geographical sense; for Palestine was situated between the important empires of Assyria and Egypt; and not only between them but above them, its elevation above the plains on either side contributing to the appearance of its centrality. A different view has been gathered from the expression "four corners" (כַּנְפוֹת, generally applied to the skirts of a garment: see the Assyrian form in MV.[11]), as though implying the quadrangular shape of a garment stretched out, according to Eratosthenes' comparison; but the term "corners" may be applied in a metaphorical sense to the extreme ends of the world (Job xxxvii. 3, xxxviii. 13; Is. xi. 12, xxiv. 16; Ezek. vii. 2). Finally, it is suggested by Bähr (*Symbolik*, i. 170) that these two views may have been held together, the former as the actual and the latter as the symbolical representation of the earth's form. As to the size of the earth, the Hebrews had but a very indefinite notion; in many passages the "earth," or "whole earth," is used as co-extensive with the Babylonian (Is. xiii. 5, xiv. 7 sq., xxiv. 17) or Assyrian empire (Is. x. 14, xiv. 26, xxxvii. 18), just as at a later period the Roman empire was styled *orbis terrarum;* the "ends of the earth" (קְצוֹת) in the language of prophecy applied to the nations on the border of these kingdoms, especially the Medes (Is. v. 26, xiii. 5) in the east, and the islands and coasts of the Mediterranean in the west (Is. xli. 5, 9); but occasionally the boundary was contracted in this latter direction to the eastern shores of the Mediterranean (Is. xxiv. 16; Zech. ix. 10; Ps. lxxii. 8). Without unduly pressing the language of prophecy, it may be said that the views of the Hebrews as to the size of the earth extended but little beyond the nations with which they came in contact; its solidity is frequently noticed, its dimensions but seldom (Job xxxviii. 18; Is. xlii. 5). We shall presently trace the progress of their knowledge in succeeding ages.

The earth was divided into four quarters or regions corresponding to the four points of the compass: these were described in various ways, sometimes according to their positions relatively to a person facing the east, *before* (קֶדֶם), *behind* (אָחוֹר), the *right* hand (יָמִין), and the *left* hand (שְׂמֹאל), representing respectively E., W., S., and N. (Job xxiii. 8, 9); sometimes relatively to the sun's course, the *rising* (מִזְרָח), the *setting* (מָבוֹא, Ps. l. 1), the *brilliant* quarter (דָּרוֹם, Ezek. xl. 24), and the *dark* quarter (צָפוֹן, Ex. xxvi. 20; cp. the Greek ζόφος, Hom. *Il.* xii. 240); sometimes as the seat of the four winds (Ezek. xxxvii. 9); and sometimes according to the physical characteristics, the *sea* (יָם) for the W. (Gen. xxviii. 14), the *parched* (נֶגֶב; see Dillmann[5] on Gen. xii. 9) for the S. (Ex. xxvii. 9), and the mountains (הָרִים) for the N. (Is. xiii. 4). The North appears to have been regarded as the highest part of the earth's surface, in consequence perhaps of the mountain ranges which existed there, and thus the heaviest part of the earth (Job xxvi. 7). The North was also, according to some, the quarter in which the Hebrew *el-Dorado* lay, the land of gold mines (Job xxxvii. 22, *margin*, but R. V. "golden splendour;" cp. Herod. iii. 116).

These terms are very indistinctly used when applied to special localities; for we find the North assigned as the quarter of Assyria (Jer. iii. 18), Babylonia (Jer. vi. 22), and the Euphrates (Jer. xlvi. 10), and more frequently Media (Jer. l. 3; cp. li. 11), while the South is especially represented by Egypt (Is. xxx. 6; Dan. xi. 5). The Hebrews were not more exact in the use of terms descriptive of the physical features of the earth's surface; for instance, the same term (יָם) is applied to the sea (Mediterranean), to the lakes

of Palestine, and to great rivers, such as the Nile (Is. xviii. 2), and perhaps the Euphrates (Is. xxvii. 1): mountain (הַר) signifies not only high ranges, such as Sinai or Ararat, but an elevated region (Josh. xi. 16); river (נָהָר) is occasionally applied to the sea (Jon. ii. 3; Ps. xxiv. 2) and to canals fed by rivers (Is. xliv. 27). Their vocabulary, however, was ample for describing the special features of the lands with which they were acquainted, the terms for the different sorts of valleys, mountains, rivers, and springs being very numerous and expressive. We cannot fail to be struck with the adequate ideas of descriptive geography expressed in the directions given to the spies (Num. xiii. 17-20) and in the closing address of Moses (Deut. viii. 7–9); nor less, with the extreme accuracy and the variety of almost technical terms, with which the boundaries of the various tribes are described in the Book of Joshua, warranting the assumption that the Hebrews had acquired the art of surveying from the Egyptians (Jahn, i. 6, § 104).

2. We proceed to give a brief sketch of the geographical knowledge of the Hebrews down to the period when their distinctive names and ideas were superseded by those of classical writers. The chief source of information open to them, beyond the circle of their own experience, was their intercourse with the Phoenician traders. While the first made them acquainted with the nations from the Tigris to the African desert, the second informed them of the coasts of the Mediterranean, the regions of the North, and the southern districts of Arabia. From the Assyrians and Babylonians they gained some slight knowledge of the distant countries of India, and perhaps even China.[b]

Of the physical objects noticed we may make the following summary, omitting of course the details of the geography of Palestine:—(1.) *Seas*—the Mediterranean, which was termed the "*great* sea" (Num. xxxiv. 6), the "sea of the Philistines" (Ex. xxiii. 31), and the "western sea" (Deut. xi. 24); the Red Sea, under the names of the "sea of Suph," *sedge* (Ex. x. 19; see MV.[11] סוּף), and the "Egyptian sea" (Is. xi. 15); the Dead Sea, under the names "Salt Sea" (Gen. xiv. 3), "Eastern Sea" (Joel ii. 20), and "Sea of the Desert" (Deut. iv. 49); and the Sea of Chinnereth, or Galilee (Num. xxxiv. 11). (2.) *Rivers*—the Euphrates, which was specifically "*the* river" (Gen. xxxi. 21), or "the great river" (Deut. i. 7); the Nile, which was named either Yor (Gen. xli. 1) or Sihor (Josh. xiii. 3); the Tigris, under the name of Hiddekel (Dan. x. 4); the Chebar, *Chaboras*, a tributary of the Euphrates (Ezek. i. 3); the Habor, probably the same, but sometimes identified with the *Chaboras* that falls into the Tigris (2 K. xvii. 6); the river of Egypt (Num. xxxiv. 5); and the rivers of Damascus, Abana (*Barada*) and Pharpar (2 K. v. 12). For the Gihon and Pison (Gen. ii. 11, 13), see EDEN. (3.) *Mountains*—Ararat or Armenia (Gen. viii. 4); Sinai (Ex. xix. 2); Horeb (Ex. iii. 1); Hor (Num. xx. 22) near Petra; Lebanon (Deut. iii. 25); and Sephar (Gen. x. 30) in Arabia.

The distribution of the nations over the face of the earth is systematically described in Gen. x.;[c] to which account subsequent, though not very important, additions are made in chs. xxv. and xxxvi., and in the Prophetical and Historical Books. The table in Gen. x. is partly ethnographical, but the historico-geographical element is more strongly developed (Dillmann): the writer had in his mind's eye not only the descent but the *residence* of the various nations. Some of the names indeed seem to be purely geographical designations: Aram, for instance, means *high lands* (?); Canaan, *low lands* (see MV.[11]); Eber, the land *across*, or *beyond*; Sidon, *fishing* station; Madai, *central* land (?); Tarshish, *conquered* (?); Mizraim, still more remarkable from its dual form, the Upper and Lower Egypts; Ophir, the *rich* land (?). It has indeed been surmised that the names of the three great divisions of the family of Noah are also in their origin geographical terms: Japhet, the *widely-extended* regions of the North and West; Ham, the country of the *black* soil, Egypt; and Shem, the *mountainous* country: all this is, however, more than doubtful.

In endeavouring to sketch out a map of the world, as described in Gen. x., it must be borne in mind that, in cases where the names of the races have not either originated in or passed over to the lands they occupied, the locality must be more or less doubtful; for the migrations of the various tribes in the long lapse of ages led to the transfer of the name from one district to another, so that even in Biblical geography the same name may at different periods indicate a widely different locality. Thus Magog in the Mosaic table may have been the Scythian people of the Caucasus, and in Ezekiel's record (xxxix. 6) that invading host which passed south as far as Egypt; Gomer at the former period north of the Pontus Euxinus, at the latter in Asia Minor. Again, the terms may have varied with the extending knowledge of the earth's surface: Chittim, originally Cyprus, was afterwards applied to the islands and coasts of Greece (Jer. ii. 10; Ezek. xxvii. 6), to Macedonia in the age of the Maccabees (1 Macc. i. 1, viii. 5), if not even to Italy in the prophecies of Daniel (xi. 30). Possibly a solution may be found for the occurrence of more than one Dedan, Sheba, and Havilah, in the belief that these names represent districts of a certain character, of which several might exist in different parts. From the above remarks it will appear how numerous are the elements of uncertainty introduced into this subject; unanimity of opinion is almost impossible; nor need it cause surprise, if even in the present article the views of different writers are found at variance. The principle on which the following statement has been compiled is this—to assign to the Mosaic table the narrowest limits within which the nations have been, according to the best authorities, located, and then to trace out, so far as our means admit, the changes which those nations experienced in Biblical times.

[b] The geographical questions arising out of the description of the garden of Eden are discussed in a separate article. [EDEN.]

[c] Where so much difference of opinion exists, it has been thought better to modify but slightly the statements of the writer in the text. The student may be referred to Delitzsch [1887] and Dillmann[5] for a critical summary of the points in dispute, and for the special literature which examines them at length.—[F.]

Commencing (x. 2–4) from the West, the "isles of the Gentiles," *i.e.* the coasts and islands of the Mediterranean Sea, were occupied by the Japhetites in the following order:—Javan, the *Ionians*, perhaps Greeks generally; Elishah, perhaps the *Aeolians* of Greece and Asia Minor (al. *Sicily*); Dodanim, the *Dardani*, in Illyricum (al. Rodanim, the *Rhodians* of the Aegean Sea); Tiras, perhaps the *Tyrsenes* of the Aegean (al. the Scythians near the river Tyras); Chittim (see above); Ashkenaz, here, probably, the Phrygians; Gomer (see above), and Tarshish of the Aegean Sea. In the North, Tubal, the *Tibareni*, in Pontus; Meshech, the *Moschi* in Colchis (possibly, however, Tibarenes and Moschi of a less northerly latitude; see Dillmann[5]); Magog (see above); Togarmah in (Western?) Armenia; and Madai in Media. The Hamites (x. 6–20) represent the southern parts of the known world: Cush, probably an appellative similar to the Greek *Aethiopia*, and possibly applicable to all the dark races of Arabia and Eastern Africa; Mizraim to Egypt (see above); Phut to Libya; Naphtuhim (possibly dwellers in Central Egypt), and Lehabim or Libyans; Caphtorim, the Cretans; Casluhim, possibly the dwellers between the Nile and the border of Palestine; Pathrusim in the Thebaïd; Seba on the Arabian Sea (?); Sabtah, on the western coast of the Arabian Sea; Havilah, nearer to the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb; and Sabtechah, possibly on the Persian Gulf;—Raamah and Dedan, according to some, on the south-western coast of the same gulf; according to others, African tribes. In the central part of the world (x. 21–31) were the Shemites: Elam, *Elymais* and *Susiana*, in Persia; Asshur in *Assyria;* Arphaxad, *Arrapachitis*, in Northern Assyria; Lud in *Lydia* (though not limiting the name to the western province of Asia Minor); Aram in Syria and Mesopotamia, and the descendants of Joktan in the peninsula of Arabia.

This sketch is filled up, so far as regards Northern Arabia, by a subsequent account, in xxv. 12, &c. (consult the *Comm.* of Delitzsch [1887] and Dillmann[5]), of the settlement of the descendants of Abraham by Keturah and of Ishmael. The geographical position of many is uncertain; but we are acquainted with that of the Midianites among the sons of Abraham, and of Nebaioth, *Nabataea;* of Kedar, *Kedrei* (Plin. v. 12); of Dumah, *Dumaitha* (Ptol. v. 19; in the district of El-Gau), among the sons of Ishmael. Some of the names in this passage are thought by some critics to have a geographical origin, as Mibsam, a *spice-bearing* land, Tema, an *arid* or *southern* land; but such etymologies are precarious. Again, in ch. xxxvi. we have some particulars with regard to the country immediately to the south of Palestine, where the aboriginal Horites, the *Troglodytes* of the mountainous districts in the eastern part of Arabia Petraea, were displaced by the descendants of Esau. The narrative shows an intimate acquaintance with this district, as we have the names of various towns—Dinhabah, Bozrah, Avith, Masrekah, Rehoboth, and Pau, few of which have any historical importance. The Peninsula of Sinai is particularly described in the Book of Exodus.

The countries, however, to which historical interest attaches are Mesopotamia and Egypt. The hereditary connexion of the Hebrews with the former of these districts, and the importance of the dynasties which bore sway in it, make it by far the most prominent feature in the map of the ancient world; its designation in the Book of Genesis is Padan-aram, or Aram-Naharaim: in the north was Ur of the Chaldees, and the Haran to which Terah migrated; in the south was the plain of Shinar (Babylonia proper), and the seat of Nimrod's capital, Babel; in his realm were the cities of Accad (*Ak-ka-di* of the inscription of Nebuchadnezzar I.), Calneh, Nineveh (Kouyunjik) and its suburb Rehoboth-Ir, Calah (the Kalhu of the inscriptions and the present Nimroud), Resen (between Nineveh and Calah), and Erech (*Warka*, Gen. x. 10–12). From the same district issued the warlike expedition headed by the kings of Shinar (see above), Ellasar (probably *Larsam*), Elam, and Goiim (R. V.), the object of which apparently was to open the commercial route to the Aelanitic Gulf (Gen. xiv.), and which succeeded in the temporary subjection of all the intervening nations—the Rephaim in Ashteroth-Karnaim (Bashan), the Zuzim in Ham (broadly speaking, Ammon), the Emim in Shaveh (R. V. Shaveh-Kiriathaim; broadly, Moab), and the district of the Amalekites (to the south, or, broadly, the Negeb). It is, in short, to the early predominance of the eastern dynasties that we are indebted for the few geographical details which we possess regarding those and the intervening districts. The Egyptian captivity introduces to our notice some of the localities in Lower Egypt, viz. the province of Goshen, and the towns Rameses (Gen. xlvii. 11); On, *Heliopolis* (Gen. xli. 45); Pithom (Ex. i. 11); and Migdol, lately re-discovered (Ex. xiv. 2).

During the period of the Judges, the Hebrews had no opportunity of advancing their knowledge of the outer world; but with the extension of their territory under David and Solomon, and the commercial treaties entered into by the latter with the Phoenicians in the north and the Egyptians in the south, a new era commenced. It is difficult to estimate the amount of information which the Hebrews derived from the Phoenicians, inasmuch as the general policy of those enterprising traders was to keep other nations in the dark as to the localities they visited; but there can be no doubt that it was from them that the Hebrews learned the route to Ophir, by which the trade with India and South Africa was carried on, and that they also became acquainted with the positions and productions of a great number of regions comparatively unknown. From Ezek. xxvii. (consult the *Commentaries*, e.g. of Cornill and Orelli) we may form some idea of the extended ideas of geography which the Hebrews had obtained: we have notice of the mineral wealth of Spain, the dyes of the Aegean Sea, the famed horses of Armenia, the yarns and embroideries of Assyria, the iron of South Arabia, the spices and precious stones of the *Yemen*, and the caravan trade which was carried on with India through the entrepots on the Persian Gulf. As the Prophet does not profess to give a systematic enumeration of the places, but selects some from each quarter of the earth, it may fairly be inferred that more information was obtained from that source. Whether it was from thence that the

Hebrews heard of the tribes living on the northern coasts of the Euxine—the Scythians (Magog; see above), the Cimmerians (Gomer), &c. (on רֹאשׁ in Ezek. xxxviii. 2, see MV.[11] and *Comm.*)—is uncertain: the inroad of the northern hordes, which occurred about Ezekiel's time, may have drawn attention to that quarter.

The progress of information on the side of Africa is clearly marked: the distinction between Upper and Lower Egypt is shown by the application of the name Pathros to the former (Ezek. xxix. 14). Memphis, the capital of Lower Egypt, is first mentioned in Hosea (ix. 6) under the name Moph, and afterwards frequently as Noph (Is. xix. 13; see MV.[11]); Thebes, the capital of Upper Egypt, at a later period, as No-Ammon (Nah. iii. 8) and No (Jer. xlvi. 25); and the distant Syene (*Assouan*; Ezek. xxix. 10). Several other towns are noticed in the Delta: Sin, *Pelusium* (Ezek. xxx. 15); Pibeseth, *Bubastis* (Ezek. xxx. 17); Zoan, *Tanis* (Is. xix. 11); Tahapanes, or Tahpanhes, *Daphne* (Jer. ii. 16); *Heliopolis*, under the Hebraised form Bethshemesh (Jer. xliii. 13); and, higher up the Nile, Hanes, *Heracleopolis* (Is. xxx. 4). The position of certain nations seems to have been better ascertained. Cush (*Aethiopia*) was fixed immediately to the south of Egypt, where Tirhakah held sway with *Naputa* for his capital (2 K. xix. 9); the Lubim (*Libyans*, Ezek. xxx. 5; R. V. Put. See Comm. in loco) appear as allies of Egypt; and with them a people not previously noticed, the Sukkiims, the *Troglodytes* of the western coast of the Red Sea (2 Ch. xii. 3): the Ludim and Phut are mentioned in the same connexion(Ezek. xxx. 5).

The wars with the Assyrians and Babylonians, and the captivities which followed, bring us back again to the geography of the East. Incidental notice is taken of several important places in connexion with these events: the capital of Persia, Shushan, *Susa* (Dan. viii. 2); that of Media, Achmetha, *Ecbatana* (Ezra vi. 2); Hena, Ivah, and Sepharvaim, on the Euphrates (2 K. xviii. 34); Carchemish, *Circesium*, on the same river (Is. x. 9); Gozan and Halah, on the borders of Media (2 K. xvii. 6); Kir, a place not yet identified (2 K. xvi. 9). The names of Persia (2 Ch. xxxvi. 20) and India (Esth. i. 1) now occur: whether the far-distant *China* is noticed at an earlier period under the name Sinim (Is. xlix. 12), admits of doubt.

The names of Greece and Italy are hardly noticed in Hebrew geography: the former, in its widest sense of Ionians, occurs in Gen. x., Is. lxvi. 19, &c., under the name of Javan. In Dan. viii. 21, the term definitely applies to Greece. If Italy is described at all, it is under the name Chittim (Dan. xi. 30).

In the Maccabaean era the classical names came into common use: Crete, Sparta, Delos, Sicyon, Caria, Cilicia, and other familiar names are noticed (1 Macc. x. 67, xi. 14, xv. 23); Asia, in a restricted sense, as = the Syrian Empire (1 Macc. viii. 6); Hispania and Rome (1 Macc. viii. 1–3). Henceforward the geography of the Bible, as far as foreign lands are concerned, is absorbed in the wider field of classical geography. It is hardly necessary to add that the use of classical designations in our Authorized Version is in many instances a departure from the Hebrew text: for instance, *Mesopotamia* stands for Aram-Naharaim (Gen. xxiv. 10); *Ethiopia* for Cush (2 K. xix. 9); the *Chaldaeans* for Chasdim (Job i. 17); *Graecia* for Javan (Dan. viii. 21); *Egypt* for Mizraim (Gen. xiii. 10); *Armenia* for Ararat (2 K. xix. 37); *Assyria* for Asshur (Gen. ii. 14); *Idumaea* for Edom (Is. xxxiv. 5); and *Syria* for Aram. Arabia, it may be observed, does occur as an original Hebrew name in the later Books (Is. xxi. 13; cp. Delitzsch[4] in loco), but probably in a restricted sense as applicable to a single tribe.

[W. L. B.] [F.]

EARTHENWARE. [Pottery.]

EARTHQUAKE (רַעַשׁ). Earthquakes, more or less violent, are of frequent occurrence in Palestine, as might be expected from the numerous traces of volcanic agency visible in the features of that country. The recorded instances, however, are but few; the most remarkable occurred in the reign of Uzziah (Amos i. 1; Zech. xiv. 5), which Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 10, § 4) connected with the sacrilege and consequent punishment of that monarch (2 Ch. xxvi. 16 sq.). From Zech. xiv. 4 we are led to infer that a great convulsion took place at this time in the Mount of Olives, the mountain being split so as to leave a valley between its summits. Josephus records something of the sort, but his account is by no means clear, for his words (*τοῦ ὄρους ἀποῤῥαγῆναι τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ κατὰ πὴν δύσιν*) can hardly mean the *western half of the mountain*, as Whiston seems to think, but the *half of the western mountain*, i.e. of the Mount of Evil Counsel, though it is not clear why this height particularly should be termed the *western* mountain. We cannot but think that the two accounts have the same foundation, and that the Mount of Olives was really affected by the earthquake. Hitzig (*Comm. in Zech.*) suggests that the name מַשְׁחִית, "*corruption*," may have originated at this time, the rolling down of the side of the hill, as described by Josephus, entitling it to be described as the *destroying mountain*, in the sense in which the term occurs in Jer. li. 25. An earthquake occurred at the time of our Saviour's Crucifixion (Matt. xxvii. 51–54), which may be deemed miraculous rather from the conjunction of circumstances than from the nature of the phenomenon itself, for it is described in the usual terms (*ἡ γῆ ἐσείσθη*). Josephus (*Ant.* xv. 5, § 2) records a very violent earthquake, that occurred B.C. 31, in which 10,000 people perished; and in 1837 an earthquake was very destructive in Galilee (Robinson, *Bibl. Res.* iii. 321 sq.). Earthquakes are not unfrequently accompanied by fissures of the earth's surface; instances of this are recorded in connexion with the destruction of Korah and his company (Num. xvi. 32; cp. Joseph. *Ant.* iv. 3, § 3), and at the time of our Lord's death (Matt. xxvii. 51); the former may be paralleled by a similar occurrence at Oppido in Calabria A.D. 1783, where the earth opened to the extent of 500 and a depth of more than 200 feet: and again by the sinking of the bed of the Tagus at Lisbon, in which the quay was swallowed up (Pfaff, *Schöpfungsgesch.* p. 115). These depressions are sometimes on a very large scale: the subsidence

of the valley of Siddim at the southern extremity of the Dead Sea may be attributed to an earthquake; similar depressions have occurred in many districts, the most remarkable being the submersion and subsequent re-elevation of the temple of Serapis at Puteoli. The frequency of earthquakes about the Dead Sea is possibly testified in the name BELA (Gen. xiv. 2; cp. Jerome *ad* Is. xv.). Darkness is frequently a concomitant of earthquake. [DARKNESS.] The awe which an earthquake never fails to inspire, "conveying the idea of some universal and unlimited danger" (Humboldt's *Kosmos*, i. 212), rendered it a fitting token of the Presence of Jehovah (1 K. xix. 11); hence it is frequently connected with His appearance (Judg. v. 4; 2 Sam. xxii. 8; Ps. lxxvii. 18, xcvii. 4, civ. 32; Amos viii. 8; Hab. iii. 10). [W. L. B.]

EAST (קֶדֶם; מִזְרָח). The Hebrew terms, descriptive of the *east*, differ in idea, and, to a certain extent, in application: (1) *kedem* properly means that which is *before* or *in front of* a person, and was applied to the east from the custom of turning in that direction when describing the points of the compass, *before, behind, the right* and the *left*, representing respectively E., W., S., and N. (Job xxiii. 8, 9); (2) *mizrach* means the place of the *sun's rising*, and strictly answers to the Greek ἀνατολή and the Latin *oriens;* sometimes the full expression מִזְרַח־שֶׁמֶשׁ is used (Judg. xi. 18; Is. xli. 25), and sometimes *kedem* and *mizrach* are used together (*e.g.* Ex. xxvii. 13; Josh. xix. 12), which is after all not so tautologous as it appears to be in our translation, "on the east side eastward." Bearing in mind this etymological distinction, it is natural that *kedem* should be used when the *four* quarters of the world are described (as in Gen. xiii. 14, xxviii. 14; Job xxiii. 8, 9; Ezek. xlvii. 18 sq.), and *mizrach* when the east is only distinguished from the *west* (Josh. xi. 3; Ps. l. 1, ciii. 12, cxiii. 3; Zech. viii. 7), or from some other single quarter (Dan. viii. 9, xi. 44; Amos viii. 12); exceptions to this usage occur in Ps. cvii. 3 and Is. xliii. 5, each, however, admitting of explanation. Again, *kedem* is used in a strictly geographical sense to describe a spot or country immediately *before* another in an easterly direction; hence it occurs in such passages as Gen. ii. 8, iii. 24, xi. 2, xiii. 11, xxv. 6; and hence the subsequent application of the term, as a proper name (Gen. xxv. 6, *eastward, unto the land of Kedem*), to the lands lying immediately eastward of Palestine, viz. Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Babylonia [BENE-KEDEM]; on the other hand, *mizrach* is used of the *far* east with a less definite signification (Is. xli. 2, 25; xliii. 5; xlvi. 11). In describing *aspect* or *direction* the terms are used indifferently (cp. *kedem* in Lev. i. 16, and Josh. vii. 2 with *mizrach* in 2 Ch. v. 12, and 1 Ch. v. 10). The east seems to have been regarded as symbolical of *distance* (Is. xlvi. 11), as the land stretched out in these directions without any known limit. In Is. ii. 6 it appears as the seat of witchery and similar arts (cp. Job xv. 2); adopting, with Delitzsch,[4] מִקֶּדֶם rather than מִמִּקְסָם, preferred by Gesenius (*Thesaur.* p. 1193). In the LXX. ἀνατολαί is used both for *kedem* and *mizrach*. It should be observed that the expression is, with but few exceptions (Dan. viii. 9; Rev. xxi. 13; cp. vii. 2, xvi. 12, from which it would seem to have been St. John's usage to insert ἡλίου), ἀνατολαί (Matt. ii. 1, viii. 11, xxiv. 27; Luke xiii. 29), and not ἀνατολή. It is hardly possible that St. Matthew would use the two terms indifferently in succeeding verses (ii. 1, 2), particularly as he adds the article to ἀνατολή, which *is* invariably absent in other cases (cp. Rev. xxi. 13). He seems to imply a definiteness in the locality—that it was the country called קֶדֶם, or ἀνατολή (cp. the modern *Anatolia*), as distinct from the quarter or point of the compass (ἀνατολαί) in which it lay. In confirmation of this it may be noticed that in the only passage where the article is prefixed to *kedem* (Gen. x. 30), the term is used for a definite and restricted locality; viz. South Arabia. [W. L. B.]

EAST, or EASTERN SEA, THE. Ezek. xlvii. 18; Joel ii. 20; Zech. xiv. 8, marg. [SEA, THE SALT.] [W.]

EASTER (πάσχα; *pascha*). The occurrence of this word in the A. V. of Acts xii. 4—"intending after Easter to bring Him forth to the people"—is chiefly noticeable as an example of the want of consistency in the translators. In some of the earlier English Versions "Easter" had been the usual translation of πάσχα. Indeed Tyndale has it or "Easter-lamb" in every instance of the occurrence of the word but two, viz. Mark xiv. 12, John xviii. 28; and it is scarcely less frequent in the Version of Cranmer and in the Genevan Testament of 1557. The Genevan Bible of 1560 substituted "Passover" everywhere; as did the Bishops' Bible, except in Acts xii. 4. In this it has been exactly followed by the A. V., of which it was taken as the basis. The translation of the Acts in the Bishops' Bible was entrusted to Cox, bishop of Ely, and it is probably owing to his desire to avoid "inkhorn terms" (see Westcott's *History of the English Bible*, p. 101) that the retention of "Easter" in this single passage is due, just as elsewhere throughout the Acts he has chosen or retained the most familiar rather than the most correct equivalents for the technical terms occurring in the Book, *e.g.* "deputy" (Acts xiii. 7, &c.), "serjeants" (xvi. 35), "town-clerk" (xix. 35), and "robbers of churches" (xix. 37). It is possible that the same principle may have influenced the translators of 1611 in retaining the word which would most naturally suggest the season of the year to the reader. The word has, however, happily disappeared from the R. V., in which it is replaced by the ordinary rendering "Passover." For all that regards the nature and celebration of the feast, see PASSOVER. [E. H. P.] [E. C. S. G.]

E'BAL (עֵיבָל = *strong* (?); Γαιβηλ in Gen., A. Γαοβηλ in 1 Ch.; *Eb'al*). **1.** One of the sons of Shobal the son of Seir (Gen. xxxvi. 23; 1 Ch. i. 40).

2. OBAL, the son of Joktan (1 Ch. i. 22, B. omits, A. Γεμιδάν; *Hobal:* cp. Gen. x. 28). Eleven of Kennicott's MSS., with the Syriac and Arabic Versions, read עוֹבָל in 1 Ch. as in Gen. [W. A. W.] [F.]

E'BAL,[a] MOUNT (הַר עֵיבָל,[b] *Mount of stone* (?); ὄρος Γαιβάλ; Joseph. Γιβάλος; *Mons Hebal*), a mount in the Promised Land, on which, according to the command of Moses, the Israelites were, after their entrance on the Promised Land, to "put" the curse which should fall upon them if they disobeyed the commandments of Jehovah. The blessing consequent on obedience was to be similarly localised on Mount Gerizim (Deut. xi. 26–29). This was to be accomplished by a ceremony in which half the tribes stood on the one mount and half on the other; those on Gerizim responding to and affirming blessings, those on Ebal curses, as pronounced by the Levites, who remained with the Ark in the centre of the intervening space (cp. Deut. xxvii. 11–26 with Josh. viii. 30–35, with Joseph. *Ant.* iv. 8, § 44, and with the comments of the Talmud [*Sota*, vii. § 5], quoted in Herxheimer's Pentateuch). The choice of the one as the Mount of Cursing and the other as the Mount of Blessing does not rest upon such reasons as that the one was less fruitful than the other (see below), but probably on the fact that according to due orientation (Deut. xi. 30) Ebal would be on the left of a spectator and Gerizim to his right, and according to the conception of the Israelite the right represents the side of happiness and blessing (Gen. xxxv. 18. See Dillmann[2] on Deut. xi. 29). Notwithstanding the ban thus apparently laid on Ebal, it was further appointed to be the site of the first great Altar to be erected to Jehovah; an Altar of large unhewn stones plastered with lime and inscribed with the words of the Law (Deut. xxvii. 2–8). On this Altar peace-offerings were to be offered, and round it a sacrificial feast was to take place, with other rejoicings (*vv.* 6, 7). Scholars disagree as to whether there were to be two erections—a cromlech and an altar—or an Altar only, with the Law inscribed on its stones. The latter was the view of Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 8, § 44; v. 1, § 19); the former is unhesitatingly adopted by Keil and Dillmann[2] (*on Josh.* viii. 32). The words may perhaps bear either sense.

The terms of Moses' injunction seem to infer that no delay was to take place in carrying out this symbolical transaction. It was to be "on the day" that Jordan was crossed (xxvii. 2), before they "went in unto the land flowing with milk and honey" (*v.* 3). And accordingly Joshua appears to have seized the earliest practicable moment, after the pressing affairs of the siege of Jericho, the execution of Achan, and the destruction of Ai had been concluded, to carry out the command (Josh. viii. 30–35). After this Ebal appears no more in the sacred story.

The question now arises, where were Ebal and Gerizim situated? The all but unanimous reply to this is, that they are the mounts which form the sides of the fertile valley in which lies *Nâblus*, the ancient SHECHEM—Ebal on the north and Gerizim on the south. [See Map under GERIZIM.]

(1) It is plain from the passages already quoted that they were situated near together, with a valley between.

(2) Gerizim was very near Shechem (Judg. ix. 7), and in Josephus's time their names appear to have been attached to the mountains, which were then, as now, Ebal on the north and Gerizim on the south. Since that they have been mentioned by Benjamin of Tudela (Asher, i. 66), and among modern travellers by Maundrell (*Mod. Trav.* p. 432).

The main impediment to our entire reception of this view rests in the terms of the first mention of the place by Moses in Deut. xi. 30: A. V. "Are they not on the other side (R. V. "beyond") Jordan, by the way where the sun goeth down (R. V. "behind the way of the going down of the sun"), in the land of the Canaanites, which dwell in the champaign (R. V. "the Arabah") over against Gilgal, beside the plains (R. V. "oaks," marg. *terebinths*) of Moreh?" Here the mention of Gilgal, which was in the valley of the Jordan near Jericho, of the valley itself (*Arabah*, mistranslated by A. V. here only "champaign"), and of the Canaanites who dwelt there, and also the other terms of the injunction of Moses, as already noticed, seem to imply that Ebal and Gerizim were in the immediate neighbourhood of Jericho. And this is strengthened by the narrative of Joshua, who appears to have carried out the prescribed ceremonial on the mounts while his camp was at Gilgal (cp. vii. 2, ix. 6), and before he had (at least before any account of his having) made his way so far into the interior of the country as Shechem.

This is the view taken by Eusebius (*OS.*[2] p. 242, 79; p. 243, 89; Γαιβάλ). He does not quote the passage in Deut., but seems to be led to his opinion rather by the difficulty of the mountains at Shechem being too far apart to admit of the blessings and cursings being heard, and also by his desire to contradict the Samaritans; add to this that he speaks from no personal knowledge, but simply from hearsay (λέγεται), as to the existence of two such hills in the Jordan valley. The notice of Eusebius is merely translated by Jerome (*OS.*[2] p. 126, 4), with a shade more of animosity to the Samaritans (*vehementer errant*), and expression of difficulty as to the distance, but without any additional information. Procopius and Epiphanius also followed Eusebius, but their mistakes have been disposed of by Reland (*Pal.* pp. 503–4; *Miscell.* pp. 129–133).

With regard to the passage in Deut., it will perhaps assume a different aspect on examination. (1) Moses is represented as speaking from the east side of the Jordan, before anything was known of the country on the west beyond the exaggerated reports of the spies, and when everything there was wrapped in mystery, and localities and distances had not assumed their due proportions. (2) A closer rendering of the verse is as follows: "Are they not on the other side the Jordan, beyond—(אַחֲרֵי, the word rendered "the *backside* [R. V. "the back"] of the desert," in Ex. iii. 1)—the road to the sunset, in the land of the Canaanite who dwells in the Arabah over against Gilgal, near the terebinths of Moreh." If this rendering is correct, a great part of the difficulty has dis-

[a] If, as Gesenius suggests, Gerizim was so called from the Gerzites, Ebal may have taken its name from the ancient Edomite tribe of Ebal ben Shobal.

[b] In LXX. B. of 2 K. xxiii. 8, Γαιβὰλ is read instead of the Geba of Benjamin. The LXX. A., as usual, is in accordance with the Hebrew, Γαβαά.

appeared (see Dillmann[2] in loco). Gilgal no longer marks the site of Ebal and Gerizim, but of the dwelling of the Canaanites, who were, it is true, the first to encounter the Israelites on the other side of the river, in their native lowlands, but who, we have it actually on record, were both in the time of Abraham (Gen. xii. 6) and of the conquest (Josh. xvii. 18) located about Shechem. The word rendered "beyond" by R. V. is not represented at all in the A. V., and it certainly throws the locality much further back; and lastly there is the striking landmark of the trees of Moreh, which were standing by Shechem when Abraham first entered the land, and whose name possibly survived in Morthia, or Mamortha (Jos. *B. J.* iv. 8, § 1, Μαβορθά), a name of Shechem found on coins of the Roman period (Reland, *Miscell.* pp. 137–9).

In accordance with this is the addition in the Samaritan Pentateuch, after the words "the terebinths of Moreh," at the end of Deut. xi. 30, of the words "over against Shechem." This addition is the more credible because there is not, as in the case noticed afterwards, any apparent motive for it. If this interpretation be accepted, the next verse (*v.* 31) gains a fresh force: "For ye are to pass over Jordan" [not only to meet the Canaanites immediately on the other side, but] "to go in to possess the land" [the whole of the country, even the heart of it, where these mountains are situated (glancing back to *v.* 29)], "the land which the Lord your God giveth you; and ye shall possess it, and dwell therein" (R. V.). And it may also be asked whether the significance of the whole solemn ceremonial of the blessing and cursing is not missed if we understand it as taking place directly a footing had been obtained on the outskirts of the country, and not as acted in the heart of the conquered land, in its most prominent natural position, and close to its oldest city—Shechem?

This is evidently the view taken by Josephus. His statement (*Ant.* v. 1, § 19) is that it took place after the subjugation of the country and the establishment of the Tabernacle at Shiloh. He has no misgivings as to the situation of the mountains. They were at Shechem (ἐπὶ Σικίμων), and from thence, after the ceremony, the people returned to Shiloh.

The narrative of Joshua is more puzzling. But even with regard to this something may be said. It will be at once perceived that the Book contains no account of the conquest of the centre of the country, of those portions which were afterwards the mountain of Ephraim, Esdraelon, or Galilee. We lose Joshua at Gilgal, after the conquest of the south, to find him again suddenly at the waters of Merom in the extreme north (x. 43, xi. 7). Of his intermediate proceedings the only record that seems to have escaped is the fragment contained in viii. 30–35 (see Dillmann[2] in loco. Many modern writers regard the passage as an interpolation where it is, and would place it after xi. 23). Nor should it be overlooked that some doubt is thrown on this fragment by its omission in both the B. and A. MSS. of the LXX.

The distance of Ebal and Gerizim from each other is not such a stumbling-block to us as it was to Eusebius; though it is difficult to understand how he and Jerome should have been ignorant of the distance to which the voice will travel in the clear elastic atmosphere of the East. Prof. Stanley has given some instances of this (*S. & P.* p. 13); others equally remarkable were observed by the writer; and he has been informed by a gentleman long resident in the neighbourhood that a voice can be heard without difficulty across the valley separating the two spots in question (see also Bonar, p. 371, and Dr. Winslow's testimony, *PEFQy. Stat.* 1891, p. 79).

It is not necessary to suppose that every word was heard by the spectators; the "blessings" and "cursings" were probably as well known to the Israelites as the Commandments are to us, and the responses would be taken up when the voice of the reader ceased. The valley between Ebal and Gerizim rises gently eastward, to the water-parting between the waters of the Mediterranean and the Jordan, and at this point there is a grand natural amphitheatre formed by a recess in either mountain. There is no other place in Palestine so convenient for the assembly of a large body of men within the limits to which the human voice can travel, and where at the same time every individual would be able to see what was going on. Nothing is wanting in the natural beauty of the site to add to the solemnity and impressiveness of a scene such as that described in Josh. viii. 32–35 (Wilson, *PEFQy. Stat.* 1873, pp. 66–71).

It is well known that one of the most serious variations between the Hebrew text of the Pentateuch and the Samaritan text is in reference to Ebal and Gerizim. In Deut. xxvii. 4, the Samaritan has Gerizim, followed by LXX., Vulg., while the Hebrew (as in E. V.) has Ebal, as the mount on which the Altar to Jehovah and the inscription of the Law were to be erected. Upon this basis they ground the sanctity of Gerizim and the authenticity of the temple and holy place, which did exist and still exist there. The arguments upon this difficult and hopeless question will be found in Kennicott (Dissert. 2), and in the reply of Verschuir (Leovard. 1775; quoted by Gesenius, *de Pent. Sam.* p. 61). Two points may merely be glanced at here which have apparently escaped notice. 1. Both agree that Ebal was the mount on which the cursings were to rest, Gerizim that for the blessings. It appears inconsistent that Ebal, the mount of cursing, should be the site of the Altar and the record of the Law, while Gerizim, the mount of blessing, should remain unoccupied by sanctuary of any kind. 2. Taking into account the known predilection of Orientals for ancient sites on which to fix their sanctuaries, it is more easy to believe (in the absence of any evidence to the contrary) that in building their temple on Gerizim, the Samaritans were making use of a spot already enjoying a reputation for sanctity, than that they built on a place upon which the curse was laid in the records which they received equally with the Jews. Thus the very fact of the occupation of Gerizim by the Samaritans would seem an argument for its original sanctity.

The summit of Ebal is a comparatively level plateau of some extent. There is no actual peak, but the ground rises towards the west, and attains its greatest elevation (3077 feet) near a small pile of stones. The view from this

point is one of the finest and most extensive in Palestine, embracing *Safed* and Mount Hermon on the north, *Jaffa* and the maritime plain on the west, the heights above Bethel on the south, and the *Haurân* plateau on the east. The upper portion of the mountain is nummulitic limestone, and the surface of the plateau is so cracked and broken that it has the appearance of being covered by a rude pavement. Towards the east end is the curious *Kh. Kuneisa*, or *Kuleisa;* it is an enclosure 92 feet square with walls 20 feet thick, built of selected, unhewn stones without mortar; in the thickness of the wall are the remains of several chambers, but there is nothing to connect the building with the altar erected by Joshua.

The contrast between the rich vegetation on Gerizim and the barrenness of Ebal has often been commented upon by travellers (see Benjamin of Tudela, &c.). This arises from the structure of the rock, for the strata dip towards the N. across the valley, and prevent the existence of springs on the southern slope of Ebal. The mountain, however, is by no means sterile: for a considerable height it is clothed with luxuriant gardens of cactus, and above these, to the very summit, rises a succession of terraces well supplied with cisterns that speak of a careful system of cultivation and irrigation at a former period. Many of these terraces are well preserved, and planted in spring-time with corn which grows as well as that planted on Gerizim. At the foot of the mountain there is a Moslem cemetery, and many rock-hewn tombs are to be found in the gardens of cactus. The slopes of Ebal towards the valley are rather steeper than those of Gerizim; it is also the higher mountain of the two. The altitudes are:—

Nâblus, above sea,	1675 ft.		
Gerizim, „	2849 ft. ...	above *Nâblus*,	1174 ft.
Ebal, „	3077 ft. ...	„ „	1402 ft.

The modern name of Ebal is *Jebel Sitti Eslamiyeh*, from a Muhammadan female saint, whose tomb stands high up on the southern slope opposite *Nâblus*. It is also called *J. 'Amâd ed Din*, from a sheikh whose tomb is further to the west (*PEF. Mem.* ii. 170, 186, 220; *PEFQy. Stat.* 1873, p. 66; Guérin, *Samarie*, ii. 446–453).

On the south-east shoulder is a ruined site bearing the name of *'Askar* (Rob. iii. 132). [SYCHAR.] [G.] [W.]

E'BED. **1.** (עֶבֶד = *slave;* but many MSS., and the Syr. and Arab. Versions, have עבר, EBER: B. Ἰωβήλ, A. Ἀβέδ, except in *v.* 35 Σαβέρ; *Ebed* and *Obed*), father of GAAL, who with his brethren assisted the men of Shechem in their revolt against Abimelech (Judg. ix. 26, 28, 30, 31, 35).

2. (עֹבֵד; B. Ὠβήθ, A. Ὠβή; *Abed*), son of Jonathan; one of the Bene-Adin who returned from Babylon with Ezra (Ezra viii. 6). In 1 Esdras the name is given as OBETH.

It would add greatly to the force of many passages in the O. T. if the word "slave" or "bondman" were appropriated to the Hebrew term *Ebed*, while "servant," "attendant," or "minister" were used to translate *Na'ar*, *Mesharet*, &c. In the addresses of subjects to a ruler, the Oriental character of the transaction would come home to us at once if we read "what saith my lord to his slave"—the very form still in use in the East, and familiar to us all in the *Arabian Nights* and other Oriental works—instead of "his servant." [G.] [W.]

E'BED-ME'LECH (עֶבֶד־מֶלֶךְ; Ἀβδεμέλεχ: *Abdemelech*), an Aethiopian eunuch in the service of king Zedekiah, through whose interference Jeremiah was released from prison, and who was on that account preserved from harm at the taking of Jerusalem (Jer. xxxviii. 7 sq.; xxxix. 15 sq.). His name seems to be an official title = *King's slave*, i.e. *minister*.

EBEN-E'ZER (אֶבֶן הָעֵזֶר = *the stone of help:* BA. Ἀβενέζερ; Joseph. λίθος ἰσχυρός: *lapis Adjutorii*), a stone set up by Samuel after a signal defeat of the Philistines, as a memorial of the "help" received on the occasion from Jehovah (1 Sam. vii. 12). "He called the name of it Ebenezer, saying, Hitherto hath Jehovah helped us" (*azaranu*, עזרנו). Its position is carefully defined as between MIZPEH—"the watch-tower"—and SHEN, "the tooth" or "crag." Neither of these points, however, have been identified with any certainty—the latter, being probably a well-known (cp. LXX. and Syr.) landmark, not at all. According to Josephus's record of the transaction (*Ant.* vi. 2, § 2), the stone was erected to mark the limit of the victory, a spot which he calls Korraia, but in the Hebrew BETHCAR. It is remarkable that of the occurrences of the name Eben-ezer, two, recalling the defeat of Israel by the Philistines (1 Sam. iv. 1 [B. Ἀβενέζερ, A. Ἀβενεζερ], v. 1 [B. Ἀβεννήρ, A. Ἀβεννέζερ]), are found in the order of the narrative before the place received its title. This *prolepsis* would not unnaturally happen in a record written after the event, especially in the case of a spot so noted as Eben-ezer must have been.

In the *Onomasticon* (*OS.*[2] p. 226, 15) Ebenezer (Ἀβενέζερ) is said to have been near Bethsames, *'Ain Shems*, on the road from Aelia to Ascalon, and the site has apparently been recovered in *Deir 'Abân*, a large village 2 miles E. of *'Ain Shems* (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 24), and close to the Roman road to Jerusalem. M. Clermont-Ganneau, who connects this place with "the great Abel" of 1 Sam. vi. 18 [ABEL, 7], has ingeniously suggested that the Ark was brought back to the place where it was captured; and that it was on the same ground that Samuel won his signal victory over the Philistines (*PEFQy. Stat.* 1877, pp. 154–6). Major Conder, who also places Ebenezer at *Deir 'Abân*, identifies Mizpeh with *Kh. Shûfa*, and Bethcar with *Akur* (*PEFQy. Stat.* 1876, p. 149). Dr. Chaplin identifies Ebenezer with *Beit Iksa*, and Shen with *Deir Yesin* (*PEFQy. Stat.* 1888, p. 263). [G.] [W.]

E'BER (עֵבֶר; Ἔβερ; *Heber*). **1.** Son of Salah, and great-grandson of Shem (Gen. x. 24, xi. 14–17; 1 Ch. i. 19). See HEBER; and for the factitious importance attached to this patriarch, and based upon Gen. x. 21, Num. xxiv. 24, see HEBREW. [T. E. B.]

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[a] In iv. 1 the definite article prefixed to both words exhibits their apposition to each other. Cp. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the BB. of Samuel*, in loco; Ewald, *Ausführl. Lehrb.* § 290 *d*.

2. עֵבֶר; Ἀβήδ; *Heber.* Son of Elpaal and descendant of Shaharaim of the tribe of Benjamin (1 Ch. viii. 12). He was one of the founders of Ono and Lod with their surrounding villages.

3. A priest, who represented the family of Amok, in the days of Joiakim the son of Jeshua (Neh. xii. 20; B א* A. omit, א$^{c.\ a\ mginf}$ Ἀμουαβέδ). [W. A. W.] [F.]

EBI'ASAPH (אֲבִיסָף; *Abiasaph*), a Kohathite Levite of the family of Korah, one of the forefathers of the prophet Samuel and of Heman the singer (1 Ch. vi. 23 [B. Ἀβιαθάρ, A. Ἀβιασάφ], v. 37 [B. Ἀβιασάρ, B$^{(vid)b}$ -φ). The same man is probably intended in ix. 19. The name appears also to be identical with ABIASAPH (which see), and in one passage (1 Ch. xxvi. 1) to be abbreviated to Asaph [so A.; B. Ἀβιά, Σαφάρ]. [W. A. W.] [F.]

EBONY (הָבְנִים, *hobnim: καὶ τοῖς εἰσαγομένοις*[a] *ἐβένους*, Symm.: [*dentes*] *hebeninos*) occurs only in Ezek. xxvii. 15, as one of the valuable commodities imported into Tyre by the men of Dedan. [DEDAN.] It is mentioned together with "horns of ivory," and it may hence be reasonably conjectured that ivory and ebony came from the same country. The

Diospyrus ebenus.

ancients held the black heart-wood in high esteem. Herodotus (iii. 97) mentions ebony (*φάλαγγες ἐβένου*) as one of the precious substances presented by the people of Ethiopia to the king of Persia. Dioscorides (i. 130) speaks of two kinds of ebony, an Indian and an Ethiopian; he gives the preference to the latter kind. Virgil (*Georg.* ii. 116) says that "India alone produces the black ebony;" and Theophrastus (*Hist. Plant.* iv. 4, § 6) asserts that "ebony is peculiar to India." This, however, is an error, as trees of this order are found in all the tropical and in some semi-tropical parts of the Old World, all of which yield a hard black heart-wood. The number of known species of the order EBENACEAE is about 160. Those species of which the wood has the greatest commercial value belong generally to the genus *Diospyrus*, of which the most important are *Diospyrus ebenus* and *Diospyrus melanoxylon* from India and Ceylon; *Diospyrus ebenastra* from Ceylon, and *Diospyrus hirsuta*, which produces the variegated calamander wood of Ceylon. Any or all of these may have been imported into the Mediterranean countries by the Phoenicians. Africa is equally rich in these ironwood-yielding trees. The Abyssinian ebony referred to by Herodotus is from *Diospyrus mespiliformis*, called "Aja" by the Abyssinians, who in ancient times exported it down the Nile; and which is also found through Central Africa, Mozambique, and Guinea. The latter region supplies many other kinds. *Diospyrus melanoxylon*, found also in Coromandel, is abundant in Senegal, while East and Southern Central Africa possess various species, among them *Euclea pseudebenus*, Mey., the "Zwartebbenhout" of the Boers. Among more northern kinds is the *Diospyrus kaki* of Japan, and the *Diospyrus lotus* of South-eastern Europe, which yielded the famous fruit which, according to the Greek poets, produced oblivion. Most of the ebony trees yield a sweet and edible fruit. The Greek word ἔβενος, the Latin *ebenus*, our "ebony," have all doubtless their origin in the Hebrew *hobnim*, a term which was thought to denote "wood as hard as stone" (cp. the German *Steinholz*, "fossil-wood;" see Gesenius, *Thes.* s. v., and qualify by MV.[11]). It is probable that the product and material, or the plural form of this noun, is used to express the *billets* into which the ebony was cut previous to exportation, like our "logwood." See full discussions on the ebony of the ancients in Bochart, *Hieroz.* ii. 714; and Salmasius, *Plin. Exercitat.* p. 725 c: cp. also Royle, in Kitto's *Cycl.*, art. "Hobnim." According to Sir E. Tennent (*Ceylon*, i. 116), the wood of *Diospyrus ebenus*, which is abundant throughout all the flat country to the west of Trincomalee, "excels all others in the evenness and intensity of its colour. The heart of the trunk is the only portion which furnishes the extremely black part which is the ebony of commerce; but the trees are of such magnitude that reduced logs of 2 feet in diameter, and varying from 10 to 15 feet in length, can readily be procured from the forests at Trincomalee." [W. H.] [H. B. T.]

EBRO'NAH. [ABRONAH.]

ECA'NUS, one of the five swift scribes who attended on Esdras (2 Esd. xiv. 24).

ECBATANA (אַחְמְתָא; Ἀμαθά, Ἐκβάτανα; *Ecbatana;* Old Persian, *Hagmatāna;* Semitic Babylonian, *Agamatana, Agamatāni;* Modern Persian, *Hamadān*). It is doubtful whether the name of this place is really contained in the Hebrew Scriptures. Some commentators understand the expression בְּאַחְמְתָא, in Ezra vi. 2, differently, and translate it *in arcâ*, "in a coffer" (see Buxtorf and others, and so the A. V. *in the margin*). The LXX. B. however gives ἐν πόλει, "in a city," and A. ἐν Ἀμαθά; R. V. "at Achmetha," and in marg. That is, *Ecbatana*, which favours the ordinary interpretation. If a city is meant, there is little doubt of one of the two Ecbatanas being intended, for except these towns there was no place in the province of the Medes "which contained a palace" (בִּירָה), or where records are likely to have been deposited. The name אחמתא (*Achmetha*) too, which at first sight

[a] For the Heb. word used by the LXX. see Rosenmüller's *Schol.* ad Ezek. xxvii. 15.

seems somewhat remote from *Hagmatāna*, the ancient native name, is not really so, as it only wants the harder aspirate at the beginning, and the syllable *-na* at the end, whilst the *g* is changed into *ch* (=*kh*). In the apocryphal books Ecbatana is frequently mentioned (Tob. iii. 7, xiv. 12, 14; Judith i. 1, 2; 2 Macc. ix. 3, &c.); and uniformly with the later and less correct spelling of Ἐκβάτανα, instead of the earlier and more accurate form, used by Herodotus, Aeschylus, and Ctesias, of Ἀγβάτανα.

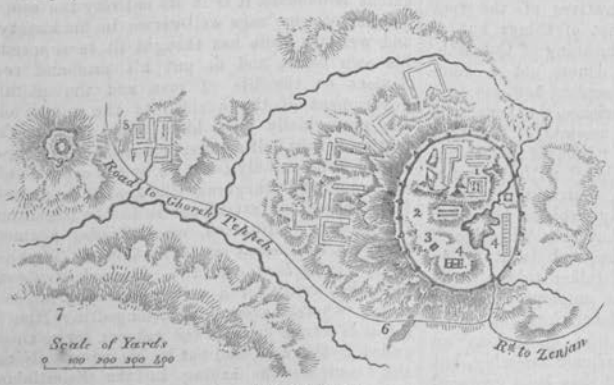
Two cities of the name of Ecbatana seem to have existed in ancient times: one the capital of Northern Media, the Media Atropatênê of Strabo; the other the metropolis of the larger and more important province known as Media Magna (see Sir H. Rawlinson's paper on the Atropatenian Ecbatana, in the 10th volume of the *Journal of the Geographical Society*, art. ii.). The site of the former appears to be marked by the very curious ruins at *Takht-i-Sulcïman* (lat. 36° 28′, long. 47° 9′); while that of the latter is occupied by *Hamadan*, which is one of the most important cities of modern Persia. There is generally some difficulty in determining, when Ecbatana is mentioned, whether the northern or the southern metropolis is intended. Few writers are aware of the existence of the two cities, and they lie sufficiently near to one another for geographical notices in most cases to suit either site. The northern city was the "seven-walled town" described by Herodotus, and declared by him to have been the capital of Cyrus (Herod. i. 98–99, 153; cp. Mos. Choren. ii. 84); and it was thus most probably there that the roll was found which proved to Darius that Cyrus had really made a decree allowing the Jews to rebuild their temple.

Various descriptions of the northern city have come down to us, but none of them is completely to be depended on. That of the Zendavesta (Vendidad, Fargard II.) is the oldest, and the least exaggerated. "Jemshid," it is said, "erected a *Var*, or fortress, sufficiently large, and formed of squared blocks of stone; he assembled in the place a vast population, and stocked the surrounding country with cattle for their use. He caused the water of the great fortress to flow forth abundantly. And within the var, or fortress, he erected a lofty palace, encompassed with walls, and laid it out in many separate divisions, and there was no place, either in front or rear, to command and overawe the fortress." Herodotus, who ascribes the foundation of the city to the king Deïoces, says: "The Medes were obedient to Deïoces, and built the city now called Agbatana, the walls of which are of great size and strength, rising in circles one within the other. The plan of the place is that each of the walls should out-top the one beyond it by the battlements. The nature of the ground, which is a gentle hill, favours this arrangement in some degree, but it was mainly effected by art. The number of the circles is seven, the royal palace and the treasuries standing within the last. The circuit of the outer wall is nearly the same with that of Athens. Of this outer wall the battlements are white, of the next black, of the third scarlet, of the fourth blue, of the fifth orange: all these are coloured with paint. The last two have their battlements coated respectively with silver and gold. All these fortifications Deïoces caused to be raised for himself and his own palace. The people were required to build their dwellings outside the circuit of the walls" (Herod. i. 98–99). Finally, the book of Judith, probably the work of an Alexandrian Jew, professes to give a number of details, which appear to be drawn chiefly from the imagination of the writer (Judith i. 2–4).

The peculiar feature of the site of *Takht-i-Sulcïman*, which Sir H. Rawlinson has proposed to identify with the Northern Ecbatana, is a conical hill rising to the height of about 150 feet above the plain, and covered both on its top and sides with massive ruins of the most antique and primitive character. A perfect enceinte, formed of large blocks of squared stone, may be traced round the entire hill along its brow; within there is an oval enclosure about 800 yards in its greatest and 400 in its least diameter, strewn with ruins, which cluster round a remarkable lake. This is an irregular basin, about 300 paces in circuit, filled with water exquisitely clear and pleasant to the taste, which is supplied in some unknown way from below, and which stands uniformly at the same level, whatever the quantity taken from it for irrigating the lands which lie at the foot of the hill. This hill itself is not perfectly isolated, though it appears so to those who approach it by the ordinary route. On three sides—the south, the west, and the north—the acclivity is steep and the height above the plain uniform, but on the east it abuts upon a hilly tract of ground, and here it is but slightly elevated above the adjacent country. The remarkable platform of hewn stone with which it is crowned, and on which the palace apparently stood, does not rise above the crest of the hill on the eastern side, and it cannot therefore have ever answered exactly to the description of Herodotus, as the eastern side could not anyhow admit of seven walls of circumvallation. It is doubted whether even the other sides were thus defended. Although the flanks on these sides are covered with ruins, "no traces remain of any *wall* but the upper one" (*As. Journ.* x. p. 52). Still, as the nature of the ground on three sides would allow this style of defence, and as the account in Herodotus is confirmed by the Armenian historian, writing clearly without knowledge of the earlier author, it seems best to suppose, that in the peaceful times of the Persian empire it was thought sufficient to preserve the upper enceinte, while the others were allowed to fall into decay, and ultimately were superseded by domestic buildings. With regard to the colouring of the walls, or rather of the battlements, which has been considered to mark especially the fabulous character of Herodotus' description, recent discoveries show that such a mode of ornamentation was actually in use at the period in question in a neighbouring country. The temple of the Seven Spheres at Borsippa was adorned almost exactly in the manner which Herodotus assigns to the Median capital [BABEL, TOWER OF]; and it does not seem at all improbable that, with the object of placing the city under the protection of the Seven Planets, the seven walls may have been coloured nearly as described. Herodotus has a little deranged the order of the hues, which should have been either black, orange,

scarlet, gold, white, blue, silver—as in the case of the Borsippa temple—or black, white, orange, blue, scarlet, silver, gold—if the order of the days dedicated to the planets were followed. Even the use of silver and gold in external ornamentation—which seems at first sight highly improbable—is found to have prevailed. Silver roofs were met with by the Greeks at the Southern Ecbatana (Polyb. x. 27, §§ 10–12); and there is reason to believe that at Borsippa the gold and silver stages of the temple were actually coated with those metals.

The Northern Ecbatana continued to be an important place down to the 13th century after Christ. By the Greeks and Romans it appears to have been known as Gaza, Gazaca, or Canzaca, "the treasured city," on account of the wealth laid up in it; while by the Orientals it was termed *Shiz*. Its decay is referable to the Mogul conquests, *c.* A.D. 1200; and its final ruin is supposed to date from about the 15th or 16th century (*As. Soc. Journ.* vol. x. part i. p. 49).



Plan of Ecbatana.

EXPLANATION.

1. Remains of a Fire-Temple.
2. Ruined Mosque.
3. Ancient buildings with shafts and capitals.
4. Ruins of the Palace of Abakai Khan.
5. Cemetery.
6. Ridge of Rock called "the Dragon."
7. Hill called "Tawilah," or "the Stable."
8. Ruins of Kalisiah.
9. Rocky hill of Zindani-Soleiman.

In the 2nd book of Maccabees (ix. 3, &c.) the Ecbatana mentioned is undoubtedly the southern city, now represented both in name and site by *Hamadan*. This place, situated on the northern flank of the great mountain called formerly Orontes, and now *Elwend*, was perhaps as ancient as the other, and is far better known in history. If not the Median capital of Cyrus, it was at any rate regarded from the time of Darius Hystaspis as the chief city of the Persian *satrapy* of Media, and as such it became the summer residence of the Persian kings from Darius downwards.[a] It was occupied by Alexander soon after the battle of Arbela (Arr. *Exp. Alex.* iii. 19), and at his decease passed under the dominion of the Seleucidae. In the wars between his successors it was more than once taken and retaken, each time suffering largely at the hands of its conquerors (Polyb. x. 27). It was afterwards recognised as the metropolis of their empire by the Parthians (Oros. vi. 4). During the Arabian period, from the rise of Baghdad on the one hand and of Isfahan on the other, it sank into comparative insignificance; but still it has never descended below the rank of a provincial capital, and even in the present depressed condition of Persia it is a city of about 35,000 inhabitants. The Jews, curiously enough, regard it as the residence of Ahasuerus (Xerxes) — which is in Scripture declared to be Susa (Esth. i. 2, ii. 3, &c.)—and show within its precincts the tombs of Esther and Mordecai (Ker Porter, vol. ii. pp. 105–110)—a plain brick structure, consisting of a small cylindrical tower and dome, with small projections or wings on each side. In the tomb-chamber, a plain room paved with glazed tiles, are two wooden chests shaped like sarcophagi, situated over the spots where the dead are said to lie. It is not distinguished by any remarkable peculiarities from other Oriental cities of the same size, except that it is an important trading centre, and possesses, as such, excellent and well-supplied bazaars and superior khans. The principal manufacture of the city is leather.

The city contains remains of ruined walls of great thickness, and towers of sun-dried bricks. Shafts and bases of columns (the moulding of one of the latter bearing an inscription of Artaxerxes), belonging to buildings of the Persian period, have also been found there; but there is no eminence corresponding with that indicated by Polybius and Herodotus as the site of the castle or palace, save an inconsiderable hill to the east, with some Persian remains.

The Ecbatana of the book of Tobit is thought by Sir H. Rawlinson to be the *northern* city (see *As. Soc. Journ.* x. pt. i. pp. 137–141).

See Ker Porter's *Travels;* Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art*, tome v.; and Dieulafoy's *L'Art Antique de la Perse*, première partie.

[G. R.] [T. G. P.]

ECCLESIASTES, OR THE PREACHER. —1. TITLE. The word rendered Ecclesiastes by the LXX. is Qoheleth (קֹהֶלֶת, Aq. κωλέθ). In form it is a feminine of the qal participle active from *qahal*, ἐκκλησιάζειν, to assemble, or to be or act as a member of an assembly, which has led some to think that it denotes Wisdom personified, who harangues the assembled people as in Prov. i. 20 or viii. 1. But since it is used in six places out of seven (Eccles. i. 1, 2, 12; xii. 8, 9, 10) as a masculine name or appellative, it

[a] There is a tablet (in private hands) recording a loan, from a Babylonian officer stationed at Agamatāni (Ecbatana), to one of his countrymen temporarily visiting the city. It is dated in Ab (July–August) in the 3rd year of Cyrus (535 B.C.). It is to be noted that the cuneiform inscriptions give no indications that there were two cities of this name.

is natural to presume that in the seventh also (vii. 27) it is masculine. If so, we have to consider whether we should not adopt a slight emendation of the text—reading not אמרה קהלת, but אמר הקהלת, as in xii. 8, unless we are content, with Rashbam, to refer for a parallel to the anomalous construction of DAVID as the subject of a feminine verb in 2 Sam. xiii. 39: "And king David longed (*fem.*) to go forth unto Absalom." Cp. Ezek. xvi. 30: "How weak (*fem.*) is thine heart." With Qoheleth, regarded as masculine, compare Sophereth (Neh. vii. 57), which is found likewise with the article (Ezra ii. 55), and the class of words of the corresponding form in Arabic, such as بَاقِرَة, a deep investigator. Qoheleth would thus be not Wisdom herself, but a wise man (xii. 9; cp. vii. 23), whose mouth she opens in the midst of the congregation (Ecclus. xv. 5). The invariable and frequent use of the derivatives of the root QHL[a] of the assemblage not of things but of persons must govern the meaning of Qoheleth, which should accordingly denote not a compiler, nor an eclectic philosopher, nor one who amasses wisdom and experience, but one who convenes or addresses an assembly. Solomon, we read, was so called "because his words were spoken in the assembly," with reference to 1 Kings viii. 1, 2 (Midr. *Chazitha* on Eccles. i. 1). Jerome accordingly explains the term by *concionator*, whence Luther's "Prediger" and our "Preacher." The book is styled in Wiclif's prologue, "boc of talker to the puple or togider klepere," but he employs the word Ecclesiastes in the text. Qoheleth might indeed serve to designate one who speaks as an ordinary member of an academic assembly, but the rendering *debater* which has been proposed from this point of view scarcely suits the character of Solomon or the Book in its entirety. Some who regard Qoheleth as a feminine (vii. 27) have inferred that it denotes an *assembly* or aggregation of debaters personified.

2. AUTHORSHIP.—The question as to the authorship of Ecclesiastes practically reduces itself to this: Did Solomon write it or not? If he did not, what limits of date can be assigned to the Book? The general arguments for a late date tell of course against the Solomonic authorship, but up to a certain point it is possible to treat the two questions independently, as we accordingly propose to do, commencing with some consideration of the tradition which names Solomon as the writer, and of the internal evidence bearing upon this point.

In favour of the Solomonic authorship, it is alleged that the Book ascribes itself to Solomon under the name Qoheleth (i. 1, 12), and that this is confirmed by a consensus of ancient interpreters.

It is indeed clear that Qoheleth is intended to play the part of king Solomon, even if the superscription which describes him as "son of David" be not authentic. But the Book comprises, over and above the discourse of Qoheleth speaking in the first person (i. 12), an epilogue which briefly sums up the conclusion from his argument in editorial style, and commends him in terms which he could scarcely have used of himself (xii. 9–14). It has been conjectured that these verses are no part of the original work, but the internal evidence, carefully examined by Delitzsch and others, does not point to this conclusion; so that, while we agree with Rashbam (1085–1155 A.D.) so far as to say that they are not the words of Qoheleth himself, we may yet decline to disintegrate a Book alike unique and uniform in style and diction by assuming that its epilogue is an incongruous addition of a later age.

If the epilogue is a part of the original work, it seems to follow that the claim of the Book to have been written by Qoheleth is only apparent; and that, in whatever sense and to whatever extent Solomonic, it is in its entirety the composition of some sage well versed in his history and writings, who has thought fit to suppress his own name, and to put his profound reflexions on the life of man and the moral government of the world into the mouth of the proverbially wise king. That a writer's motive in such self-suppression need not be interpreted unfavourably is shown by the example of the school of Pythagoras, who kept their knowledge secret, and attributed it to the school or its master. Hippasus, who offended against this rule, was lost at sea for his impiety (Iamblichus, *Vit. Pythag.* cap. 18). He had divulged and taken credit for a certain discovery in geometry, whereas everything belonged to "Him" (*εἶναι δὲ πάντα ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀνδρός*), for so they called Pythagoras, and not by his name. With this compare the saying in the Palestinian Talmud (*Megillah*, iv. 1): "Scripture, Mishnah, and Talmud, and Agadah, and even that which the diligent scholar was destined to point out before his master, were already spoken to Moses from Sinai." Such dicta cannot be taken literally, but are the paradoxes of idealists, which leave us in doubt as to how much they supposed to have been revealed explicitly.[b] They assume that the literary embryo comprehends what can and is to be evolved from it: the progenitor includes the race (Heb. vii. 10). On this principle the tradition which ascribes Ecclesiastes to Solomon may only mean that its germ or basis is Solomonic. That the Book as a whole owes something to post-Solomonic editing—how much or how little depends upon the sense to be attached to the word "wrote"—seems to be suggested by the tradition of the Babylonian Talmud (*Baba Bathra*, 15 a), that "Hezekiah and his company (Prov. xxv. 1) wrote Isaiah, Proverbs, Song of Songs, Qoheleth," where Hezekiah and his college or company may range over a succession of generations from king Hezekiah, "the Pisistratus of Israelitish literature," to the Captivity. Further, it may be doubted whether the words of the Targumist are to be taken quite literally when he recognises repeated anachronisms in the Book, and characterises them as "words of prophecy which Qoheleth,

[a] No trace of the qal occurs except in *Qoheleth*, and the primary meaning of the root may be uncertain, but in the hiphil it means "to summon an assembly" (קָהָל, קְהִלָּה), and in the niphal *congregari* (1 K. viii. 1, 2, 65).

[b] See *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, p. 122 (1877).

that is, the son of David the king, who was in Jerusalem, prophesied." It remains to touch upon some points in the internal evidence bearing upon the question now under discussion.

Qoheleth's reference to his kingship as in the past is alleged in support of the conclusion that he is not the true son and successor of David, but a second Solomon or "Solomon redivivus." He writes: "I the Preacher was king over Israel in Jerusalem. And I applied my heart to seek and to search out by wisdom concerning all that is done under heaven" (i. 12, 13); and this has given rise to a legend in the Talmuds (T. B. *Gittin*, 68 b; Jerus. *Sanhedr.* ii. 6), to the effect that he was dethroned for his sins and succeeded by a spirit in his outward form, whilst he himself wandered from place to place in the land of Israel, begging his bread and crying, "I Qoheleth was king over Israel in Jerusalem," which may have been intended as a word to the wise, hinting that Qoheleth was not the actual Solomon, but one who wrote in his "spirit and power" (Luke i. 17). But the point of departure in this legend being the words "I was king," considered in and by themselves, after the manner of the Agadah, we cannot argue therefrom to their true significance in their proper context. Qoheleth, writing for the future, may possibly mean that he applied his heart to seek and to search out by wisdom, &c., and that he was at that time king over Israel in Jerusalem, and therefore in the best of positions (i. 12; ii. 12) for bringing his experiments to a successful issue. Nevertheless, whatever may be the significance of this much discussed preterite הָיִיתִי in relation to its context, the phrase "king over Israel in Jerusalem" does seem to point to the division of the kingdom after the time of Solomon, and is such as a historian writing after his death might most fitly have used. Compare 1 Kings xi. 41, 42: "Now the rest of the acts [or *words*, cp. Eccles. i. 1] of Solomon, and all that he did, and his wisdom, are they not written in the book of the acts [or *words*] of Solomon? And the time that Solomon reigned in Jerusalem over all Israel was forty years." The Targum teaches that the division of the kingdom is referred to repeatedly in the Book (i. 1, 2; ii. 18; iii. 11; iv. 15, &c.), calmly accepting, as we have said, such anachronisms and signs of later date as "words of prophecy which Qoheleth prophesied."

Other allusions to Solomon in the Book are consistent with the theory that he is not the writer of it, and some of Qoheleth's sayings would come better from a commoner than from a king (iii. 16; iv. 1, 13; x. 5, &c.). Lastly, except for the tradition that Solomon wrote the Book, there is no reason to think of it as the record of a merely personal experience. Qoheleth is rather an abstraction, who speaks with preternatural calm of addicting himself to sensual pleasure and making fair trial of madness and folly by way of philosophical experiment; and the Book, although ostensibly a sort of autobiography, can scarcely be said to add anything to our knowledge of the facts of the life of Solomon. To conclude, it is not proven that the Book claims Solomon as its author, nor is it the quite unanimous verdict of tradition that he "wrote" it. The matter being thus uncertain, we have to consider what limits of date can be assigned to Ecclesiastes on other grounds.

3. DATE. — A list of dates conjecturally assigned to the Book is quoted in the *Speaker's Commentary*. They range from the time of Solomon to that of Herod, to whom Graetz, dating it B.C. 8, makes it refer. By Graetz and others the superscription (i. 1), which styles Qoheleth "son of David," and the epilogue (xii. 9–14), which again seems to point to Solomon, are ascribed to an editor distinct from the author of the main body of the work. Following Krochmal,[c] he maintains that the verses xii. 12–14 do not refer exclusively to Ecclesiastes, but form the conclusion of the Hagiographa, the division of the O. T. to which it belongs. He supposes it to be the latest of the Books, and to have been finally pronounced canonical only at the Synod held in Jamnia about 90 A.D., up to which date the schools of Shammai and Hillel had disputed whether it "defiled the hands." In confirmation of this view it was necessary to show that the LXX. Version of the Book was of comparatively recent origin. Accordingly, he refers it to the 2nd century A.D., laying stress upon its renderings of the objective prefix *eth* by σύν, as in σὺν τὸν δίκαιον καὶ σὺν τὸν ἀσεβῆ κρινεῖ ὁ θεός (iii. 17), and καὶ ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἐμνήσθη σὺν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τοῦ πένητος ἐκείνου (ix. 15), which are thought to mark the translator as of the school of Aquila, who writes σὺν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ σὺν τὴν γῆν (Gen. i. 1), and σὺν σκώληκος τὸ διάφορον (Ex. xxviii. 5). This correspondence in style of rendering is remarkable, and invites careful consideration; but we shall not dwell upon it here, as it does not in any case constitute a positive argument for the late date assigned to the original of Ecclesiastes. Nor do the continued questionings of its authority, even if in all cases to be taken seriously, prove anything more than that it was still treated as an *antilegomenon*, although it may have been received long before into the Canon.

A most interesting and instructive attempt to fix the date of the Book is to be found in Mr. Thomas Tyler's concise treatise on Ecclesiastes, published in 1874. From the supposed clear traces of the post-Aristotelian philosophies of Zeno and Epicurus in it on the one hand, and from the traces of the Book itself in Ecclesiasticus and the Wisdom of Solomon on the other hand, it is inferred that it must have been written between the years 250 B.C. and 180 B.C., and the specific date *c.* 200 B.C. is then assigned to it. Of his two limits of date the lower is perhaps the more conclusively established.

Ecclesiasticus. — The following series of parallels raises a strong presumption that there is some sort of interdependence between the books of Ecclesiastes and Ecclesiasticus. According to one view, the title of the latter book was itself chosen with reference to the former.

ECCLESIASTES.	ECCLESIASTICUS.
iii. 1. To everything there is a season, and a time to every purpose under heaven.	xxxix. 16, 17, 33. All the works of the Lord are exceeding good, and whatsoever he commandeth shall be in due season, &c.

[c] See Nachman Krochmal's article in *Kerem Chemed*, vol. v. 79 (1841).

Ecclesiastes.	Ecclesiasticus.
iii. 2–6. A time to be born, and a time to die, &c.	xi. 14. Prosperity and adversity, life and death, poverty and riches, come of the Lord.
iii. 7. A time to keep silence, and a time to speak.	xx. 6, 7. . . . and some keepeth silence εἰδὼς καιρόν. A wise man will hold his tongue ἕως καιροῦ.
iii. 11. He hath made everything beautiful in its time.	xxxix. 34. So that a man cannot say, This is worse than that: for in time they shall all be well approved.
vii. 16. μὴ σοφίζου περισσά.	xxxii. 4. ἀκαίρως μὴ σοφίζου.
viii. 5. . . . a wise man's heart discerneth both time and judgment.	xxvii. 12. If thou be among the indiscreet, observe the time.

A marked characteristic of Qoheleth is his doctrine that there is a time for everything, which finds its justification in the saying that everything that God made was "very good." This doctrine the Son of Sirach likewise dwells upon, and he advocates and defends it against objectors, when he writes, "So that a man cannot say, This is worse than that: for in time they shall all be well approved." The presumption thus raised that he was an imitator of Qoheleth is confirmed by numerous other parallels, of which the following are examples.

Ecclesiastes.	Ecclesiasticus.
i. 4. One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh.	xiv. 18. . . . so is the generation of flesh and blood, one cometh to an end, and another is born.
i. 18. For in much wisdom is much grief: and he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow.	xxi. 12. . . . there is a wisdom (πανουργία) which multiplieth bitterness.
iii. 14. ἀφελεῖν.	xviii. 6; xlii. 21. ἐλαττῶσαι.
iv. 2. Wherefore I praised (Sym. ἐμακάρισα) the dead which are already dead more than the living which are yet alive. Cp. vii. 1.	xi. 28. πρὸ τελευτῆς μὴ μακάριζε μηδένα. Cp. Herod. i. 32.
v. 2–9.	vii. 14; xiv. 1; xviii. 22; xxxiv. 5–7; vii. 15 (?).
vii. 12. σκέπει σοφία (Sym.).	xiv. 26. ἐν τῇ σκέπῃ αὐτῆς.
vii. 13–15. Consider the works of God (ἴδε τὰ ποιήματα τοῦ Θεοῦ): for who can make that straight which He hath made crooked? In the day of prosperity be joyful, but in the day of adversity consider: God hath also set the one over against the other (את זה לעמת זה, τοῦτο σύμφωνον τούτῳ), to the end that man should find nothing after him . . . There is a just man that perisheth in his righteousness, and there is a wicked man that prolongeth his life in his wickedness.	xxxiii. 13–15. As potter's clay in his hand, all his ways are according to his good pleasure [straight or crooked (Targ. on i. 15)]: so man is in the hand of Him that made him, to render to them according to His judgment. Good is set against (ἀπέναντι) evil, and life against death: so is the sinner against the godly. Καὶ οὕτως ἐμβλεψον εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔργα τοῦ ὑψίστου, δύο δύο, ἓν κατέναντι τοῦ ἑνός.
viii. 1. A man's wisdom maketh his face to shine, and the hardness of his face shall be changed (μισηθήσεται).	xiii. 25. The heart of a man changeth his countenance (ἀλλοιοῖ), whether it be for good or evil. Cp. xxv. 17; xxxvii. 17.

We may conclude that the Son of Sirach made free use of Qoheleth in the original Hebrew;[d] and if so, that it was in all probability referred to by him as one of "the rest of the books," τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν βιβλίων, the Hagiographa, and was written before the commencement of the 2nd century B.C. It will be noticed that the contrast between the Greek of Ecclesiasticus and the Septuagint version of Qoheleth is strongly marked in some of the passages cited.

We shall next show reason to think that there may possibly be allusions to Qoheleth in a book of very different style and tone, the Book of the Wisdom of Solomon, which has been called "anti-Ecclesiastes."

The Book of Wisdom.—The Book of the Wisdom of Solomon, like Ecclesiastes, introduces Solomon as speaking, and provides a corrective to some of the doctrines of Qoheleth, or at least a caution against inferences which the unwary might draw from his enigmatical teaching. The contrast between the books will be apparent from the following examples. The "wisdom" of the one Book, Qoheleth, is human philosophy: that of the other is the ideal and absolute Wisdom. Doctrines propounded in the one with apparent approval are in the other expressly attributed to the ungodly. If Ecclesiastes is really aimed at, this again gives a lower limit for its date.

Ecclesiastes.	Wisdom.
i. 18. In much wisdom is much grief, and he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow.	viii. 16. . . . her conversation hath no bitterness; and to live with her hath no sorrow, but mirth and joy.
iv. 2. I praised the dead which are already dead &c.	i. 12. Seek not death in the error of your life . . .
iii. 2, 11. . . . a time to be born, and a time to die. . . . He hath made everything beautiful in its time.	i. 13, 16. For God made not death . . . But ungodly men with their works and words called it to them, &c.
iii. 19. For the sons of men are a chance, and the beasts are a chance . . . as the one dieth, so dieth the other; yea, they have all one breath; and man hath no preeminence &c.	ii. 1, 2. For they said, reasoning with themselves, but not aright, . . . we are born at all adventure (αὐτοσχεδίως): and we shall be hereafter as though we had never been: for the breath in our nostrils &c.
iii. 11. He hath made everything beautiful in its time: also He hath set the world (העלם, Sept. τὸν αἰῶνα) in their heart, yet so that man cannot find out the work	xiii. 7–9. For being conversant in His works they search Him diligently, and believe their sight: because the things are beautiful that are seen. Howbeit neither are they

[d] There are sayings attributed to him in Rabbinic literature which agree more or less with the Greek of Ecclesiasticus. A collection of these has been made for the *Jewish Quarterly Review* (iii. 682 sq. 1891) by Mr. S. Schechter, Univers. Lect. in Rabbinic at Cambridge.

ECCLESIASTES.	WISDOM.
that God hath done from the beginning even to the end.	to be pardoned [Rom. i. 20]. For if they were able to know so much, that they could aim at the world (στοχάσασθαι τὸν αἰῶνα); how did they not sooner find out the Lord thereof?

The true rendering of the above verse, Eccles. iii. 11, is of critical importance, on account of its bearing upon the linguistic argument for the date of the book. Everything turns upon the meaning of הָעֹלָם, of which a favourite modern rendering in this place is "eternity" (R. V. margin). At the same time it is admitted that the use of the word "in the sense in which here alone it can be taken, *i.e.* in the signification of *the idea of eternity*, must in any case be regarded as unique" (Wright, *Koheleth*, p. 196). Against the rendering *the world* (LXX. τὸν αἰῶνα) it is urged that the word is not so used elsewhere in the Hebrew Scriptures. But, having regard to the exceptional character of the diction of Qoheleth, we need not therefore reject it on *a priori* grounds; and it yields the appropriate sense, "he hath given the world into their heart," or *mind—mundum tradidit disputationi eorum* (Vulg.). Man is led by his instincts to give attention to the passing things of the world, each "beautiful in its season," while he fails to grasp the working of God in its entirety, "from beginning to end." He has no capacity for absolute knowledge, and so God has given him by way of compensation to find pleasure in mundane affairs.

If this interpretation of Eccles. iii. 11 be the true one, we may conclude that the verse is referred to in Wisd. xiii. 9. According to Qoheleth, man gives his mind to the things of the world in detail without fathoming the depth of God's working: according to Wisdom, he forms his theories of the outer world (τὸν αἰῶνα) without finding its Creator at work therein.

Assuming that Qoheleth was reckoned by the Son of Sirach amongst "the rest of the books," we have next to notice some of the attempts which have been made to assign an upper limit of date to it.

Philosophy in Qoheleth.—By way of assigning such upper limit of date to Ecclesiastes, it has been maintained by some that both Stoic and Epicurean elements are present side by side in it, and that this points to the post-Aristotelian period, and indicates that the Book was written probably after the deaths of Epicurus and Zeno. It has accordingly been placed between 250–40 B.C. and 180 B.C., the supposed date at which the Son of Sirach wrote. "Perhaps we cannot, on the whole, better satisfy the conditions of the problem than by placing the composition of our book at about 200 B.C., nearly the date assigned by Hitzig on other grounds" (Tyler, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 31). Its relation to Stoicism and Epicureanism is set forth as follows.

The conquests of Alexander had paved the way for the reception of the post-Aristotelian philosophy in the East, whilst, on the other hand, as regards Stoicism, its principal teachers all came from the East, and the most famous of them were not only Oriental but Shemitic. This philosophy may therefore have been known in Palestine, where the writer of the Book probably lived, at an early period.

The great Stoic principle of living conformably to nature is set forth in the catalogue of times and seasons in Eccles. iii. 2–8. For everything there is an appointed time. The righteous lives conformably to this order: the wicked violates it (iii. 16, 17). In the Stoic physical philosophy the course of nature is a succession of similar cycles of events, and Qoheleth accordingly teaches that "That which is hath been already; and that which is to be hath already been: and God seeketh again that which is passed away" (iii. 15). "That which hath been is that which shall be; and that which hath been done is that which shall be done: and there is no new thing under the sun" (i. 9). The Stoic doctrine of fatalism is conspicuous in Qoheleth (ix. 11, 12, &c.), and the influence of the same philosophy, according to which folly was madness (πάντας δὲ τοὺς ἄφρονας μαίνεσθαι, Diog. Laert. vii. 124), accounts for their remarkable collocation or parallelism in several verses of our Book (i. 17; ii. 12; vii. 25; x. 13).

The opposite doctrine of Epicureanism is set forth in iii. 18–22 and v. 18–20.

The admonition, that "of making many books there is no end; and much study is a weariness of the flesh" (xii. 12), hints at the fruitless literary activity of the post-Aristotelians, of whom Epicurus is said to have composed about 300 books, Apollodorus above 400, Chrysippus more than 705, and so forth, in which the same problems were handled again and again without decisive result.

For collateral arguments in favour of this theory we must refer the reader to the treatises of Mr. Tyler and Dean Plumptre, who are fully convinced of its truth. It is an attractive theory, but is not generally accepted. If the teachers of a Greek philosophy came from the East, what there may be of it in Ecclesiastes need not have been borrowed from the West.

The theory shows a true appreciation of the tone and tendency of the Book, whether it be post-Aristotelian or not. Its gloomy and introspective character points to a time when the glory of the kingdom had departed. Political life was at a low ebb, faith in the God of Israel was on its trial, and the writer has recourse to philosophical speculation in the vain hope of throwing light for himself on the mysteries of human life and the apparent miscarriage of justice in the moral government of the world. All this fits in well with the opinion that it was written after the Captivity, but is not in itself irreconcilable with some pre-exilian date, falling within the period of the activity of "Hezekiah and his company," referred to in the above-cited tradition of the Babylonian Talmud. But Delitzsch and others of the most modern commentators place it after the Captivity, laying much stress upon the linguistic peculiarities of the Book, to which we must here call attention, referring the reader for full details to the commentaries of Delitzsch and C. H. H. Wright (1883) on the one hand, and on the other hand to the well-known anonymous treatise on the *Authorship of Ecclesiastes* [auct. David Johnston],

published in 1880, in which the Solomonic authorship is unhesitatingly maintained. The same side is taken by Dr. M. Friedländer in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. i. Nos. 1, 4 (1888–9).

Style.—The argument from its linguistic style is now much relied upon in proof of the late date of Ecclesiastes. That the Book was not actually Solomon's was expressly concluded on other grounds, viz. from its *structure*, by a Jewish writer of unknown date, quoted by R. Abraham ibn Ezra* of Toledo in his commentary on Qoheleth. In the course of a note on Eccles. vii. 3: "Sorrow (marg. A. V., Anger) is better than laughter," &c.; he calls attention to the opposite opinions expressed in different parts of the Book, contrasting vii. 3, viii. 15, vi. 8, iv. 2, &c., with vii. 9, ii. 2, ii. 13, ix. 4, &c. respectively, on account of which self-contradictions there was a tradition, that "the wise sought to apocryphise the book of Qoheleth;" and he adds, that *one of the interpreters felt himself accordingly constrained to interpret* QOHELETH *as* ASSEMBLY (Deut. xxiii. 4), *and he said that* HIS DISCIPLES *compiled the book, and each spake according to his own opinion*—or as it runs in the original:

והוצרך אחד מן המפרשים לפרש מלת קהלת כמו קָהַלְתְּ יעקב ואמר כי תלמידיו חברו הספר וכל אחד אמר כפי מחשבתו.

Although this much older commentator had thus distinctly laid down that Ecclesiastes emanated from the school of Solomon and set forth the various views of his "disciples"—whether in the sub-Solomonic age or at some later date—but was no composition of the master himself, the denial of its Solomonic authorship is commonly said to date only from Luther. Following him, Grotius, in the 17th century, gave it as his opinion (*Comm. on Eccles.* i. 1) that it was written later, under the name of Solomon, and he put forward a linguistic argument in support of his opinion: "Ego tamen Solomonis esse non puto, sed scriptum serius sub illius regis, tanquam poenitentia ducti nomine. Argumentum ejus rei habeo multa vocabula, quae non alibi quam in Daniele, Esdra et Chaldaeis interpretibus reperias."

There is no need to dwell at length on the proof that the diction of Qoheleth is peculiar or unique in the Hebrew Scriptures, since thus much is admitted on all hands; and the reader, on passing from the remaining Solomonic or other canonical writings to this Book, cannot but feel with Bishop Lowth, that "alia est totius operis ratio, alius color, longe dispar stylus." The only question is, what inference is to be drawn from this peculiarity of style? Can it be by any means accounted for on the supposition that Solomon wrote the Book? Delitzsch, whose glossary of *hapaxlegomena* and modernisms in Qoheleth extends to nine pages (cp. C. H. H. Wright's *Koheleth*, Exc. iv.), concludes that if it could have been written by Solomon, there is no history of the Hebrew language, and further, that it is without doubt a product of the post-exilian period (p. 206, 1875). Pusey (*Daniel*, Lect. vi.), going to the opposite extreme, maintains that there is not one word in Ecclesiastes to characterise a later age than Solomon's. The history of the Hebrew language may well be more defective than is generally supposed, if there be any truth in the Talmudic legend, that "When the Law was forgotten from Israel, Ezra came up from Babylon and established it" (T. B. *Sukkah*, 20 a), or that the Law was burnt and he re-wrote it (2 Esd. xiv.); but it must be admitted that the character of the diction of Qoheleth constitutes a strong objection to the traditional view of its authorship, while on the other hand we may admit, with Renan, that too much is sometimes made of this kind of argument, and that much allowance has to be made for its literary style and its subject-matter, which drive the writer to use words and expressions that are not found in other biblical Books. Nevertheless, the linguistic argument in itself points more or less indefinitely to a late date, and the utmost that can be done as against it is to minimise its significance.

Professor Driver (*Heb. Tenses*, chap. ix.) argues from a comparative view of the uses of *waw* with the tenses in the several Books to the late date of Qoheleth: "Although in Hebrew the continuation of a historical narrative is most usually expressed by the imperfect with ו, we find occasionally in the earlier Books of the O. T., and with increasing frequency in the later ones, that this idiom, which is so peculiarly and distinctively a creation of the Hebrew language, has been replaced by the perfect with the simple or weak *waw*, ו. . . . There is only one Book in the O. T. in which this state of things is reversed, and the perfect with simple *waw* obtains a marked, and indeed almost exclusive, preponderance. In the whole of Qoheleth ו occurs not more than *three* times (i. 17; iv. 1, 7), whereas the other construction is of repeated occurrence. This circumstance, estimated in the light of what is *uniformly* observable in other parts of the O. T., is of itself, though naturally it does not stand alone, a strong indication of the date at which that Book must have been composed."

As regards single words, we have already discussed the use of העלם in iii. 11, and have concluded that it there means *the world*, according to the usage of the later Hebrew. On the other side, it should be remarked on the use of the Divine name ELOHIM in this Book, which is said to approximate so closely in its diction to the Mishnah, that neither that nor any other of the biblical names of God is used in the Talmudic and Rabbinic writings *except in citations from the Bible*.[f] In place of such names, the Rabbis' feeling of reverence led them to speak of HEAVEN, or SPACE (cp. πλήρωμα), or THE NAME, or THE HOLY ONE, &c. (*Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, 1877, pp. 53, 80). Thus its use of ELOHIM differentiates Qoheleth from the later and non-canonical Jewish writings.

* He was born at Toledo after 1090 A.D., and died at Rome (?) after 1165 A.D.

[f] It may also have been used exceptionally, as in oaths; but see in the Gospel, Matt. v. 34 and xxiii. 16–22. Schechter refers to *Synonyma für Gott in der neuhebräischen Literatur von Dr. E. Landau* (Zürich, 1888) as a very instructive work upon the subject.

Graecisms.—Graetz (1871) devotes an appendix to the traces of Greek influence on the diction of Ecclesiastes. Zirkel first (1792) claimed to have found Graecisms in the Book, and, overjoyed at his discovery, sought to explain everything from the Greek which he could not rightly explain from the Hebrew. He was opposed by Schmidt and Eichhorn, and his theory fell into oblivion. Of his examples Graetz approves but few, but thinks it mere exegetical caprice to refuse to see Graecisms in יום טובה, תור, יפה, פתגם, and at all events εὐημερία (vii. 14). In the first hemistich of v. 17, טוב אשר יפה is supposed by Graetz to stand for καλὸν κἀγαθόν, but the construction of the clause is much disputed. It would be in accordance with analogy to render it somewhat as follows: *Behold that which I have seen* [this phrase with the same punctuation occurs in ii. 13, 24, cp. ix. 16]; *it is a good thing that* [cp. ii. 24; v. 4; vii. 18] *it is comely to eat and to drink*, &c. Since man cannot rise out of the common concerns of life, it is well that he can take pleasure in them, and it is by the gift of God that he can find satisfaction therein. Further traces of Greek influence are detected by some in the uses of ראה, in לעשות טוב (iii. 12), נולד (iv. 14), הכל and זה כל האדם (xii. 13), in vii. 16, 17 (cp. μηδὲν ἄγαν), in the oft-recurring phrase "under the sun," and in "the repeated employment of plural nouns with a singular verb" (Tyler, *Eccles.* p. 71).

The linguistic peculiarities of the Book are considered by many to "point with great definiteness to an epoch after the exile," whilst the political condition of the people described in it, the tyranny and perversion of justice, the dissolute court life, and the elevation of unworthy persons to positions of dignity, fall in with the theory that it was written before the end of the Persian period. Many commentators accordingly place it between the middle of the 5th century, and about 330 A.D., while some, as we have seen, have been led by the philosophical character of its contents, and its supposed Hellenic affinities, to place it more than a century later. "The simple reason," it has been said, "why no more definite date can be assigned is that Jewish history is almost a blank from the death of Nehemiah down to the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes (*c.* 415–175 B.C.). The annals of the Persian empire, too, are very deficient from the death of Xerxes in 465 B.C. down to the appearance of Alexander the Great on the stage of history" (Wright, *Koheleth*, p. 136).

4. CANONICITY.—There are not adequate data to determine when Ecclesiastes first came to be regarded as canonical; but we have seen reason to think that it was already included in the Kethubim or Hagiographa (τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν βιβλίων) when the Prologue to Ecclesiastes was written. There is no clear trace of it in the New Testament, nor is it very frequently quoted in the Talmud, doubtless on account of its abstruse and esoteric character, Solomon, according to a saying of the Zohar on Levit. xiii. 40, with reference to a passage of Ecclesiastes, hiding his words, בנו לנו היכלא קדישא, *in the inmost recesses of the holy temple.*

To understand it one must set out with the fact that many of its conclusions are tentative, and not in accordance with the deliberate verdict of the writer. In the course of his inquiry he seems to give in his adhesion now to this system, now to that, as if all manner of doctrines and their opposites were each "beautiful in its season." To appreciate the Book we must take it as a whole, regarding the epilogue as an integral and indispensable part of it. If otherwise treated, it cannot fail to mislead, many of its statements not being intended to be accepted as final. We can well understand therefore how, even after it had been accepted as Scripture, its authority may have been impugned and called in question, on account of its apparently erroneous teaching. Or it may have been attempted to "hide" it as a Book hard to be understood, which the unlearned might haply "wrest to their own destruction." So it was sought to set aside the Book of Ezekiel, not only as containing ordinances at variance with the Pentateuch, but because of the matter of the "chariot," which it was dangerous for the immature and simple-minded to speculate upon; for we read in the Talmud that a story is told of a boy who was reading Ezekiel in his teacher's house, and he was pondering on the word *amber* (Ezek. i. 27), "and fire went forth from the *amber* and burnt him, and they sought to apocryphise the Book of Ezekiel" (T. B. *Chagigah*, 13 a). For like reasons they may have attempted to set aside Qoheleth.

Before proceeding to notice the ancient controversies about the Book, we should mark the use of an archaic term in referring to it, which tells somewhat against extreme theories as to its late date. The Pentateuch alone being sometimes distinguished as Torah, the remaining Books of Scripture are then styled Qabbalah, which is literally διαδοχή, that is to say, *tradition* regarded from the point of view of reception. "This mode of speaking may be assumed to be a survival from a remote period at which the Pentateuch alone had been accepted as canonical; for it could scarcely have arisen in comparatively recent times" (*Jewish Fathers*, p. 121). Qoheleth is quoted under that name in Sifré on Deuteronomy, *Piqa* 48 (Eccles. x. 8): "Solomon came and interpreted it in QABBALAH, *And whoso breaketh a fence, a serpent shall bite him.* Lo! thou hast learned that whoso breaketh fences of the wise, eventually punishments come upon him."

It is related that the wise sought to apocryphise the Book of Qoheleth (T. B. *Shabbath*, 30 b; פסיקתא, *Pisqa* 8, fol. 68 b, ed. Buber, 1868), because its words contradicted one another, or because some of them were of heretical tendency. And why did they not do so? Because its beginning and its end were words of Torah. That is to say, these critics, taking a general view of the Book, found its thesis and its conclusion orthodox, whatever objection might be made to particular statements made by the way and in the course of the inquiry. Its beginning is made out to be "words of Torah," because the phrase "under the sun" (i. 3) carries with it a reference by implication to another world, "*above* (or *before*) the sun."

There are various other passages in the Talmudim and Midrashim bearing upon this

controversy, in some of which the question takes the technical form, Does the Book of Qoheleth *defile the hands*? The school of Shammai said, No: the school of Hillel, Yes. That is to say, the former pronounced against it, and the latter in its favour, with reference to the saying (Mishnah, *Yadaim*, iii. 5), that "All Holy Scriptures defile the hands,"—a peculiar form of expression which is explained as follows. It having been the custom to keep the Book of the Law along with the heave-offerings, it was found that it suffered injury from mice, &c., and was accordingly said to *defile the hands*, as if it were unclean, in order that it might be kept apart, and be no longer in danger of such attacks (T. B. *Shabbath*, 14 a).

For further details of these controversies see the commentaries of Delitzsch and C. H. H. Wright, and Dr. S. Schiffer's *Das Buch Kohelet nach der Auffassung der Weisen des Talmud und Midrasch und der jüdischen Erklärer des Mittelalters*.

It is possible that some of the discussions about Qoheleth were of a merely scholastic character, and intended to bring out the true meaning of sayings by which the superficial reader was in danger of being misled; but it must be admitted that there was a certain amount of *bona-fide* antagonism to the Book at a comparatively late date. This, however, as we have said, is not inconsistent with the opinion that it was still disputed, like the *ἀντιλεγόμενα* of the New Testament, long after it had taken its place amongst the Canonical Books. It seems to have been regarded by some amongst the Jews as "obliterandus" as late as the time of Jerome (*Comm.* on Eccles. xii. 13).

5. CONTENTS.—From these questions we pass to the Book itself, which in places almost defies analysis, owing to the indefiniteness of its language or the want of obvious connexion between consecutive sayings. It is characterised, however, by some leading thoughts which are continually recurring.

The text of the Preacher is: "Vanity of vanities; all is vanity." What profit (asks he) hath a man of all his labour that he laboureth under the sun? The generations come and go. There is a perpetual flux and reflux of the elements, whilst Nature *in her totality* stands unchanged. There is neither rest from toil nor real progress, but wearisome iteration of the same sequence of things, so that that which has been is that which shall be, and there is nothing new under the sun.

Qoheleth had been king over Israel in Jerusalem, and with all the resources of wealth and wisdom at his command had given his mind to philosophic inquiry into terrestrial and human affairs. But the result was disappointing; for on a comparison of wisdom with "madness and folly," he had found no satisfaction in the former, but rather that "In much wisdom is much grief: and he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow" (i. 12–18).

Wisdom alone does not bring happiness: neither does uncontrolled mirth. Accordingly he makes trial of pleasure under the sober guidance of wisdom, still hoping to discover *what is that good for the sons of men which they should do under the heaven all the days of their life* (ii. 3). But though his plans for the refined enjoyment of life afford him pleasant occupation for the time being, in the retrospect he sees no satisfaction in all his labours. And turning again to the comparison of wisdom with "madness and folly," he concludes that though it may command success in life, yet in the end the wise man is none the better for his wisdom, but he too dies and is forgotten like the fool, and leaves the fruit of his toil to he knows not whom. It was not in man to find his supreme good[s] [cp. ii. 3] in the way in which he had sought it, else why should he with his unique advantages have failed to secure it (ii. 24, 25)? But God decrees that one shall labour to heap up riches which he is not to enjoy, and freely grants to another wisdom and knowledge and tranquil joy, according to His good pleasure. "This also is vanity and vexation of spirit" (R. V. "a striving after wind").

This leads up to his doctrine of opportuneness. *Καιρὸν γνῶθι* (Pittacus in Diog. Laert. i. 4, § 6). For all manner of things and their opposites there are set times in the course of nature (iii. 1–8). What profit then hath he that worketh, if all things are thus changeful? God has made everything beautiful in its season, and has so framed man that he can find satisfaction in the affairs of life as they come to pass, albeit unable to comprehend His work in its fulness (iii. 11). Man's instincts are regulated by an immutable law. What God doeth shall be for ever, and He hath done it that men should fear before Him. The observed perversions of the Divine order raise the hope of a just judgment to come. Or may it not, on the contrary, be that man is not morally accountable for his actions, and has no pre-eminence over the beasts? Let him then enjoy the world, for that is his portion, "for who shall bring him (R. V. *back*) to see what shall be after him?" (iii. 16–22).

Still brooding over the failures of justice in the world's course, he is led to praise the dead which are already dead more than the living which are yet alive. Successful competition is rewarded with envy. The fool who folds his hands and "eats his own flesh," is perhaps the wisest in his generation. It is a weary lot to toil even successfully if one has none for whom to labour. In every way "two are better than one," and "a threefold cord is not quickly broken" (iv. 1–12).

Then follows, perhaps in pursuance of the thought of the evil of isolation, a passage of great difficulty, in which many have imagined that there must be a historical reference of a nature to determine something as to the date of Qoheleth. Better is a youth needy and wise than a king old and foolish, who will no longer listen to the advice of counsellors (iv. 13; cp. Wisd. iv. 8, 9), for one has risen from the state of thraldom to a throne, and one born to a kingdom has come to poverty (Sym., Vulg.; cp. R. V. marg.). He passes in review the living, toiling

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[s] The clause אין טוב באדם שיאכל וכו׳ (ii. 24) is much disputed. The A. V. and R. V.: "There is nothing better for a man *than* that he should eat and drink," &c. is a rendering not of the text, but of משיאכל וכו׳, with *mem* repeated from באדם. Cp. in iii. 22, אין טוב מאשר.

multitude, with the younger generation that is to stand in their stead. They that come after will not rest satisfied with what has been before them.[h] This also is vanity and vexation of spirit.

"Be not rash with thy mouth, and let not thine heart be hasty to utter anything before God." From the oppressions done under the sun it does not follow that there is none that regardeth. What is objected to may be ineradicable from the linked system of things, in which grade rises above grade, and even the supreme ruler is subject to conditions (v. 2–9). Besides, men's conditions are not altogether so unequal as they seem; but poverty has its blessings and wealth its cares. A man's laying up in store for the future may bring him no real advantage. And so the Preacher comes round again to the conclusion that it is well to enjoy the lawful pleasures of the hour as they present themselves. Yet it is but a limited measure of enjoyment that is possible for man, and what advantage has the wise over the fool? Were it not better not to have been born? "Who knoweth what is good for man in his life, all the days of his vain life, which he spendeth as a shadow? for who can tell a man what shall be after him under the sun?" (vi. 12).

In the later chapters of the Book there is on the whole less of sustained speculation, and the Preacher shows more and more as the Paroemiast, who "sought out and set in order many proverbs." The gnomic character of the seventh and following chapters is very marked. The seventh corresponds in a manner to the third, with its contrasts of life and death, mirth and mourning, prosperity and adversity. "A good name is better than precious ointment, and the day of death than the day of one's birth .... God hath set the one over against the other, to the end that man should find nothing after him" (vii. 1–14). The wise man will avoid extremes: he will preserve a philosophic calm in all vicissitudes: he will enjoy his prosperity and profit by the uses of adversity. Wisdom is a tower of strength, but its range is limited. What was the essence and origin of that evil which had so corrupted all women and most men? "Behold, this only have I found, that God made man upright; but they have sought out many inventions" (vii. 29).

Wisdom, in the realm of politics, will make a man respect the powers that be as ordained of God (viii. 2–5). But here also the same inequalities are observed: the same uncertainties and disappointments and failures of justice, which vex the heart of the righteous and tempt the sinner to persevere in his wickedness (viii. 11). And the Preacher comes round again by the old path to the old conclusions, that "There is one event to the righteous and to the wicked ... Go thy way, eat thy bread with joy, and drink thy wine with a merry heart ... Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might (?), for there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in the grave, whither thou goest" (ix. 2, 7, 10).

Taking a fresh departure, he remarks that wisdom and capacity may fail of success, or, having done their work, may not receive due recognition. And wisdom itself is sometimes marred by some "little folly" in its possessor (ix. 11–x. 1). The wise man will be the more on his guard, and will have his wisdom always at hand. Though folly may be exalted, and true merit debased, he will know the danger of attempting hasty reforms. If the time is out of joint, he will observe the caution: "Curse not the king, no, not in thy thought; and curse not the rich in thy bedchamber: for a bird of the air shall carry the voice, and that which hath wings shall tell the matter" (x. 20).

But caution and reserve are but one side of wisdom. He who would command success must discharge the plain duties that lie before him, uncertain as may be the future. He must do the work of to-day in a spirit of enterprise, taking no thought for the morrow. This will make life worth living, even in face of the darkness that lies beyond. Rejoice therefore in the blessings of life and in all its lawful pleasures, "but know thou that for all these things God will bring thee into judgment" (xi. 1–9).

Chapter xii. consists of two parts. The former describes the approach of death in highly poetical language, and concludes with the refrain: "Vanity of vanities, said Qoheleth; all is vanity." The latter consists of the epilogue, the composition of some writer distinct from "Qoheleth." It tells therefore against the Solomonic authorship, unless we assume that it was itself no part of the original work. But after the Preacher's weary round of inconclusive speculation, ending in "all is vanity," how natural is the commendation of the well-considered "words of the wise." How seasonable the warning: "And furthermore, my son, be admonished: of making many books there is no end; and much study is a weariness of the flesh." The conclusion is, that God will bring every work into judgment, and unveil all that is mysterious. "Fear Him therefore, and keep His commandments; for this is the whole *duty* of man." The lame conclusion of the Book curtailed (as some think it should be) of its epilogue might have been arrived at without the wisdom of Solomon; and unless we can somehow divest the Preacher of the character which he assumes at the outset, we must allow the opening of Ecclesiastes to be a designed prelude to the "words of Torah" with which it ends.

In the description of the approach of death (xii. 1–7), the long array of commentators who follow the Rabbinic tradition find a more or less complete anatomy of the human body in its decrepitude. But we are no more obliged on such authority to accept this, in one or other of its numerous forms, as the true and only rendering, than in ix. 13–16 to see an allegory of the city of "Mansoul," in which the "great king" is the personified Evil in man's nature, and the neglected saviour of the city the Good. Without pronouncing upon the intrinsic merits of the anatomical rendering, I shall here try to

[h] The transference of a ל gives the reading אין קץ לכל העמל כל בני in iv. 16 (cp. iv. 8), which is perhaps worth considering. Then for ישמחו compare ii. 10 and v. 18.

show briefly that there is a way of putting the details of xii. 1–7 together in their literal sense so as to form a consistent whole. The passage falls into three divisions, severally commencing with the self-same phrase (עד אשר לא), of which the first describes the "evil days," &c. when youth is long past (*v.* 1), and the third the dissolution of the frame (*vv.* 6, 7). Between these comes the section, "Ere the sun and the light and the moon and the stars be darkened, and the clouds return after the rain, viz. *In the day when* the keepers of the house tremble, &c. . . . Because the man passeth [LXX. *ἐπορεύθη*] to his eternal house, and the mourners go about in the street." Death being thus imminent, or (according to the Septuagint) already present in the mansion, servants and men of hign degree tremble: the maids at the handmills cease from work, and the joy of their mistresses is darkened. The doors are shut to the street (Isaiah xxiv. 10, 11) concurrently with the falling of the sound of the mills, which are no longer employed in preparing food for guests. The bird, significant of solitude and desolation in the Old Testament, makes its voice heard [? לָקוֹל for לְקוֹל] in the hush, and all the daughters of song sink to silence. Compare Jer. xxv. 10, 11, and Rev. xviii. 2, 22, "Babylon the great . . . is become a cage of every unclean and hateful *bird* . . . And the *voice of a millstone* shall be heard no more at all in thee." For further illustrations see *The Dirge of Coheleth* (1874), in which I have given also an account of the semi-literal renderings of Michaelis, Umbreit, and Nachtigall. To these add the interpretation of J. G. Wetzstein, as in Delitzsch and Wright's commentaries. On *v.* 5 I will only remark that, since "the almond" is the first and most highly prized "flower of the spring" (*Dirge &c.*, pp. 31–33), there may be an allusion to it in Wisdom ii. 7, "let no flower of the spring pass by us:" the preceding verses (1–6) seem to refer to Ecclesiastes. The overclouding of sun, moon and stars (*v.* 2) is a familiar symbol, here interpreted by what comes after the words, "*In the day when.*" The same formula of transition from symbol to interpretation is used in Is. xxx. 26.

6. BIBLIOGRAPHY.—For a full and valuable "Historical Sketch of the Exegesis of the Book," the reader is referred to Dr. C. D. Ginsburg's commentary on "Coheleth," published in 1861. Further and later information on the many books made upon the discourse of the Preacher will be found in the commentaries of Delitzsch, C. H. H. Wright, and Zöckler (in Lange's *Bibelwerk*), and in the American edition of the work last mentioned, namely by Prof. Tayler Lewis. Pfleiderer's *Die Philosophie des Heraklit* (Berlin, 1886) has an appendix upon the influence of Heraclitus on Ecclesiastes, Wisdom &c.; and Prof. Cheyne, in his *Job and Solomon* (1887), discusses the problems of Koheleth and contributes to its bibliography (p. 285), concluding with a reference to Prof. A. Palm's monograph on *Die Qohelet-Literatur* (1886). Professor Margoliouth of Oxford, in his inaugural lecture (1890), has a linguistic argument in favour of an early date for Ecclesiastes: it must have been written (he contends) many generations before the days of the Son of Sirach, whose style is made out by an ingenious process to have been akin to the modern Rabbinic. On the text of Ecclesiastes see Sebastian Euringer's *Der Masorahtext des Koheleth kritisch untersucht* (Leipzig, 1890), an appendix to which brings together the Rabbinic citations from the Book to the 7th century A.D. [C. T.]

ECCLESIAS'TICUS, the title given in the Latin Version to the book which is called in the Septuagint THE WISDOM OF JESUS THE SON OF SIRACH (*Σοφία Ἰησοῦ υἱοῦ Σιράχ*, ACℵ.; *Σοφία Σειράχ*, B. Rufinus, *Vers.* Orig. *Hom. in Num.* xviii. 3: "In libro, qui apud nos quidem inter Salomonis volumina haberi solet, et *Ecclesiasticus* dici, apud Graecos vero *Sapientia Jesu filii Sirach* appellatur scriptum est. . ."). The word, like many others of Greek origin, appears to have been adopted in the African dialect (*e.g.* Tertull. *de Pudic.* xxii. p. 435), and thus it may have been applied naturally in the *Vetus Latina* to a *Church reading-book;* and when that translation was adopted by Jerome (*Praef. in Libros Sal. juxta LXX.* x. p. 404, ed. Migne), the local title became current throughout the West, where the book was most used. The right explanation of the word is given by Rufinus, who remarks that "it does not designate the author of the book, but the character of the writing," as publicly used in the services of the Church (*Comm. in Symb.* § 38: "Sapientia, quae dicitur filii Sirach . . . apud Latinos hoc ipso generali vocabulo *Ecclesiasticus* appellatur, quo vocabulo non auctor libelli sed scripturae qualitas cognominata est"). The special application by Rufinus of the general name of the class (*ecclesiastici* as opposed to *canonici*) to the single book may be explained by its wide popularity. Athanasius, for instance, mentions the book (*Ep. Fest.* sub fine) as one of those "framed by the Fathers to be read by those who wished to be instructed (*κατηχεῖσθαι*) in the word of godliness." According to Jerome (*Praef. in Libr. Sol.* ix. 1242), the original Hebrew title was *Proverbs;* and the Wisdom of Sirach shared with the canonical Book of Proverbs and the Wisdom of Solomon the title of *The book of all virtues* (*ἡ πανάρετος σοφία* or *ἡ πανάρετος*, Hieron. *l. c.*; cp. Routh, *Rell. Sacr.* i. p. 127). In many places it is simply styled *Wisdom* (Orig. in Matt. xiii. § 4; cp. Clem. Al. *Paed.* i. 8, §§ 69, 72, &c.), and *Jesus Sirach* (August. *ad Simplic.* i. 2, 20).

2. The writer of the present book describes himself in the Greek as Jesus (*i.e.* Jeshua) the son of Sirach of Jerusalem (l. 27); Codd. ABℵ. add Ἐλεάζαρ, other MSS. Ἐλεάζορος; in the Peshitto he is described as Jesus the son of Simon, who is called Bar-Asīrā;[a] the real name would seem to have been ישוע בן סירה, differing only graphically from בן סירא, the name whereby he is known in the Talmud (סירוק is a late error: Jost, *Gesch. d. Judenth.* i. 311). סירה was probably a nickname (mean-

[a] Bar-hebraeus, in his unpublished scholia on this book, identifies this Simon on the one hand with the son of Onias, on the other with the Simeon of Luke ii. 25; and he was called "the Prisoner" (אסירא) "because he was bound 216 years before he saw our Lord:" the date is singularly accurate. He adds that he is often called אסיר, without olaph, a contemptuous name meaning "dust."

ing "a coat of mail:" Schürer, *The Jewish People in the Time of the Christ*, ii. 2, 24); but that the true name of the author's father was Simon, and that of his grandfather Eleazar, cannot be asserted with confidence, although the latter seems to rest on sufficient authority. The conjectures which have been made to fill up this short notice are either unwarranted or absolutely improbable. There is no evidence to show that he was of priestly descent. The mistake of Syncellus (*Chron.* ed. Dindorf, i. 525), who states that he was a high priest after Simon, probably arose from the fact that in Eusebius' Chronicle his name followed that of Simon, son of Onias II., not as high priest, but as author of this book (Schürer, *ut supra*, 25). The Palestinian authorship of the book is substantiated by internal evidence. Of the author's life we know no more than that he had travelled and had been often in extreme danger (xxxi. 10, 11), owing, on one occasion, to his being slandered before a king (li. 5).[b]

3. The language in which the book was originally composed was "Hebrew" (Ἑβραϊστί) according to the express statement of the Greek translator, and Jerome says (*Praef. in Libr. Sal.* l. c.) that he had met with the Hebrew text. From the remaining fragments we know that the language was rather Judaeo-Aramaic (Fürst, *Aramäische Chrestomathie*, p. 73); *i.e.* the language used by the Jewish doctors of the 2nd century, of which the basis was the Hebrew of the Bible, but which was greatly mixed with Aramaic words and forms. Attempts which have been made in recent times to reconstruct the original from the errors of the Versions have confirmed this. The Greek translator has for the most part retained the Hebraisms unaltered, and hence the difference between the Greek of the translation and that of the Prologue is very noticeable.

4. There are fragments of the original scattered over the Talmud and Midrash (collected by Delitzsch, *Zur Geschichte der Jüdischen Poesie*, Appendix, and more fully by Dukes, *Rabbinische Blumenlese*, p. 31 sq.), corresponding with about thirty verses of the Versions (iii. 21, 22; vi. 6; ix. 8 sq.; xi. 1, 29; xiii. 16; xiv. 18; xviii. 23; xxiii. 15; xxv. 2; xxvi. 1; xxviii. 6; xxx. 23; xxxviii. 1, 4, 7; xlii. 9 sq.), besides others, to which nothing in the Versions corresponds.[c] These fragments are variously read, and show signs of inaccurate reminiscence or careless quotation; and it is wholly uncertain when the original disappeared from the world.[d]

The Greek translation incorporated in the LXX. was made by the grandson of the author in Egypt, ἐν τῷ ὀγδόῳ καὶ τριακόστῳ ἔτει ἐπὶ τοῦ Εὐεργέτου βασιλέως, "in the thirty-eighth year of king Euergetes." Two kings of Egypt bore the name Euergetes,—Ptol. III., son and successor of Ptol. II. Philadelphus, B.C. 247–222; and Ptol. VII. Physcon, the brother of Ptol. VI. Philometor, B.C. 170–117, who reigned jointly with his brother till the latter's death in B.C. 145. Obviously the date given must refer to the second of these; and we thus get the date B.C. 132 for the arrival of the translator in Egypt, and may place the composition of his grandfather's work at about B.C. 200–180. This date has been thought by many to conflict with the panegyric upon Simon of Onias (ch. l.), whom the author would seem to describe from personal knowledge (*vv.* 5, 15 sq.); the person to whom this description applies being most probably Simon I., high priest about B.C. 310–290, surnamed the Just. The following ways of reconciling these data have been attempted (see H. Bois, *Essai sur les Origines de la Philosophie Judéo-Alexandrine*, pp. 314–344):—(i.) To suppose the Simon of ch. l. to be Simon II., also son of Onias, high priest B.C. 219–198, a personage of whom little is known (Herzfeld, Jost, Derenbourg, Seligmann, Schürer). (ii.) To interpret πάππος of the Greek Prologue not as grandfather, but as ancestor (Horowitz; also suggested by Grätz and Ewald). (iii.) To interpret the words quoted from the Greek Prologue as meaning in the translator's thirty-eighth year, in which case they will cease to have any chronological value; and some have indeed maintained that this is the only sense which the words can bear; however, although the translation "in the thirty-eighth year of king Euergetes" somewhat violates Greek usage, the translator, who shows no skill in manipulating Greek syntax, may well be made responsible for this. The question whether Simon I. or Simon II. be the most likely object of the panegyric is difficult to settle, owing to the scanty notices that we have of both of them. If Seligmann (*Das Buch der Weisheit des Jesus Sirach*, Breslau, 1883) be thought to have proved against Josephus that Simon II. was surnamed הצדיק, the first of the above solutions will be the most probable; but, on the whole, it is best to suppose that the author had not really seen the high priest whom he describes, nor is there anything in the panegyric which necessarily implies that he had done so. Of late years there has been a consensus in favour of assigning the original work to about 200 B.C., and the later date of the translation seems also confirmed by the manner in which the translator speaks of the Alexandrine Version of the Old Testament, and the familiarity which he shows with its language (*e.g.* xliv. 16, Ἐνὼχ εὐηρέστησε

[b] The Alphabet or book of Ben Sira (sometimes called "the younger Ben Sira") which exists at present, is a later compilation (Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge der Juden*, pp. 100–105) of proverbs in Hebrew and Chaldee, containing some genuine fragments, among much that is worthless. See also Fürst, *Aramäische Chrestomathie*, pp. 22, 23.

[c] Dukes has also collected several anonymous or pseudonymous quotations: *e.g.* vii. 17, where the Syriac translation is verbally identical with a maxim in *Aboth*, p. 74 b (ed. Schechter), assigned to a different author. Several more remain.

[d] In the Ṣaḥīḥ of Muslim (ed. Boulak, 1290, i. 41), a saying taken from Ben Sira is put in Mohammed's mouth: "There are three whom God will not speak to on the day of judgment,—*an old adulterer, and a lying king, and a poor man who is proud.*" This clearly comes from Ecclus. xxv. 2, πτωχὸν ὑπερήφανον καὶ πλούσιον ψεύστην, γέροντα μοιχόν, דל גאה ועשיר מכחיש וזקן מנאף (see Delitzsch and Dukes, *ut supra*). Mohammed must have got it from the Jews of Medina, who therefore may have possessed copies of Ben Sira. Since the true reading is evidently γέροντα μωρόν (of several MSS. and Versions), the coincidence cannot be accidental. In the *Sefer Yetsira* (of uncertain date) some words in § 42 bear a striking likeness to Ecclus. xxxix. 25.

καὶ μετετέθη, Gen. v. 24); the allusions, too, to Greek customs and perhaps to Greek literature, which have been found in the book, will suit the beginning of the 2nd rather than the middle of the 3rd century.

5. The name of the first Greek translator, the grandson of the author, is unknown. He is commonly supposed to have borne the same name as his grandfather, but this tradition rests only on conjecture or misunderstanding (Jerome, l. c.; *Synops. S. Script.*, printed as a Prologue in the Compl. ed. and in A. V.). There seems no reason to doubt that his translation is in the main preserved in the text of the uncials ABC𝔑, which the editions of Swete and Fritzsche (in the main) follow very closely. Yet this translation must at an early time have undergone revision by comparison with Hebrew copies, and the different families of MSS. are differentiated by the character of these alterations. They consist (a) in slight modifications of the translation, *e.g.* xix. 14, τὸν φίλον AB𝔑 τὸν πλησίον S𝔑, &c., for רֵעֵ֫הוּ; iii. 26, ἐμπεσεῖται B, ἀπολεῖται AC𝔑, &c.; xix. 30, τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ B𝔑, τὰ περὶ ἐμοῦ A, עלי for עליו, &c.: (b) in slight additions intended to make the verses clearer, *e.g.* iv. 4, πᾶν ὃ ἐὰν ἐπαχθῇ σοι δέξαι (ἀσμένως added by 106, 248, 253); iv. 8, κλῖνον τὸ ὦς σου (ἀλύπως added by 248): (c) in the addition of a considerable number of verses, some of which are quoted by very early authorities (*e.g.* Chrysostom and Clement of Alexandria), or are confirmed by the best collateral evidence (*e.g.* the Syriac, Latin, and Coptic Versions). Many of these verses are translated in the Syro-Hexaplar Version, where they are marked with *asterisks*, the meaning of which in the Apocryphal Book is a matter of difficulty (Field, *Hexapla*, i. p. lxx.). That they are translations of *Hebrew* verses is shown by the fact that the sense of many of them only becomes clear after re-translation: *e.g.* in i. 10, ἀγάπησις Κυρίου ἔνδοξος σοφία, ἔνδοξος σοφία probably represents מקור חכמה (wrongly written or read מוקר חכמה), "the fount of wisdom."

The following is a list of these verses, most of which are supplied by MSS. 23, 55, 70, 106, 248, 253:—i. 5, 7, 10, 12, 18, 20; ii. 4, 9; iii. 19, 25; iv. 23 b; v. 7 b, 11 b; ix. 8 c; x. 8, 20; xi. 11 c, 15, 16; xii. 6 c; xiii. 14, 25; xvi. 10 b, 14; xvii. 5, 17, 18, 21, 22, 26; xviii. 5, 9 b, 27 b, 29; xix. 5 b, 6 a, 13 b, 14 a, 18, 19, 21, 25 c; xx. 3, 14 b, 17 b, 32; xxii. 9, 10, 13 b, 23 c, d; xxiii. 3 e, 4 c, 5 b, 28; xxiv. 18, 24; xxv. 12, 26 c; xxvi. 19–27 (also in Syriac Version); xxix. 23 b; xxx. 12 b; xxxviii. 32; xlvii. 9; l. 29 b.

In all the Greek MSS. hitherto collated (except, perhaps, 248, a Vatican MS. of the 14th century), the original order of the chapters is disturbed. They proceed from xxx. 24 (Co.) to xxxiii. 16 (ὡς καλαμώμενος), which is continued till xxxvi. 11 a, after which follow xxx. 25 to xxxiii. 16, when the rest of xxxvi. 11 is taken up, slightly altered. The true order (which is rendered certain by the context) is preserved in the Peshitto and Vetus Latina (being indeed no slight proof of their independence), and was exhibited in the Complutensian and other early editions of the LXX., and more recently in Fritzsche's *Libri Apocryphi Veteris Testamenti*. In the Vatican edition, followed by Tischendorf, the order of the Greek MSS. was followed, and the numbers of the chapters altered accordingly.

The Greek MSS. in which Ecclesiasticus is preserved are enumerated by Hatch, *Essays in Biblical Greek*, p. 247 sq. To these must be added a fragment of a Jerusalem uncial, comprising the Prologue and parts of chs. i. and ii., edited by R. Harris, in *Biblical Fragments from Mt. Sinai* (No. iv.). Dr. Hatch's *Essay* contains some important observations on the grammatical varieties of the MSS. It may be said that of the MSS., 248 represents best the recension furthest removed from the uncials, while 106 and 253 constitute an intermediate family, often independent of both.

6. The Peshitto Syriac is an independent version of the original of uncertain date and origin; its independence, first noticed by Bendtsen (*Spec. Exercit. Crit. in Vet. T. libr. Apocr.* pp. 16, 29), has since been proved by Geiger and others, and is now generally acknowledged (see the *Speaker's Comm.* on the Apocrypha, ii. p. 27). It offers a wholly different text from the Greek in i. 20–28; omits xli. 12—xlii. 9; and has many other minor omissions and variations (especially in the last chapters). Of the Greek MSS. hitherto collated, MS. 248 agrees with it most closely. A large number of its variations may be accounted for by different reading or interpretation of the original. While ordinarily literal, even to absurdity, it appears in some cases to paraphrase the original with a view to clearness or for dogmatic reasons. Its great importance for the criticism of the text has found hitherto scanty recognition. The best edition is by Lagarde (*Libri Apocryphi Vet. Test. Syriace*, 1861).

The Latin Version (part of the Vetus Latina, unrevised by Jerome, Praef. *ut supra*) gives proof of the work of a great many hands. Many verses are rendered twice or even thrice; the renderings sometimes agree very closely with the Peshitto, at other times with different families of the Greek; while occasionally it has independent varieties, some of which probably represent the original more faithfully than the other authorities. Hence it was conjectured by Sabatier and Bengel (Eichhorn's *Bibliothek*, vii. 481) that this translation was made with the aid of a Jew or by a Jewish Christian in possession of the original. Cases which make for this hypothesis are such as ix. 7, ἐν ταῖς ἐρήμοις αὐτῆς μὴ πλανῶ, Vet. Lat. *in plateis eius*, clearly representing ברחבותיה for בחרבותיה, in accordance with the context; xxvii. 11, *σοφία*, Vet. Lat. *ut sol*, apparently כחמה for חכמה, rendered very probable by the antithesis; xxv. 12, πληγὴν καρδίας, Vet. Lat. *tristitiam videbit cordis*, agreeing with the Talmudic quotation (Dukes, *l. c.*) כאב לב. Some remarkable additions are found in chs. i. and xxiv., especially xxiv. 45, which perhaps betrays the hand of a Christian. The Latin presents great peculiarities; even in the first two chapters the following words occur which are found in no other part of the Vulgate: *defunctio* (i. 13), *religiositas* (i. 17, 18, 26), *compartior* (i. 24), *inhonoratio* (i. 38), *obductio* (ii. 2; v. 1, 10), *receptibilis* (ii. 5). The MSS. in which it exists are enumerated by Hatch, *l. c.* They present

few varieties, as Sabatier observed; the text of the Amiatinus has been separately edited by Lagarde (*Mittheilungen*, vol. i.).

7. Of the remaining Versions the ARABIC published in the Polyglot is from the Peshitto; it is not clear whether this is the same as that made by Al-hārith ibn Sinān ibn Sanbāt (De Slane, *Catal. des MSS. Arabes de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, i. 11). The other ancient Versions are from the Greek. Of these the most important is the COPTIC (Sahidic dialect), existing in a Turin MS. of the 6th century, published by Lagarde in his *Aegyptiaca* (1884). A fragment of a Memphitic Version (ii. 1–9) was published by the same scholar in his *Orientalia* (Pt. i. 1880). The ARMENIAN Version which existed before the time of Moses of Chorene was published from a fragmentary MS. by the Mechitarists of Venice, 1833; it has a lacuna from xxxv. 19—xxxviii. 14 (inclusive), and breaks off at xlii. 24; besides minor omissions (*e.g.* the whole of ch. viii.). While exhibiting a text similar to that of the uncials, it has some remarkable readings (*e.g.* xl. 6 and xli. 17). The AETHIOPIC Version (of which an edition is promised) exists in MSS. of the British Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and Tübingen. The SYRO-HEXAPLARIS (published by Ceriani in vol. vii. of *Anecdota Sacra et Profana*) has a text remarkably similar to that of MS. 257. The translator would appear to have consulted the Peshitto concerning difficult words (*e.g.* iv. 30, *φανταστικοπών*). The Ambrosian MS. contains some marginal scholia besides the critical marks.

8. It is impossible to make any satisfactory plan of the book in its present shape. Separate portions seem constituted by (1) the *hymns* to Wisdom, i. 1–18, and ch. xxiv.: (2) the *prayers*, xxxiii. 1–11, with xxxvi. 16 b–22, and ch. li., which Bickell (*Ein Alphabetisches Lied Ben Sira's*) fancied, but on insufficient grounds, to be alphabetical: (3) the hymn to God, xxxix. 12–21, called by the author a "fresh thought;" cp. xvi. 22—xviii. 13: (4) the praise of famous men (*πατέρων ὕμνος*), xliv. 1–l. 24. The attempts which have been made to show that the book was made up out of several collections (Eichhorn, *Einl.* 50 sq.; Ewald, *History of Israel*, E. T. v. 205), belonging to different epochs, cannot be considered successful; although, doubtless, as might be expected in a gnomology, most of the maxims are not original. The words of Jerome, *Praef. in Libr. Salom.* ("Quorum priorem [*πανάρετον* Jesu filii Sirach librum] Hebraicum repperi, non *Ecclesiasticum* ut apud Latinos, sed *Parabolas* praenotatum, cui juncti erant Ecclesiastes et Canticum Canticorum, ut similitudinem Salomonis non solum librorum numero, sed etiam materiarum genere coaequaret") can scarcely point, as has been thought, to any threefold division of the present book, but rather imply that under Ben Sira's name two other Hebrew works were known, corresponding with the two other Books of Solomon; and this is somewhat confirmed by the fact that the Rabbis speak occasionally of the *books* of Ben Sira (Seligmann, *ut supra*), and that passages are quoted by them from Ben Sira which are not found in the Greek; notably some *rhyming* verses, quoted in the appendix to the Massecheth Kallah (published in Coronel's חמשה קונטרסים: see the *Expositor* for November 1890, pp. 357–8). In the central portion of Ecclesiasticus several headings are introduced in the oldest MSS. (xxviii. 29, *ἐγκράτεια ψυχῆς*; xxxii. *περὶ ἡγουμένων*), and similar titles preface ch. xliv. (*πατέρων ὕμνος*) and ch. li. (*προσευχὴ Ἰησοῦ υἱοῦ Σειράχ*); vestiges of these are not wholly wanting in the Peshitto, and all are found in the Vetus Latina. These sections may have contributed to the disarrangement of the text, but they do not offer any sufficient clue to its true subdivisions.

9. The earliest clear coincidence with the contents of the book occurs in the Epistle of Barnabas (ch. xix. = Ecclus. iv. 31; cp. *Const. Apost.* vii. 11; this maxim, however, is found in other Jewish gnomologies). The parallels which have been discovered in the N. T. are thought by many too general to show that they were derived from the written text, and not from popular language. There is no sign of the use of the book in Justin Martyr, which is the more remarkable as it offers several thoughts congenial to his style. The first distinct quotations occur in Clement of Alexandria; but from the end of the 2nd century the book was much used and cited with respect, and in the same terms as the canonical Scriptures (August. *de Cura pro Mort.* 17). Clement speaks of it continually as *Scripture* (*Paed.* i. 8, § 62; ii. 2, § 34; 5, § 46; 8, § 69, &c.), as the work of Solomon (*Strom.* ii. 5, § 24), and as the voice of the great Master (*παιδαγωγός*, *Paed.* ii. 10, § 98). Origen cites passages with the same formula as the Canonical Books (*γέγραπται*, *In Johann.* xxxii. § 14; *In Matt.* xvi. § 8), as *Scripture* (*Comm. in Matt.* § 44; *In Ep. ad Rom.* ix. § 17, &c.), and as the utterance of "*the divine word*" (*c. Cels.* viii. 50). The other writers of the Alexandrine school follow the same practice. Dionysius calls its words "*divine oracles*" (*Frag. de Nat.* iii. p. 1258, ed. Migne), and Peter Martyr quotes it as the work of "*the Preacher*" (*Frag.* i. § 5, p. 515, ed. Migne). The passage quoted from Tertullian (*de Exhort. Cast.* 2, "sicut scriptum est: *ecce posui ante te bonum et malum;* gustasti enim de arbore agnitionis . . . :" cp. Ecclus. xv. 17, Vulg.) is not absolutely conclusive; but Cyprian constantly brings forward passages from the book as *Scripture* (*de bono Pat.* 17; *de Mortalitate*, 9, § 13) and as the work of Solomon (*Ep.* lix. 20, &c.). The testimony of Augustine sums up briefly the result which follows from these isolated authorities. He quotes the book constantly himself as the work of a *prophet* (*Serm.* xxxix. 1), the word of God (*Serm.* lxxvii. 11), "*Scripture*" (*Lib. de Nat.* 33), and that even in controversy (*c. Jul. Pelag.* v. 36); but he expressly notices that it was not in the Hebrew Canon (*de Cura pro Mort.* 18), "though the Church, especially of the West, had received it into authority" (*de Civit.* xvii. 20, cp. *Speculum*, iii. 1127, ed. Paris). Jerome, in like manner (*l. c.* § 7), contrasts the book with "the Canonical Scriptures" as "doubtful," while they are "sure;" and in another place (*Prol. Galeat.*) he says that it "is not in the Canon," and again (*Prol. in Libr. Sol.*) that it should be read "for the instruction fo the people (*plebis*), not to support the authority of ecclesiastical doctrines." The book is not quoted by Irenaeus, Hippolytus, or Eusebius; and is not contained in the Canon of Melito,

Origen, Cyril, Laodicea, Hilary, or Rufinus (cp. Diestel, *Gesch. des alten Testaments*, pp. 71–77; Edersheim, *Introduction*, p. 35). [CANON.] It was never included by the Jews in their Scriptures, in the opinion of Geiger (*ZDMG.* 1858, p. 538 = *Schriften*, iii. 275) partly for political reasons, more probably owing to its late origin; but among the "outer books," not however the heretical sort, but such as were harmless, though not fit for profound study (M. Joel, *Blicke in die Religionsgeschichte zu Anfang des Zweiten christlichen Jahrhunderts*, Breslau, 1880, pp. 68–76). Edersheim (*Introduction*, p. 34) endeavours to show that the opinion of the Rabbis varied at different epochs, and suggests that the condemnation of the book which appears in some passages (Jerus. *Sanh.* 28 a; Midr. *Koheleth*, xii. 12) may have been due to its wide use in the Christian Church.

10. But, while the book is destitute of the highest canonical authority, it is a most important monument of the condition and language of the Jews at the period of its composition. As an expression of Palestinian theology it stands alone; although the writer's travels may have inspired him with certain Greek ideas (*e.g.* the love of beauty, xl. 22; of music and good cheer, xl. 21, &c.; appreciation of the medical art, xxxviii. 1–15; Bois, *ut supra*, pp. 160–163), and certain parallels with Greek writers seem too close to be the result of accident (*e.g.* xiii. 2, the fable of the pot and the jar = Fab. Aesop. 422, Halm, Avianus, xi. ed. Ellis; xiv. 18 = *Iliad*, vi. 146–7; vii. 12, 13 are to be explained from Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 652-4), there is no sufficient reason for assuming Alexandrine interpolations or Alexandrine influence (Bois, *ut supra*, pp. 163–204, against Gfrörer and Dähne). Nor does it seem probable that the translator has intentionally altered the text with the view of introducing Alexandrine doctrines, although this has been maintained by Edersheim (*Speaker's Comm.*, passim). The statement that "Enoch became an example of repentance for all the generations" (xliv. 16), although this notion is to be found in Philo (ii. pp. 410–11; *de Praemiis et Poenis*, § 3) is not sufficiently characteristic of Alexandrine hermeneutics to give support to either hypothesis; and the omission of that verse in the Peshitto, combined with the mention of Enoch in xlix. 14, renders it peculiarly liable to suspicion. The conception of God as Creator, Preserver, and Governor is strictly conformable to the old Mosaic type; but at the same time His mercy is extended to all mankind (xviii. 11–13). The angelology would seem to be similar to that of the Book of Daniel (cp. xvii. 17 with Dan. x. 20); while the identification of the forces of nature with spirits (xxxix. 28, &c.) corresponds with certain representations in the Psalms. The doctrine of a resurrection seems emphatically denied (xvii. 27, 28. Yet this can scarcely have been a ground for the exclusion of the book from the Canon, as Geiger held). In addition to the general hope of a restoration (xxxvi. 1, &c.), one trait only of a Messianic faith is preserved, in which the writer contemplates the future work of Elias (xlviii. 10, a somewhat obscure passage). The prophetic notion of the superiority of "charity" to ceremonious observance is maintained (xxxii. 1–12), at the same time as the writer is exhorting to a punctilious observance of the prescribed ritual, on the sole ground of its being prescribed (v. 6). As is so often the case in proverbial philosophy, little attempt is made to harmonise the often contradictory maxims in which common sense expresses itself.

11. Numerous commentaries on Ecclesiasticus appeared in the 16th and 17th centuries (cp. Bretschneider, *Lib. Sirac.* Praef. x. note, for a list of these), of which the most important were those of Drusius and Grotius (reprinted in *Critici Sacri*, vol. v.); the latter is especially valuable in collecting parallel passages from classical writers, which of course are very numerous. An edition was published with commentary by Bretschneider in 1806 (*Liber Jesu Siracidae ad fidem Codd. et Verss. emend. et perpet. Comm. illustratus a Car. Gottl. Bretschneider* . . . Ratisbonae, MDCCCVI.), which however was an immature work, and showed but slight progress. Fritzsche's Commentary in the *Kurzg. exeget. Handbuch* (*Die Weisheit Jesus Sirach's erklärt und übersetzt*, Leipz. 1859, followed by a Greek text with critical notes in *Libri Apocryphi Veteris Testamenti*, Lips. 1871) was an advance on Bretschneider; but, owing to the writer's failing to perceive the value of the Syriac and Latin Versions, and to estimate aright the importance of the MSS. and secondary Versions, left very much still to be done; moreover the contributions of Geiger, Delitzsch, and Herzfeld are unduly neglected. A critical edition collecting all the evidence of MSS. and Versions, to be followed by a restoration of the Hebrew so far as the materials at our disposal admit of its being restored with certainty, should be the basis for any satisfactory treatment of the book. A beginning was made towards this in the commentary of A. Edersheim (*Speaker's Comm.*, Murray, 1888), which both for criticism and exposition was a considerable advance on all its predecessors. A brief Commentary, with a valuable Introduction (by O. Zöckler), is to be found in the ninth section of Strack and Zöckler's *Kurzgefasster Kommentar*, &c. (München, 1891). Cp. Ball, *Var. Apocrypha*, 1892.

The monographs which deal with special questions have been mentioned in the foregoing paragraphs; the connexion between Ecclesiasticus and the Proverbs of Solomon has been best treated by Seligmann, *Das Buch der Weisheit des Jesus Sirach* (Halle, 1883); between Ecclesiasticus and Ecclesiastes by C. H. H. Wright, *The Book of Koheleth* (London, 1883): while contributions of interest are to be found in the histories of Jost, Grätz, Ewald, Herzfeld, and Schürer; in Geiger's *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen;* in T. K. Cheyne's *Job and Solomon* (London, 1887); and in the various Introductions to the Old Testament. [B. F. W.] [D. S. M.]

ECLIPSE OF THE SUN. No historical notice of an eclipse occurs in the Bible, but there are passages in the Prophets which were once considered to contain manifest allusion to this phenomenon:—"The sun goes down at noon," "the earth is darkened in the clear day" (Amos viii. 9), "the day shall be dark" (Mic. iii. 6), "the light shall not be clear nor dark" (Zech. xiv. 6), "the sun shall be dark" (Joel ii. 10, 31; iii. 15). Hence these notices were taken to refer to eclipses that occurred about the

time of the respective compositions: thus the date of Amos was said to coincide with a total eclipse which occurred Feb. 9, B.C. 784, and was visible at Jerusalem shortly after noon (Hitzig, *Comm.* in Proph.), or with eclipses of the sun in B.C. 791, 771, and 770 (Ussher. See *Speaker's Comm.* in loco); that of Micah with the eclipse of June 5, B.C. 716, referred to by Dionys. Hal. ii. 56, to which same period the latter part of the Book of Zechariah was assigned. A passing notice in Jer. xv. 9 was said to coincide in date with the eclipse of Sept. 30, B.C. 610, so well known from Herodotus' account (i. 74, 103). Such opinions are now given up. The darkness that overspread the world at the Crucifixion cannot with reason be attributed to an eclipse, as the moon was at the full at the time of the Passover. [DARKNESS.] The awe which is naturally inspired by an eclipse in the minds of those who are unacquainted with the cause of it, rendered it a token of impending judgment in the Prophetical Books. [W. L. B.]

ED = *witness*, a word inserted—as a name—in the A. V. and R. V. of Josh. xxii. 34, apparently on the authority of a few MSS., and also of the Syriac and Arabic Versions, but not existing in the generally-received Hebrew Text. The passage may be translated as follows: "And the children of Reuben and the children of Gad named (LXX. *ἐπωνομάσεν*) the altar: for it *is* a witness (Ed) between us that Jehovah is God." The rendering of the LXX. ("Joshua named the altar of Reuben and of Gad and of the half-tribe of Manasseh, and said," &c.), though in some respects differing materially from the present text, shows plainly that at that time the word Ed (עֵד) stood in the Hebrew in its present place (for a further investigation of this passage, see Keil and Dillmann[2] in loco). If we may trust the indications in Josh. xxii. 9–34, the altar was in Gilead, on the east side of Jordan, and not far from that river; and this is more directly stated by Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 1, § 26). A position near the mouth of the Jabbok would seem to meet the requirements of the narrative. [G.] [W.]

E'DAR, TOWER OF (accur. EDER, מִגְדַּל עֵדֶר; LXX. *v.* 16; A. *πύργος Γαδέρ*, E. *Γαβέρ*; *Turris Eder*), a place named only in Gen. xxxv. 21. Jacob's first halting-place between Bethlehem and Hebron was "beyond (מֵהֵלְאָה) the tower Eder." It was possibly a shepherd's tower, for protection against robbers, near "Solomon's Pools," or on the pass beyond them. According to Jerome (*OS.*[2] p. 101, 9) it was 1000 paces from Bethlehem. The name signifies "a flock" or "drove," and is quite in keeping with the pastoral habits of the district. Jerome sees in it a prophecy of the announcement of the birth of Christ to the shepherds; and there seems to have been a Jewish tradition that the Messiah was to be born there (Targum Ps.-Jon. Cp. Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, i. 186), possibly founded on or alluded to in Micah iv. 8 (A. V. "Tower of the flock"). This, however, Kimchi explains as "the tower of David where Israel assembled," a notion which receives some countenance from the use of the word Ophel (A. V. "stronghold"), the name of one of the chief fortifications of Jerusalem. [G.] [W.]

EDDI'AS (B. *Ἰεζείας*, A. *Ἰεδδίας*; *Geddias*). One of those who had taken a "strange" wife and agreed to put her away (1 Esd. ix. 26). [JEZIAH.] [F.]

E'DEN (עֵדֶן; *Ἐδέμ*), the biblical and well-known name of the first abode of man, in a part of which a garden ("the garden of Eden") was planted, which the first man was to dress and keep, but from which he was expelled for disobedience.

No subject has probably attracted the attention of men of learning so much as that of the identification of the land of Eden and its garden. Every quarter of the Old World has, at one time or other, formed the subject of examination to this end. India, Ceylon, China, the Mountains of the Moon, the Canary Islands, the coasts of the Baltic—all these have been fixed on as possible localities. Columbus, when sailing to find the New World (then supposed to be part of India), expected to come across it there; and a very bold and learned contention, published of late years, locates it—at the North Pole! Notwithstanding the new material of late brought to bear on the subject, however, the matter must still be regarded as doubtful, and many will probably look upon its ultimate settlement as unlikely.

The words of Gen. ii. 8–14 concerning Eden are as follows: "And the LORD God planted a garden eastward in Eden; and there He put the man whom He had formed. And out of the ground made the LORD God to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight, and good for food; the tree of life also in the midst of the garden, and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. And a river went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted, and became four heads. The name of the first is Pîshôn: that it is which compasseth the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold; and the gold of that land is good: there is bdellium (*b'dolakh*) and the onyx stone (*eben hashshoham*). And the name of the second river is Gihon (*Gikhôn*); the same it is which compasseth the whole land of Cush. And the name of the third river is Hiddekel: that it is which goeth in front of (R. V. marg., Or, *toward the east of*) Assyria. And the fourth river is Euphrates."

From this detailed and circumstantial description there is hardly any doubt that the writer of it was trying to describe a place which he had in his mind, and which, though he may not have seen, he had heard of. Whatever allegory there may have been, therefore, in the story of Paradise, for the Hebrew author of Genesis it was a real tract of country, with a garden situated in the eastern part. The river which flowed through Eden watered the garden, and then became four distinct streams, two of which, the Hiddekel (Assyr. *Idiglat*, the Tigris) and the Euphrates (Assyr. *Purattu*), are well-known and important waterways. For the proper identification of the garden of Eden, therefore, it is needful to find a tract of country fulfilling all the above conditions, both as to geographical situation and natural products.

The more reasonable of the theories as to the position of Paradise may be roughly divided into two classes: namely, those which place the garden of Eden below the junction of the Tigris and the Euphrates, and seek the Pishon and Gihon among the many natural or artificial tributaries of those streams; and those which locate the site in the high tableland of Armenia, where so many noble streams have their origin. These theories have been supported by learned men of all nations and ages, representing every shade of theological belief; but there is not one which is not based in some degree upon a forced interpretation of the words of the narrative. Those who contend that the united stream of the Tigris and the Euphrates is the "river" which "went out of Eden to water the garden" have been obliged to neglect the primitive meaning of יָצָא, which generally indicates the origin or source of a thing, and to accept the more general one of "running on" or "through" (boundary, &c.). According to the description (*v.* 10), the river should begin (have its outlet into the sea) in Eden, pass through the garden, and then divide into four branches, the separation taking place either in the garden or after passing through it, becoming four heads or sources (see Gesenius, אַרְבָּעָה רָאשִׁים; and compare the Assyr. *rêš êni*, "source," lit. "head of a spring"). There are other difficulties in the details of the several theories, which may be obstacles to their entire acceptation, but no theory which involves undue forcing of the words of the sacred narrative ought to be allowed to take its place even among the probable explanations.

With regard to the meaning of the name Eden, the old Versions or translations give us little or no assistance. The translators seem to have halted between a mystical and a literal interpretation. The word עֵדֶן is rendered by the LXX. as a proper name in three places only (Gen. ii. 8, 10, and iv. 16), where it is represented by Ἐδέμ. In all others, with the exception of Is. li. 3 (where it is translated by παράδεισος), it is translated by τρυφή, "delight" (the plural of the word, with the meaning "delights," occurs in Ps. xxxvi. 9). In the Vulgate it does not occur as a proper name, but is rendered "voluptas," "*locus voluptatis*" or "*deliciae*." The Targum of Onkelos gives it uniformly as עֵדֶן, and the Peshitto Syriac the same, with the slight variation, in two passages, of ܥܕܢ for ܥܕܢ.

It would be a hopeless task to attempt to chronicle the opinions of all the commentators upon this question: their name is legion. Philo (*de Mundi Opif.* § 54) is the first who ventured upon an allegorical interpretation. He conceived that by Paradise is darkly shadowed forth the governing faculty of the soul; that the tree of life signifies religion, whereby the soul is immortalised; and that the faculty of knowing good and evil was the middle sense, by which are discerned things contrary to nature. In another passage (*de Plantat.* § 9) he explains Eden, which signifies "pleasure," as a symbol of the soul, that sees what is right, exults in virtue, and prefers one enjoyment, the worship of the Only Wise, to myriads of men's chief delights. And again (*Legis Allegor.* i. § 14) he says, "Now virtue is tropically called Paradise, and the site of Paradise is Eden, that is, pleasure." The four rivers he explains (§ 19) of the several virtues of prudence, temperance, courage, and justice; while the main stream of which they are branches is the generic virtue, goodness, which goeth forth from Eden, the wisdom of God. The opinions of Philo would not be so much worthy of consideration, were it not that he has been followed by many of the Fathers. Origen, according to Luther (*Comm. in Gen.*), imagined Paradise to be heaven, the trees Angels, and the rivers wisdom. Papias, Irenaeus, Pantaenus, and Clemens Alexandrinus have all favoured the mystical interpretation (Huet. *Origeniana*, ii. 167). Ambrosius followed the example of Origen, and placed the terrestrial Paradise in the third heaven, in consequence of the expression of St. Paul (2 Cor. xii. 2, 4); but elsewhere he distinguishes between the terrestrial Paradise and that to which the Apostle was caught up (*De Parad.* c. 3). In another passage (*Ep. ad Sabinum*) all this is explained in allegory. Among the Hebrew traditions enumerated by Jerome (*Trad. Hebr. in Gen.*) is one that Paradise was created before the world was formed, and is therefore beyond its limits.[a] Moses Bar Cepha (*De Parad.*) assigns it a middle place between the earth and the firmament. Some affirm that Paradise was on a mountain, which reached nearly to the moon; while others, struck by the manifest absurdity of such an opinion, held that it was situated in the third region of the air, and was higher than all the mountains of the earth by twenty cubits, so that the waters of the Flood could not reach it. Others, again, have thought that Paradise was twofold, one corporeal and the other incorporeal: others that it was formerly on earth, but had been taken away by the judgment of God (Hopkinson, *Descr. Parad.* in Ugol. *Thes.* vii.). Among the opinions enumerated by Morinus (*Diss. de Parad. Terrest.* Ugol. *Thes.* vii.) is one that, before the Fall, the whole earth was Paradise, and was really situated in Eden, in the midst of all kinds of delights. Ephraem Syrus (*Comm. in Gen.*) expresses himself doubtfully upon this point. Whether the trees of Paradise, being spiritual, drank of spiritual water, he does not undertake to decide; but he seems to be of opinion that the four rivers have lost their original virtue in consequence of the curse pronounced upon the earth for Adam's transgression.

Conjectures with regard to the dimensions of the garden have differed as widely as those which assign its locality. Ephraem Syrus maintained that it surrounded the whole earth, while Johannes Tostatus restricted it to a circumference of thirty-six or forty miles, and others have made it extend over Syria, Arabia, and Mesopotamia (Hopkinson, as above). But of speculations like these there is no end.

What is the river which goes forth from Eden to water the garden? is a question which has been often asked, and still waits for a satisfactory answer. That the ocean stream which surrounded the earth was the source from which the four rivers flowed was the opinion of Josephus (*Ant.* i. 1, § 3) and Johannes Damascenus (*De*

[a] The Akkadian or Sumerian legend of the Creation indicates that they, too, believed that Eridu, "the happy city," was created before the world was formed (see below, p. 850).

Orthod. Fid. ii. 9). It was the *Shatt-al-Arab*, according to those who place the garden of Eden below the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates. By those who refer the position of Eden to the highlands of Armenia, the "river" from which the four streams diverge is conceived to mean "a collection of springs," or a well-watered district. It is scarcely necessary to say that this signification of נָהָר (*nâhâr*) is wholly without a parallel; and even if it could, under certain circumstances, be made to adopt it, such a signification is, in the present instance, precluded by the fact that, whatever meaning we may assign to the word in *v.* 10, it must be the same as that which it has in the following verses, in which it is sufficiently definite. Sickler (Augusti, *Theol. Monatschrift.* i. 1, quoted by Winer), supposing the whole narrative to be a myth, solves the difficulty by attributing to its author a large measure of ignorance. The "river" was the Caspian Sea, which in his apprehension was an immense stream from the east. Bertheau, applying the geographical knowledge of the ancients as a test of that of the Hebrews, arrived at the same conclusion, on the ground that all the people south of the Armenian and Persian highlands place the dwelling of the gods in the extreme north, and the regions of the Caspian were the northern limit of the horizon of the Israelites (Knobel, *Genesis*). But he allows the four rivers of Eden to have been real rivers, and not, as Sickler imagined, oceans which bounded the earth east and west of the Nile.

That the Hiddekel[b] is the Tigris, and the Phrath the Euphrates, has never been denied, except by those who assume that the whole narrative is a myth which originated elsewhere, and was adapted by the Hebrews to their own geographical notions. As the former is the name of the great river by which Daniel sat (Dan. x. 4), and the latter is the term uniformly applied to the Euphrates in the Old Testament, there seems no reason to suppose that the appellations in Gen. ii. 14 are to be understood in any other than the ordinary sense. One circumstance in the description is worthy of observation. Of the four rivers, one, the Euphrates, is mentioned by name only, as if that were sufficient to identify it. The other three are defined according to their geographical positions, and it is fair to conclude that they were therefore rivers with which the Hebrews were less intimately acquainted. If this be the case, it is scarcely possible to imagine that the Gihon, or, as some say, the Pishon, is the Nile, for that must have been even more familiar to the Israelites than the Euphrates, and have stood as little in need of a definition.

With regard to the Pishon, the most ancient and most universally received opinion identifies it with the Ganges. Josephus (*Ant.* i. 1, § 3), Eusebius (*Onom.* s. v.), Ambrosius (*de Parad.* c. 3), Epiphanius (*Ancor.* c. 58), Ephr. Syr. (Op. Syr. i. 23), Jerome (Ep. 4 *ad Rust.* and *Quaest Heb. in Gen.*), and Augustine (*de Gen. ad lit.* viii. 7) held this. But Jarchi (on Gen. ii. 11), Saadiah Gaon, R. Moses ben Nachman, and Abr. Peritsol (Ugol. *Thes.* vii.), maintained that the Pishon was the Nile. The first of these writers derives the word from a root which signifies "to increase," "to overflow" (cf. Hab. i. 8), but at the same time quotes an etymology given in *Bereshith Rabba*, § 16, in which it is asserted that the river is called Pishon "because it makes the flax (פִּשְׁתָּן) to grow." Josephus explains it by πλῆθος, Scaliger by πλήμμυρα. The theory that the Pishon is the Ganges is thought to receive some confirmation from the author of the book of Ecclesiasticus, who mentions (xxiv. 25, 27) in order the Pishon, the Tigris, the Euphrates, Jordan, and Gihon, and is supposed to have commenced his enumeration in the east and to have terminated it in the west. That the Pishon was the Indus was an opinion current long before it was revived by Ewald (*Gesch. de Volk. Isr.* i. 331, note 2) and adopted by Kalisch (*Genesis*, p. 96). Philostorgius, quoted by Huet (Ugolin. vol. vii.), conjectured that it was the Hydaspes; and Wilford (*As. Res.* vol. vi.), following the Hindoo tradition with regard to the origin of mankind, discovers the Pishon in the Landi-Sindh, the Ganges of Isidorus, called also Niláb from the colour of its waters, and known to the Hindoos by the name of Nilá-Gangá or Gangá simply. Severianus (*de Mundi Creat.*) and Ephraem Syrus (*Comm. on Gen.*) agree with Caesarius in identifying the Pishon with the Danube. The last-mentioned Father seems to have held, in common with others, some singular notions with regard to the course of this river. He believed that it was also the Ganges and Indus, and that, after traversing Ethiopia and Elymaïs, which he identified with Havilah, it fell into the ocean near Cadiz. Such is also the opinion of Epiphanius with regard to the course of the Pishon, which, he says, is the Ganges of the Ethiopians and Indians and the Indus of the Greeks (*Ancor.* c. 58). Some, as Hopkinson (Ugol. vol. vii.), have found the Pishon in the Naharmalca, one of the artificial canals which formerly joined the Euphrates with the Tigris. This canal is the *flumen regium* of Amm. Marc. (xxiii. 6, § 25, and xxiv. 6, § 1), and the *Armalchar* of Pliny (*N. H.* vi. 30). Grotius, on the contrary, considered it to be the Gihon. Even those commentators who agree in placing the terrestrial Paradise on the *Shatt-al-Arab*, the stream formed by the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates, between Ctesiphon and Apamea, are by no means unanimous as to which of the branches, into which this stream is again divided, the names Pishon and Gihon are to be applied. Calvin (*Comm. in Gen.*) was the first to conjecture that the Pishon was the most easterly of these channels, and in this opinion he is followed by Scaliger and many others. Huet, on the other hand, conceived that he proved beyond doubt that Calvin was in error, and that the Pishon was the westernmost of the two channels by which the united stream of the Euphrates and Tigris flows into the Persian Gulf. He was confirmed by the authority of Bochart (*Hieroz.* pt. ii. l. 5, c. 5). Junius (*Prael. in Gen.*) and Rask discovered a relic of the name Pishon in the Pasitigris. The advocates of the theory that the true position of Eden is to be sought for in the mountains of Armenia have been induced, from a certain resemblance in the two names, to identify the Pishon with the Phasis, which rises in the elevated

[b] This name is said to be still in use among the tribes who live upon its banks (Sir G. Chesney, *Exp. to Tigris and Euphrates*, i. 13).

plateau at the foot of Mount Ararat, near the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates. Reland (*de Situ parad. terr.* Ugol. vii.), Calmet (*Dict.* s. v.), Link (*Urwelt*, i. 307), Rosenmüller (*Handb. d. Bibl. Alt.*), and Hartmann have given their suffrages in favour of this opinion. Raumer (quoted by Delitzsch, *Genesis*) endeavoured to prove that the Pishon was the Phasis of Xenophon (*Anab.* iv. 6); that is, the Aras or Araxes, which flows into the Caspian Sea. There remain yet to be noticed the theories of Leclerc (*Comm. in Gen.*) that the Pishon was the Chrysorrhoas, the modern Barada, which takes its rise near Damascus; and of Buttmann (*Aelt. Erdk.* p. 32), who identified it with the Besynga or Irabatti, a river of Ava. Mendelssohn (*Comm. on Gen.*) mentions that some affirm the Pishon to be the Gozan of 2 K. xvii. 6 and 1 Ch. v. 26, which is supposed to be a river, and the same as the Kizil-Uzen in Hyrcania. Sir G. Chesney, from the results of extensive observations in Armenia, was "led to infer that the rivers known by the comparatively modern names of Halys and Araxes are those which, in the Book of Genesis, have the names of Pishon and Gihon; and that the country within the former is the land of Havilah, whilst that which borders upon the latter is the still more remarkable country of Cush" (*Exp. to Euphr. and Tigris*, i. 267).

Such, in brief, is a summary of the various conjectures which have been advanced, with equal degrees of confidence, by the writers who have attempted to solve the problem of Eden. The majority of them are characterised by one common defect. In the narrative of Genesis the river Pishon is defined as that which surrounds the whole land of Havilah. It is, then, absolutely necessary to fix the position of Havilah before proceeding to identify the Pishon with any particular river. But the process followed by most critics has been first to find the Pishon and then to look about for the land of Havilah. The same inverted method is characteristic of their whole manner of treating the problem. The position of the garden is assigned, the rivers are then identified, and lastly the countries mentioned in the description are so chosen as to coincide with the rest of the theory.

With such diversity of opinion as to the river which is intended to be represented by the Pishon, it was scarcely possible that writers on this subject should be unanimous in their selection of a country possessing the attributes of Havilah. In Gen. ii. 11, 12, it is described as the land where the best gold was found, and which was besides rich in the treasures of the *b'dolakh* and the stone *shoham*. A country of the same name is mentioned as forming one of the boundaries of Ishmael's descendants (Gen. xxv. 18), and the scene of Saul's war of extermination against the Amalekites (1 Sam. xv. 7). In these passages Havilah seems to denote the desert region south-east of Palestine. The word occurs also as the proper name of a son of Joktan, in close juxtaposition with Sheba and Ophir, also sons of Joktan and descendants of Shem (Gen. x. 29), who gave their names to the spice and gold countries of the south. Again, Havilah is enumerated among the Hamites as one of the sons of Cush; and in this enumeration his name stands in close connexion with Seba, Sheba, and Dedan, the first founders of colonies in Ethiopia and Arabia which afterwards bore their names. If, therefore, the Havilah of Gen. ii. be identical with any one of these countries, we must look for it on the east or south of Arabia, and probably not far from the Persian Gulf. In other respects, too, this region answers to the conditions required. Bochart, indeed, thought the name survived in *Chavila*, which was situated on the east side of the Arabian Gulf, and which he identified with the abode of the Shemitic Joktanites; but if his etymology, in which he connects Havilah with the root חול, "sand," be correct, the appellation of "the sandy" region would not necessarily be restricted to one locality. That the name is derived from some natural peculiarity is evident from the presence of the article. Whatever may be the true meaning of *b'dolakh*—be it carbuncle, bdellium, ebony, pepper, cloves, beryl, pearl, diamond, or emerald—all critics detect its presence, under one or other of these forms, in the country which they select as the Havilah most appropriate to their own theory. As little difficulty is presented by the *shoham*: call it onyx, sardonyx, emerald, sapphire, beryl, or sardius, it would be hard indeed if some of these precious stones could not be found in any conceivable locality to support even the most far-fetched and improbable conjecture. That Havilah is that part of India through which the Ganges flows, and, more generally, the eastern region of the earth; that it is to be found in Susiana (Hopkinson), in Ava (Buttmann), or in the Ural region (Raumer), are conclusions necessarily following upon the assumptions with regard to the Pishon. Hartmann, Reland, and Rosenmüller are in favour of Colchis, the scene of the legend of the Golden Fleece. The Phasis was said to flow over golden sands, and gold was carried down by the mountain-torrents (Strabo, xi. 2, § 19). The crystal (*b'dolakh*) of Scythia was renowned (Solinus, c. xx.), and the emeralds (*shoham*) of this country were as far superior to other emeralds as the latter were to other precious stones (Plin. *H. N.* xxxvii. 17), all which proves, say they, that Havilah was Colchis. Rosenmüller argues, rather strangely, *if* the Phasis be the Pishon, the land of Havilah *must* be Colchis, supposing that by this country the Hebrews had the idea of a Pontic or Northern India. In like manner Leclerc, having previously determined that Pishon must be the Chrysorrhoas, finds Havilah not far from Coele-Syria. Hasse (*Entdeck.* pp. 49, 50, quoted by Rosenmüller) compares Havilah with the Ἀχαία of Herodotus (iv. 9), in the neighbourhood of the Arimaspians, and the dragon which guarded the land of gold. For all these hypotheses there is no more support than the merest conjecture.

The second river of Paradise presents difficulties not less insurmountable than the Pishon. Those who maintained that the Pishon is the Ganges held also that the Gihon was the Nile. One objection to this theory has been already mentioned. Another, equally strong, is, that although in the Books of the Old Testament frequent allusion is made to this river, it nowhere appears to have been known to the Hebrews by the name Gihon. The idea seems to have originated with the LXX. rendering of שִׁיחוֹר by Γηὼν in Jer. ii. 18; but it is clear from the

manner in which the translators have given the latter clause of the same passage that they had no conception of the true meaning. Among modern writers, Bertheau (quoted by Delitzsch, *Genesis*) and Kalisch (*Genesis*) have not hesitated to support this interpretation, in accordance with the principle they adopt, that the description of the garden of Eden is to be explained according to the most ancient notions of the earth's surface, without reference to the advances made in later times in geographical knowledge. If this hypothesis be adopted, it certainly explains some features of the narrative; but, so far from removing the difficulty, it introduces another equally great. It has yet to be proved that the opinions of the Hebrews on these points were as contradictory to the now well-known relations of land and water as the recorded impressions of other nations at a much later period. At present we have nothing but categorical assertion. Pausanias (ii. 5), indeed, records a legend that the Euphrates, after disappearing in a marsh, rises again beyond Ethiopia and flows through Egypt as the Nile. Arrian (*Exp. Alex.* vi. 1) relates that Alexander, on finding crocodiles in the Indus, and beans like those of Egypt on the banks of the Acesines, imagined that he had discovered the sources of the Nile; but he adds, what those who make use of this passage do not find it convenient to quote, that on receiving more accurate information Alexander abandoned his theory, and cancelled the letter he had written to his mother Olympias on the subject. It is but fair to say that there was at one time a theory afloat that the Nile rose in a mountain of Lower Mauretania (Plin. *H. N.* v. 10).

The etymology of Gihon (גִּיחוֹן, *to burst forth*) seems to indicate that it was a swiftly-flowing impetuous stream. According to Golius (*Lex. Arab.*), جيحون (*G'aihoon*) is the name given to the Oxus, which has, on this account, been assumed by Rosenmüller, Hartmann, and Michaelis to be the Gihon of Scripture. But the Araxes, too, is called by the Persians *G'aihoon ar-Ras*, and from this circumstance it has been adopted by Reland, Calmet, and Sir G. Chesney as the modern representative of the Gihon. It is clear, therefore, that the question is not to be decided by etymology alone, as the name might be appropriately applied to many rivers. That the Gihon should be one of the channels by which the united stream of the Tigris and Euphrates falls into the Persian Gulf, was essential to the theory which places the garden of Eden on the Shatt-al-Arab. Bochart and Huet contended that it was the easternmost of these channels, while Calvin considered it to be the most westerly. Hopkinson and Junius, conceiving that Eden was to be found in the region of Auranitis (=*Audanitis, quasi Edenitis*) on the Euphrates, were compelled to make the Gihon coincide with the Naharsar, the Marses of Amm. Marc. (xxiii. 6, § 25). That it should be the Orontes (Leclerc), the Ganges (Buttmann and Ewald), the Kur or Cyrus, which rises from the side of the Saghanlou mountain, a few miles northward of the sources of the Araxes (Link), necessarily followed from the exigencies of the several theories. Rask and Verbrugge are in favour of the Gyndes of the ancients (Her. i. 189), now called the Diyálah, one of the tributaries of the Tigris. Abraham Peritsol (Ugol. vol. vii.) was of opinion that the garden of Eden was situated in the region of the Mountains of the Moon. Identifying the Pison with the Nile, and the Gihon with a river which his editor (Hyde) explains to be the Niger, he avoids the difficulty which is presented by the fact that the Hiddekel and P'rath are rivers of Asia, by conceiving it possible that these rivers actually take their rise in the Mountains of the Moon, and run underground till they make their appearance in Assyria. Equally satisfactory is the explanation of Ephraem Syrus that the four rivers have their source in Paradise, which is situated in a very lofty place, but are swallowed up by the surrounding districts, and, after passing underneath the sea, come to light again in different quarters of the globe. It may be worth while remarking, by the way, that the opinions of this Father are frequently misunderstood in consequence of the very inadequate Latin translation with which his Syriac works are accompanied, and which often does not contain even an approximation to the true sense (for an example, see Kalisch, *Genesis*, p. 95).

From etymological considerations, Huet was induced to place Cush in Chusistan, Leclerc in Cassiotis in Syria, and Reland in the "regio Cossaeorum." Bochart identified it with Susiana, Link with the country about the Caucasus, and Hartmann with Bactria or Bálkh, the site of Paradise being, in this case, in the celebrated vale of Kashmir. The term Cush is generally applied in the Old Testament to the countries south of the Israelites. It was the southern limit of Egypt (Ezek. xxix. 10), and apparently the most westerly of the provinces over which the rule of Ahasuerus extended, "from India, even unto Ethiopia" (Esth. i. 1, viii. 9). Egypt and Cush are associated in the majority of instances in which the word occurs (Ps. lxviii. 31; Is. xviii. 1; Jer. xlvi. 9, &c.); but in two passages Cush stands in close juxtaposition with Elam (Is. xi. 11) and Persia (Ezek. xxxviii. 5). The Cushite king, Zerah, was utterly defeated by Asa at Mareshah, and pursued as far as Gerar, a town of the Philistines, on the southern border of Palestine, which was apparently under his sway (2 Ch. xiv. 9, &c.). In 2 Ch. xxi. 16, the Arabians are described as dwelling "beside the Cushites," and both are mentioned in connexion with the Philistines. The wife of Moses, who, we learn from Ex. ii., was the daughter of a Midianite chieftain, is in Num. xii. 1 denominated a Cushite. Further, Cush and Seba (Is. xliii. 3), Cush and the Sabaeans (Is. xlv. 14), are associated in a manner consonant with the genealogy of the descendants of Ham (Gen. x. 7), in which Seba is the son of Cush. From all these circumstances it is evident that under the denomination Cush were included both the country north of Arabia, including a portion of Cappadocia, and the country south of Egypt on the western coast of the Red Sea. It is possible, also, that the vast desert tracts west of Egypt were known to the Hebrews as the land of Cush, but of this we have no certain proof. The Targumist on Is. xi. 11, sharing the prevailing error of his time, translates Cush by India, but that a better knowledge of the relative positions of these countries was anciently possessed is clear from

Esth. i. 1. With all this evidence for the south-western situation of Cush, on what grounds are Rosenmüller and others justified in applying the term to a more northern region on the banks of the Oxus? We are told that, in the Hindoo mythology, the gardens and metropolis of Indra are placed around the mountain Méru, the celestial north pole; that, among the Babylonians and Medo-Persians, the gods' mountain, Albordj, "the mount of the congregation," was believed to be "in the sides of the north" (Is. xiv. 13); that the oldest Greek traditions point northwards to the birthplace of gods and men; and that, for all these reasons, the Paradise of the Hebrews must be sought for in some far distant hyperborean region. Guided by such unerring indications, Hasse (*Entdeckungen*, pp. 41, 50, n.) scrupled not to gratify his national feeling by placing the garden of Eden on the coast of the Baltic; Rudbeck, a Swede, found it in Scandinavia, and the inhospitable Siberia has not been without its advocates (Morren, Rosenmüller's *Geog.* i. 96). But, with all this predilection in favour of the north, the Greeks placed the gardens of the Hesperides in the extreme west, and there are strong indications in the Puránas "of a terrestrial Paradise, different from that of the general Hindu system, in the southern parts of Africa" (*As. Res.* iii. 300). Even Méru was no further north than the Himálayan range, which the Aryan race crossed in their migrations.

In the midst of so much diversity of opinion, it is very difficult to arrive at any conclusion. Among the most worthy of consideration, however, may be quoted the recent view expounded by Prof. Fried. Delitzsch. This scholar regards the word Eden as being borrowed from the Akkadian *edina*, "field," "land," "desert," which, he contends, was applied to a part of Babylonia as "*the* country" *par excellence*; and this contention of his receives some support from the fact that, in a geographical list from Babylonia, one of the cities known as Sipar or Sippara (identified with the Biblical Sepharvaim) is called Sipar Edina, "Sippara of Eden." He quotes the common name of Babylonia, Kar-Duniaš, "the garden" or "enclosure of the god Duniaš," which, he says, might also be read Gan-Duniaš[c] (cp. Gan-Éden, "the garden of Eden"), and contends that this is the garden of Eden of the Bible. He says moreover that the two names Havilah and Cush also speak in favour of Babylon being the land of the garden of Eden. With regard to the former, he identifies it with the tract immediately to the south and west of the Euphrates,[d] and, in order to make things fit, identifies the Pishon with the Pallacopas (Bab. *Pallukatu*) canal, and quotes the fact that in Bît-Yakîn, the neighbouring tract to the east, Merodach-baladan brought to the Assyrian king "gold, the dust of his land, in great quantity," also "stones, the produce of the sea." The *shoham*-stone he regards as the same as the Assyrian *sâmtu*, a grey or brown stone (chalcedony or cornelian). Cush he identifies with Meluḫḫa, a tract of country to the south-east of Babylon, and the Gihon is the canal known as the Shatt-an-Nil. In defence of this theory he contends that, as the word *nâru*, "river," in Assyrian means also "canal," then the Pishon and the Gihon might easily be artificial waterways, and he quotes Wetzstein in Franz Delitzsch's *Commentary on Genesis*, p. 535, who says that "the idea of watering lies at the bottom of the fourfold division of the river of Paradise: in a country poor in water, and therefore sterile, a river has no other meaning," and Fried. Delitzsch finds in this a welcome confirmation of his view of the Pishon and Gihon as irrigation canals.

Excellent as all this is in its way, it is far from being satisfactory, for the identification of the rivers Pishon and Gihon, as well as the lands of Cush and Havilah, cannot be regarded as based by any means on a firm foundation. All four rivers are spoken of in the same way, so that they should all be regarded as of the same nature. In connexion with the identification of the Gihon, it may be remarked that a portion of Cappadocia seems anciently to have borne the name of Cush, so that there is no need to seek in Egypt or in India the name of that country; or to force that name on any tract in the neighbourhood of the two rivers Tigris and Euphrates. With this the *G'aihoon ar-Kas* would fall in very well; but the Pishon and Havilah still remain a crux. That the site of Paradise should be located by the Semites and other nations of the East in the cradle-land of their race, and of civilization, namely, Babylonia—a veritable garden in the time of its prosperity, and a land of romance to all who took interest in the affairs of the time—is, after all, one of the most natural things that could be expected. Moreover, it is to be noted that modern scholars locate in Southern Babylonia the city of Eridu or Guruduga, "the good city," and apparently a type, with the Babylonians, of the Eridu, "the good city" or divine Paradise under the sea, which they seem to have believed existed, and which those more modern writers who have located the site of Paradise beneath the waters seem to have unconsciously imitated. This "good city" was situated within the abyss (*abzu*, "the abode of knowledge"), and, according to the Akkadian creation-story, was made or built "when within the sea there was a stream," and Ê-sagila ("the high-headed house") was founded by the god Lugal-du-azaga ("the king of the glorious mound"). The abyss (*abzu*) was the abode of the god of wisdom, Êa or Oannes, and it had a channel (*naḫbu*) and a gate (*bâbu*). Its king was Êa, and Damkina or Dauké was the queen. A special incantor of the abyss was supposed by the Babylonians to exist, and the incantation of Eridu, the good city therein, was regarded as the most precious and effective of all.

It must not be denied, however, that other methods of meeting the difficulty than those above mentioned have been proposed. Some, ever ready to use the knife, have unhesitatingly pronounced the whole narrative to be a spurious interpolation of a later age (Granville Penn, *Min. and Mos. Geol.* p. 184). But, even admitting this, the words are not mere unmeaning jargon, and demand explanation. Ewald (*Gesch.* i. 331, note) affirms, and we have only his word

[c] This rests partly upon a misreading of George Smith's; the form Kar-Duniaš is the only one justified by the inscriptions.

[d] See above, on the position of Havilah and the Pishon, pp. 847–8.

for it, that the tradition originated in the far East, and that in the course of its wanderings the original names of two of the rivers at least were changed to others with which the Hebrews were better acquainted. Hartmann regards it as a product of the Babylonian or Persian period. Luther, rejecting the forced interpretations on which the theories of his time were based, gave it as his *opinion that the garden* remained under the guardianship of angels till the time of the Deluge, and that its site was known to the descendants of Adam; but that by the Flood all traces of it were obliterated. On the supposition that this is correct, there is still a difficulty to be explained. The narrative is so worded as to convey the idea that the countries and rivers spoken of were still existing in the time of the historian. It has been suggested that the description of the garden of Eden is part of an inspired antediluvian document (Morren, Rosenmüller's *Geogr.* i. 92). The conjecture is beyond criticism; it is equally incapable of proof or disproof, and has not much probability to recommend it. The effects of the Flood in changing the face of countries, and altering the relations of land and water, are too little known at present to allow any inferences to be drawn from them. Meanwhile, as every expression of opinion results in a confession of ignorance, it will be more honest to acknowledge the difficulty than to rest satisfied with a fictitious solution.

The idea of a terrestrial Paradise, the abode of purity and happiness, has formed an element in the religious beliefs of all nations. The image of "Eden, the garden of God," retained its hold upon the minds of the poets and prophets of Israel as a thing of beauty whose joys had departed (Ezek. xxviii. 13; Joel ii. 3), and before whose gates the cherubim still stood to guard it from the guilty. Arab legends tell of a garden in the East, on the summit of a mountain of jacinth, inaccessible to man: a garden of rich soil and equable temperature, well watered, and abounding with trees and flowers of rare colours and fragrance. In the centre of Jambudwípa, the middle of the seven continents of the Puránas, is the golden mountain Méru, which stands like the seed-cup of the lotus of the earth. On its summit is the vast city of Brahmá, renowned in heaven, and encircled by the Ganges, which, issuing from the foot of Vishnu, washes the lunar orb, and, falling thither from the skies, is divided into four streams, that flow to the four corners of the earth. These rivers are the Bhadrá, or Oby of Siberia; the Sítá, or Hoangho, the great river of China; the Alakanandá, a main branch of the Ganges; and the Chakshu, or Oxus. In this abode of divinity is the Nandana, or grove of Indra; there too is the Jambu tree, from whose fruit are fed the waters of the Jambu river, which give life and immortality to all who drink thereof (*Vishnu Purána*, trans. by Wilson, pp. 166–171). The enchanted gardens of the Chinese are placed in the midst of the summits of Houanlun, a high chain of mountains further north than the Himálaya, and further east than Hindukush. The fountain of immortality which waters these gardens is divided into four streams, the fountains of the supreme spirit, Tychia. Among the Medo-Persians the gods' mountain Albordj is the dwelling of Ormuzd and the good spirits, and is called "the navel of the waters." The Zend books mention a region called *Heden*, and the place of Zoroaster's birth is called *Hedenesh*, or, according to another passage, *Airjana Veedjo*. Cp. Dillmann[5] and Delitzsch (1887) on Gen. *l. c.*

All these and similar traditions are but mere *mocking* echoes of the old Hebrew story, jarred and broken notes of the same strain; but, with all their exaggerations, "they intimate how in the background of man's visions lay a Paradise of holy joy,—a Paradise secured from every kind of profanation, and made inaccessible to the guilty; a Paradise full of objects that were calculated to delight the senses and to elevate the mind; a Paradise that granted to its tenant rich and rare immunities, and that fed with its perennial streams the tree of life and immortality" (Hardwick, *Christ and other Masters*, pt. ii. p. 133).

In addition to the numerous works already quoted, the reader who wishes to go still deeper into the question may consult Fried. Delitzsch's *Wo lag das Paradies?* (Leipzig, 1881), and Warren's *Paradise Found, the Cradle of the human Race at the North Pole* (Boston, U.S.A., 1886). [W. A. W.] [T. G. P.]

E'DEN. **1.** (עֵדֶן; Ἐδέμ; *Eden;* omitted by LXX. in Is. xxxvii. 12 and Ezek. xxvii. 23), one of the marts which supplied luxurious Tyre with richly embroidered stuffs. It is associated with Haran, Sheba, and Asshur; and in Amos i. 5, Beth-Eden, or "the house of Eden," is rendered in the LXX. by Χαρράν. In 2 K. xix. 12 and Is. xxxvii. 12, "the sons of Eden" are mentioned with Gozan, Haran, and Rezeph, as victims of the Assyrian greed of conquest. Modern criticism identifies it with *Bit-'Adini* on the banks of the Euphrates between Bâlis and Bireg'ik (Schrader, *KAT.*[2] p. 327).

2. BETH-EDEN (בֵּית עֵדֶן, "house of pleasure;" ἄνδρες Χαρράν; *domus voluptatis*), probably the name of a country residence of the kings of Damascus (Amos i. 5). Grotius pointed to the παράδεισος of Ptolemy (v. 15) as the locality of Eden (see MV.[11]). The ruins of the village of *Jûsieh el-Kadîmeh* are supposed by Dr. Robinson to mark the site of the ancient Paradisus, and his suggestion is approved by Mr. Porter (*Handb.* p. 577). [W. A. W.] [F.]

EDEN (עֵדֶן = *pleasantness;* LXX. has a different text, B. Ἰωδάν, A. Ἰωά; *Eden*). **1.** A Gershonite Levite, son of Joah, in the days of Hezekiah (2 Ch. xxix. 12). He was one of the two representatives of his family who took part in the purification of the Temple.

2. BA. Ὀδομ. Also a Levite, contemporary and probably identical with the preceding, under Kore the son of Imnah (2 Ch. xxxi. 14, 15). [W. A. W.] [F.]

E'DER (עֵדֶר = *a flock;* B. omits; A. Ἐδραίν; *Eder*). **1.** One of the towns of Judah in the extreme south, and on the borders of Edom (Josh. xv. 21). No certain trace of it has been discovered in modern times, unless, as has been suggested, it is identical with ARAD, by a transposition of letters. Conder suggests (*PEF.*

Mem. iii. 236) *Kh. el-'Adâr*, 5 miles S. of Gaza; and is followed by Tristram, *Bible Places*, p. 11.

2. Ἐδέρ; *Eder*. A Levite of the family of Merari, in the time of David (1 Ch. xxiii. 23, xxiv. 30). [G.] [W.]

E'DES (B. Ἠδός, A. Ἠδαΐς; *Sedmi*), 1 Esd. ix. 35; one of those who put away his "strange" wife. [JADAU.] [F.]

ED'NA (Ἔδνα, *i.e.* עֶדְנָה = *pleasure*; *Anna*), the wife of Raguel (Tob. vii. 2, 8, 14, 16; viii. 12; x. 12; xi. 1). [B. F. W.]

EDOM, IDUMEA or IDUMAEA (אֱדוֹם = *ruddy*. The R. V. correctly gives Edom for Idumea, in Is. xxxiv. 5, 6, Ezek. xxxv. 15 and xxxvi. 5. In LXX. Ἐδώμ; in N. T. Ἰδουμαία, Mark iii. 8 only).

The mountain country, on the east side of the 'Arabah, or open valley between the Dead Sea and the Gulf of 'Akabah, is so called in the O. T. The term is usually equivalent to MOUNT SEIR (שֵׂעִיר), "the rough mountain." It is generally supposed that the name Edom, or "ruddy," is connected with the colour of the sandstone and volcanic rocks of which these mountains mainly consist, and which is remarkable in contrast with the white of the neighbouring chalk districts. The name Edom, however, is given to Esau (Gen. xxv. 34, xxvi. 1 and 8), and the reason is stated (Gen. xxv. 30) in the words, "And Esau said to Jacob, Feed me, I pray thee, with the red (pottage), this red (*pottage*, R. V. marg.), for I am faint: therefore was his name called Edom." In a previous verse (*v.* 25) we read that Esau was red from his birth, and the word *Seir* ("rough" or "hairy") is also applied—with a different pointing—to Esau (שָׂעִיר, Gen. xxvii. 11, 23; see Gesen. *Lex.*). Esau is also called "the father of Edom" (Gen. xxxvi. 9, 43), "in Mount Seir," and Josephus also connects Esau and Seir (*Ant.* i. 18, § 1).

The exact boundaries of Edom are only to be deduced from incidental notices, and from the special meaning of the Hebrew words describing the region. In the earliest notice of Mount Seir it appears to be adjacent to the "plain of Paran" (Gen. xiv. 6), "which is by the wilderness." It appears that this region was not in Canaan (Gen. xxxii. 3, xxxvi. 6), and in the latter passage the Peshitto reads, "Esau...went into the country of Seir." The 'Arabah itself was not in Edom, as appears from another passage (Deut. ii. 8), where it is noticed that Israel, being denied a way through Edom, "turned and passed" "through the way of the 'Arabah," in order to "compass the land of Edom" (Judg. xi. 18; see R. V.). Mount Hor, which Josephus places where it is still shown near Petra, was on the border of Edom (Num. xx. 23), or "in the edge of the land of Edom" (xxxiii. 37), and Kadesh-barnea was "a city in the uttermost of thy (the Edomites) border" (Num. xx. 16). Jewish and Christian traditions place this city at Rekem or Petra (Targum of Onkelos on Num. xxxiv. 4; Euseb. in *OS.*[2] p. 269, 4, s. v., and Peshitto of same passage); but its locality is still matter of controversy. No passage in the O. T., however, connects Edom with any localities west of the 'Arabah. On the north it appears that the boundary between Edom and Moab was the river Arnon (Judg. xi. 18), but the line seems to have varied at various historic periods (cp. Num. xxi. 13, 21). On the north-west Edom bordered on the tribe of Judah in the wilderness of Zin, near the Dead Sea and the ascent of Acrabbim (Josh. xv. 1, 21). It was here apparently that border contests occurred in the Valley of Salt (or "salt brook," 2 Sam. viii. 13, 14; 2 K. xiv. 7; 1 Ch. xviii. 12. The Peshitto brings these passages into accord by reading Edomite אדם for Syrian ארם in the first—*v.* 13). The Valley of Salt was thus apparently the northern part of the 'Arabah (where *'Ain Melihy*, "the salt spring," is still known), west of Petra. The distance from Horeb or Sinai "by way of Mount Seir" to Kadesh-barnea is given (Deut. i. 2) as eleven days' journey.

The various terms applied to this region agree with its mountainous character. The land of Seir is called the country of Edom (Gen. xxxii. 8, שְׂדֵה, *i.e.* plain field or plateau), apparently with reference to the plateau above the rugged slopes on the east: the same term is also rendered "field" (A. V. Judg. v. 4): the "wilderness of Edom" is also mentioned (2 K. iii. 8; Josephus, *Ant.* ix. 3, § 1), and Mount Seir (Gen. xiv. 6, xxxvi. 8, 9; Deut. i. 2; Josh. xxiv. 4; Ezek. xxxv. 5) is constantly connected with Edom, and is called "the Mount of Esau" by Obadiah (*vv.* 1, 8, 9, 19, 21). The rugged character of the country is noticed in the latter prophet, and also by Jeremiah (xlix. 16), "O thou that dwellest in the clefts of the rock, that holdest the height of the hill."

At a later period the term Gabla, or Gebalene, meaning "mountainous," is applied to Edom, and still survives in the name el-Jebâl (الجبال, "the hills"), applying to the district round Petra. Eusebius and Jerome both identify Edom with Gebalene near Petra (see the passages quoted by Reland, *Pal. Illustr.*, p. 71). The Jerusalem Targum reads, טורה דגבלא, "Mount of Gabla," for Mount Seir: in Deut. xxxiii. 2, the Samaritan Version also reads גבלה for Seir. Josephus includes Gobolitis in Idumea (*Ant.* ii. 1, § 2, Γοβολίτις): in the *Onomasticon* this is rendered Γεβαληνή by Eusebius (*OS.*[2] p. 266, 84). In another passage Josephus mentions Edomites and Gebalites (Γαβαλιτῶν, *Ant.* ix. 9, § 1). From a passage in Jeremiah (Lam. iv. 21) it appears that the land of Uz was in Edom (cp. Jer. xxv. 20); and Uz (עוּץ) has been compared with the name *'Aud* (عوض), which was that of a deity adored by the early Arab tribes of this region with *So'air*, whose name is radically the same as Seir. In Gen. xxxvi. 28 Uz is mentioned as an early inhabitant of Edom (cp. Gen. x. 23 and xxii. 21). Eusebius and Jerome mention this identification of Ausitis or Uz with Gebalene or Edom (see Reland, *Pal. Illustr.* p. 71), and many circumstances favour this view as to the country of Job (i. 1).

The names of towns in Edom mentioned in the Old Testament, so far as the sites are known, favour the restriction of the district to the region east of the 'Arabah. The situations of

Avith, Dinhabah, Dizahab, Masrekah, and Pau or Pai are unknown (see under those heads); but Selah ("the rock") or Joktheel is believed to be the later Petra (see 2 K. xiv. 7). Elath and Ezion-geber, the southern ports of Edom, were at the head of the Gulf of 'Akabah (see Deut. ii. 8), and are stated to have been "in the land of Edom" in Solomon's time (1 K. ix. 26). The old capital of Edom was Bozrah (Gen. xxxvi. 33; Is. xxxiv. 6, lxiii. 1; Jer. xlix. 13, 22; Amos i. 11), and was found by Burckhardt at *Buseirah*, on the plateau of Mount Seir, 25 miles south of *Kerak*, in Moab. Punon appears to have been in the same region (Num. xxxiii. 42), and Tophel (Deut. i. 1) is the present *Tufileh*, N.E. of Petra. Teman, an important Edomite town (Gen. xxxvi. 34; Job iv. 1; Ezek. xxv. 13; Amos i. 12), which is sometimes mentioned in connexion with Bozrah, is not identified, though said by Jerome to have been 5 miles from Petra. The Maonites (Judg. x. 12) also appear to have dwelt at Maon (now *M'aân*) in Edom, if the usual reading be correct.

Several direct statements in the Old Testament also show that no part of the land of Edom fell within the limits of the land of Israel. Esau was to be left in possession of his own country, although in the days of David and of Solomon the Edomites were subjected for a time. In Deuteronomy we read, "for I will not give you of their land, no, not so much as a foot breadth; because I have given Mount Seir unto Esau for a possession" (Deut. ii. 5; cp. Josh. xxiv. 4). It appears clear, therefore, that the possessions of the tribe of Simeon, west of the 'Arabah, in the Tih plateau, were not in the country belonging to the Edomites. When, however, we turn to the later Greek and Roman periods, we find that the term Idumea has a much wider application than the ancient Edom; which is natural, since the power of the Edomite was at this time much increased. Josephus includes in Idumea not only Gebalene or Gobolitis, but also Amalekitis, or the Amalekite country, which was in the Tih, west of the 'Arabah. Thus he states that the lot of Simeon was "that part of Idumea which bordered upon Egypt and Arabia" (*Antiq.* v. 1, § 22); and in another passage he states that Idumea was a large country including the Amalekite region (*Ant.* ii. 1, § 2).

This extended application of the term Idumea first meets us in the First Book of Maccabees. The border contests between Hebrews and Edomites, in the 2nd century B.C., occurred even in the hills north of Hebron. Bethsura (now *Beit Sûr*) was the Jewish outpost (1 Macc. iv. 15, 29, 61), and Hebron was an Idumean city (1 Macc. v. 65). Josephus gives us further information to the same effect, for it appears that not only Hebron, but Dora (*Dûra*) and Marissa (*Mer'ash*), were Idumean cities (*Antiq.* xii. 8, § 6; xiii. 9, § 1;—*Wars*, iv. 9, § 7), thus carrying the border to the line from Beit Jibrîn to Beit Sûr, and including all the Hebron hills in Idumea. Jerome accepts this larger definition in connexion with Beit Jibrîn (see ELEUTHEROPOLIS), and says that "all the southern region of the Edomites from Eleutheropolis as far as Petra and Elath" was the possession of Esau (see Reland, *Pal. Illustr.* p. 72). The geographer Ptolemy also, in the 2nd century A.D., enumerates five cities of Idumea, including Elousa, or *Khalasah*, in the Tih district, west of the 'Arabah. Many classical writers speak of the Idumeans without distinguishing them from the Jews, which was not unnatural in an age when the Idumean dynasty was ruling in Jerusalem (Virg. *Georg.* iii. 12; Juv. *Sat.* viii. 160; Stat. *Sylv.* i. 6, v. 2; Mart. II. *Epig.* 2, x. 50; Val. Flac. *Argonaut.* i. 12; see Reland, pp. 49 and 462). Thus with the rise of Edomite power, culminating in the accession of Herod the Great (see the next article), the old meaning of Edom, "the red land," was forgotten, and the whole country south of the Jerusalem hills, including the western as well as the eastern deserts, came to be included under the name Idumea, although no region west of the 'Arabah presents the ruddy sandstone mountains which rise to the east of that natural highway.

The topography of Edom is still very imperfectly known. Of the towns mentioned in the Old Testament, as we have seen above, only four out of about a dozen are identified; and we are little better off in treating of those which existed in the Roman and Byzantine ages, when the Arab trade from the port of Leuke Kome, at the mouth of the Gulf of 'Akabah, extended northwards to Damascus and westwards from Petra to Gaza and to Egypt (Strabo, xvi. 4, 24). Military stations existed along the great Roman road, still strewn with milestones, which ran along the plateau of Edom; and in Christian days the Metropolitan of Petra had under him bishops of the Edomite villages. Arindela, one of these bishoprics, is probably the present ruin *Ghurundel*, on the plateau north of Petra. *Dhâna*, a village visited by Burckhardt, on a declivity of the same plateau, is no doubt the Thana, or Thoana, of Ptolemy; and the spring of *Usdakah* is probably the Zadagatha of the Peutinger Tables, 18 Roman miles south of Petra, and the episcopal see of Zodocatha in the 5th century A.D. (see Robinson, *Bib. Res.* ii. 117, 168). Bozrah had then its Metropolitan, but the greater part of the bishoprics have names not to be discovered, especially as the texts are much corrupted in the ecclesiastical lists. The Roman military stations, where native archers and foreign cohorts were quartered, included Elath and Arindela, and the old city of Teman, with Bozrah and Zodocatha and other unknown places (see Reland, *Pal. Ill.*, p. 230). The Crusaders, who opened up again this trade route with the south, built the strong castle of Montreal at Shobek, north of Petra; and Renaud of Chatillon held the road from his great fortress of Kerak, east of the Dead Sea, to Elath, or *'Akabah*, with stations at Tophel (*Tufileh*) and at *M'aân*, then called Ahamant. Petra was then known by the name which it still bears, "the Valley of Moses" (*Wâdy Mûsa*), on account of the tradition which regarded the *Sik* or "gorge" leading to Petra as having been cloven by the rod of Moses, arising out of the identification of Petra, as above mentioned, with Kadesh-barnea.

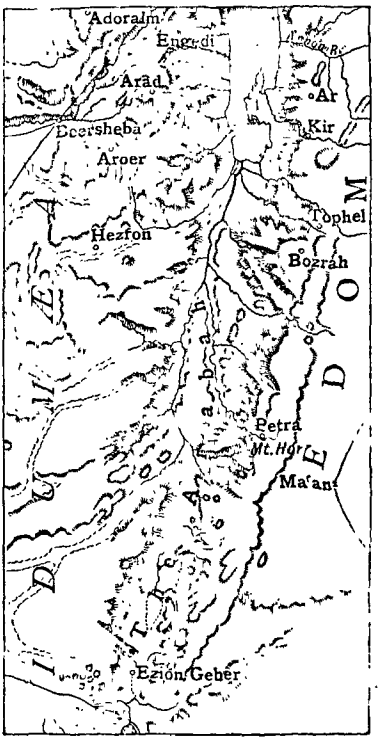
With the decay of civilisation the settled places in Edom fell into ruins, and even the site of Petra was forgotten and supposed to be at Kerak, until the famous ruins were rediscovered in 1812 by Burckhardt. It would seem that in the 12th century there was some cultivation round Petra, the chroniclers describing extensive fig and olive gardens (Rey, *Colonies Franques*,

p. 397). At the present day there are only a few mud houses in one or two miserable hamlets, and over the rest of the region the nomadic Arabs hold sway. The northern district near Petra is known as *el-Jebâl*, and the southern mountains as *esh-Sherah*, a word which has no connexion with the Hebrew Seir. It is worthy of notice in passing that the village of *el-Jy*, close to Petra, probably preserves the Hebrew גַּיְא (valley or brook), whence the name "Rekem of the brook," already noticed as given to Petra, was derived. Josephus gives this old name of Petra as still surviving in his day in the forms Arecem (*Ant.* iv. 7, § 1) and Arce (*Ant.* iv. 4, § 1). In the Commentary, *Siphre*, the same place is called רקם דחגרה, "Rekem of Hagrah."

The district of which the limits have thus been noted has an important history, noticed in the succeeding article. It remains to give an account of its physical features, which have been recently examined by Dr. Hull (*PEF. Mem.* 1886). It is in this region that the Nubian sandstone, which forms the base beds of the Lebanon and appears on the east of the Jordan Valley and of the Dead Sea, becomes the principal constituent of the mountain slopes. The mountains extend about 100 miles south of the Dead Sea, with a maximum width of 20 miles between the 'Arabah and the plateau of Mount Seir. The highest ridges approach to some 4000 feet above the Mediterranean level, so that when they are covered with snow they can be distinctly seen from Jerusalem (a fact which is noted by Josephus, *Wars*, v. 4, § 3). The 'Arabah itself falls northwards and southwards from a watershed 650 feet above the Mediterranean, south of Petra, to sea-level at 'Akabah, and to the Dead Sea level (1292 feet lower) on the north. The old Red Sea shore line within historic times was perhaps further north than at present, for the mud flats extend 20 miles inland to *'Ain Ghudiân*, in which name Robinson recognises that of Ezion in Ezion-geber. Palms flourish on the east side of the valley at this point, as also at *'Akabah*, near which Elath is supposed to have stood. The soil of the 'Arabah consists mainly of gravel in the higher part, giving place on the north to lacustrine marls like those of the Jordan Valley, and to the alluvial deposits of the Dead Sea shore.

The great fault in the strata, which forms the Jordan Valley, runs south, on the east side of the 'Arabah. Thus the foot hills of Edom, close to the 'Arabah, are of the same calcareous limestone which forms the Tih plateau, west of the valley. Beyond these the sandstone rises abruptly in rugged mountains, which the underlying granite and porphyry, veined with dykes of basalt and felstone, and belonging to the system of the Sinaitic region, break through, and present crags which recall the Hebrew name Seir, or "rugged." Mount Hor, a double-peaked, isolated mountain formed by the upheaval of the sandstone, rises to about 3,000 feet above the Mediterranean, west of the Petra hollow, and on the east the strata rise in higher steps, capped by the chalky limestone, which forms the plateau of Edom and of Moab, stretching eastward into the desert. The Tih plateau rises only to about 1800 feet above the Mediterranean, so that the elevation of Mount Seir appears considerable, not only from the valley, but also from the western desert, while the variegated hues of the sandstone and granite, contrasted with the white chalk, appear to give a natural explanation of the old name Edom, or "red."

The Edomite mountains are deficiently supplied with water. Springs occur at considerable intervals near the edge of the plateau, and along the course of the principal valleys, such as *Wâdy Ghuweir*. The brook at Petra, and *'Ain Delâghah* further south, spring close to the outcrop of the sandstone, beneath the porous limestone; and further south, where the mountains are granitic, the springs rise in the 'Arabah itself. The old road from 'Akabah, leading over the plateau to Petra, has ruined posts along it, which were supplied by cisterns;



Map of Edom.

and only one spring is known on this route, namely the *'Ain el-Usdaka*, already mentioned as a Roman station.

The climate of this desert region is healthy, and a considerable population has always ranged among the mountains. In winter there is snow on the plateau, but the presence of palms in the 'Arabah marks a region where severe frosts do not occur. In the Petra gorge, thickets of oleander exist, with wild figs and tamarisks among the rocks; and creeping vines hang from the cliffs. The mountains are barren and treeless, the principal desert shrub being the white broom called "juniper" in the English Version, but still preserving its Hebrew name as mentioned in Job (xxx. 4). It is said by Tristram (*Nat. Hist. of Bible*, p. 359) to be specially frequent near Petra. The fauna and flora of the Book of Job

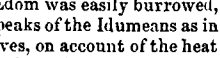
are indeed, generally speaking, those of the deserts of Moab and Edom. The waterless condition of the desert of Edom is also specially mentioned in the Old Testament, on the occasion when the kings of Judah, Israel, and Edom made a circuit of seven days' march, and attacked Moab, probably travelling along the old highway by which Israel had advanced (2 K. iii. 9).

The standard authorities on this region are Reland's *Palestina* (as quoted above), Burckhardt's *Travels in Syria*, Laborde's *Voyage*, Robinson's *Biblical Researches*, Irby and Mangles' *Travels:* to these may now be added Prof. Hull's *Mount Seir*, giving the latest scientific information, and his Memoir on the geology of the region already noticed. See also Dr. Clay Trumbull's *Kadesh Barnea*. [C. R. C.]

EDOMITES (אֲדֹמִי, Deut. xxiii. 8, and fem. pl. אֲדֹמִיּוֹת, 1 K. xi. 1; בְּנֵי עֵשָׂו, Deut. ii. 4: Ἰδουμαῖοι), the inhabitants of Edom. The aborigines were the "children of Seir" or Horites (Gen. xiv. 6; xxxvi. 20), who, according to the usual translation of the latter word (חֹרִי, "cave man," from חוֹר, "cave"), were dwellers in holes or caverns, like the Troglodytes whom Strabo mentions east of the Red Sea (xvi. 4, 17). The soft sandstone of Edom was easily burrowed, and Jerome (*in Obad.*) speaks of the Idumeans as in his time dwelling in caves, on account of the heat —a practice still usual throughout Syria among the poorest class of the population. At a very early period we find mention of an attack on these cave men by the Chaldeans and Elamites from the east (Gen. xiv. 6). The nationality of these early Edomites is not stated. They possessed some kind of organisation under chiefs (אַלּוּפִים, "leaders," Gesen. *Lex.*: "dukes" in A. V. and R. V. text, in R. V. marg. *chiefs;* also used of other leaders, Jer. xiii. 21, Zech. ix. 7, xii. 5, 6) whose names appear to be Semitic, and who were of the Bene Seir (Gen. xxxvi. 20): to one of these (*v.* 24) was due the discovery of hot springs (see R. V.) in the desert. The Horites were destroyed by the Bene Esau, who attacked them from the west (Deut. ii. 12; cp. Gen. xxxii. 3 and xxxvi. 6, 8), and who were of mixed race, Hebrew and Canaanite, the wives of Esau being Hittites and Hivites (Gen. xxxvi. 2). It would seem that the Horites were Hivites, and allied to Esau by marriage, if we may judge from the names Zibeon and Anah (cp. *vv.* 2 and 20); while another of Esau's wives was a Nabathean (*v.* 4) or Ishmaelite—a people who also somewhat later became powerful in Edom.

The sons of Esau also had their "dukes" (Gen. xxxvi. 40–43), and the same chapter gives us the names of early kings of Edom (מְלָכִים) "before there reigned any king over the children of Israel" (*v.* 31): they appear to have been petty monarchs, like those encountered by the Assyrians, and came from different cities, if not of different families. Of these cities some (such as Bozrah and Teman) were in Edom; but Saul of "Rehoboth by the river" seems to have come from the town of that name on the Euphrates (cp. Gen. x. 12), and it is not stated whether these kings were sons of Esau or not (cp. 1 Ch. i. 43–54). At the period of the Exodus we find Edom governed by a king (Num. xx. 14; Judg. xi. 17, 18), and in the time of David and Solomon there was a royal house (1 K. xi. 14) with a name (Hadad) for one prince which also belongs to a prince of the earlier period (Hadad, son of Bedad); after Edom was subdued by David, the king appears still to have ruled as an allied tributary (2 K. iii. 8, 12), and such monarchs claimed independence when possible (2 K. viii. 20).

Esau is called the "father of Edom" (Gen. xxxvi. 9 and 43), and in Deuteronomy the relationship to the Hebrews is insisted on (Deut. ii. 4–5): an Edomite was not to be abhorred like a Canaanite (Deut. xxiii. 7); yet in a later age great mutual hatred appears to have arisen, and wars were of constant occurrence between Hebrews and Edomites. The "dukes" of Edom are mentioned as unfriendly as early as the time of the Song of Moses (Ex. xv. 15); and the king of Edom refused a passage to Israel (Num. xx. 14–21), and armed to protect the road, thus forcing the Hebrews to make a long detour by Elath and the eastern deserts, before reaching the border-land of the Amorites.

Some light seems to be thrown on the early history of the Edomites by the early Egyptian records. It is thought by Chabas and by Brugsch that the country *Adma* or *Atuma*, near Egypt ( ; Chabas, *Voyage*, p. 307), was Edom. It is mentioned as early as the Twelfth Dynasty (see *Records of the Past*, vi. pp. 135–150; and Brugsch, *Hist.* i. pp. 146, 216). The inhabitants are called Shasu—apparently a Semitic word for "nomads" (see Gesen. *Lex.* שָׁשָׂא: "to stray"). The Shasu were found even in Northern Syria, but one of their tribes were the *Saaru*, whose name Chabas compares with Seir (*Recherches*, p. 50: see Pierret, *Vocab.* p. 457). The Egyptians called the Shasu chiefs *Mahautu* (Chabas, *Voyage*, p. 146) or "leaders," equivalent to the Hebrew term rendered "dukes" in the English Version. The accounts which we have of the Shasu agree with the Biblical notices of Ishmael's lawless life, and of Esau's living by his sword; for they are represented in the time of Rameses II. as brigands seeking to waylay the Egyptian officials. Possibly, also, the "officer of the *Se-ir-ru-u*," which people appear to be mentioned on the Tell Amarna tablets (1430 B.C.) as being near "the entrance to the land of Egypt," may be connected with the dukes of Seir. The relations existing at that time between the kings of Mesopotamia and the Egyptians serve to illustrate the yet earlier incursions of the Chaldeans into Mount Seir—already noted—when the Jordan Valley towns were made tributary to the Chaldean king.

The establishment of a kingdom in Palestine was soon followed by conflicts with the Edomites. Saul attacked them (1 Sam. xiv. 47), and David subdued them (2 Sam. viii. 13) and "got him a name," when, after defeating them in the Valley of Salt (as explained in the preceding article), he put garrisons in Edom. The heading of Ps. lx. refers to this victory, and the words of Gen. xxvii. 40 agree with this subjection of the sons of Esau to the sons of Jacob. Hadad of the Edomite royal house fled, as we are told, while Joab was burying the dead (1 K. xi. 14), and became an adversary to Solomon, who continued

to hold Edom, and built his fleets at the Edomite port of Ezion-geber (1 K. ix. 26; 2 Ch. viii. 17). Some of his wives also were Edomite princesses (1 K. xi. 1).

With the decay of the power of the kings of Judah, troubles in Edom coincide. In the reign of Jehoshaphat (about 890 B.C.) a joint attack on Moab was made, from the south of Edom, by the allied kings of Judah, Israel, and Edom (2 K. iii.); but this appears to have failed, and was followed by the victories of Mesha, king of Moab, recorded on the Moabite Stone. In Chronicles (2 Ch. xx. 10–30) we read of a combined attack on Judah by Moabites, Ammonites, and "Mount Seir," not occurring in Edom, but north of Hebron, on the edge of the desert, at Beracah (*v.* 27), now *Breikût*, where Jehoshaphat was victorious. This apparently explains the abrupt ending of the account in the parallel passage (2 K. iii. 27): "And there came great wrath upon Israel" (see R. V.). King Joram not long after endeavoured to quell the revolt of Edom, passing over to Zair (Seir, according to Vulgate), but was surrounded and had to cut his way out at night (2 K. viii. 21, 22), "so Edom revolted from under the hand of Judah unto this day." At the close of the 9th century, however, Amaziah succeeded in re-asserting the power of Judah. He fought the Edomites as David had done in the Valley of Salt, and took Sela or Petra (2 K. xiv. 7; cp. Pss. lx. 8 and cxxvii. 7).[a] The Book of Chronicles adds that Amaziah killed the Edomites by throwing them from the "top of the rock" (*Sela*, 2 Ch. xxv. 12); and brought back with him the gods of the children of Seir (as the Babylonians also used to remove the idols from conquered cities), which he afterwards himself adored (*v.* 14). Josephus speaks of an Idumean god called Koze (*Ant.* xv. 7, § 9), from whom the name of the Idumean Costobarus was taken. In cuneiform records (as will be seen below), Kaus Malka and Kaus Gabri are Edomite names. At Cyrene, a Greek inscription has been found with the words ΚΟΣΒΑΡΑΚΟΣ ΜΑΛΙΧΟΥ ΙΔΟΥΜΑΙΟΣ, showing that this deity Κοζὲ or Κοσὲ was the chief Idumean god. The same name has been compared with that of a Nabathean god, קָצֵי, and of a town in Edom, and the Arabs appear to have preserved this (as قزي or قزح), calling the rainbow the "bow of Kozah" (Lenormant, *Lettres Assyr.* ii. 119). We are thus not without information as to the Edomite gods (cp. Bäthgen, *Beitr. z. Sem. Religionsgeschichte*, p. 10, &c.).

About the middle of the 8th century B.C. we find Uzziah still holding Elath in the extreme south of Edom, having "restored it to Judah" (2 K. xiv. 22), but this was the last of Jewish supremacy. Tiglath-pileser II., king of Assyria (2 K. xv. 29), about 743 B.C. records in his Annals that he made Kaus Malka king of Edom tributary, after having shut into his capital Rezon or Rezin, the Syrian king of Damascus; but on the retreat of the Assyrians Rezin recovered power, and took Elath from the king of Judah (2 K. xvi. 6): the Syrians (or Edomites, according to the Hebrew margin and many MSS. —also the LXX. and Vulgate) then came to Elath and drove out the Jews "unto this day." Some ten years later Ahaz, who was a tributary of Assyria, appealed for help against Edomite incursions, in which captives (or daughters) were taken from Judah (2 Ch. xxviii. 17). With the close of the 8th century B.C. Sennacherib, besieging Hezekiah, was received by the various petty kings inimical to Judah as a master, and Airammu, king of Edom, is mentioned in his records as a tributary; while thirty years later Esarhaddon received tribute from Kaus Gabri of Edom (see Schrader, *KAT.*[2] in locis). These Edomite names—Costobarus, Kosbarakos, Kaus Malka, and Kaus Gabri, all taken probably from the national deity—are possibly comparable with the Hebrew Kushaiah (קוּשָׁיָהוּ), "the bow of Jehovah."

The cuneiform inscriptions serve to fill up a gap in the history of Edom during the reign of Manasseh. There was at this period a general upheaval of the Arabs, who, forced northwards probably by the pressure of population, about 650 B.C. attacked Assyria (though unsuccessfully) and overran Edom, Moab, and the Hauran, advancing even to Hamath. This sudden success of the Arab king Vaita, whose line of advance was the same afterwards followed by Omar, was however soon checked. A parallel attack by Arabs and Babylonians and Elamites revolting from Assyria was repulsed by Assur-bani-pal in 648 B.C., and Vaita was driven back towards Edom. He sought refuge with the Nabathean king, Nathan, who appears to have given him up to the Assyrians. This Arab outbreak was put down with great cruelty by Assyria, but it marks the commencement of a northward movement of the inhabitants of the Nejed, which continued century by century—the base of attack on Palestine being always in Edom.

In the time of Nebuchadnezzar Edom, still ruled by a king (Jer. xxvii. 3), was attacked by the Chaldeans about 582 B.C., but the Nabathean power in this region appears to have become strong during the troubles which preceded the fall of Babylon; and the denunciations of the prophets show how unfriendly the Edomites were to Judah during all the later times of her kings (Is. xxxiv. 5–8, lxiii. 1–4; Jer. xlix. 17; Lam. iv. 21; Ezek. xxv. 13, 14; Amos i. 11, 12; Obad. *v.* 10).

During the Greek period we have one notice of the history of Edom; for in 312 B.C. Antigonus, one of Alexander's successors, attacked the Nabatheans in Petra in two expeditions (Diodorus Siculus, xix. 94–98). These children of Nebaioth (Gen. xxv. 13; Is. lx. 7) extended their sway, according to Josephus, from the Red Sea to the Euphrates (*Ant.* i. 12, § 4), and were already beginning to trade. Their kingdom of Arabia Petraea had its centre at Petra, in Edom, and we have already seen that they were allied by birth to the Edomites. The names of their kings—such as Aretas and Obodas—were Semitic, the former being the Arabic *Hâris* or *Hârith*, a common name for Arab legendary heroes. The Hasmonean chiefs in Judea warred against Edom, but were apparently friendly with the Nabatheans in Moab and Gilead (1 Macc. v. 25; ix. 35). Judas Maccabaeus defeated the Idumeans on the old battle-field by the ascent of Akrabbim

[a] The expression "over Edom will I cast my shoe" is illustrated by Egyptian sandals which have been found, with pictures of enemies bound together, and thus daily trodden under foot by the wearer.

(1 Macc. v. 3); but, as noticed in the last article, the Idumean power now extended to Bethsura, north of Hebron (1 Macc. iv. 29, 61). Hyrcanus took Dora and Marissa, and compelled the Idumeans to become circumcised about 130 B.C. (*Ant.* xiii. 9, § 1); so that, as Josephus says (and as classical writers appear also to have thought), "they were hereafter no other than Jews." In 93 B.C. Alexander Jannaeus was defeated by Obodas, the Arab (*Ant.* xiii. 13, § 5; *Wars*, i. 4, § 4); and the Nabathean rulers, even in 166 B.C., seem to have ruled as far as Damascus (2 Macc. v. 8). The names Obodas and Aretas are found as those of Arab kings in Damascus and in Petra, in the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. (*Ant.* xiii. 13, § 5, 15, §§ 1, 2; xiv. 1, § 4;—*Wars*, i. 4, §§ 4, 7, 8; i. 6, § 2; Dio Cass. xxxvii. 15). In 63 B.C. Scaurus was sent by Pompey against Petra: he was aided with supplies by the Idumean Antipater, and levied a fine on Aretas (*Ant.* xiv. 5, § 1): immediately after the death of Pompey, Costabarus the Idumean was made governor of Idumea and Gaza by Herod, being one of the old priestly family who adored Koze. He was, however, afterwards suspected and slain by the tyrant (*Ant.* xv. 7, § 9).

The astuteness of the Idumean Antipater, who took the side of the Romans, led to the extension of Idumean rule over the whole of Palestine, in the person of his son Herod the Great. Augustus, however, bestowed the kingdom of Edom on Aeneas or Aretas (*Ant.* xvi. § 9, 4; 10, § 9; xvii. 3, § 2). Antipater's father had ruled Idumea under Alexander Jannaeus, and he himself was a prominent figure in Jewish politics, becoming Procurator under Julius Caesar. His daughter Salome was the wife of Costabarus, whom she divorced: to his grandson Archelaus, the Roman province, including Samaria, Judea, and Idumea, was given by Rome in confirmation of Herod's will. The Idumeans also played a part in the history of the great revolt, besieging Sabinus in Jerusalem (*Wars*, ii. 3, § 1), and forming a very important faction in the same city during the siege (*Wars*, iv. 1, § 5, and iv. 4, §§ 4, 5, &c.: cp. *Ant.* xiv. 1, § 3, 8, § 5; xv. 7, § 9; xvii. 11, § 4; *Wars*, i. 8, § 1).

Coins of the kings of Petra and of Nabathean queens exist, from the time of the Hasmoneans down to the days of Pompey and Herod, and as late as Trajan. About thirty types are known with the names Malchus, Aretas, Dabel, Gamalith and Sycaminth (Levy, *ZDMG.* xiv. 363–480); and the Nabathean alphabet, which was of Aramean origin, is known from these, and from the later inscriptions of the Sinaitic desert (Taylor, *Hist. Alph.* i. 330). Coins of Petra also occur after the annexation of Idumea to Rome, which occurred in 105 A.D. in the time of Trajan, being effected by Cornelius Palma, then Governor of Syria (Dio Cass. lxviii. 14). Eight of these coins have been described, three with the name of Hadrian, one of Marcus Aurelius and Verus, two of Septimius Severus, and two of Geta: they generally bear on the reverse the words Ἀδριάνη Πέτρα Μητρόπολις (see authorities in Robinson, *Bib. Res.* ii. p. 170). During this period the Nabatheans of Petra, mentioned by Pliny (*H. N.* vi. 28 and 32), were mingled with Romans and lived peacefully under the law (Strabo, xvi. 4, § 21). It is to this period that the celebrated Roman remains of Petra are to be ascribed, together with many other important cities in Syria: Strabo calls Petra the Nabathean metropolis.

The Edomite or Nabathean population shared the trading prosperity of Syria under the Romans; Strabo speaks of the merchandise from the Gulf of 'Akabah which was carried to Petra and thence to Rhinocolura (*el-Arish*) for the west (xvi. 4, § 24). The military stations in Edom were held by levies from Asia, Europe, and Africa, the Alpine cohort being stationed on the Arnon, and the Galatians at Ghurundal, with Carthaginians at Bozrah (cp. Reland, *Pal.* pp. 230–232). Christianity penetrated into this region early, and Germanus was Bishop of Petra in 359 A.D. (Council of Seleucia) and Theodorus in 536 A.D. (Council of Jerusalem): cp. Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* iii. 725; Rob. *Bib. Res.* ii. 170. The Christians of Elath paid tribute to Muhammad in 630 A.D., and those of Bozrah to Abu Bekr in 634 A.D. (Abu el Feda's Annals quoted by Robinson, *Bib. Res.* ii. 162).

The Nabathean texts of Sinaitic Idumea belong to the Christian period (3rd and 4th cent. A.D.: Levy, *ZDMG.* xiv.), and are often marked with the cross; but these and earlier texts from the Haurân also show (as do Patristic accounts) that the Paganism of Arabia flourished side by side with Christianity among the Edomites; and indeed to the present day the Arabs of Edom and Moab remain almost pagan. Robinson remarks on their sacrifices (still offered) and on their marking camels with crosses from the blood of a kid, offered to secure the health of the Bedouin livestock. The chief Edomite deities of the Roman and Arab age were Dushera, whose name occurs in Nabathean texts, even as far north as Bashan and Sidon (דושרא; ذو الشرى; Δουσάρης), and the goddess called Khabou by Epiphanius (الكعبة): an annual festival of the two was held at Petra, and Suidas (*s. v.* Θεουσάρης) says that Dushera was represented by a black stone 4 feet high and 2 feet broad. The Meccan goddess Khalasah (חלצה on Sinaitic texts, الخلصة) appears, according to Tuch (*ZDMG.* iii. p. 196), to have been adored at Elusa (now Khalasah) in Western Idumea. The festival of this goddess, which was celebrated by women with perambulations, and with orgies like those of the Moabite women, is mentioned by Jerome (*Vita Hilarion*, 25). In Justinian's reign a stone idol was also adored on Sinai (Antoninus, *Itin.* xxxviii.), at a time when the desert was full of anchorites and nuns (*ib.* xxxiv.). This barbarous idolatry—having erect stones for its objects—was prevalent at the same time all over Arabia, and has been elucidated by the inscriptions discovered east of Jordan (see De Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale, Textes Nabatéens;* and Lenormant, *Lettres Assyr.* ii. 88, 121, 151, 167, 244). Islam first reached Syria though Edom, following the line of the Nabathean advance; but the region is unnoticed in Moslem writings, and only again appears in history during the Crusades. Baldwin I. in 1100 A.D. marched from Hebron to the Vallis Moysi or Petra (Will. of Tyre, xvi. 6, &c.), and fifteen years later he advanced through Moab and built the Castle of Montreal (in 1116 A.D.)

at Shobek, on the great southern road. In 1144 King Baldwin III. cut down the olive-trees at Petra, and in 1182 Rainaud of Chatillon, whose fief included all the Sinaitic peninsula, embarked at Aila on his adventurous expedition into Arabia. In 1188 Saladin took Montreal after reducing Kerak in Moab, and nothing more is heard of the history of Edom until the time of Burckhardt's journey in 1812 (see Rob. *Bib. Res.* ii. 164–5): by the Crusaders the region was called Arabia Prima, but the country was not so well known as in the Byzantine period. The first Crusaders considered Mount Hor near Petra to be Mount Sinai, and Ernoul, writing about 1231 A.D., seems to suggest the same. Nabathean inscriptions of the prosperous Roman period have been discovered at Petra and also at Bozrah, and a bilingual in Nabathean and Greek has been discovered at Sidon with the name of Dushera, as also on a stone in the Haurân. It appears to be from this Edomite script that the early Arabic characters of the time of Muhammad are derived. To this also belong the Sinaitic inscriptions which before the time of scientific study were attributed even to the days of Moses (see Taylor's *Hist. Alph.* i. 330).

The leading authorities are those quoted above, together with the list in the preceding article. [C. R. C.]

ED'REI. **1.** אֶדְרֶעִי = *strong, mighty:* B. Ἐδράειν, exc. Deut. iii. 1, 10, Ἐδράειμ; A. Ἐδράειν, exc. Josh. xiii. 12, corrupt, and xiii. 31 Ἐδραΐμ: *Edrai.* One of the two cities, Ashtaroth being the other, in which Og king of Bashan resided (Deut. i. 4; Josh. xii. 4, xiii. 12, 31), and at or near which he was defeated by the Israelites (Num. xxi. 33; Deut. iii. 1). In Deut. iii. 10, Edrei is mentioned with Salecah as a limit of Bashan; but in Josh. xiii. 11, the latter name only occurs. It was within the territory allotted to the half tribe of Manasseh (Num. xxxii. 33), but is not mentioned in the later Books of the O. T. The town was apparently not far from Ashtaroth (Deut. i. 4); and on or near "the way to Bashan," probably the *Derb el Haj*, which the Israelites followed after defeating Sihon, king of the Amorites (Deut. iii. 1; Num. xxi. 33).

Eusebius says (*OS.*[2] p. 253, 30, *s. v.* Edrai) that it was in his day called Adraa (Ἀδραά), and was an important town in Arabia, 24 miles from Bostra; and (*OS.*[2] p. 213, 35, *s. v.* Astaroth) that it was 6 miles from Astaroth and 25 from Bostra. In the *Tab. Peut.* Adraha is placed on the Roman road from Gadara to Bostra, 16 miles from Capitolias, *Beit er-Râs*, and 24 from Bostra. It is alluded to by Epiphanius (*adv. Haer.* i. 142, cxi. 874) and is placed by Ptolemy in the same latitude as Gadara. The names of Bishops of Adraa appear at the General Councils of Constantinople (381 A.D.) and Chalcedon (451 A.D.); and the place is mentioned as the seat of a bishopric under the Archbishop of Bostra in the 6th century (*Not. Ant. Pat.*). During the Roman period it was one of the chief towns of the Arabian province, and was apparently autonomous, coining its own money. The legends on the coins and the inscriptions found on the site are Greek, indicating that the population was in great part Hellenised, or that it was of Macedonian origin. In 1142 A.D. it was known as *Civitas Bernardi de Stampis*, and was attacked by Baldwin III. on his way to Bostra. The Crusaders suffered, on this occasion, from thirst; for when they attempted to draw water from the wells, the ropes attached to the buckets were cut by men concealed in the subterranean chambers (W. of Tyre, xvi. 10).

It is now *Dera'ah*, ادرعات, one of the largest towns in the *Haurân*, situated 6½ miles S.S.E. of *el-Mezeirib*, the first station, on the *Derb el-Haj*, after leaving Damascus. The position agrees with that assigned to Adraa by Eusebius and the *Peutinger Table*. The extensive ruins, and the remarkable series of underground chambers beneath them, have been described by Wetzstein (*Reisebericht*, pp. 47, 48) and by Schumacher (*Across the Jordan*, pp. 121–147; see also Wright in *Leisure Hour*, 1874, pp. 523, 557). The subterranean town was probably excavated, like those in Cappadocia, to receive the population in times of danger. Knobel and Keil (*Com.* on Num. xxi. 33–35; Deut. iii. 10) suppose that there were two Edreis, and identify the one mentioned in Deut. iii. 10 as the limit of Bashan, with *Ezr'a*, or *Edhr'a*, ادرع, the ancient Zorava, on the W. border of the *Lejah*. This place is identified by Porter, on doubtful grounds, with Edrei, the royal city of Og (*Five Years in Damascus*, ii. 220). The supposition of two Edreis is, however, unnecessary (see Dillmann[2] on Deut. iii. 10).

2. Ἐδράειν; A. Ἐδράει. A place named only in Josh. xix. 37, as one of the towns allotted to Naphtali. It is mentioned between Kedesh and En-hazor, and has been identified doubtfully by Porter (*Hdbk.*) and Tristram (*Bible Places*) with *Tell Khureibeh*; and by Conder (*PEF. Mem.* i. 203, 205, 260) with the village of *Yâter*. [W.]

EDUCATION. Although nothing is more carefully inculcated in the Law than the duty of parents to teach their children its precepts and principles (Ex. xii. 26, xiii. 8, 14; Deut. iv. 5, 9, 10, vi. 2, 7, 20, xi. 19, 21; Acts xxii. 3; 2 Tim. iii. 15; Hist. of Sus. 3; Joseph. *c. Ap.* ii. 16, 17, 25), yet there is little trace among the Hebrews in earlier times of education in any other subjects. The wisdom, therefore, and instruction, of which so much is said in the Book of Proverbs, is to be understood chiefly of moral and religious discipline, imparted, according to the direction of the Law, by the teaching and under the example of parents (Prov. i. 2, 8; ii. 2, 10; iv. 1, 7, 20; viii. 1; ix. 1, 10; xii. 1; xvi. 22; xvii. 24; xxxi.). Implicit exceptions to this statement may perhaps be found in the instances of Moses himself, who was brought up in all Egyptian learning (Acts vii. 22); of the writer of the Book of Job, who was evidently well versed in natural history and in the astronomy of the day (Job xxxviii. 31, xxxix., xl., xli.); of Daniel and his companions in captivity (Dan. i. 4, 17); and above all, in the intellectual gifts and acquirements of Solomon, which were even more renowned than his political greatness (1 K. iv. 29, 34, x. 1–9; 2 Ch. ix. 1–8), and the memory of which has, with much exaggeration, been widely preserved in Oriental tradition. The statement made above may, however, in all probability be taken as

representing the chief aim of ordinary Hebrew education, both at the time when the Law was best observed, and also when, after periods of national decline from the Mosaic standard, attempts were made by monarchs, as Jehoshaphat or Josiah, or by prophets, as Elijah or Isaiah, to enforce, or at least to inculcate, reform in the moral condition of the people on the basis of that standard (1 K. xix. 14; 2 K. xvii. 13, xxii. 8–20; 2 Ch. xvii. 7, 9; Is. i. et sq.).

In later times the prophecies, and comments on them as well on the earlier Scriptures, together with other subjects, were studied (Prol. to Ecclus. and Ecclus. xxxviii. 24, 26, xxxix. 1–11). St. Jerome adds that Jewish children were taught to say by heart the genealogies (Hieronym. on Titus iii. 9; Calmet, *Dict.* s. v. *Généalogie*). Parents were required to teach their children some trade, and he who failed to do so was said to be virtually teaching his child to steal (Mishn. *Kiddush.* ii. 2, vol. iii. 413, ed. Surenh.; Lightfoot, *Chron. Temp.* on Acts xviii. vol. ii. 79).

The sect of the Essenes, though themselves abjuring marriage, were anxious to undertake and careful in carrying out the education of children, but confined its subject-matter chiefly to morals and the Divine Law (Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 8, § 12; Philo, *Quod omnis probus liber*, vol. ii. 458, ed. Mangey; see ESSENES).

Previous to the Captivity, the chief depositaries of learning were the schools or colleges, from which in most cases (see Amos vii. 14) proceeded that succession of public teachers who at various times endeavoured to reform the moral and religious conduct of both rulers and people. [SCHOOLS OF PROPHETS.] In these schools the Law was probably the chief subject of instruction; the study of languages was little followed by any Jews till after the Captivity, but from that time the number of Jews residing in foreign countries must have made the knowledge of foreign languages more common than before (see Acts ii. 5, 8; xxi. 37). From the time of the outbreak of the last war with the Romans, parents were forbidden to instruct their children in Greek literature (Mishn. *Sotah*, c. ix. 15, vol. iii. 307, 308, ed. Surenh.).

As well as in the prophetical schools instruction was given by the priests in the Temple and elsewhere, but their subjects were doubtless exclusively concerned with religion and worship (Lev. x. 11; 1 Ch. xxv. 7, 8; Ezek. xliv. 23, 24; Mal. ii. 7). Those sovereigns who exhibited any anxiety for the maintenance of the religious element in the Jewish polity, were conspicuous in enforcing the religious education of the people (2 K. xxiii. 2; 2 Ch. xvii. 7–9, xix. 5, 8, 11).

From the time of the settlement in Canaan there must have been among the Jews persons skilled in writing and in accounts. Perhaps the neighbourhood of the tribe of Zebulun to the commercial district of Phoenicia may have been the occasion of their reputation in this respect. The "writers" of that tribe are represented (Judg. v. 14) by the same word סֹפֵר, used in that passage of the levying of an army or perhaps of a military officer (Ges. p. 966), as is applied to Ezra, in reference to the Law (Ezra vii. 6); to Seraiah, David's scribe or secretary (2 Sam. viii. 17); to Shebna, scribe to Hezekiah (2 K. xviii. 37); Shemaiah (1 Ch. xxiv. 6); Baruch, scribe to Jeremiah (Jer. xxxvi. 32), and others filling like offices at various times. The municipal officers of the kingdom, especially in the time of Solomon, must have required a staff of well-educated persons in their various departments under the recorder מַזְכִּיר, or historiographer, whose business was to compile memorials of the reign (2 Sam. viii. 16, xx. 24; 2 K. xviii. 18; 2 Ch. xxxiv. 8). Learning, in the sense above mentioned, was at all times highly esteemed, and educated persons were treated with great respect, and, according to Rabbinical tradition, were called "sons of the noble," and allowed to take precedence of others at table (Lightfoot, *Chron. Temp.* on Acts xvii. vol. ii. 79 sq.; *Hor. Hebr.* Luke xiv. 8–24, ii. 540). The same authority deplores the degeneracy of later times in this respect (Mishn. *Sotah*, ix. 15, vol. iii. 308, ed. Surenh.).

To the schools of the Prophets succeeded, after the Captivity, the synagogues, which were either themselves used as schools or had places near them for that purpose (see on this subject generally Simon, *L'Éducation et l'Instruction des Enfants chez les anciens Juifs*,[3] 1879). In most cities there was at least one, and in Jerusalem, according to some, 394; according to others, 460 (Calmet, *Dict. Eccles.*). It was from these schools and the doctrines of the various teachers presiding over them, of whom Gamaliel, Shammai, and Hillel were among the most famous, that many of those traditions and refinements proceeded by which the Law was in our Lord's time encumbered and obscured, and which may be considered as represented, though in a highly exaggerated degree, by the Talmud. After the destruction of Jerusalem, colleges inheriting and probably enlarging the traditions of their predecessors were maintained for a long time at Japhne in Galilee, at Lydda, at Tiberias, the most famous of all, and at Sepphoris. These schools in process of time were dispersed into other countries, and by degrees destroyed. According to the principles laid down in the Mishnah, boys at five years of age were to begin the Scriptures, at ten the Mishnah, at thirteen they became subject to the whole Law (see Luke ii. 46), at fifteen they entered the Gemara (Mishnah *Pirk. Ab.* iv. 20, v. 21, vol. iv. 460, 482, 486, ed. Surenh.). Teachers were treated with great respect, and both pupils and teachers were exhorted to respect each other. Physical science formed part of the course of instruction (*ib.* iii. 18). Unmarried men and women were not allowed to be teachers of boys (*Kiddush.* iv. 13, vol. iii. 383). In the schools the Rabbins sat on raised seats, and the scholars, according to their age, sat on benches below or on the ground (Lightfoot on Luke ii. 46; Philo, *ibid.* 12, ii. 458, Mangey). Teachers, however, at Antioch are called by Evagrius χαμαιδιδάσκαλοι (Evagr. *H. E.* iv. 29).

Of female education we have little account in Scripture, but it is clear that the prophetical schools included within their scope the instruction of females, who were occasionally invested with authority similar to that of the Prophets themselves (Judg. iv. 4; 2 K. xxii 14). Needle-

work formed a large but by no means the only subject of instruction imparted to females, whose position in society and in the household must by no means be considered as represented in modern Oriental, including Mohammedan, usage (see Prov. xxxi. 16, 26; Hist. of Sus. 3; Luke viii. 2, 3, x. 39; Acts xiii. 50; 2 Tim. i. 5).

Among modern Mohammedans, education, even of boys, is usually of a most elementary kind, and of females still more limited. In one respect it may be considered as the likeness or the caricature of the Jewish system, viz., that besides the most common rules of arithmetic, the Kurán is made the staple, if not the only, subject of instruction. In Oriental schools, both Jewish and Mohammedan, the lessons are written by each scholar with chalk on tablets which are cleaned for a fresh lesson. All recite their lessons together aloud; faults are usually punished by stripes on the feet. Female children are, among Mohammedans, seldom taught to read or write. A few chapters of the Kurán are learnt by heart, and in some schools they are taught embroidery and needlework. In Persia there are many public schools and colleges, but the children of the wealthier parents are mostly taught at home. The Kurán forms the staple of instruction, being regarded as the model not only of doctrine but of style, and the text-book of all science. In the colleges, however, mathematics are taught to some extent (Jahn, *Arch. Bibl.* §§ 106, 166, Engl. tr.; Fabri, *Evagatorium*, i. 322; Shaw, *Travels*, p. 194; Rauwolff, *Travels*, c. vii. p. 60; Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 326; *Travels in Arabia*, i. 275; Porter, *Damascus*, ii. 95; Lane, *Mod. Eg.*, i. 89, '93; *Englishw. in Eg.*, ii. 168–171; Wellsted, *Arabia*, ii. 6, 395; Chardin, *Voyages*, iv. 224 [Langlés]; Olearius, *Travels*, pp. 214, 215; Pietro della Valle, *Viaggi*, ii. 188). [SCHOOLS OF PROPHETS.]

EGGS. [FOWLS.]

EG'LAH (עֶגְלָה = *a heifer*; *Egla*), one of David's wives during his reign in Hebron, and the mother of his son Ithream (2 Sam. iii. 5 [B. Αἰγάλ, A. Αἰγάς]; 1 Ch. iii. 3 [B. Ἀλά, A. Ἀγλά]). In both lists the same order is preserved, Eglah being the sixth and last, and in both is she distinguished by the special title of David's "wife." According to the ancient Hebrew tradition (see Jerome, *Quaest. Heb.* on 2 Sam. iii. 5, vi. 23) she was Michal, the wife of his youth; and she died in giving birth to Ithream. A name of this signification is common amongst the Arabs at the present day. [G.] [F.]

EGLA'IM (אֶגְלַיִם = *two ponds*; Ἀγαλείμ; א. Ἀγαλλίμ; *Gallim*), a place named only in Is. xv. 8, and there apparently as a point on the northern boundary of Moab, BEER-ELIM being on the southern boundary. It is perhaps the same as EN-EGLAIM. A town of this name was known to Eusebius (*OS.*[2] p. 98, 10; p. 228, 61, Agallim), who places it 8 miles to the south of Areopolis, *i.e.* Ar-Moab (*Rabba*). Exactly in that position, however, stands *Kerek*, the ancient Kir Moab.

A town named Agalla is mentioned by Josephus as one of twelve cities—Medaba, Libyas, Zoar, and Marissa being amongst the number—which were taken from the Arabians by Alexander Jannaeus (*Ant.* xiv. 1, § 4).

With other places on the east of the Dead Sea, Eglaim yet awaits further research for its identification. [G.] [W.]

EG'LON (עֶגְלוֹן = *vitulinus*; Ἐγλών; *Eglon*), a king of the Moabites (Judg. iii. 12 sq.), who, aided by the Ammonites and the Amalekites, crossed the Jordan and took "the city of palm-trees," or Jericho (Joseph.). Here he built himself a palace (Joseph. *Ant.* v. 4, § 1 sq.), and continued for eighteen years (Judg. and Joseph.) to oppress the children of Israel, who paid him tribute (Joseph.). Whether he resided at Jericho permanently, or only during the summer months (Judg. iii. 20; Joseph.), he seems to have formed a familiar intimacy (*συνήθης*, Joseph. not Judg.) with Ehud, a young Israelite (*νεανίας*, Joseph.), who lived in Jericho (Joseph. not Judg.), and who, by means of repeated presents, became a favourite courtier of the monarch. Josephus represents this intimacy as having been of long continuance; but in Judges we find no mention of intimacy, and only one occasion of a present being made, viz. that which immediately preceded the death of Eglon. The circumstances attending this tragical event are somewhat differently given in Judges and in Josephus. That Ehud had the *entrée* of the palace is implied in Judges (iii. 19), but more distinctly stated in Josephus. In Judges the Israelites send a present by Ehud (iii. 15); in Josephus Ehud wins his favour by repeated presents of his own. In Judges we have two scenes, the offering of the present and the death scene, which are separated by the temporary withdrawal of Ehud (*vv.* 18, 19); in Josephus there is but one scene. The present is offered, the attendants are dismissed, and the king enters into friendly conversation (*ὁμιλίαν*) with Ehud. In Judges the place seems to change from the reception-room into the "summer-parlour," where Ehud found him upon his return (cp. *vv.* 18, 20). In Josephus the entire action takes place in the summer-parlour (*ὑπερῷον*). In Judges the king exposes himself to the dagger by rising apparently in respect for the Divine message which Ehud professed to communicate (Patrick, in loco): in Josephus it is a *dream* which Ehud pretends to reveal, and the king, in delighted anticipation, springs up from his throne. The obesity of Eglon, and the consequent impossibility of recovering the dagger, are not mentioned by Josephus (*vid.* Judg. iii. 17, *fat*, *ἀστεῖος*, LXX.; but "crassus," Vulg., and so Gesen. *Lex.*).

After this desperate achievement Ehud repaired to Seirah (R. V.; not Seirath, as in A. V.), in the mountains of Ephraim (iii. 26, 27), or Mount Ephraim (Josh. xix. 50). To this wild central region, commanding, as it did, the plains E. and W., he summoned the Israelites by sound of horn (a national custom, according to Joseph.; A. V. and R. V. "a trumpet"). Descending from the hills, they fell upon the Moabites, dismayed and demoralised by the death of their king (Joseph., not Judg.). The greater number were killed at once, but 10,000 men made for the Jordan with the view of crossing over into their own country. The Israelites, however,

had already seized the *fords*, and not one of the unhappy fugitives escaped. As a reward for his conduct Ehud was appointed Judge (Joseph., not Judg.).

Note.—The sentence "the quarries that were by Gilgal" (iii. 19) is better rendered in the margin, as in Deut. vii. 25, "graven images" (cp. Gesen. s. v. פְּסִילִים). [T. E. B.] [F.]

EG'LON (עֶגְלוֹן: in Josh. x. BA. Ὀδολλάμ; in Josh. xii. 12, B. Αἰλάμ, A. Ἐγλάμ, F. Ἐγλών; in Josh. xv. 39, B. omits, A. Ἐγλώμ: *Eglon, Aglon*), a town of Judah in the *Shefelah* or low country (Josh. xv. 39). During the struggles of the conquest, Eglon was one of a confederacy of five towns, which under Jerusalem attempted resistance, by attacking Gibeon after the treaty of the latter with Israel. Eglon was then Amorite, and the name of its king Debir (Josh. x. 3–5). The story of the overthrow of this combination is too well known to need notice here (x. 23–25, &c.). Eglon was soon after visited by Joshua and destroyed (x. 34, 35; xii. 12). The name survives in the modern *'Ajlân*, a low mound covered with scattered heaps of stones, about 10 miles W.S.W. of *Beit Jibrîn* (Eleutheropolis), and 15 from Gaza, on the south of the great maritime plain (Porter, *Handb.*; Van de Velde, ii. 188; Rob. ii. 49; *PEF. Mem.* iii. 261, 278; Guérin, *Judée*, ii. 297, 298). Eusebius mentions (*OS.*[2] p. 103, 21; p. 234, 91) a village called Bethagla on this site, but does not identify it with Eglon. Mr. Petrie (*PEFQy. Stat.* 1890, pp. 161–3) identifies Eglon with *Tell Nejileh*, which, from the character of the remains, must have been an older site than *'Ajlân*. He supposes that the Jews who returned after the Captivity, not being strong enough to dispossess the occupiers, built a new Eglon, at *'Ajlân*, within sight of the old one.

In the *Onomasticon* (*OS.*[2] p. 118, 21) it is given as *Eglon quae et Odollam;* and its situation is stated as 10 miles east of Eleutheropolis. The identification with Adullam arose no doubt from the reading of the LXX. in Josh. x. given above; and it is to the site of that place, and not of Eglon, that the remarks of Eusebius and Jerome refer (cp. ADOLLAM). [G.] [W.]

EGYPT (מִצְרַיִם, אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם, מִצְרָיִם, gent. n. מִצְרִי; Αἴγυπτος; *Aegyptus*), a country occupying the north-eastern angle of Africa, and lying between N. lat. 31° 37′ and 24° 1′, and E. long. 27° 13′ and 34° 12′.

1. *Boundaries.*—Its limits appear to have been always very nearly the same. Under the Pharaohs, the most southern province was the district of Elephantine, called the "beginning of the southern country," which means Upper Egypt. Ezekiel, speaking of the country in all its extent (xxix. 10, xxx. 6), gives as its limits, according to the obviously correct translation, Migdol and Syene. Migdol (Magdolon) is mentioned by the Itinerary of Antoninus; it was situate at 12 miles' distance from Pelusium, and being on the road to the land of the Philistines, was one of the first places reached by travellers coming from Syria or Palestine. At the other end, Syene or Elephantine corresponds nearly with the tropic of Cancer, and Strabo says that going southwards it is the first place where the sun may be seen shining at the bottom of wells.

The ancients have attributed Egypt sometimes to Asia, sometimes to Africa. Several authors considered the Nile as dividing what we should call the two continents. Strabo observes that the most sensible opinion is that which considers the Arabian Gulf as separating Asia from Africa. With the ancient geographers, Egypt included no more than the tract irrigated by the Nile, within the limits we have specified. The deserts on each side were not considered as being part of it. It was Libya on one side, and Arabia on the other, both of which have been at times subject to Egypt, but only exceptionally; they generally were independent.

2. *Names and Divisions.*—The common name of Egypt in the Bible is "Mizraim," or more fully the "land of Mizraim." This word is a dual of which the singular appears to be "Mazor" (מָצוֹר). There has been much discussion about the sense and the origin of the name Mizraim, which Prof. Ebers considers as signifying the "double fortified enclosure," because the Shemites coming from Asia found on the border the walls constructed by the Pharaohs in order to defend themselves against the invasions of Asiatic nomads. Gesenius translates by "limit;" Dillmann, by "district" (*Gebiet*). No satisfactory explanation has yet been given of this name. Undoubtedly it is a Semitic word, the meaning of which is not to be looked for in Egyptian, and which must have been the translation of one of the usual names of Egypt, perhaps of one of the ideographic groups by which Egypt was designated. As long as the true sense of the Semitic word has not been established, it is difficult to find the hieroglyphic group to which it corresponds. It is important to observe that while the sense of the dual "Mizraim" is absolutely certain, it is not the case with the singular "Mazor," which can hardly be considered as meaning Egypt.[a] What has led to this interpretation is the fact that in three cases (Is. xix. 6, xxxvii. 25; 2 K. xix. 24) it is connected with יְאוֹר, which commonly means rivers of Egypt, the Nile, or its canals. In none of those passages have the LXX., followed by the Coptic Version, translated מָצוֹר by Egypt; but we find these expressions: יְאוֹרֵי מָצוֹר, 2 K. xix. 24; ποταμοὶ συνοχῆς, *aquae clausae* (Vulg.); Is. xix. 6, xxxvii. 25, συναγωγὴ ὕδατος, *rivi aggerum;* just as Mic. vii. 11, עָרֵי מָצוֹר, πόλεις ὀχυραί, *civitates munitae*, i.e. surrounded by walls: and this leads us to consider the dual Mizraim as meaning neither a district or limited space, nor a fortified enclosure, but as the Vulgate translates in the passage above quoted, *aquae clausae*, water enclosed in dykes or walls, basins or canals. Thus Mizraim would be quite analogous to the name of *Kebui* or *Kebhui*, which means the two basins, and which is common in Ptolemaic times. Besides, in the hieroglyphical inscriptions the Nile has often a dual form; we hear of a Nile of Upper Egypt and a Nile of Lower Egypt, as if

[a] Gesenius, *Lex.*; Bochart, *Geogr.* c. 258; A. V., MV.[11], and R. V. adopt "Egypt."

they were two separate rivers. The dual Mizraim might refer either to the two Niles, or to the two chief branches of the Delta, which were best known to the Israelites. It seems natural that the Shemites should have given to Egypt a name derived from her hydrographic description, which must have struck them at first sight, and which gave to the country its peculiar character.

Another name which is often met with in Scripture is that of "land of Ham," אֶרֶץ חָם, which refers to Ham, the son of Noah. It is generally considered that the word רַהַב, "the proud," "the insolent," is a poetical appellation of Egypt. It is to be remarked, however, that in all the passages where this sense has been attributed to the word Rahab, the LXX. and the Coptic Version invariably take it as a common name, except in Ps. lxxxvii. 4, where both versions read Ῥαάβ, ⲢⲀⲀⲂ, which does not necessarily apply to Egypt.

The usual name of Egypt in the hieroglyphic texts is *Kem*, demotic *Kemi*; it is written by a sign which represents the tail of a crocodile. As a common name, *Kem* means "black," and the name of the land is derived from the colour of the arable soil (cp. Plut. *de Is. et Osir.* c. 33: ἔτι τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα μελάγγειον οὖσαν, ὥσπερ τὸ μέλαν τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ, Χημίαν καλοῦσι); while the surrounding deserts, the pink and yellow colour of which makes such a strong contrast with the valley of the Nile, are called *Tesher*, "the red," just as the ideographic sign representing an undulated country is painted red. The Coptic forms of this name are ⲔⲎⲘⲈ (T.), ⲔⲎⲘⲒ (B.), ⲬⲀⲘⲈ, ⲬⲀⲘⲒ (M.), which signify as well the black colour as the land of Egypt; and it is impossible not to notice the likeness which exists between this word and the name of Ham, ⲬⲀⲘ, who is the ancestor of the Egyptians and of the neighbouring nations.

As for the name of Αἴγυπτος, which has been adopted by the Greeks, and which originally in Homer means "the river," it seems to be the transcription of the word *Ageb* or *Akeb*, which is a common name of the Nile.

As high as we may go up in the Egyptian documents, we find the land divided into two portions, or two regions; the south, which is always named first, and the north. A great number of ideographic groups indicate this division. Egypt is called *to ui*, "the two lands," the "land of the two crowns," the white one being the emblem of the South, and the red of the North: both combined form the *pschent* or the *schent*, which is the head-dress of the king reigning over the whole land. Other names signify "the land of the lotus and of the papyrus," "the land of the asp and of the vulture," "the portion of Horus and that of Set," "the two stalks," "the two basins," &c. The usual emblems of royalty are the reed for the South, and the wasp for the North; both together read *suten nit*, and indicate that the king ruled over the country in all its extent. This is what Josephus and the bilingual stone of Rosetta translate by βασιλεὺς τῶν τε ἄνω καὶ τῶν κάτω χωρῶν.

The Romans divided Upper Egypt into two, the Heptanomis and the Thebaïs; however, the old division survived. There are no traces of the change in the hieroglyphical inscriptions dating from the time of the emperors, who, like the Pharaohs, were called lords of the two lands, or of the two regions.

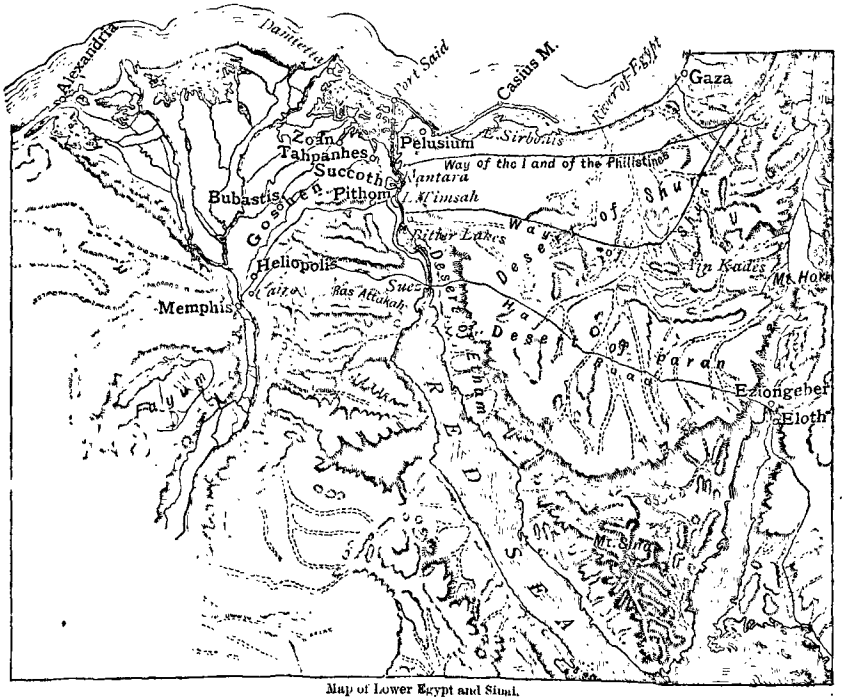
3. *Superficies.* — The superficies of the land watered by the Nile was, in the year 1798, 9,582 square miles (including the bed of the Nile and the islands within it, together representing 294,217 acres). Since, the irrigated area has increased, and the superficies of the land below Assouan may be reckoned as 11,351 square miles, equal to 7,264,640 acres, of which 4,625,000 are cultivated (McCoan, *Egypt as it is*, p. 19). Mr. Lane calculated from Abdallatif that the extent of the cultivated land in the year 1375 A.D. was 5,500 square geographical miles. If we compare the present extent of arable soil with what it was in ancient times, it is evident that it has greatly diminished. On the western side the artificial Lake Moeris caused a considerable area to be watered between the Fayoom and Mariout. Linant Bey has calculated that if it were restored to its original size, it would recover to agriculture about 800,000 acres, a great part of which was cultivated under the Pharaohs. In the north, all the space which is now covered by Lake Menzaleh (40 miles long and 18 miles wide), and by salt marshes around it, not only was not under water, as we find there ruins of large cities, but constituted what Scripture compares to the garden of the Lord (Gen. xiii. 10). In the east, the Wâdy Tumilât was the land of Goshen, renowned for its good pastures, one of the most productive parts of the country, which is now a barren desert.

4. *Nomes.* — From a very remote period we find Egypt divided into administrative districts, which the Greeks called νόμοι, nomes, and which lasted even under the Romans. We have several lists of these provinces in the temples of Egypt; some of them are of the 18th and 19th dynasties, but most of them belong to the Ptolemaic period. The number of the nomes has varied. Under Seti I. it was 37. In later times, under the Ptolemies, some of them were divided, and thus the number was increased. Strabo mentions 36, Pliny 43, Ptolemy 47. The hieroglyphical lists vary between 42 and 44, while there are coins of 46.

A nome was called in Egyptian *hesep* or *tesch*. It had four particular elements: (1) the capital, which was the residence of the governor, but which was chiefly the abode of the divinity special to the province; (2) a cultivated territory; (3) a certain amount of marshes which were very likely pasture-land; (4) a canal or canals, the care of which was very important for the prosperity of the land. As in Egypt everything was based on religion, we find that each nome had a god or several gods, under whose protection it was specially placed, a college of priests and priestesses, a high priest and a high priestess who had both a particular name, sacred boats, sacred trees, and special festivals. Besides, each nome was considered as having as a relic a part of the body of Osiris. The lists of nomes which are engraved on the walls of the temples give us all these details at great length, while they are silent as to the political administration of the nome.

The division seems to have originated from religion, and from local worships, to which the inhabitants remained very much attached, even in the time of the decline of Egypt. The same animal was sacred in one nome, and profane in the next; and we hear under the Romans of a war between the Tentyrites and the Ombites on account of the crocodile. Under the emperors Domitian, Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius, each nome had an intermittent coinage of its own.

5. *General Appearance, Climate, &c.* — The general appearance of the country cannot have greatly changed since the days of Moses. The Delta was always a vast level plain, although of old more perfectly watered than now by the branches of the Nile and numerous canals, while the narrow valley of Upper Egypt must have suffered still less alterations. Anciently, however, the rushes must have been abundant, whereas now they have almost disappeared, except in the lakes. The whole country is remarkable for its extreme fertility, which especially strikes the beholder when the rich green of the fields is contrasted with the utterly bare yellow mountains, or the sand-strewn rocky desert on either side. Thus the plain of Jordan, before the cities were destroyed, was, we read in the passage already referred to, "well watered everywhere," ... "like the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt as thou goest unto Zoar"[b] (Gen. xiii. 10). This passage refers to the part of Egypt which was watered by the Pelusiac branch, and which was first reached coming through "the way of the land of the Philistines." In Deuteronomy also



Map of Lower Egypt and Sinai.

(xi. 10, 11), contrasting the land of Canaan with Egypt, Egypt is described as a country where artificial irrigation is necessary, and which does not depend on rain for cultivation. The climate is equable and healthy. Rain is not unfrequent on the northern coast; in Upper Egypt it is very rare; it has occurred more frequently in later years. There is hardly a traveller who has not seen one or two showers in Upper Egypt, though Herodotus describes (iii. 10) a shower, which took place under the reign of Psammenitus, as an event worth mentioning. The Egyptians considered it as a great advantage for their country not to have to rely on rain, as was the case with the Greeks (Herod. ii. 14). "Some day," they said, "the Greeks will be disappointed of their grand hope, and they will be wretchedly hungry." This remark is still often made by the lower classes of Egypt.

However, whenever the Nile did not rise sufficiently high, famine ensued, and it was one of the common calamities of the country. Dr. Brugsch quotes an inscription which may be contemporary with the end of the Hyksos dynasty, in which an officer called Baba says that "when there was a famine which lasted several years, he delivered corn to his city." Another instance is found in the inscription of Canopus. It is said that, when it happened, in the reign of king Ptolemy Euergetes, that a low Nile brought great misery on the land, the king took care that corn should be brought from Syria, Phoenicia, and Cyprus. It was therefore just the converse of what happened in Jacob's time.

Egypt has been visited in all ages by severe pestilences, but it cannot be determined that

[b] Or Zoan, according to the Syrian Version.

any of those of ancient times were of the character of the modern plague. The medical papyri, and chiefly the so-called Papyrus Ebers, mention a great number of diseases which have not yet been all identified. Several of those maladies were no doubt peculiar to Egypt, and are still prevalent in the country, such as ophthalmia, dysentery, and diseases of the skin. It is in these medical texts of the old Egyptians that we shall very likely find the explanation of the "evil diseases of Egypt," with which the Israelites are threatened several times (Deut. vii. 15; xxviii. 27, 35, 60).

6. *Geology.*—The fertile plain of the Delta and the valley of Upper Egypt are bounded by rocky deserts, covered or strewn with sand. On either side of the plain they are low, but they overlook the valley, above which they rise so steeply as from the river to present the aspect of cliffs. The formation is limestone, as far as a little above Thebes, where sandstone begins. The First Cataract, the southern limit of Egypt, is caused by granite and other primitive rocks, which rise through the sandstone and obstruct the river's bed. In Upper Egypt, the mountains near the Nile rarely exceed 300 feet in height, but far in the Eastern desert they often attain a much greater elevation. The highest is Gebel Ghárib, which rises about 6,000 feet above the sea. The highest summit of the mountains of Thebes on the western side of the Nile is about 1,000 feet high.

The geological formation of the country has certainly had a great influence on its civilisation, and particularly on the development of art. Unlike the Chaldean, who, in the vast plains of Lower Mesopotamia, had nothing but bricks to build with, the Egyptian found in his own country the very best materials for construction and for sculpture; besides, the difficulties of transport were minimised by the fact of his being able to reach every important city of the country by water. These very favourable circumstances explain how, already at a very remote epoch, stone architecture had been carried so far. For the bulk of the constructions nothing could be better than the limestone of Toura, which may be polished like marble, and which was used for the coating of the Pyramids. At Thebes, the most delicate hieroglyphics could be carved in the walls of the galleries which were cut in the mountain. The sandstone of Gebel Silsileh, where the immense quarries are still to be seen, belongs to the most durable of the kind. Besides, there were all the more valuable stones, like the syenite of which the obelisks were made, diorite, breccia, serpentine, and alabaster, which were chiefly used for statues, and the porphyry of Gebel Dukhán, near the Red Sea.

Great geological changes have taken place at different epochs. The most important must have been the change in the bed of the river, which took place between the 13th and the 18th dynasty. There was a barrier at Gebel Silsileh which formerly was the entrance of the Nile into Egypt, and through which the Nile broke, —we do not know exactly when. The proof of this important fact consists in the discovery which Lepsius made at Semneh of a series of inscriptions of the 12th and 13th dynasties, recording the height of the rising of the Nile, and which show that at that time the Nile rose on the average 24 feet higher than it did at the time of the 19th dynasty. Whether the change was sudden or not, we cannot say; but the result was, that while it deprived Lower Nubia of the benefit of the inundation, it must have increased considerably the surface of irrigated soil in Egypt proper.

Another change, which must have been very slow, is the retreat of the Red Sea or Arabian Gulf, which even in Roman times extended a great deal more north than it does now, and which by degrees reached its present boundaries, as we may see described in Isaiah: "The Lord shall utterly destroy the tongue of the Egyptian sea" (xi. 15); "the waters shall fail from the sea" (xix. 5). There has been a raising of the soil which caused the old canal of the Pharaohs to be dried up, so that the Wâdy Tumilât, which used to be the land of Goshen covered with pastures, became a barren desert until the present canal was dug. In this region there are constant changes in the appearance of the surface because of the great facilities with which mounds and banks are formed through obstacles which stop the sand blown by the wind (Linant, *Mém. sur les princip. travaux d'utilité publ.* pp. 104, 105). Farther north, on the contrary, the soil has sunk considerably: several of the north-eastern nomes are now either under water or covered with salt marshes, difficult to cross, and amidst which are the cities which were on the military road going from Egypt to Syria.

Outside of the narrow winding valley of Upper Egypt was the oasis of the Fayoom, the two Arsinoite nomes. This very fertile land was already in the Libyan desert, and connected with the valley of the Nile through a breach in the mountains. It was watered chiefly by Lake Moeris, a work of the 12th dynasty.

7. *The Nile.*—The Nile has several names in Scripture. [NILE.] It is usually called יְאוֹר, יְאֹר, and besides נַחַל מִצְרַיִם, נְהַר מִצְרַיִם, שִׁיחוֹר. In Egyptian there are a great number of names for the river. The most usual is *Hāpi*, the same word as the name of the bull Apis, a coincidence which is not at all surprising, as even in Greek mythology the fertilising power of water is represented by a bull, and several rivers—such as the Achelous, the Eurotas, and the Asopus—were considered as having this form. As Egypt was divided into two regions, we have also two Niles: *Hāpi res* or *Hāpi kema*, the Southern Nile, which was considered as issuing from two caves (*Kerti*) near Elephantine, and *Hāpi mehit*, which was thought to originate at Babylon, near Heliopolis, and from thence to form the Delta.

The river, the watering element, the canals which are derived from it, are generally named *atur, aur;* dem. *ial, iar;* Copt. ⲓⲟⲣ, ⲓⲁⲣⲱ, ⲓⲉⲣⲟ, ⲉⲓⲟⲟⲣ, ⲉⲓⲉⲣⲟ, which is evidently the origin of the Hebrew יְאֹר. It must not be taken as being a proper name; it must be considered as meaning the *river*, the *canal*, the *water*, very much like the نهر of the Arabs.

Though we do not admit the theory of Herodotus (ii. 5, 10) as to the origin of Egypt, we agree with him as to the land being a gift of the river; for Egypt depends entirely on the

inundation, which begins about the summer solstice. The water rises generally during one hundred days, the greatest height being attained somewhat after the autumnal equinox. The inundation lasts about three months, but in fact the level of the Nile is always changing. The water falls during the winter and the spring months until it begins again to rise. It is constantly going up and down. An allusion is made to the inundation in the Prophet Amos, who, speaking of the ruin of Israel, says that the land shall be "drowned as by the flood of Egypt" (viii. 8, ix. 5).

In former times the Nile divided itself into seven branches, the most important of which were the outer ones,—the Canopic on the west, and the Pelusiac on the east. At present, there are only two: the Rosetta and the Damietta branches. The Suez Canal has dried up the eastern part of Lake Menzaleh and the end of the Pelusiac branch. The Tanitic branch may still be recognised in the canal called Muezz.

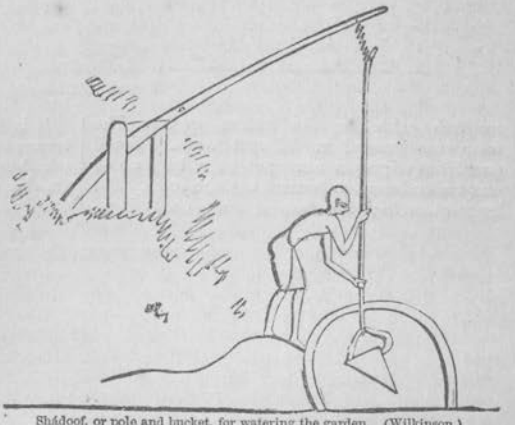
The Nile was of course considered as a god and an object of worship. Several hymns are addressed to him, in which he is generally called the father of the gods. One of his sacred names is *Nun*, the celestial water or the celestial ocean. He is praised for all the benefits which he confers on the country, especially through the inundation.

Researches disagree as to the rate at which the Nile deposits the alluvial soil of Egypt. The opinion which seems to prevail is that it amounts at most to five inches in a century.

8. *Cultivation, Agriculture, &c.*—The richness of Egypt has always been in agriculture. The most ancient monuments indicate that it was on the produce of the soil much more than on trade that a population lived which certainly was more numerous than now, judging from the number of ruined cities and the extent of several of them. We have still very interesting representations of Egyptian agriculture at the most remote epochs; they may be seen in the sculptures of the tombs of the Old Empire, contemporaneous with the builders of the Pyramids. In those pictures we find the image of what the deceased considered as a life endowed with all the enjoyments of riches and prosperity. In this respect it makes no difference whether those pictures relate what his past life has been, or whether according to Mariette's opinion it is the ideal existence which he is supposed to lead in the other world; in any case, we have there a description of the customs and civilisation of the land.

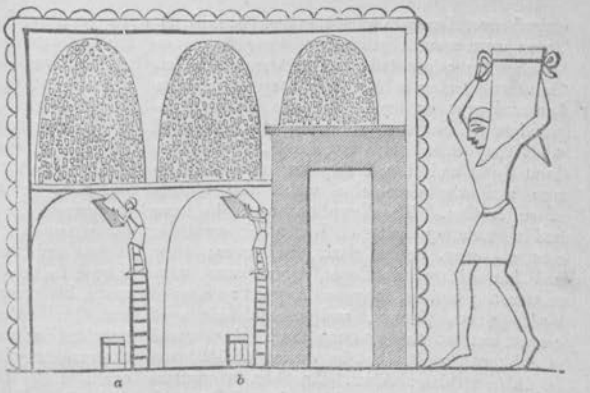
Wealth was derived chiefly from agriculture; gold, silver, precious stones are rather foreign imports: in later times they constitute the tributes which are paid by conquered nations. A rich man owns a great number of estates, each of which has its particular name; they are generally due to the generosity of the king, they are rewards for long and faithful service, or some deed of valour.

Husbandry was very nearly the same as it is now; it was regulated by the inundation of the Nile. As soon as the river began to fall the grain was sown on the moist fields, on which sheep and oxen were driven instead of harrowing it. When the soil was getting drier, a hoe or a plough with a wooden share was sufficient in order to break up the alluvial deposit in which there is no stone. Artificial irrigation completed the effect of the inundation. The canals were numerous and better taken care of than now. In order to fill them, the cultivators used an elementary means, still seen all along the Nile—the shádoof, which is a pole having a weight at one end and a bucket at the other,



Shádoof, or pole and bucket, for watering the garden. (Wilkinson.)

so hung that the labourer is aided by the weight in raising the full bucket. There are detailed

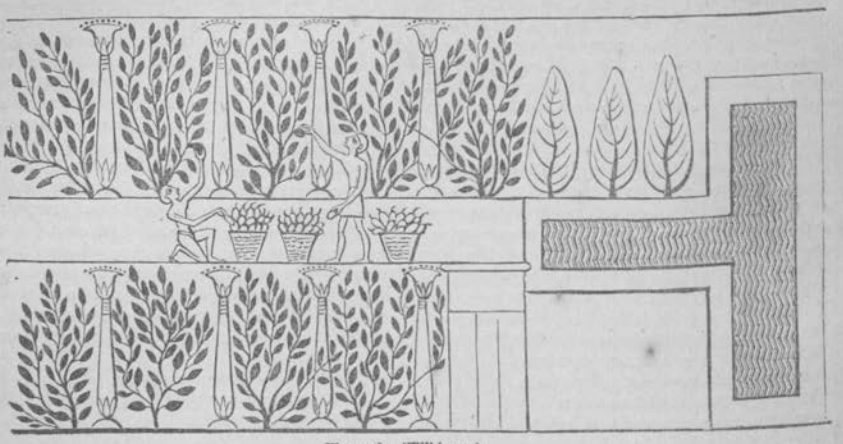


Granary, showing how the grain was put in, and that the doors *a b* were intended for taking it out. (Wilkinson.)

pictures in the tombs of breaking up the earth, of ploughing, sowing, harvest, threshing, and storing the wheat in granaries. [See cuts under AGRICULTURE, pp. 63, 64, 65.] The threshing

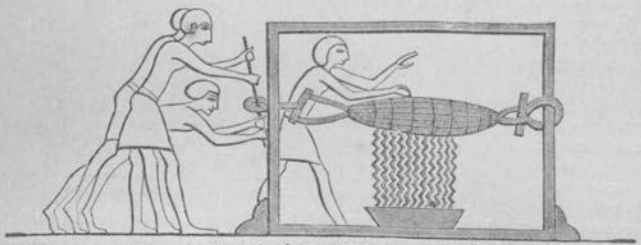
was simply treading out by oxen or cows unmuzzled (cp. Deut. xxv. 4). The granaries were often vaulted, and the corn thrown in through an opening at the top; scribes are seen keeping accounts of the corn which has been gathered. The corn is generally common wheat, or the doorah which is still cultivated.

The Egyptians seem to have cultivated the vine much more than at present. The vines are of a picturesque appearance; they are raised



Vineyard. (Wilkinson.)

on high poles like the Italian *pergole*. The wine was pressed in different ways. Small quantities of grapes were put in a bag, which was twisted so as to squeeze out the juice. For large quantities the foot-press was used; it required several men to work together (Is. lxiii. 2). There were several qualities of Egyptian wines which were celebrated; one of them is called *the morning star in the sky*: they came from Lower Egypt or from the oasis in the Libyan desert. For the sacred offerings they used what they called wine from Asia, which came from Syria and from Mesopotamia. The olive-tree and the date-palm were also objects of cultivation. The Egyptians seem to have had a great quantity of live stock on their estates,—oxen, sheep, goats, and asses; they had domesticated antelopes, which were very numerous; besides, they had a great number of birds, geese, pigeons, and several kinds of cranes, but not the common fowl. A deceased at Sakkarah boasts that he owned 15,360 oxen of different descriptions. Another, a contemporary of the building of the Second Pyramid, says he had 974 sheep, 2,235 goats, 838 oxen, and 760 asses. Another says he had more than a hundred thousand ducks. We cannot believe that all these numbers are real; yet they give us an idea of what the riches of the land may have been.



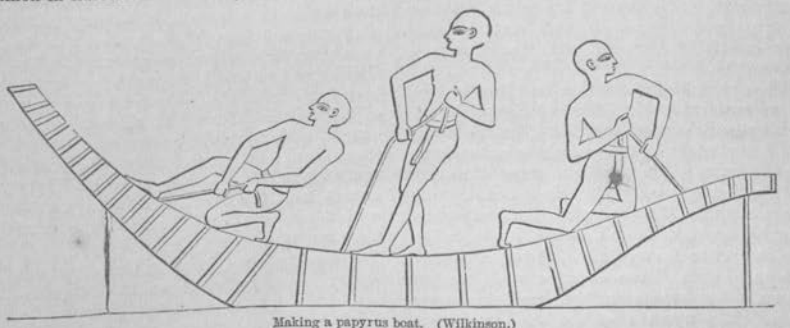
Winepress. (Wilkinson.) [For another large Winepress, see *Dict. of the Bible*,[1] iii., p. 1774.]

It is difficult to know what the laws of the tenure of land were under the old Pharaohs, and whether there was a private property in land. On this point we have to resort for information chiefly to the documents of the Ptolemaic epoch and to the numerous deeds of various kinds which have been preserved. If we consider the style of most of those deeds, some of which are written in demotic and others in Greek, we see that the Ptolemies had innovated very little, and that, as regards civil laws as well as in relation to the worship of the country, they had adhered in most cases to the old tradition. Under the Ptolemies, land could be sold freely, under certain regulations and subject to the tax of excise; it could be inherited and divided between the members of the family. The Greek authors, Diodorus and Strabo, speak of the land of Egypt being divided into three parts, of which one-third belonged to the priests, or rather to the caste of the priests, the income of which was devoted to the expenses of the temples and to keep up the priests and their servants. Another third belonged to the king, who out of it kept up his court, his army, and rewarded his officers. The last third belonged to the soldiers, who being provided for could devote themselves entirely to their military life. This description of the Greeks excludes the idea of private property in land, and of small landowners; but it agrees only partially with the documents. It is likely that the greatest part of the land was possessed by the king, who made grants to the temples and to some of his officers. Probably the small landowners must have been few, and the great bulk of the agricultural population were tenants,

who hired for a small rent the land of the king, of the priests, and of the soldiers. One circumstance seems to indicate that individual property existed to a greater extent at the time of the Pharaohs than under the Greek kings. This is what is related of Joseph (Gen. xlvii. 20–26). It is said that he gained for Pharaoh all the land except that of the priests in exchange for food, and required for the right thus obtained a fifth of the produce, which became a law. This act seems to be in accordance with the policy of the king under whose rule Joseph was raised to his high position. In suppressing thus all landed property except that of the priests, he had the whole people in his power; while being a stranger, of a different race than the Egyptians, he would not alienate the priests, a class which in many cases proved more powerful than the king. Whether the state of things which prevailed under the Ptolemies is a consequence of what Joseph did, we cannot say. It is not likely that what he did outlived the war which caused the Hyksos to be expelled and the reaction which ensued. But the idea of the absolute right of the king over the land is so common in Eastern monarchies, even at present, that it is quite natural that we should find something of the kind in Egypt.

Besides agriculture, one of the important incomes of Egypt was derived from the fisheries. The Greek authors speak of the great amount of salt fish which was eaten in Egypt. Lake Moeris was one of the places which was most productive, as well as the northern part of the Delta. Fishing, like hunting, was one of the sports of the upper classes, and there were officers specially entrusted with the supervision of the lakes preserved for the kings. There were evidently many more canals and lakes than at present, and great care was taken of them as well as of the dykes. The rising of the Nile was registered in the nilometers, and great festivals took place at the beginning of the inundation.

An art which is intimately connected with agriculture, and which the Egyptians carried very far, is land surveying. The invention of it was attributed to the god Thoth; it was more necessary in Egypt than anywhere else, as constantly the Nile carries away the landmarks, and there is great difficulty in recognising the limits of different properties.



Making a papyrus boat. (Wilkinson.)

9. *Botany.*—The cultivable land of Egypt consists almost wholly of fields, in which are few trees. There are no forests and few groves, except of date-palms, and in some parts of Lower Egypt a few of orange and lemon trees. The two kinds of palms are represented on the monuments; they seem to have been as common as they are now. The date-palm was cultivated not only for its fruit, but also as an ornament in the gardens; its fibres were used as thread. The dóm-palm—which, according to an inscription, sometimes reached the height of sixty cubits—was employed for the masts which adorned the pylons of the temples. The sycamores and several kinds of acacia were also very much grown. One of them, the *Acacia nilotica*, was a most useful tree. With its wood were made doors, boxes, coffins, boats, and statues; it gave also a kind of oil, which was one of the sacred offerings, and from which some medicine was also prepared. We find in the inscriptions a great number of names of trees which have not been identified.

The fruits of Egypt were considered as very good, as well as the vegetables; and the Israelites in the desert looked back to the time when they enjoyed the luxuries of the Egyptian soil: "We remember the fish, which we did eat in Egypt freely; the cucumbers, and the melons, and the leeks and the onions, and the garlick" (Num. xi. 5). The numerous pictures in the tombs give us an idea of the variety of fruits and vegetables: grapes, figs, dates, pomegranates, water-melons, onions, cucumbers, lentils, all those things are found in abundance, as well as different kinds of corn—wheat, which was the most common, and also oats, barley, millet, and doorah. In the account of the plague of hail (Ex. ix. 32), mention is made of a field product called כֻּסֶּמֶת, "spelt," which is rendered there ὄλυρα (*far*, Vulg.); Ezek. iv. 9, *milium*, Vulg.; in Is. xxviii. 25, ζέα, *milium*. It is doubtful whether it is a cereal or a leguminous product; but if it is a cereal, it is likely that it must be millet or even doorah, as spelt is not cultivated in such a hot climate as Egypt.

The reeds were very common along the canals and the river, and the most famous of them was the papyrus (*Cyperus papyrus*). There were several kinds of reeds which have different names in Egyptian. One of them is called *kem*, *keman*, KO𓇋𓇋I; in Heb. גֹּמֶא. Reeds, and among them the papyrus, were employed for making boxes, baskets, and also very light boats, which were used for hunting the hippopotamus in the marshes. Baskets of reeds are still made

in Nubia and on the Upper Nile, and sold in great quantities in Egypt. The תֵּבַת גֹּמֶא, the ark or skiff of reeds, in which the mother of Moses put her child (Ex. ii. 3), must have been something of the kind. Isaiah (xviii. 2) also tells us of כְּלֵי־גֹמֶא, vessels of reeds, which were sent to Ethiopia. The papyrus or byblos was particularly cultivated in Lower Egypt; the paper was made with the inner part of the stalk, which was cut in thin slices after the rind had been removed. The use of the papyrus seems to have been contemporary with the origin of the civilisation; the papyrus roll is a common sign in all the inscriptions. The plant which was the object of such a flourishing industry has now entirely disappeared from the soil of Egypt, and is found only on the Upper Nile.

The Egyptians bestowed great care on their gardens, in which we see trees, vegetables, and a great many plants which were purely ornamental; some of them came from abroad. There are always ponds in the gardens, and they were favourite places of resort during the heat. [For a drawing of an Egyptian garden, see GARDEN.] Both sexes seem to have had a particular taste for flowers; they made great use of wreaths and garlands, and certain priests were especially entrusted with the flowers of the temples.

Much valuable information has been brought to us concerning the flora of Egypt, by the offerings which have been found in the tombs, and quite lately by the wreaths which adorned the mummies of kings and princesses discovered in the hiding-place of Deir-el-Bahri. The tombs of the 11th dynasty contained wheat, oats, barley, flax, doorah, olives, beans, millet. The flax is the *Linum humile*, the same which is now cultivated. None of those seeds has ever grown, whatever care has been applied in sowing them. The wreaths of the kings who reach from the 18th to the 21st dynasty are made in the most artistic way; they are chaplets, made of several kinds of flowers sewn in folded leaves. The outward cover is generally made with the leaves of a tree now common in Abyssinia, but which is not found in Egypt, the *Mimusops Schimpéri*, the so-called *persea;* it must have been cultivated for its red berries, which are now the food of the inhabitants of the land of Bongo. Among the flowers some of the most handsome are the *Centaurea depressa* and the *Delphinium orientale*, which do not belong to the flora of Egypt at present. Before the time of the Ptolemies, the Egyptians had only two lotus flowers, the white and the blue lotus; the pink one, *Nelumbium spinosum*, is not found with the royal mummies. The blue was a favourite flower in festivals, for its fine hue and its good smell. One of the most curious results of the discovery of Deir-el-Bahri is to show that at that early time there was already a trade in plants with the Greek islands. There was a basket full of a kind of lichen, *Parnelia furfuracea*, which does not grow in Egypt, and which is common in all the bazaars, where it comes from Greece. This lichen is called *cheba*, and is used as leaven for making Arab bread. It is also very much employed as medicine in diseases of the chest. Another product which has very likely the same origin, and came either from Syria or from Greece, are the berries of the juniper. In the garlands of Amenophis I., the flowers of the *carthamus* had preserved their beautiful red colour.

10. *Zoology.*—Of old, Egypt was a far more pastoral country than at present. Cattle were very abundant, and the Egyptians seem even to have succeeded in domesticating animals which are no longer such. They had several kinds of oxen—we see even in one instance the zebu, which very likely must have been imported; goats and sheep were numerous, and chiefly antelopes of various descriptions, of which they had large herds, like the leucoryx, of which they ate the flesh, and which were sacrificed with the oxen. As early as the 4th dynasty we find the swine, but it is rarely represented in the tombs, very likely on account of its being a Typhonic animal. In general we cannot argue, because an animal has not been found represented in the tombs, that it did not exist in the country. There may have been some religious idea which prevented its being sculptured or painted in a funeral picture. For instance, we never find the camel, although it is several times mentioned in the papyri of the 19th dynasty. It is spoken of as an animal that came from Ethiopia, that was of a very submissive character and easy to be trained; a teacher even gives this animal as an example to a lazy disciple, a fact which shows that it must have been familiar to him. The neighbouring nations of Arabia and Syria had a great number of camels, and it would be strange if the Egyptians should not have known this animal and made use of it. Abraham coming to Egypt had camels, and the Ishmaelites who took Joseph with them had their merchandise carried on these animals.

The horse is not found in the pictures of the earlier dynasties, while we find large flocks of asses. It is likely that the horse was brought to Egypt by Syrian or Mesopotamian invaders, such as the Hyksos. The horse seems to have particularly thrived in Egypt: the Pharaohs had a great number of them, and the best part of their army was formed of chariots. They had studs which were under the supervision of high officers, and which they seem to have valued very much, as we see in the inscription of Piankhi that it is one of the first things the conqueror looks after. The result was that Egypt, which at the beginning was dependent on Syria for her horses, became on the contrary the market-place of her eastern neighbours. Thus it is commanded respecting a king of Israel: "He shall not multiply horses to himself, nor cause the people to return to Egypt, to the end that he should multiply horses" (Deut. xvii. 16), which shows that the breed of the royal studs was in high repute. "Solomon had horses brought out of Egypt, and linen yarn: the king's merchants received the linen yarn at a price. And a chariot came up and went out of Egypt for six hundred shekels of silver, and a horse for a hundred and fifty: and so for all the kings of the Hittites, and for the kings of Syria, did they bring them out by their means" (1 K. x. 28, 29). The number of horses kept by Solomon for chariots and cavalry was large (1 K. iv. 26, x. 26; 2 Ch. i. 14, ix. 25). Some of them came as yearly tributes from his vassals. Such was the case also for

the kings of the Hittites mentioned above, and who appear often in the Egyptian inscriptions. The Kheta (Hittites) were among the fiercest enemies of the Pharaohs of the 19th dynasty: their principal arm was a force of chariots resembling those of the Egyptians. Among the tributes brought by the Retennu (Syrians) to the kings of the 18th dynasty we see white horses. The horse was also used for ploughing.

Dogs were more prized formerly than they are now, for they are held by the Muslim to be unclean animals. We can trace on the monuments several kinds of dogs of various breeds and colours: hounds for hunting the gazelle; the modern spits; the mastiff, which was used in the chase of the lion; besides the common watch-dog, which is now seen everywhere in Egypt. [DOG.]

The deserts have always abounded in wild animals, especially the hyaena, which could be domesticated, several kinds of jackals and foxes, and antelopes. The lion was found much further north than now. The cat was one of the sacred animals, particularly venerated at Bubastis. Like the Indian princes of the present day, the kings and the very wealthy men liked to have strange animals; we see that Negroes brought from Ethiopia giraffes, a kind of leopard which was used for hunting, besides elephants. From the land of Punt came a kind of cynocephalus, which the inscriptions call *kafu*, the קוֹפִים of Solomon (1 K. x. 22; 2 Ch. ix. 21).

The pictures of the tombs very often show the deceased hunting the hippopotamus, which is found in the marshes. It was chased with spears and nooses by men standing on small boats made of reeds. According to the sculptures in the tombs, at a very remote epoch the hippopotamus was frequent in Lower Egypt. Tradition said that the first king, Mena, had been carried off by one of these animals. But if we consider that we see the chase of the hippopotamus only in funereal pictures, and that the same word applies in Egyptian to the wild boar, we may reasonably suppose that it is a merely conventional representation. In the text of the myth of Horus we find that the sacrifice of a pig commemorated the victory of the god over Typhon, who had taken the form of a hippopotamus. There may be something of the kind in the funereal pictures. In the other world the deceased chases the huge Typhonic animal; while in real life he amused himself in chasing the wild boar, which must have been still more abundant than it is now, in the marshes of the Fayoom. The description of Herodotus (ii. 71) would apply much better to the boar than to the hippopotamus. On the contrary, in the Book of Job, the poetical description of the behemoth must be understood as meaning the hippopotamus. [BEHEMOTH.] The elephant is always represented as a strange animal; however, it gave its name to the city of Elephantine.[c] Among the small animals, which were very numerous in the country, we may mention the hare, the porcupine, the ichneumon (which was a sacred animal), the rat, and about fifteen varieties of bats.

Birds abounded as they do still now; among them, the hawk, the vulture, the ibis, the plover were sacred, as being emblems of divinities. The poultry consisted of several kinds of geese, ducks, pigeons, as well as herons and cranes. The ordinary fowl does not appear in the sculptures, although the hieroglyphic sign for the letter *u* represents a chicken. The chase of water-fowl was a very common sport.

Among the reptiles, the crocodile must be especially mentioned. In the Bible it is usually called תַּנִּים, תַּנִּין, "dragon," a generic word of almost as wide a signification as "reptile," and it is used as a symbol of the king of Egypt. Thus in Ezekiel: "Behold, I am against thee, Pharaoh king of Egypt, the great dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers, which hath said, My river is mine own, and I have made it for myself. But I will put hooks in thy jaws, and I will cause the fish of thy rivers to stick unto thy scales, and I will bring thee up out of the midst of thy rivers, and all the fish of thy rivers shall stick unto thy scales. And I will have thee thrown into the wilderness, thee and all the fish of thy rivers . . . I have given thee for meat to the beasts of the field and to the fowls of the heaven" (xxix. 3–5). Here seems to be a retrospect of the Exodus, which is described with a closer resemblance in Ps. lxxiv. 13, 14: "Thou didst divide the sea by thy strength: Thou brakest the heads of the dragons (תַּנִּינִים) in the waters. Thou brakest the heads of leviathan (לִוְיָתָן) in pieces, and gavest him to be meat to the dwellers in the wilderness." The last passage is important, as indicating that whereas תַּנִּין is the Hebrew generic name for reptiles and whales, לִוְיָתָן is the special name of the crocodile. Its description in Job (xl., xli.) fully bears out this opinion. The crocodile was found even in Lower Egypt; now it has retired to the upper part of the country, and it is seldom seen below the First Cataract except near Kom Ombo, the ancient Ombos, or even as far as Keneh. It was one of the animals which played a most important part in religion. In some places, like Apollinopolis (Edfoo), Tentyra (Denderah), Heracleopolis (Ahnas el Medineh), it was considered as an emblem of Set, who had taken this form in making war against Horus; while at Ombos and Arsinoë it was the object of great reverence; it was fed by priests and worshipped as a god. The reason of this is that the Egyptians attributed to the crocodile a certain power in causing the Nile to rise, and, besides, the crocodile was also a solar god.

Among the reptiles we must mention the serpents, which are very numerous. Some of them are considered dangerous, like the horned snake or cerastes, which constantly occurs in the inscriptions as the letter *f*. The asp is the sign of royalty; it adorns all the head-dresses of the kings, and of most of the gods. As in many other countries, the snake was one of the animals to which the idea of divinity was most commonly attached. Being the symbol of eternity, it was also the emblem of royal power.

Frogs are so numerous that it is not difficult

[c] The name of this city must be understood as meaning the city of *ivory*, and not of the elephant. There ivory was brought by the traders of the Upper Nile.

to picture the second plague. There was a goddess with a frog's head who was connected with the measure of time, in reference to some very long period. The tadpole in the hieroglyphs is the sign for 100,000.

There was abundance of fishes in the lakes and the canals. Although the fisheries have greatly fallen away, their produce is still a common article of food, especially in the northern districts near Lake Menzaleh and Lake Mareotis. Several of them were sacred,—the oxyrhynchus (*Mormyrus oxyrhynchus*), which gave its name to one of the nomes of Upper Egypt, and the latus (*Perca latus*) which was worshipped at Latopolis, Esneh; also the phagros, which is perhaps an eel, and the lepidotus (*Cyprinus lepidotus*).

The scorpion is common in the desert and in the ruins of Upper Egypt; it is much more dangerous in summer than during the winter time. It is also the emblem of the goddess Selk or Serk, who was one of the forms of Isis.

Among the insects the locusts must be mentioned, which sometimes come upon the cultivated land in a cloud, and eat every herb, fruit, and leaf where they alight. They are more common in Nubia, where they are an article of food. Flies are one of the permanent plagues of Egypt, as well as mosquitoes. The fourth plague (Ex. viii. 21), עָרֹב, κυνόμυια (Sept.), πάμμυια (Hieron.), seems to have been a plague of those animals; while the third, כִּנִּם, σκνῖφες, would rather refer to fleas or lice (Ex. viii. 16; Heb. *v.* 11).

11. *Ancient Inhabitants.*—The old inhabitants, studied from an anatomical point of view, appear now with certainty to have belonged to the Caucasian race, and to the branch of the Noachian family which is called Hamite or sometimes Cushite. The great number of their mummies which have been preserved, and also the very clear and instructive representations which they have left, show that in their corporal structure they had none of the characters of the Negro race; they had neither the protruding lower jaw, the so-called prognathism, nor the flat nose, nor the sloping forehead. The hair was long and flaxy, and the stature does not show the common feature of the Negro races, the pelvis projecting backwards and forming an angle with the spinal cord. The Caucasian character of their type is most visible in the skulls which belong to the mummies of the Old Empire. This natural kinship with the Semitic and Indo-Germanic races compels us to admit that their cradle must have been somewhere in Western Asia, very likely in Mesopotamia, and that from thence they migrated to the valley of the Nile and settled there. The question is, whether they came through the Isthmus of Suez, or whether, like other Cushite nations, they crossed over from Arabia, and following the course of the Nile reached Egypt proper. This point is very much discussed among Egyptologists, who generally admit that the migrations of the Egyptians must have been from the North through the Isthmus of Suez, considering that the oldest monuments are those of the neighbourhood of Memphis, and that in the Upper Nile and in Meroë we find nothing but monuments of very late date. However, the traditions of the old Egyptians seemed to point to the land called Toneter, the divine land, as their birthplace. Toneter and Punt (Phut) are two names intimately connected, the site of which must be looked for on the African coast in the land of the Somalis and on the opposite side of the strait in Southern Arabia. They would thus have come over through Arabia with all the other Cushite nations, and followed the same track. It must be remarked that the Egyptians in their orientation turn to the South, and that the South is always mentioned before the North. The tradition was that Mena, the first king, had started from This in Upper Egypt, and founded Memphis, thus pushing farther north than had been done before him. It seems natural to admit that he only yielded to the impulse which had been given by former generations, which had migrated from the South to the North, following the course of the Nile.

The Egyptians, a Hamite race, are thus quite distinct from the Negroes and other African races, while they are closely connected with the Cushites, to whom, according to the latest researches, belong very likely the Phoenicians, the *Kefa* of the inscriptions. It is extraordinary that, although the conquests of the Egyptians extended very far, from the Upper Nile to the north of Syria, they never spread as a population outside of Egypt proper. They remained confined between the First Cataract and the Mediterranean. Immediately above Elephantine began the Negroes of Uaua, who were at times subject to the Pharaohs, but only at intervals, and who never were amalgamated with the Egyptians. The same may be said in regard to the populations of the desert of Sinai, who were in constant contact with the Egyptians. The Egyptians must have had a very strongly marked individual character, which was derived perhaps from their religious ideas, perhaps also from the peculiar circumstances in which their country was placed, and which gave them customs quite different from those of other nations. They were suspicious towards strangers, except those who could be reduced to slavery. For example, the Cushites are often called "the vile Kush," or the Hittites "the vile Kheta," while the Negro is praised for his submissive character.

Like all other Eastern nations, they used their prisoners as slaves, who very likely were not treated more cruelly than the inhabitants of the country subject to forced labour. While everything connected with the Egyptian religion is most strongly condemned in the Bible, the Israelites do not seem to have had a particular antipathy towards the Egyptians, for they gave them the privilege of admission into the congregation in the third generation (Deut. xxiii. 8), while the Ammonites and the Moabites were absolutely excluded.

12. *Language; Writing.*—The language of the Egyptians is known to us from a very early period. The inscriptions in the Pyramids and on some statues are the first remains of it. It may be said that from the beginning until the Roman time, during a period which lasted more than four thousand years, there has been little change in the language, considering the immense duration of the Egyptian empire. Of course there has been some alteration: the language of the scribes of the 19th dynasty is

not identical with that of the hymns or prayers which are engraved in the Pyramids; the Book of the Dead, which can be traced to a very early date, contains many grammatical forms which were obsolete in the New Empire and under the Ptolemies. However, the general features of the language are the same.

The language is agglutinative, with biliteral roots, which become first quadriliteral by reduplication, then triliteral by the fall of one of the letters. It has in common with the Semitic and Indo-Germanic branches the distinction of genders, which does not exist in African languages; besides, there are some affinities with the Semitic idioms in the personal pronouns and in the numerals. Many more likenesses with the Semitic languages might be traced, chiefly in the roots and the words; but they must be considered as importations coming from the intercourse of the Egyptians with the Semites, which followed the Hyksos period. Very few are found in the old language.

The other languages which with the Egyptian constitute the Hamitic branch are the Libyan or Berber languages, such as the Tuareg and the Tamashek, and the languages spoken in some parts of Soodan and Abyssinia, the Bedja, the Soho, the Galla, the Somali, to which Dr. Lepsius adds the Hottentot in South Africa (Lepsius, *Nub. Gram.* p. xvii.; Hommel, *Die vorsem. Culturen*, p. 92).

The writing was hieroglyphical; it is interesting because it is transitional, between the pure picture-writing, or ideographic, and the phonetic. It may be said that the Egyptians were the inventors of phonetic writing, as they have signs corresponding to a definite sound quite irrespective of the object which the sign represents. Thus an eagle is *a*, an owl *m*. It was through these signs that Champollion succeeded in deciphering two proper names which gave him the key to the rest of the alphabet. The Egyptians could never free themselves from the old tradition of the picture-writing. A sentence is never written in phonetic signs only; it is a mixture of the three kinds of signs: the ideographic, the syllabic, and the phonetic. From the ideographic they passed to the syllabic, a sign being used for the same sound irrespective of the object it represents. The ideographic is generally used as determinative, as a kind of explanatory picture added to the word which is written with syllabic or phonetic signs. From the beginning we find this threefold writing. In the old language, for instance in the inscriptions of the Pyramids, there are no more ideographic signs than subsequently; the phonetic alphabet is used as frequently as at another epoch. The result of the existence of these three kinds of signs is that in Egyptian there is no orthography in the sense which we give to that word. There is not one single spelling for a word; it can be written in many ways according to the space, or the material, or the fancy of the scribe.

We must bear in mind that hieroglyphical writing has also an ornamental character. In stone monuments the inscription is the necessary accompaniment of the sculpture; it is part of a picture, and therefore it must follow the rules of elegance and taste. That is why we often find inscriptions written from left to right, while the usual way is the contrary. Hieroglyphical writing being difficult and slow, the Egyptians employed for the common use a shorthand, which is called by the quite inadequate name of "hieratic." There is a hieratic sign corresponding to each hieroglyph. We find hieratic texts already in the Old Empire. A farther simplification is the demotic, which goes parallel with a modification in the language. We have no demotic text earlier than the 22nd dynasty. There the signs very much deviate from the original hieroglyph, and are often difficult to recognise; but there are still the three kinds of signs. It is curious that the desire to simplify affected only the drawing of the sign itself, and never induced the Egyptians to adopt a purely phonetic alphabet of which they had the elements. To the last they adhered to the rather cumbrous system of three kinds of signs, including determinatives, until they rejected their writing entirely and adopted the Greek letters with four additional signs, *i.e.* the Coptic alphabet. Then the language was very much altered, chiefly under the influence of Greek, which was the common language in the cities. The Coptic is still the sacred language of the Copts, who read their prayers without understanding the meaning, unless they have the Arabic text by the side. It seems to have ceased to be spoken only at the end of the last century.

The pure hieroglyphs were used only for monumental inscriptions and for sacred texts, like the Book of the Dead. Owing to the monumental character of this writing, it has gone through the same phases as the architecture. The affected taste of the Ptolemies, the pompous style of the time, is felt even in the engraving of the Egyptian scribes. A great many new signs were adopted, and increased in number under the Romans. Nothing is more difficult to decipher than the enigmatic inscriptions of the late Ptolemies or of the emperors.

13. *Religion.*—The religion of the ancient Egyptians has often been viewed in a very false light, owing to the prejudiced ideas with which it has been studied. The fault rests first with the Greeks, who translated in their own language the names of a certain number of Egyptian gods, giving thus an utterly wrong idea of their nature and their attributes. It is quite certain that there are some likenesses between Zeus, Dionysos, and their Egyptian substitutes Amon and Osiris; but there is a fundamental difference between the Hellenic and the Egyptian gods. It is equally erroneous to reconstitute the Egyptian religion from the works of the Gnostic philosophers, or even from the late Alexandrine writings, like the Orphic hymns or "Hermes Trismegistos." Whether in some of them a Christian influence is recognisable or not, it is certain that these writings belong to an epoch where metaphysical speculation had taken a development which is quite unknown in ancient Egypt; and in adopting the interpretation of these late philosophers, we attribute to the early priests a mode of thought which they very likely never had.

The Egyptian religion is not a system well coordinated in all its parts, and in which every element has its definite place, nor can it be considered as having been immutable during the 4,000 years that the Egyptian empire lasted.

It certainly underwent some alterations, although on the whole, like the language, it remained very similar in itself in proportion to its immense duration. Religious inscriptions are innumerable: they constitute the great bulk of the texts which have come down to us; and at first sight the mass presents itself as a confused and perplexing mixture of ideas which are sometimes contradictory, sometimes remarkably simple and beautiful, sometimes on the contrary childish and even ridiculous. However, in spite of the difficulty of discovering the way in which abstract ideas were expressed, and of penetrating the sense of a fantastical and wild symbolism, there are now some well-established facts which give us a general idea of what the religion was.

It is, of course, the doctrine of the priests which must be examined. Popular religion was very much alike everywhere; it was the worship of the local god, to whom, more or less, all the attributes of the deity were given. Looking at the texts of the Pyramids or the inscriptions of the tombs of the kings, or the Book of the Dead, we find that the religion of the Egyptians was pre-eminently a worship of nature and its leading manifestations. The chief god was the god Tum Khepra, also called Ra, who was considered as born from water, and who gave birth himself to his limbs, which were gods. The cosmogonic cycle of gods was composed of nine divinities, the gods of Heliopolis, the city which was said to be the most ancient in the whole land. These gods were Ra Tum Khepra, Shu, Tefnut, Seb, Nut, Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, and Horus. All manifestations of nature, all the natural forces were gods, but were not separated from the Creator, and were part of him. This idea is very unlike what we call monotheism, although there is in fact but one god from whom everything originates. It would rather correspond to what we call pantheism. Besides this general substratum of religion, there is the local element, which has a considerable influence. Each large locality or city had its peculiar god: Phtah was the god of Memphis, Neith of Saïs, Bast of Bubastis, Amon of Thebes, Khnum of Elephantine, Hathor of Denderah, Horus of Edfoo, Khem of Panopolis, Isis of Philae, Osiris of Abydos. Each of those divinities was considered as the chief god, was adorned with the attributes of the Creator, so that the Egyptian pantheon is composed of gods who differ in name, but are very much alike in their nature. Especially they were identified with the elements which are most beneficial,—the sun, the earth, and the water. It would thus be wrong to give to one of these gods, like Amon, the pre-eminence over the others,—it might just as well be done for Horus of Edfoo,—except as regards the cycle of the nine gods of Heliopolis, who seem to have been the most anciently worshipped, and who are the cosmic gods of the Book of the Dead, which was venerated in all Egypt.

In the relation of the gods to mankind there are some ideas which seem to contradict the system of the cosmic gods. The great god of the Lower World is Osiris, who, sitting on a throne in a sanctuary called, like the temple of Heliopolis, "the great abode," presides over a court of justice in which he is assisted by four judges, and where forty-two witnesses are successively appealed to by the deceased, who declares that he has not committed one particular sin. Then the heart of the deceased is weighed against the goddess of truth and justice; and if the weight is exactly equal, he is called "justified." This most interesting scene is part of what is called the Book of the Dead, and in the negative confession of the deceased we find the expression of the highest moral commands. This strong feeling of the responsibility of man, and the character which is here given to Osiris, do not agree with the indifference to good and evil which is the necessary consequence of pantheistic doctrine.

As regards the fate of the soul after death, the ideas of the Egyptians are very vague. The Book of the Dead does not give us one definite line which each soul has to follow; it teaches us all that may befall the soul of the deceased, all the forms it may assume, all the gates it may pass, without its being compelled to do so. Sometimes also it seems to be merged in the one all-comprising god. One thing is certain, the body was not to be destroyed; it must be preserved by all means and reconstituted in all its vital parts in the Ament; the body must not decay. That is the reason why they embalmed the corpses with such care, and why the kings shrunk from no expense and difficulties, and built pyramids or excavated long galleries in the mountains in order to be certain that their burial-places would not be violated.

The worship of the forces and manifestations of nature led the Egyptians to adopt as symbols the figures of animals. The hawk was the representative of Horus, the ibis of Thoth, the ram of Amon. Two sacred bulls, Apis and Mnevis, were worshipped,—one at Memphis, the other at Heliopolis; the latter, as it was of yellow colour, probably was the animal that gave to the Israelites the idea of the golden calf. The adoration of animals must have been to the Hebrew legislator the most offensive feature of the Egyptian religion; and in the detailed prohibitions of the second commandment to make "any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth," Moses seems to have remembered those countless representations of hawks, ibises, bulls, rams, and crocodiles which he and his countrymen had seen so often, and to have warned the Israelites against such a profanation.

A few foreign divinities were admitted in the Egyptian pantheon. Set or Baal, the god of the Hyksos, remained after the invaders had been expelled; Ramses II. associated him with Amon in the temples of Tanis and Bubastis, and was one of his most faithful worshippers. Astoreth (Astarte) was worshipped at Memphis. Her foreign origin is proved by her being represented on a chariot, while the Egyptian gods travel by boat.

The mystical turn of mind of the Egyptians, their strange symbolism, which was not understood by the Greeks, caused their religion to degenerate. Under the Romans the Egyptian priests fell into disrepute for their gross superstitions and their magical practices.

14. *Laws.*—We have only very imperfect accounts of the laws of the Egyptians during

the Old and Middle Empire, and even under the great Theban dynasties. However, from a certain number of papyri which contain records of suits of law either civil or criminal, we may infer that there were very definite laws, and that the organisation of justice was very high and dated from a very early epoch. Among the titles of the deceased in the tombs of the Old Empire, we find some which evidently indicate magistrates; for instance, what is called the royal *thirty*, which must have been a court of law, and the title of the *arch-judge*, who, according to Diodorus, wore around his neck a chain from which hung the image of the goddess Ma (Truth and Justice).

The most interesting trials of which records have been preserved, belong to the reign of Ramses III. and Ramses IX. One is a trial for high treason which had taken place in the palace of the king himself, and where the king seems to delegate to the court the prerogative which he possessed of condemning the culprits. The other document is the inquest which takes place on the state of the royal tombs at Thebes, which had been violated by thieves, and where the guiltiness of the accused not being proved they were acquitted. From these and from other documents of the same kind we may see that generally a suit of law was introduced by the plaintiff, who handed his grievance in writing to the governor; then the court was assembled, which was composed of priests and several high officers. The debates were public and verbal, each party speaking in turn. The court pronounced only the verdict for or against the plaintiff, and the right of passing the sentence belonged to the king. It must be admitted that this right was only exercised by the king in important cases, or before the high court, which, according to the Greek authors, was composed of thirty judges, ten from each of the greatest cities—Thebes, Memphis, and Heliopolis.

Capital punishment was often applied, but sometimes in the form (which is still used in some Eastern countries) of compelling the condemned to commit suicide. Bastinado was the most common of corporal punishments applied to both sexes; a much more severe one was the cutting off of the nose and ears. Torture was also applied in order to extort an avowal from the accused.

Very much information has been acquired by the translation of the demotic contracts of late epoch; of which there is a great number in the various museums. We have thus obtained an insight into the civil law of the Egyptians, which, under the last Pharaohs and the Ptolemies, was most precise and definite. The stipulations concerning the sale of land, mortgage, inheritance, the rights of the wife and children, show that there was a code of laws which certainly was the result of very old traditions and of a time when the state of the country was settled and peaceful.

The judges were chiefly priests: among the lists of members of the courts we find men who were merely civil officers; nevertheless it is likely that the priestly order, the most powerful in the state, furnished the greatest number of judges. Crimes of impiety were looked at with abhorrence, even by the population; and destroyers of temples, like the stranger Cambyses, were always the objects of popular hatred.

15. *Government.*—The government was monarchical, but limited by laws and customs, which originated from the fact that the king was the first priest and the head of all that was connected with religion. The right of succession was by inheritance. Queens were not excluded from occupying the throne, and some of them were very powerful and warlike. Though the king did not belong to the priestly order, he was initiated in their knowledge and their mysteries, and he is considered as performing himself all the important acts concerning the worship of the gods. On the countless sculptures which adorn the walls of the temples he is always represented and named as doing what must have been the duty of the priests. The Greek authors, and specially Diodorus, speak in the most laudatory terms of what we should call the constitution, of the way in which the rights and duties of the kings were determined, of the laws which limited his power, and of the education which was given to the heir to the throne. Considering the advanced state of civilisation which the Egyptians reached at a very early epoch, we must admit that the royal power in Egypt was very different from the dominion of the barbarous tyrants who ruled over African or most of the Asiatic nations. The court of Egypt may well be compared to the court of Persia, which also excited the admiration of the Greeks. That there were really some of these sovereigns who cared for the welfare and prosperity of their subjects, is proved by the traditions which have been preserved by Manetho concerning several of them, and also by two Egyptian books which are instructions to royal princes. One of them is the so-called Papyrus Prisse, written by the son of king Assa, containing a moral teaching similar to the Proverbs of Solomon, and in which the conditions of real greatness, the duties of man towards his neighbour, of a son towards his father, are expounded in simple words which indicate a very high standard of morality. The other one, which has been preserved by a scribe of the 20th dynasty, is called the teaching of Amenemha I. to his son Usertesen I. (12th dynasty). The reigning father gives advice to his son on his duties when he will ascend the throne. Even at the time when Joseph was raised to his high position, when the Hyksos kings were reigning, it is easy to see that the king felt some limitation to his power. Not only did he not dare to monopolise the land of the priests as he did in the case of the rest of the people, but he would not defy the prejudice of his subjects against shepherds, a prejudice which arose not so much from the profession in itself as from the fact that it was that of the invaders who had conquered the land.

It is quite a wrong idea to imagine that there were in Egypt hereditary castes. It is certain that high employments were often monopolised by families who very likely enjoyed the favour of a king or of a dynasty. But a priest might be at the same time a general or a civil officer, and we do not see those insuperable barriers between the professions which are found in India.

16. *Foreign Policy.*—The foreign policy of the Egyptians has generally been considered as

being marked by extreme exclusiveness and by a great reluctance to admit foreigners into Egypt. The Egyptians, like all other nations of antiquity, considered the strangers more or less as barbarians; and this idea, which is derived chiefly from a religious feeling, had a kind of justification as long as they had as neighbours only nations which stood very far behind them in civilisation. They seem to have admitted strangers in Egypt whenever they found that they could employ them to their own advantage.

The kings of the first six dynasties waged war chiefly with the inhabitants of the Sinaitic peninsula, which they held under their rule; but from the end of the 11th, and during the 12th and the 13th dynasties, we see the efforts of the Pharaohs directed against the southern countries, the Negroes and the Cushite populations. Many inscriptions indicate that those nations were considered as subjects, and very likely reduced to slavery; however, when we find at Tanis a prince of the 13th dynasty called *the Negro*, and also a king of the Papyrus of Turin bearing the same name, it shows that the strangers had acquired in Egypt a certain influence. Under the 12th and the 13th dynasties the country seems to have been more accessible to the admission of foreign elements than earlier. At this time we find the first intercourse with the Mat'aiou, a Libyan nation out of which the Pharaohs of the great dynasties recruited a foreign police. Then also we see the peaceful invasion of the Shemites, or, according to some authors, of the semitising Khamites who settled in the eastern part of the Delta, the *Amu* *βουκόλοι*, the forerunners of the Hyksos, who were to conquer the whole land.

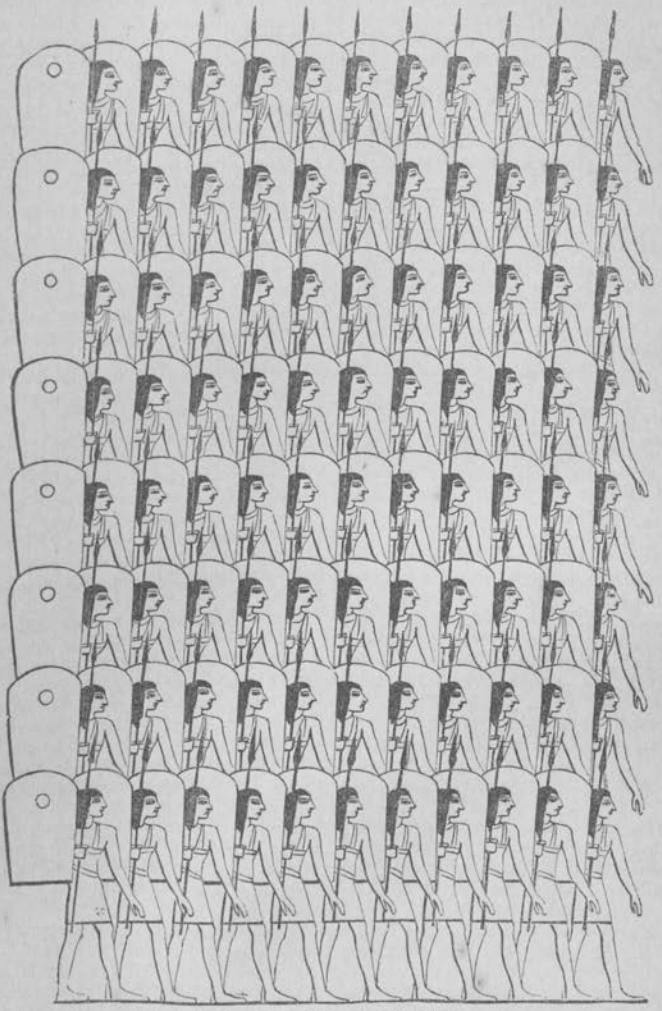
When Egypt had been liberated from her foreign rulers, there began the long war with the nations of Palestine, Syria, and the upper part of Mesopotamia. The Semitic element had not disappeared from the country with the Hyksos. Not only did a great part of the Semitic population remain in the Eastern Delta, but their influence was felt very strongly in many respects. We have spoken before of the introduction of horses and of chariots. The worship of Baal remained at Tanis, and even in the language there are many Semitic words which are employed rather than the corresponding Egyptian, as if it had been fashionable to choose the Semitic rather than the vernacular. The conquests of the Pharaohs in Syria did not last longer than the lives of the conquerors; they had no influence on the conquered nations, and except a few inscriptions no trace remained of the passage of the Egyptians, who exacted tribute from their vassals, but did not attempt to press upon them their civilisation. There is one nation for which the Egyptians seem to have had more respect than for any others, the Hittites or Kheta. In spite of their being always called "the vile Kheta," Ramses II. must have found that they were rivals worthy of him, and that it had cost him great difficulty to beat them, as he made a treaty of peace in which both nations are on the same footing, and which is the first diplomatic document of which we know. In this treaty we find a positive alliance between the two nations, which are to help each other in case of attack; besides, there are clauses of extradition of fugitive criminals, and a kind of protection of industry, for it is stipulated that clever workmen coming from Egypt will not be allowed to settle in the land of the Kheta, but will be sent back, and the reciprocal clause. Another proof of the respect which Ramses II. had for the Kheta is the fact of his marrying the king's daughter.

Of the relations of the Egyptians to the Israelites, the first we know of is the arrival of Abraham in the reign of a Hyksos king, who received him just as one of his followers, Apepi, was to receive Jacob. The revolution which took place at the beginning of the 17th dynasty, and the return to power of the native line, greatly altered the feeling of the Egyptians towards the foreign settlers, who were then considered as prisoners of war and treated as such. The anarchy which prevailed in Egypt at the end of the 19th dynasty, and the weakness of most of the rulers of the 20th, prevented them from doing anything against the Israelites; and later still, when the kingdom of Israel had risen to a great power, one of the kings of the 21st dynasty, very likely a Tanite, gave his daughter to Solomon. The expedition of Shishak in Palestine may be considered as the last of those great conquering campaigns in Syria of which there had been so many in the 18th and the 19th dynasties. After that time Egyptians and Hebrews were natural allies against the Assyrians and Babylonians. It was this reasonable policy which Necho advocated in his message to Josiah. As to Zerah, who is said to have been beaten by Asa, he may have been one of the Osorkons, or he may perhaps have been one of the Ethiopian chiefs who at that time began already to invade Egypt. The history of Jeremiah shows how the Jews were accustomed to look to Egypt for support and to take refuge there.

With respect to the African nations, the Libyans, the Mashuash (Maxyes), and the Mat'aiou were very early employed by the Egyptians as gendarmerie, and also as mercenaries; they had likewise some Negro troops. The chiefs of these mercenaries succeeded sometimes in usurping the kingly power. The dynasty of Shishak and of the Bubastite kings very likely attained to the throne by the help of their foreign mercenaries. Generally we may consider that the Negroes were subject to predatory attacks, like the slave-hunts of modern times. The Negroes were liked as slaves; they are spoken of as the "good Negroes;" they were diligent and attentive in their work.

The Greeks and the other nations of the Mediterranean, which had been kept out because several times the Pharaohs, like Menephtah and Ramses III., had had to repel their invasions, were not only admitted, but called in by Psammetik and the kings of the 26th dynasty, who put an end to the Dodecarchy, and who made great use of them in their wars. From that time the foreign soldiery is an important element in the history of Egypt. The native population was exhausted, and had not sufficient energy to resist foreign invaders. They depended on their mercenaries for their defence, and their independence was in the hands of those troops. They could not resist the Persians, and after them they easily submitted to the Macedonians.

17. *Army.*—The Egyptians do not seem to have been from the first a very warlike people; they were rather engaged in agricultural pursuits. Their first kings were not great conquerors, and except Pepi, who fought against the Sinaites, we do not see records of great wars at this early period. The army was then also in a much more elementary state than later, and very likely much less trained and disciplined than under the great Theban dynasties. However, even under the 6th dynasty they had already African mercenaries from different Negro races. The fact of their having to fight only barbarians like the Negroes did not develop their military skill, and it is perhaps the reason why they were such an easy prey to the Hyksos invaders. With the beginning of the 18th dynasty we see a complete change in this respect. The horse and the chariot become an important element in the warfare. Then we



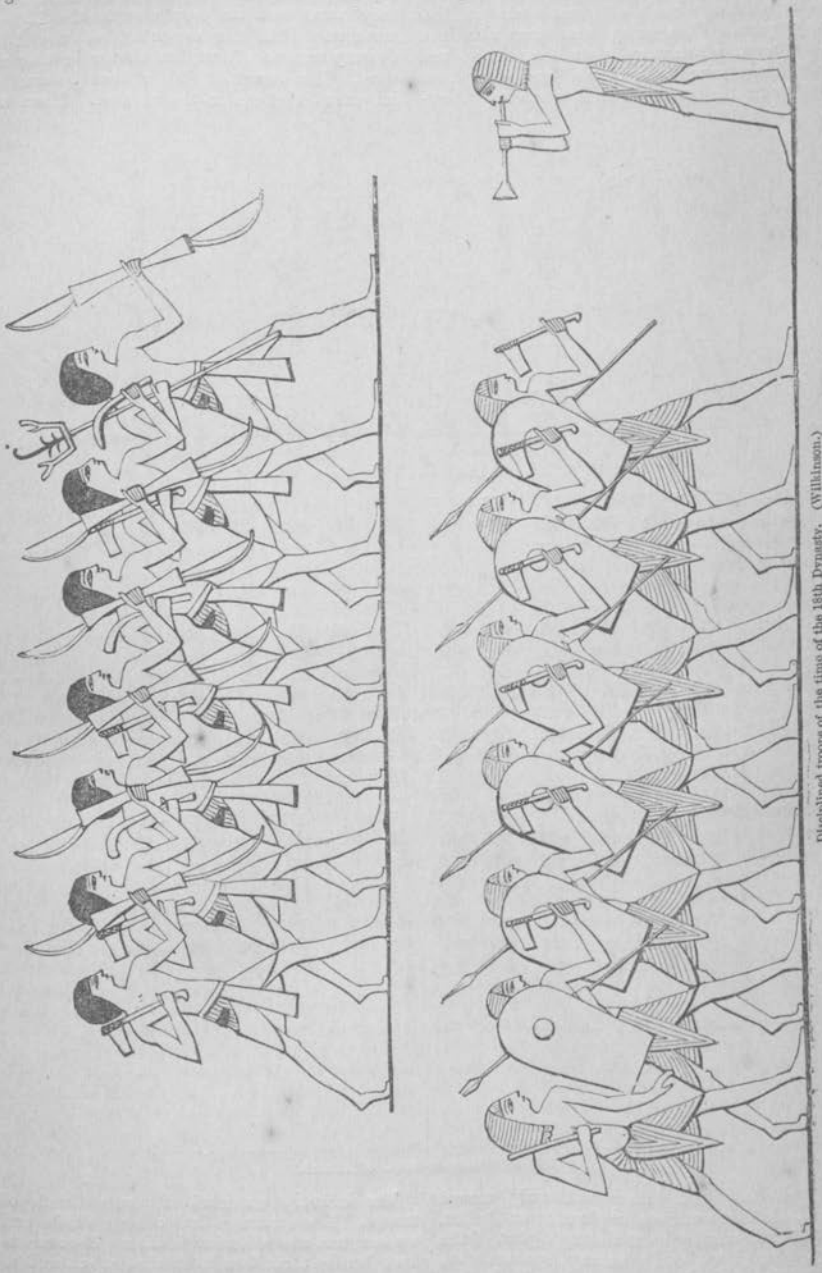
Phalanx of heavy infantry. (Wilkinson.)

see well-disciplined troops uniformly armed and divided into various regiments or bodies. Chariots and cavalry were the rapid part of the army. Though we hardly see any representation of horsemen in the battle-scenes, it is likely that there were some. But the chariots were far more important. It was the way in which the king fought. Each car carried two men, the charioteer and the warrior, who generally was an archer.

The infantry consisted of several kinds of troops. The spearmen had a large shield and a spear, and also a kind of falchion. The archers had, beside their bow, a hatchet or a kind of curved stick, which is still used by African nations. Slingers are seen on the boats in a naval fight. Pole-axes and maces are also common weapons. Even at the time of their great conquests the Egyptians had mercenaries: the Shartana, who wore a metal helmet and a

short dagger, the Mashuash (Maxyes), and the Kahek, another Libyan tribe. Not only could these troops fight pitched battles, but they knew to a certain degree the art of making sieges. We see on some sculptures the capture of very strongly fortified cities of Syria, which could only be taken by a regular siege.

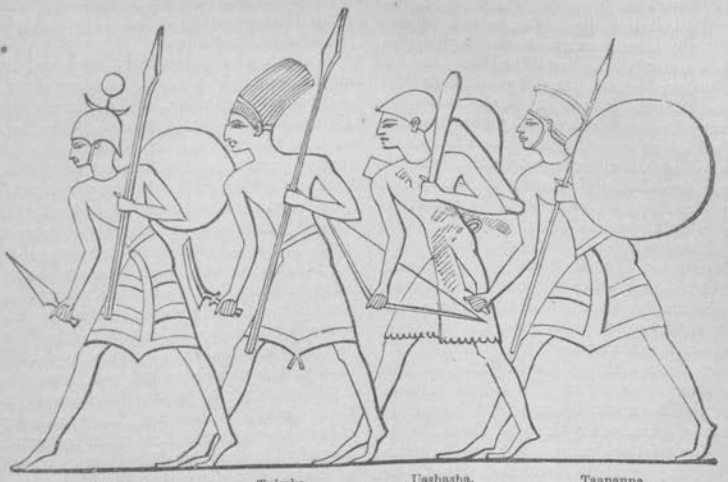
The description which Scripture gives of the army of Shishak corresponds to the variety of foreign troops which are often found in an



Disciplined troops of the time of the 18th Dynasty. (Wilkinson.)

Egyptian army (2 Ch. xii. 2): "It came to pass that in the fifth year of king Rehoboam, Shishak, king of Egypt, came up against Jerusalem ... with twelve hundred chariots and threescore thousand horsemen, and the people were without number that came with him out of Egypt: the Lubim, the Sukkiim, and the Ethiopians." Here the Septuagint translates the word *Sukkiim Troglodytes*. We have no reason to contest this translation; we should thus have mention

of three kinds of African mercenaries — the Libyans, the Troglodytes, and the Ethiopians. It is curious to find such a very large cavalry, which does not appear in the Egyptian pictures. They may have been the Libyans, something like the Numidian cavalry.[d]



Shartana. Tuirsha. Uashasha. Taananna.

Foreign troops. (Wilkinson.)

18. *Domestic Life.*—The sculptures and paintings of the tombs give us a very full insight into the domestic life of the ancient Egyptians, as may be seen in Sir Gardner Wilkinson's great work. One of the most striking features is the high position occupied by women; it is not rare in the funeral pictures to see them represented near their husbands: the wife is called "the lady of the house," "a palm of loveliness," "beloved by her husband." Monogamy seems to have been the rule; polygamy, however, was not forbidden, nor marriage between brother and sister, which may perhaps be traced to the early tradition of "endogamy," the marriage within the family. It is certain that polygamy was very common with the kings.

As to their general manner of life it is that of a highly civilised people, whose pursuits and occupations were essentially agricultural. The occupations of the upper classes, independently of the employments, which must have been very numerous, either in the administration of the country or in everything which concerned religion, consisted in the superintendence of their fields and gardens. The Egyptians were of a cheerful and rather careless nature, and were very fond of amusements of all kinds. Their turn of mind seems to have been rather witty; they liked caricatures; and in the dialogues of workmen which we often meet with, there are jokes of the same kind as one would hear now in a gang of fellâh-labourers. They were fond of banqueting, and their parties were very merry and distinguished by great luxury. Women sat with men; they were attended by female slaves, who brought them the dishes and cups of wine and flowers in abundance, especially the lotus, very much liked because of its good perfume. Dancing girls would come to amuse the guests, accompanied by players on the flute and tambourine, and women clapping their hands. They were fond of music: the flute, the "darabooka," the harp, and several kinds of guitars were their instruments. They had many games: draughts, which men and women would play together, dice, and another called "the vase." Besides, they liked gymnastics, and one of their entertainments was to see women juggling, or performing feats of agility.

All this was in the greatest possible contrast with the mode of life of the Israelites, who were from the first a pastoral people (2 K. xiii. 5). Joseph's brethren must have felt very much as strangers in his company and amidst his Egyptian attendants, and this explains the distance which Joseph is obliged to keep between them and the Egyptians when he admits them to eat in his presence.

The funeral ceremonies were an important part of the Egyptian life. A considerable number of priests and workmen were occupied in the embalming of the body, which took a long time, and had to be done carefully. This custom, which continued to a very late period, originated in the religious idea above mentioned (p. 872); the body was to be preserved from corruption. The ceremonies accompanying the funeral were of various kinds: there was a procession in which the mummy lying on a sledge was drawn by cows, while the mourners followed, and priests read prayers and burnt frankincense. The mourning lasted seventy-two days. Jacob and Joseph, according to Scripture, were treated in that respect exactly as if they had been born Egyptians.

[d] It is through sacred and profane writers that we know of the existence of Egyptian cavalry. In the case of Shishak's army, horsemen are clearly indicated by the use of the word פָּרָשׁ, which is a riding-horse, while chariot-horses are סוּסִים. It is a question whether cavalry was employed independently or only in conjunction with the chariots which had the main work to do. This conjunction would explain their not being represented on the battle-scenes, and also the fact that the פָּרָשִׁים are generally mentioned after the chariots.

19. *Literature and Art.*—In the Egyptian language there is what we call a literature, a collection of works of various descriptions, some of which date from the remotest origin. There is the religious literature, which is preserved both by stone monuments and by papyri, besides all other works contained in the numerous papyri which are deposited in the museums. The Egyptians and their sovereigns were a very literary nation; they were the first to have what the Assyrians had also after them, libraries, which were preserved in the temples. In the temple called the Ramesseum, and which Diodorus describes as the tomb of Osymandyas, there is a hall, part of which is still extant, which is consecrated to Thoth and Safekh, "the lady of the house of books," and which is clearly the library which Diodorus mentions. In the Ptolemaic temples we also find the library, and the inscriptions on its walls show the catalogue of the books it contained.

Clemens Alexandrinus (*Strom.* lib. vi. p. 286) gives us very important information on what he calls the Hermetic books of the Egyptians, the books attributed to the god Thoth, sacred books. They did not cover the whole extent of the Egyptian literature, but they must have comprised a large part of it. Most of them have been lost, but there are some works which we may consider as being part of the forty-two Hermetic books: they were, first, the two books of the chants, of which one contained songs in honour of the gods, the second a description of royal life and its duties. The next class comprised the four astronomical books of the Horoscopus; then came the ten books of the hierogrammatist, some of which referred to the art of writing, others to the geography of Egypt, the course of the Nile; and then the description of the properties of the temples. The great Harris Papyrus, giving detailed accounts of the donations of king Ramses III. to the chief temples of Egypt, would undoubtedly belong to the last class. Then came the ten books of the Stolistes, devoted to all the ordinances concerning religious worship. It is likely that long inscriptions found in the temples of Abydos, or more frequently in the Ptolemaic temples, and giving ritualistic prescriptions, are derived from the books of the Stolistes. Then came the sacred books *par excellence*, the books of the prophet, also ten in number, which contained the laws and everything concerning the gods and the education of the priests. It is to this class that belongs the most important religious work we know, the Book of the Dead. The last six books contained treatises on medical science, an art which was very popular in Egypt. Manetho says that the second king of Egypt, Athothis, practised medicine and wrote books on anatomy. The same is said of a king of the 3rd dynasty. And in fact in the medical papyri, the largest of which is the Ebers Papyrus, we find that parts of the book are attributed to very early kings.

The Book of the Dead, of which a great number of copies have been preserved, is a collection of hymns and prayers, which are considered as being pronounced by the deceased. They describe all that may happen to the soul after it has been separated from the body. This book is not a whole; it is a mere collection; but it was usual to put at least part of it near the mummies in the coffins. Therefore the papyri differ very much in length. The first publication of it was made by Lepsius from a copy preserved at the Museum of Turin, which probably belongs to the early Ptolemies.

Besides the religious books, we have papyri on mathematics and on moral teaching; descriptions of travels; descriptions of the different conditions of men; various tales, some of them very old, relating the life of adventurers, the tale of a doomed prince, and the famous tale of the Two Brothers. Magical books are frequent: correspondences between a teacher and his disciple, in which generally the teacher endeavours to persuade his pupil of the great advantage of learning; besides what is called poems, without our being certain that they were poetry. A work like the poem of Pentaur, celebrating the campaign of Ramses II. against the Kheta, is certainly written in a poetical style. But the laws of the verse have not yet been recognised. If there were real poetry, it consisted in something like the Hebrew verse, in parallel sentences.

It is a great misfortune that we have lost all historical books of the Egyptians, except one list of kings, of which only a few fragments can be used, owing to the very bad state of the papyrus.

The great interest which attaches to Egyptian art is derived from several circumstances. It is perhaps the oldest we know. It had reached a high point of perfection when all around there was nothing but nations which could justly be called barbarians. It had grown out of itself; there was no borrowing of foreign elements, for they did not exist. We do not know how long it took what we may call the prehistoric Egyptians to reach the state of civilisation indicated by the tombs near the Pyramids and by those monuments themselves; but we may be certain that this was the result of the artistic sense developing itself gradually, interpreting nature without any external influence: everything is indigenous, and has sprung up in the valley of the Nile, which was for such a long time like a well-built house surrounded by huts of savage barbarians.

The foundation of the Egyptian art being religion, architecture has had by far the preeminence over sculpture and painting. The temple was the abode of the god, and on it the kings have lavished their treasures and the labour of their subjects. The remarkably good stones which are found everywhere in the valley of the Nile favoured the special gift of the Egyptians for building; the colossal and magnificent buildings which they raised are still the admiration of travellers. They invented the column and the architrave, in which the imitation of nature and of the vegetable kingdom is easily to be recognised.

On the other hand, they raised the Pyramids, specially destined to protect the body which each contained, and the construction of which implies an advanced knowledge of mathematics and even of mechanics.

The architect was a man of high position, while the sculptor and the painter were only workmen. Their arts were only the accompaniment of architecture, and, though they attained a high degree of beauty, they never extricated them-

selves entirely from the conditions which recall their original purpose. The characteristics of sculpture and painting are remarkable skill in the portrait, in the reproduction of the features which distinguish the individual, and at the same time great purity in line and great boldness in drawing. The harmony of colour is quite remarkable. Nevertheless there remains a conventional style and certain characteristics of an art still in its infancy. The complete independence of the sculptor, coupled with great ability in handling the stone or the metal, was only attained by the Greek sculptor. However, Egyptian art was very much admired in antiquity, and the Phoenicians made very many imitations of works of art as well in Egyptian as in Assyrian style, and sold them in their colonies in the Mediterranean.

The Hebrews, who were a pastoral people, had not much propensity for art, not even for architecture; besides, the second commandment did not allow sculpture to develop itself among them. In that respect they borrowed little from Egypt, except perhaps some details in the construction of the Tabernacle and the Ark, like the cherubs. Their first great monument was the temple of Solomon. It is difficult to know what in that building came from Egypt, or what was due to the Phoenicians, to whose skill they appealed.

20. *Magicians.*—We find frequent reference in the Bible to the magicians of Egypt, and to the interpreters of dreams (Gen. xli. 8). Visions at night were considered as a way in which the gods spoke to men. We have several accounts of dreams in the inscriptions: for instance, Harmachis, the god of the great sphinx, appears to king Thothmes II. during his sleep, and orders him to repair his monument near the Pyramids; the king of the Exodus, Menephtah, when threatened by an invasion from nations of the Mediterranean, is warned by the god Phtah not to take part himself in the battle.

Generally magic was not separated from medicine. There was a wide-spread belief in spells, in the magic power of certain words; we have several magical books written both in hieratic and in demotic, in which the most extraordinary prescriptions are made, mixed with strange invocations and unintelligible words, which when pronounced were thought to have some mysterious effect. Magicians were not in the least disrepute, and their art seems on the contrary to have been the sign of profound and hidden knowledge. The serpent was an animal which always was connected with magical practices, and what is said of the sorcerers of Pharaoh and of their changing their rods into serpents reminds us of the extraordinary power which some men exert over those animals, as may be seen constantly even now in the streets of an Oriental city. (Ex. vii. 11 sq., viii. 18, 19, ix. 11; 2 Tim. iii. 8, 9.) [MAGIC; JAMBRES; JANNES.]

21. *Industrial Arts.*—The industrial arts held an important place in the occupations of the Egyptians, and here we have again to revert to the tombs, not only to their pictures and to the representations they give us of the industry of the country, but to the numerous objects which have been preserved in them. Owing to the very good flax which grew in the valley of the Nile, the industry of weaving had a great development; they made linen of all qualities, from the coarsest to the most delicate, which they dyed in brilliant colours. Egyptian linen had a great repute (Is. xix. 9), and found its way to Palestine, very likely through Phoenician traders (Prov. vii. 16). A stouter material was leather, which was worked in large pieces, painted and ornamented most brilliantly, like the funeral canopy of Queen Isis em Kheb. Many arts connected with good housing and comfort in the dwellings were found in Egypt. Carpenters and cabinet-makers are seen, as well as turners, who used the bow as they do now in the bazaars of Cairo. There was very fine furniture; most elegant chairs, beds, and stools are represented in the tombs, besides boats of pleasure, which must have been most luxurious. A great quantity of pottery was made. It was perhaps one of the employments of the Hebrews during their bondage. Glass seems to have been known as early as the 11th dynasty, and pictures of glass-blowers are met with in the tombs of Beni-Hassan of the 12th dynasty.

Boat-making must have employed a great number of people, as nearly all transport was made by water; however, they also made chariots, but only after the use of the horse became frequent in the army.

Egyptian jewellers have left us pieces of their work which still excite the admiration. The famous jewels of Queen Aahhotep of the 17th dynasty show how skilful they were. These are made in silver and gold, precious stones, and a glass paste or enamel. In the ornamenting of the temples, besides gold and silver, the Egyptians used the metal called *asem*, the ἤλεκτρος of the Greeks, which is a mixture of gold and silver; for common use they had chiefly copper and bronze; iron, though known already at an early epoch, was much rarer, and very likely a foreign import. Precious metals were never coined; there was no Egyptian coinage before Alexander; the gold is seen in rings or purses, or plates, and the exchanges were paid by weighing the precious metals, as was customary in Palestine at the time of the Patriarchs (Gen. xxiii. 16).

22. *Festivals.*—The religious festivals were in great number, judging from the lists which are found in the calendars; and in the great temples like Thebes, Denderah, and Edfoo, they were kept with great pomp. The processions were an important part of the festivals: the emblems of the gods were carried in the halls or sometimes outside of the temple at certain fixed days and hours. It is certain that some of those festivals were attended with much licence—for instance, the grand festivity of Bubastis, which is described by Herodotus (ii. 59, 60); this was particularly the case with the festivals of gods of generation. The description of the festival of the golden calf given in Ex. xxxii. shows that it also took that character. Whether the golden calf was a recollection of Apis or Mnevis or some other bull, it was an emblem of the generative power, and the description has a certain likeness to the festival of Amon Khem represented on the temples at Thebes, where a white bull appears, and where there is much dancing.

23. *Manners of modern Inhabitants.*—In the

manners of the modern inhabitants there is much which recalls the old Egyptians, which is derived from peculiar circumstances of the nature and the climate of Egypt, so different from other countries; much also which illustrates the Bible, owing to the immutability of things in the East, and also to Arab influence. In this respect, the standard work to be consulted is Lane's *Modern Egyptians*; cp. also Mrs. Poole, *The Englishwoman in Egypt*.

24. *Chronology.*—No subject in Egyptology is more discussed than chronology; there is none on which opinions are more at variance, and which is to be treated with more caution. Chronology is based upon astronomy; and although we have a certain number of astronomical representations, they are so intermingled with mythology, so evidently recorded for a religious purpose, that it is difficult to make any safe use of them. We know, however, that there were some astronomical books, but none of them have come down to us, except perhaps a few fragments inscribed on the walls of some temple.

According to the generally prevalent ideas which were first advocated by Lepsius in his standard book on Egyptian chronology, the Egyptians had two different years: a vague year, consisting of twelve months of thirty days and five intercalary days; and, besides, a fixed solar year, consisting of 365¼ days. Those years began originally on the same day, the first of the month of Thoth (20th July, Greg.), with the heliacal rising of Sothis. But as after four years there was a difference of one day in the beginning of the two years, it is admitted, and confirmed by testimonies of Greek authors, that they made use of the so-called Sothiac cycle, 1460 solar years corresponding to 1461 vague years: after the lapse of that period, the two years began again on the same day. Although we find no allusion in the hieroglyphic texts to the Sothiac period, the constant mention of Sothis in reference to the beginning of the year makes it very probable that they knew the period and made use of it; while on the contrary there is no reason at all to admit the existence of a period of Apis (25 years), or of the Phoenix (500 years), which are not supported even indirectly by the monuments. In the inscriptions, when a great number of years is indicated, it is generally by means of the *Set* cycle, the *τριακοντετηρίς* (30 years), or the *hunti*, a period of 120 years.

The Egyptians had three seasons of four months. The first was the season of the inundation, which began shortly after the summer solstice, and which comprised the months of Thoth, Paophi, Athyr, and Choiak. The second, comprising the months of Tybi, Mechir, Phamenot, and Pharmuti, was the season of ploughing and agricultural labours. The third was the season of harvest,—Pachons, Payni, Epiphi, Mesori. The names of the seasons had no sense in the vague year, as in the course of time the seasons went through all the different parts of the year.

There was no fixed era: no mention has been found of anything like it except in mythological texts and in the tablet of the year 400, in which an officer of Ramses II. dates his arrival at Tanis in the 400th year of the king Set Nubti, in the 4th day of Mesori. It is difficult to know what real historical value may be attributed to this date. The events are always dated by the year of the reigning king. Besides, the Egyptians do not seem to have felt the need of fastening their history to some fixed astronomical facts. Their chronology was more a succession of kings and names, with the sum of years during which they had reigned. The calendars seem to have had a specially religious purpose; they indicate when the festivals of the gods are to take place, when the offerings are to be brought. The mention of an era is derived from a passage of the Greek mathematician Theon, who speaks of an era of king Menophres, the beginning of a Sothiac cycle, which would correspond to July 20, B.C. 1322. Lepsius has endeavoured to prove that king Menophres was the son of Ramses II., Menephtah of the 19th dynasty. In fact, the name of Menophres has not been identified in this form, and it is a question whether it is not the coronation name of a king, the name of the first cartouche including the syllable Ra, rather than the second name, as is the case with Menephtah.

Extensive researches on the calendar have been lately made by several scholars, and particularly by Brugsch, who, in his book written in 1865 (*Matériaux pour servir à la reconstruction du Calendrier des anciens Égyptiens*), had come to the conclusion that under the 12th dynasty the Egyptians used four different years—the vague year, the solar year, a lunar year, and a lunar year with intercalation. Quite lately, reverting to his former studies with the addition of a great number of new texts, and interpreting many of the mythological expressions which refer to astronomical facts, Dr. Brugsch discards several of the results which he advocated in his previous works, and brings forward conclusions which, if they can stand the test of a severe criticism, would certainly be a great progress in our knowledge of the Egyptian calendar. According to the new theory of the eminent Egyptologist, the principal facts would be the following.

The dates of all Egyptian monuments are given in the vague year of 365 days, which began originally with the heliacal rising of Sothis in the night of the 19–20 July. There are only two mentions of a fixed solar year with an intercalary day after four years, and both of them are later than the reform of the calendar made by the emperor Augustus and the introduction of the Alexandrian year. The correspondence of the vague year with a fixed year is indicated through the phases of the moon, the stations of the sun, the beginning of the seasons, and the rising of certain stars, particularly Sothis. The existence of a lunar year running parallel with the solar year, and which was used as well as the civil year for the dating of certain festivals, is with Dr. Brugsch an established fact. The eminent Egyptologist, although denying that there is any mention of the Sothiac cycle, quotes three inscriptions giving the rising of Sirius at a certain date of the vague year: of those dates one belongs to the 6th, another to the 18th dynasty, and the last to a Roman emperor at Esneh; they are evidently separated by the so-called *ἀποκατάστασις*, the period of 1461 years of the Sothic

cycle; which would imply that this period was well known to the ancient Egyptians.

These few facts will show how difficult it is at present to reconstruct the chronological system of the Egyptians, the more so because there are evidently many expressions of which we do not yet know the real sense.

We are not much more fortunate with historical chronology. Our best materials for establishing it are the lists of kings, the most important of which is contained in the Papyrus of Turin. It is written in hieratic characters, very likely under the reign of Ramses III. of the 20th dynasty. It consisted of ten columns of text giving the names of all the kings, from the gods or heroes down to the time of the Hyksos, with the number of years, months, and days which they had reigned; at the end of each dynasty the numbers were summed up. This document, which contained more than 200 names, and which would be invaluable for the reconstruction of historical chronology, is unfortunately broken into 164 pieces. A few larger portions have been put together, but a running text cannot be restored.

There are some other lists on different monuments: the largest is the list of Seti I. in the temple of Abydos, giving 75 names of predecessors of Seti I., the first being Mena. Although this list is of great value for the sequence of the kings, it is far from being complete. Apart from the Hyksos, who are entirely omitted, it is certain that Seti has made a choice between his ancestors, and has neglected those whose reigns were very short or inglorious. This list was copied by the son of Seti I., Ramses II., in the same temple of Abydos. The fragments of his copy have been brought to the British Museum.

Further, we have the list of Sakkarah, which comes from the tomb of an officer called Tounari; it contains only 47 names, begins with the sixth king of the 1st dynasty, and is less reliable than that named above, as the scribe has evidently shown some carelessness in the way he copied his original. It belongs also to the time of Ramses II. There are several others of minor importance.

According to tradition, the lists of kings preserved in the temples were used as documents by a Sebennytic priest called Manetho, who wrote under Ptolemy Philadelphos, and by his command. He is said to have written three books on *Αἰγυπτιακὰ ὑπομνήματα*. This work was not noticed by the Greeks, and particularly not by Diodorus; but the Christian chronographers and Josephus have made great use of it, and we know Manetho only through their writings. Josephus gives us a few fragments, but the lists of dynasties are known by the extracts of Africanus quoted by Syncellus and those of Eusebius. It is therefore hardly possible to say that we have the text of Manetho himself, as it has mainly come to us third hand. Manetho divided the history of Egypt down to the Ptolemies into thirty dynasties, the thirty-first being the Persians; for each dynasty he gives the names of the kings and the number of years they reigned. It was long supposed that Manetho would be a sound basis for the reconstruction of Egyptian chronology. However, it has proved not to be so. Wherever we can check his dates by monumental evidence, there is a considerable difference between his numbers and those of the Egyptian inscriptions, and that chiefly for the time previous to the 20th dynasty. Admitting all his dynasties to have been successive, Mena, the first king, would have to be placed in the year 5613 B.C. On the other hand, a passage of Syncellus says that Manetho reckoned the length of the history of Egypt as 3555 years from Mena to the conquest under the Persian king Ochos; which would place the beginning of the first reign in the year 3892. Lepsius lays a great stress on this passage, which he considers as taken from the original Manetho, while others think that it is derived from a book called *Sothis*, which was falsely attributed to Manetho. In order to make the lists of the kings coincide with this sum, Lepsius has admitted that several of the dynasties must be considered as having reigned simultaneously. It is certain that the nearly total absence of monuments of the 7th to the 10th dynasties and the great gap of the Hyksos' time may justify such an assumption. However, there is hardly any evidence of collateral dynasties in the inscriptions, and, besides, we know many names of kings who are not mentioned by Manetho.

It is easy to understand that with such scanty and unreliable information there is considerable difference of opinion among Egyptologists as to the dates, chiefly for the Old and the Middle Empire. After the 18th dynasty we have some synchronisms which help us, to a certain degree; the date of the Exodus, which historical proof shows to have taken place very soon after Ramses II.; and the capture of Jerusalem by Shishak (Sheshonk I.).

LIST OF THE DYNASTIES OF MANETHO.*

Dynasty.	Native of	Kings.
1st	This (Arabat el Madfouneh)...	8
2nd	,, ...	9
3rd	Memphis	9
4th	,, ...	8
5th	Elephantine (Memphis ?) ...	9
6th	Memphis (Elephantine ?) ...	6
7th	Memphis	5
8th	,, ...	9
9th	Heracleopolis	4
10th	,, ...	19
11th	Diospolis (Thebes)	16 6 (?)
12th	,, ...	8
13th	,, ...	60
14th	Xois (Sakha)	76
15th	Hyksos	6
16th	,, ...	32
17th	Diospolis	5
18th	,, ...	8
19th	,, ...	7
20th	,, ...	12
21st	Tanis	7
22nd	Bubastis...	9
23rd	Tanis	3
24th	Saïs	3
25th	Ethiopians	3
26th	Saïs	9
27th	Persians...	9
28th	Saïs	4
29th	Mendes	4
30th	Sebennytos	3
31st	Persians from Ochos	3

* See Lepsius, *Königsbuch der Aegypter*.

The following table gives the date of the beginning of each dynasty according to the view of three of the leading Egyptologists. It is to be remarked that, as has been said before, the system of Lepsius starts from the datum which he considers as Manethonian, that the whole duration of the Egyptian empire was 3555 years. Mariette (*Aperçu de l'Hist. Anc. de l'Égypte*) merely sums up the numbers of Manetho, while Brugsch alone has a chronological system which is given here from his last History of Egypt[f] (Leipz. 1877).

Dynasty.	Lepsius.	Mariette.	Brugsch.
1	3892	5004	4400
2	3639	4751	4133
3	3338	4449	3966
4	3124	4235	3733
5	2840	3951	3566
6	2744	3703	3300
7	2592	3500	3100
8	2522	3500	—
9	2674	3358	—
10	2565	3249	—
11	2423	3064	—
12	2380		2466
13	2136	2851	2223
14	2167	2398	—
15	2101	2214	—
16	1842		—
17	1684		—
18	1591	1703	1700
19	1443	1462	1400
20	1269	1288	1200
21	1091	1110	1100
22	961	980	966
23	787	810	766
24	729	721	733
25	716	715	700
26	685	665	666
27	525	527	527
28	525	406	—
29	399	399	399
30	378	378	378
31	340	340	340
Alexander	332	332	332

25. *History.*—We shall now give a short sketch of the history of Egypt, insisting chiefly on the general features, and on the facts connected with Scripture.

The early age, as we know from Manetho and the Turin Papyrus, is mythological. The gods were considered as having reigned over the country, even Set himself; and the duration of each dominion was assigned in the papyrus. After the gods came the age of the Shesu-Hor, the followers of Horus, who are said to have helped Horus in his conquest of Egypt from Set. The time of the followers of Horus is mentioned in the texts as what we should call *the prehistoric age.*

The first historical king is called by the inscriptions Mena. We have no Egyptian inscriptions concerning him, only the mention of his name; but the Greek authors speak of him. By them he is said to have left This (near the present town of Girgeh), and to have founded Memphis on a spot which he gained from the Nile through changing the bed of the river by means of a dyke. Diodorus relates (i. 45) that he taught his subjects how to worship the gods and to offer sacrifices, and besides how to make tables and beds and use precious clothing, and to introduce into their life all kinds of luxuries. Thus he seems to have been the first sovereign who, if he did not introduce civilisation in the country, at least did very much to further it. It is quite possible that his work consisted in uniting under his sceptre districts which were under the dominion of different rulers, and in making thus one kingdom. It is a difficult question, which very likely will never be solved, how far the Egyptians were civilised before Mena, and how long it took them to reach that point. This question is intimately connected with that of the origin of the Egyptians. It has been said above that most of the historians are of opinion that they came into the country through the isthmus of Suez, and not from Ethiopia, as is said by Herodotus, because the most ancient monuments are found near Memphis; and that, on the contrary, on the Upper Nile there is nothing except of a very recent date. However, it may be observed that civilisation does not always go parallel with the migrations of nations. In the Egyptian tradition everything points to a migration from the South, as if they had come from Asia through Arabia, crossing the Red Sea; and particularly the fact that Mena himself, a native of This, has to go north a great distance in order to found Memphis near the point of the Delta. As that part of the country has always been called Typhonian, it indicates that it was occupied by a population of foreign race. Memphis, in Egyptian Mennefer, *the good building*, was celebrated for its temples of Phtah and of the bull Apis, of which the burial-place has been found. Besides erecting these temples, Mena is described as a warlike king who fought the Libyans; but he was killed by a hippopotamus, which is perhaps a mythical way of saying that he perished in a war against the Shemites.

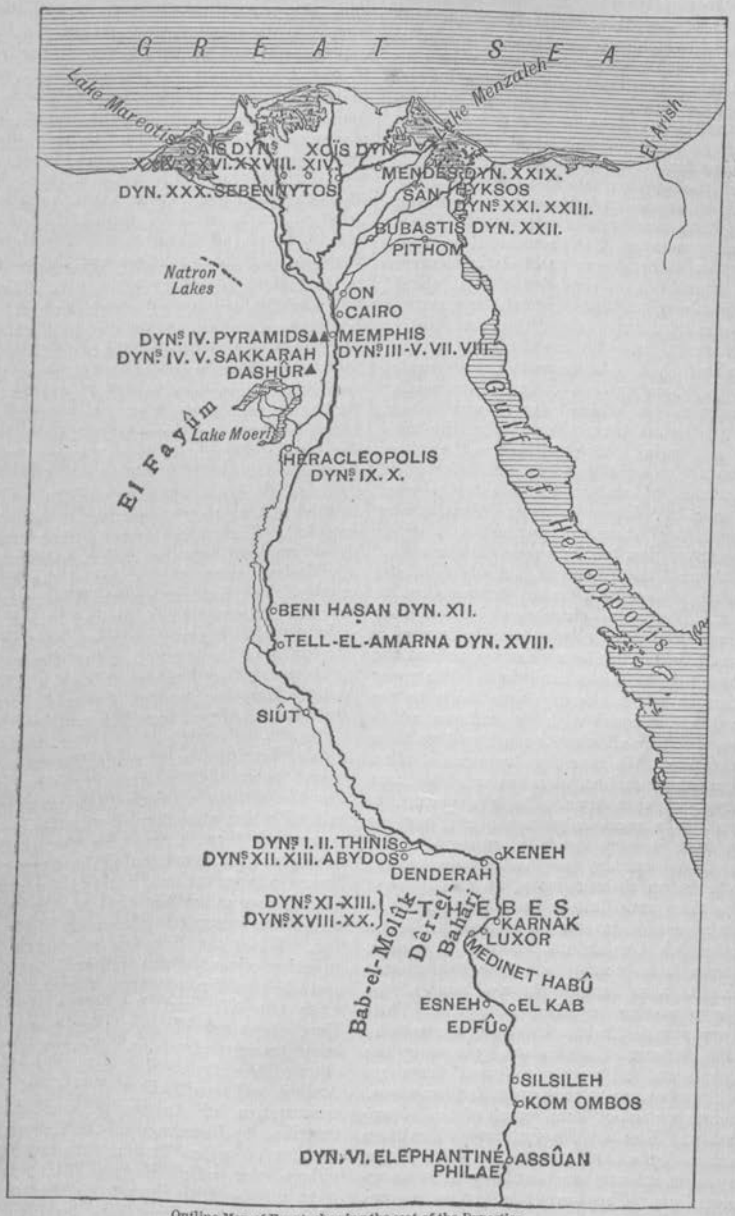
The succession of kings has been divided into three periods: the Old Empire, which reaches from the 1st to the 10th dynasty; the Middle Empire, which comprises the 11th and following dynasties, to the end of the Hyksos period; and the New Empire, which goes down to the conquest of the country by the Persians.

The monuments, except the lists of kings, are silent on the first three dynasties; but suddenly there is a great number of those of the fourth dynasty, in the time of which the prosperity of Egypt increased considerably. The kings of the Pyramids raised Egypt to a very high degree of civilisation, which has hardly been surpassed later. The first of them, Snefru, fought the natives of Sinai, and probably was the first to make use of the mines of copper and turquoise which are found in the peninsula. His son, Khufu, was the builder of the Great Pyramid. He also made war against the Shemites of Sinai. A tradition which lasted down to the time of the Ptolemies attributes to him the plan of the temple of Hathor at Denderah. But he is chiefly famous for the construction of the Great Pyramid, that gigantic monument which has been the object of wonder to all generations.

[f] Since Brugsch wrote his history, his recent discoveries will probably modify his numbers. As he refers to the reign of Thothmes III. the astronomical coincidence of the stone of Elephantine, which falls in the years 1477–1474, this lowers his numbers by about 120 years.

His successor, Khafra, followed his example, and also Menkaura, who reigned after them. These three kings are the constructors of the three pyramids of Geezeh, which are most frequently visited.

It is a very common error to think that there are only the three pyramids of Geezeh, and that this is a kind of construction which was special to those three kings. On the whole ridge of the desert which goes from Meydoom to Aboo Ruash,



Outline Map of Egypt, showing the seat of the Dynasties.

a length of more than twenty miles, are scattered pyramids which amount to nearly a hundred, besides probably a considerable number which have disappeared. They differ very much in size, but they originate from a religious idea which induced the sovereigns to choose that particular kind of burial. The pyramids stand in one vast cemetery, where thousands of dead were buried, not only from Memphis, but also from other neighbouring cities. This fact alone would make it probable that they were intended to be tombs; besides, all inscriptions

which mention pyramids speak of them as funeral monuments, and this form is represented on papyri of a much later epoch as the abode in which the mummy was placed. It would be extraordinary that all the hidden wisdom which, according to new theories, lay concealed in the proportions of the Great Pyramid should be a privilege of which all the others would be entirely deficient. These facts, and others on which it is not possible to dwell, have induced Egyptologists unanimously to discard entirely the ideas which have been brought forward lately about the purpose of the Great Pyramid, or which consider it as an observatory; not to speak of the opinion which supposes all the pyramids to have been built in order to prevent the sand from covering the valley of the Nile.[5]

Let us remember the fundamental principle of Egyptian eschatology: the body is to revive in the Ament, but on condition that it should not be dissolved, and that it should be preserved at any price from corruption or violation. Nearly everywhere in antiquity the tomb of the chief, the tomb which is to be respected, is a tumulus covering a chamber or a coffin. The peculiar circumstances in which Egypt was placed prevented the inhabitants from using the mere mound as a burial. If it had been in the valley, the inundation would have washed it off; or had it been made of sand in the desert, the wind would soon have blown it away. That is why they made it of stone. A pyramid is a much improved tumulus, but its purpose is the same.

All around the pyramids, the chief officers of the kings have been buried in tombs cut in the rock. The funeral chamber which contained the mummy is generally at the bottom of a deep shaft, which has been filled up, so that the coffin was held to be absolutely safe. The upper chambers, in which offerings were made to the deceased, are adorned with fine rilievos, which give us a picture of what is considered to be in the other life. We have thus by means of these representations an idea of what was the state of Egypt at that time. As the picture is funereal, it is necessarily incomplete, but we derive from it very much information on the state of the country, on the customs of the inhabitants, on their industry, on their way of life, on their art. It is remarkable that art in certain respects had reached a degree of perfection beyond which it would not advance; it is more free than later, nearer to nature, less conventional. At that time the turn of mind of the Egyptians was less mystical than later. Their representations of future existence are nothing but the pictures of a rich and prosperous life in this world. Properly religious texts are never found except in the pyramids themselves.

Though we do not know much of the history of Snefru, Khufu, Khafra, and Menkaura (Menkheres), the chief kings of the 4th dynasty, their constructions show that they were powerful sovereigns. They were the first conquerors. We know the names of the kings of the 5th dynasty and the pyramids of most of them. The 6th is said to have come from Elephantine; the most eminent of the kings is Pepi, who made war against the Herusha, who very likely were a Semitic nation, and against several of the negro clans or tribes. He was also the founder of the temples of Tanis and Bubastis. The last ruler of the dynasty was Queen Nitocris, to whose name the Greek authors have fastened legends which are not attested by the Egyptian documents.

The most complete obscurity reigns over the four next dynasties till the end of the 10th. According to Manetho, the first two were Memphitic, while the last two came from Heracleopolis. We cannot control these data from the monuments, having only the lists and the very fragmentary information derived from the Papyrus of Turin. Excavations made at Heracleopolis (Hanes, Is. xxx. 4), the present Ahnás el Medineh, would perhaps throw some light on that dark period.

The monuments agree with Manetho in giving to the 11th dynasty a Theban origin. The sovereigns of this dynasty, of which the exact order is unknown, are called Antef and Mentuhotep: the Antefs were buried at Thebes. It is doubtful whether there was not at the same time a rival line at Heracleopolis. Under the last king, Sankhkara, we see the first naval expedition of which we have any record. A fleet is sent to the land of Punt, the Somali coast, to fetch frankincense.

The 12th dynasty is very well known, owing to the great number of documents which have been left. These kings were the founders of the great temple of Amon at Thebes, and since their age Thebes became the capital of the Egyptian empire. The Amenemhas and Usertesens were warlike princes; they directed their efforts chiefly against the negro nations; they extended the limits of their kingdom into Nubia, as far as Dongola; they had also to fight the Libyans and the Herusha; besides, they made great constructions: they enlarged the temple of Tum at Heliopolis, of which one of the obelisks yet stands, bearing the name of Usertesen I., the second ruler of the dynasty; they enlarged also the temple of Tanis (Zoan), the entrance hall of which was adorned with the statues of almost all these kings. To the sixth king, Amenemha III., is attributed the digging of Lake Moeris, a large artificial basin at the entrance of what is now called the Fayoom, the purpose of which was to regulate the waters of the inundation. When the Nile was very high, a great quantity of water was gathered there, which could be used for inundating the country around when the Nile was low. The site of Lake Moeris is much discussed; its restoration has been strongly advocated. Near the lake was situated the city of Shet, called by the Greeks Arsinoë, and now Medinet el Fayoom. Another construction of Amenemha was the temple described by Herodotus as the Labyrinth, some remains of which Lepsius discovered near the village now called Howára. A literary document of the 12th dynasty is the curious tale of Saneha, who relates how, leaving Egypt, he took refuge with the prince of Atima, who gave him his daughter; after many years spent there and successful wars Saneha returned to Egypt in the time of Usertesen I. This text gives us an interesting insight into the friendly intercourse which there was then between Egypt and the inhabitants of the Sinaitic peninsula. Of this

[5] Cp. the admirable book of Mr. Flinders Petrie, *The Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh*.

dynasty we have most beautifully painted tombs at Beni-Hassan, which depict the life and the customs of the Egyptians. One of them in particular, the tomb of the officer called Khnumhotep, who lived under Amenemha II. and Usertesen II., contains a most interesting picture, showing a Semitic family, numbering thirty-seven people, coming from the land of Abesha. That they are of Semitic origin is shown by their very characteristic type, by the name of Abesha, and by their being called Amu. The chief bows respectfully before Khnumhotep and presents him with a wild goat of the same kind as are found in Sinai; behind him are women and children riding on asses. The women wear garments of various colours, and carry musical instruments; it is said also that they bring with them a kind of balm for the eyes, called *mestem*. It is obvious that these Shemites desire to settle in the country, and that they are entrusted to the officer who has to take charge of them. This shows that the Semitic nations had then begun to advance into Egypt. They came at first peacefully and settled in the land, but such tribes or families were the forerunners of the Hyksos invaders, who for several centuries put an end to the Egyptian dominion.

The 13th dynasty was also Theban. The first sovereigns, the Sebekhoteps, of whom monuments are found as well in Nubia as at Thebes and at Tanis, certainly held the whole land under their sceptre, but we have not the complete list of these rulers, and still less of those of the 14th dynasty. We reach here the second great chasm in Egyptian history, the period of the Hyksos, the time when not the whole land, but certainly Lower Egypt, was subjugated by a foreign race.

Much has been written about the Hyksos, to whom very different origins have been attributed. As for the sense of their name, it is given correctly by Josephus; it means the Kings of the Shepherds: *shasu* (*shos* in demotic) is the usual word for nomads. The longest account of their invasion is given by Josephus, who relates, on the authority of Manetho, that, under the reign of a king called Timaios, men of unknown origin, coming from the East, invaded the country and conquered it easily without a struggle. After having subdued the kings, they burnt the cities, destroyed the temples, and behaved most cruelly towards the inhabitants, killing the men and reducing the women and the children to slavery. He goes on to say that one of their kings was Salatis, who resided at Memphis; then he names others: Beon, Apakhnas, Apophis, Jannas, Asses, who are also quoted with variants by Africanus and Eusebius. The duration of their rule is said by Africanus to have been 284 years, and by Josephus 511, until they were expelled by a king called Misphragmuthosis.

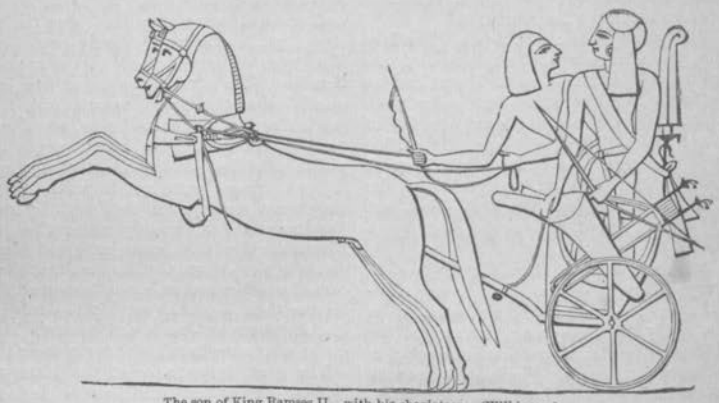
At present the scarcity of the monuments makes it guess-work to reconstruct the events which Josephus relates. We do not know exactly at what time the invasion took place; the end of the 13th dynasty and the 14th are a chaos from which we shall perhaps never be able to extricate ourselves. There must have been anarchy in the land; many of the so-called kings reigned only a very short time, considering the great number of names which have been preserved by the Papyrus of Turin, most of which are only fragmentary. Generally the 14th dynasty is called Egyptian, while the pure Hyksos are the 15th and 16th. What was the origin of the Hyksos? They certainly belonged to a race different from the Egyptians. They have been called Phoenicians, Arabs, Elamites, Akkadians, and Cushites. Their name Shasu means only nomads of the same kind as those who are often met with in the campaigns of the Pharaohs against Syria. It is not improbable that their invasion of Egypt is connected with the conquests of the Elamites in Babylonia, who drove out of the country the former inhabitants. Besides, Egypt, the rich and fertile land, has always been the object of the covetousness of the neighbouring nomads, especially in time of famine. It is certain that they occupied the Delta, and that their principal cities were Tanis, Bubastis, and Avaris (Tell el Her); their god was Set Baal, the worship of whom already existed at Tanis during the 14th dynasty, as a newly discovered monument has shown. Light has been thrown on the race to which the rulers of the Hyksos belonged by the monuments discovered at Tanis, and quite lately at Bubastis—sphinxes and statues, some of which bear the name of Apepi, while others very likely give his portrait. The type of face is not Egyptian; nor is it Semitic. The strongly modelled face, with high cheek-bones, the broad mouth with thick and projecting lips, the curved nose, reveal an Asiatic race, which must have had Turanian or Mongolian affinities. It is evident that though the Hyksos princes were not Shemites themselves, they were accompanied in Egypt by nations of that race which, already under the preceding Pharaonic dynasties, came in great numbers to settle in the country. The fact that the Hyksos came from Mesopotamia may have contributed to dispose their kings favourably towards Hebrews like Abraham or Jacob, and towards Mesopotamians who came to take shelter in their kingdom.

The great importance of the history of the Hyksos for biblical criticism is derived from the fact that the arrival of Abraham in Egypt and the history of Joseph must be placed during the time of their dominion. We have no reason to doubt the accuracy of Eusebius and Syncellus, who say that it was under Apophis (Apepi) that Joseph was raised to his high position. We know two kings of the name of Apepi, and we cannot decide to which of the two it refers—more likely to him whose name has been found at Tanis. The description of the Egyptian court as given by Genesis shows that the Hyksos were no more the semi-barbarous pillagers who first conquered the land, but that they had adopted most of the customs and the civilisation of their subjects. Nevertheless, the amalgamation between subduers and subdued had not taken place. Traces of their different origin still subsisted, and often appear in the narrative. For instance, the king shows to the new comers a good will which is not shared by his subjects. He himself does not seem to have against the shepherds the hatred which the Egyptians felt towards that class of men. The old antipathy between the two races was not extinct, and was to revive shortly afterwards when after successful wars the Hyksos were expelled, and a native dynasty again ascended the

throne. The history of Joseph must be placed towards the end of the Hyksos dominion (cp. Tomkins, *The Life and Times of Joseph in the Light of Egyptian Lore*). Parallel with the last Hyksos dynasty runs the 17th dynasty of Thebans, who are nearly all called Rasqenen. They were the first to attack the Hyksos. A papyrus which, if not a historical document, must yet be based on a historical tradition, relates how one of those princes had a quarrel with Apepi; we do not know how it ended.

The conqueror of the Hyksos, who captured their fortified city, Avaris, was the Pharaoh Ahmes, as we know from the biography of one of his generals who had the same name. With him begins the most powerful dynasty of Egypt, the 18th. Under the reign of these sovereigns the empire reached its greatest extent, and rose to a degree of prosperity and riches which was never equalled afterwards. This and the beginning of the 19th dynasty are the time which is best known, and from which we have the greatest number of monuments.

After having driven out the Hyksos, Ahmes pursued them to the east as far as the city of Sheruhan, in the south of Palestine (Josh. xix. 6). When the whole empire was again united under his dominion, he directed his steps towards the south, and conquered Nubia. His successor, Thothmes I., followed his example; he began the campaigns in Syria, and went as far as Mesopotamia. After him came Thothmes II. and his famous queen and sister Hatshepsu, who made the great naval expedition to the land of Punt. She survived her husband, and associated with herself on the throne her younger brother Thothmes III., who was her successor, and who may justly be called the greatest of all the Egyptian kings. During a reign of nearly fifty-four years he carried successfully the arms of Egypt from the Third Cataract to the north of Syria, and at the same time erected a considerable number of temples which have been enlarged by his successors. The art of his time is probably the most perfect of the New Empire. It is not possible to give here the catalogue of all the cities and nations which he boasts to have conquered, and the names of which cover some of the pylons of Thebes. The Euphrates and the Mount Amanus were at that



The son of King Ramses II., with his charioteer. (Wilkinson.)

time the western and northern limits of the empire. The king of Naharain was beaten: Phoenicia and Cyprus were tributary to the king, who in several of his campaigns marched through Palestine. The Syrian nations are called in the inscriptions Retennu; Phoenicia is called Keft (Kaphtor). We see also the first mention of the Kheta, the Hittites, who afterwards became dangerous enemies to Egypt. In the lands Thothmes conquered he left garrisons, but he had constantly rebellions to put down, and it is doubtful how far his successors could have kept up such a vast empire. One of them, Amenhotep III., was a rather peaceful king, who erected several of the principal temples at Thebes, in particular that of Luxor. At the end of the 18th dynasty there was a kind of religious revolution: Amenhotep IV. tried to destroy the worship of Amon, and to replace it by that of the solar disk Aten; but he did not succeed, and, after a short time of anarchy, Horus, the last king of the dynasty, re-established the old worship.

In the 19th dynasty, although Egypt is still mighty, the decline begins to be felt: the second king, Seti I., fights the Shasu and the Kheta, the Hittites, whose power had grown considerably, and who ruled over the north of Syria. He began one of the most marvellous constructions of Egypt, the great hypostyle hall of Karnak, which was the entrance to the temple of Amon at Thebes. His son, Ramses II., made several successful campaigns against the Kheta, which he caused to be related and celebrated in high-flowing words, even on the walls of the temples. But his reign lasted too long (sixty-seven years); and the honourable peace which he concluded with the Kheta in his twenty-first year shows how little subdued they had been. Besides, Egypt was exhausted by several centuries of war and conquests; and in spite of the vanity of Ramses II., and of his fancy for writing his name everywhere, it is easily discernible that the kingdom was weakened. Ramses II., according to chronological synchronisms, is the Pharaoh of the oppression. In Scripture one short sentence is the only information which we have concerning all that took place between the death of Joseph and the rise of the oppressor: "Now there arose up a new king over Egypt which knew not Joseph" (Ex. i. 8). The Hyksos had been expelled; an Egyptian dynasty occupied again the throne. It

is quite natural that they had no sympathy for a race which was kindred to their former rulers, and to the nations they were fighting in the East. They employed them as they did their prisoners; but when they grew very numerous, the Egyptian king felt alarmed at the increase of these foreigners, and the more so because he felt that they soon would be more powerful than himself. This caused him to oppress the Israelites [EXODUS]. The best proof of the decay of the Egyptian empire is the fact that, a few years after his coming to the throne, the son of Ramses II., Menephtah, had to struggle against a formidable coalition of Mediterranean nations who invaded Egypt, and pushed forward nearly as far as Memphis. The difficulties in which Menephtah was engaged favoured the escape of the Israelites, who went out from the land of Goshen, through the northern part of the Arabian Gulf.

The 19th dynasty ended in anarchy; the beginning of the 20th is obscure. One of the first rulers, Ramses III., succeeded in restoring to Egypt part of its former splendour; but his successors, who all bore the name of Ramses, seem to have been idle and incapable kings, who allowed the high priests of Amon to usurp the power more and more, until, after Ramses XII., the high priest Her-Hor put aside the Ramessides and began a new dynasty.

It is still uncertain whether Her-Hor, the founder of the dynasty, was a Tanite himself; however, one of his successors, Pisebchan, has left important monuments at Tanis, and at the same time we know that these kings had also Thebes and Upper Egypt in their power. Very likely they inhabited more frequently their northern capital, leaving the high priests of Amon to govern at Thebes. There is much uncertainty as to the order of succession and the length of their reigns; but it must be the last of them, Horpisebchan, who gave his daughter to Solomon, and who conquered for him the city of Gezer, which he gave as dowry to his daughter (1 K. ix. 16). It is also to one of the Tanite princes that Hadad fled (1 K. xi. 14), the Edomite who attained such a high position at the Egyptian court, which he left in order to retaliate on Solomon what David had done to his country.

With Jeroboam we meet with the name of the first king of the 22nd dynasty, Sheshonk, or as Scripture calls him, Shishak (1 K. xi. 40), a chief of Libyan mercenaries, who came to the throne probably owing to military usurpation, but who legitimated the title of his family by giving a princess of royal blood as wife to his son and successor. In the fifth year of Rehoboam he invaded the kingdom of Judah, took Jerusalem, pillaged it, and carried away the treasures of the Temple (1 K. xiv. 25; 2 Ch. xii. 2). He recorded on the walls of the temple of Amon at Thebes this successful campaign, in which he took a considerable number of cities or villages of Judah and Israel, these latter mostly Levitical. The expedition of Shishak had no lasting result for Egypt. His successors, who bore the names of Osorkon, Sheshonk, and Takeloth, were engaged in wars with the east, and had some difficulty in defending their throne against foreign invaders. The second king, Osorkon I., may have been the Zerah of the Bible who invaded Palestine with a large army, perhaps in the hope of following up the victories of his father (2 Ch. xiv. 9–13), but who was thoroughly beaten by king Asa. However, it is possible that he may have been only one of the generals of the king.

The 23rd dynasty began with kings of the same family, but then the Ethiopians of Napata, headed by their king Piankhi, invaded Egypt. He conquered the whole land, established governors in the principal cities, and returned to his capital. The 24th dynasty consists of one king only, Bocchoris, Bek en renf, of whom we have few monuments, and whom we know chiefly through the legends of the Greek authors. During the 25th dynasty Ethiopians again occupy the throne, but then we have other information than the Egyptian inscriptions: we have the records of the Assyrian campaigns against the Pharaohs.

The first king of the 25th dynasty, Shabaka, is called Soa[h] in Scripture (A. V. and R. V. "So") and Shabe in the Assyrian texts. Hoshea, king of Samaria, sent messengers to him (2 K. xvii. 4) when Shalmaneser had made him his tributary. The discovery of this treachery caused the Assyrian king to put Hoshea in prison, where he died. Shabak did not move in order to prevent the capture of Samaria by Sargon; his army was next routed at Raphia on the coast of the Mediterranean, and he also became vassal to the Assyrians. Under his son Shabatak, Sargon, the victor of Shabak, died, and was succeeded by Sennacherib. Shabatak himself, after having one of his armies beaten at Altaka by the Assyrian monarch, was put aside and killed by the Ethiopian conqueror Taharka, or, as Scripture calls him, Tirhakah (2 Ch. xix. 9; Is. xxxvii. 9). This valiant and persevering adversary of the Assyrians began his career by making a treaty with Hezekiah, an act which very likely brought upon Egypt the invasion of Esarhaddon, Sennacherib's son. Tirhakah was beaten and fled to Ethiopia; the Assyrians went as far as Thebes, and divided the country between twenty princes, one of whom was Necho, prince of Saïs. Soon after Esarhaddon's death, Tirhakah again invaded Egypt, and conquered it in the 24th year of his reign; but he could not resist Assurbanipal, and was obliged to fly again to Ethiopia. Thebes was taken by Assurbanipal, who re-established the twenty princes and returned to Nineveh. Shortly afterwards the governors entered into an alliance with Tirhakah, who, for the second time, swept down the valley of the Nile and conquered Memphis; but he soon retired to Ethiopia, where he died. His son Urdamane, or Nut Amen, as the Egyptian inscriptions call him, succeeded him; he put to death Necho, prince of Saïs, but he was obliged to retire before Assurbanipal, who again captured Thebes, which he boasts to have sacked and destroyed. Then the princes were once more re-installed, and Egypt was for a few years tributary to Assyria (cp. Nah. iii. 8–10).

One of the most energetic of the petty kings, Psammetik I., son of Necho, taking advantage of the fact that towards the end of the reign of Assurbanipal the power of Assyria was much diminished, succeeded, with the aid

[h] The LXX. call this king Σωά, Σουά, and Σηγώρ: the Vulg. *Sua*.

of Ionian and Carian mercenaries, in subduing his rivals, and in becoming sole master of Egypt, which reached its former limits; he ventured even as far as Ashdod in the land of the Philistines. Psammetik I. was the founder of the 26th dynasty; he was a warlike king, but his power depended chiefly on his northern mercenaries, who from this time play an important part in the history of Egypt. Under the Saïte kings there was a kind of revival in Egyptian art; we have many monuments of that period which show that the artistic traditions had not been lost during the great troubles Egypt had gone through. After he had reigned fifty-four years Psammetik was succeeded by Necho, who followed the traditions of his father, favoured the establishment of foreigners, especially of Greeks, in the country, and encouraged trade by opening again the canal which went from the Nile to the Red Sea. Nineveh was no more; it had been destroyed by the Medes. Babylon had risen in its stead under the mighty ruler Nabopolassar. Necho, wishing to restore to Egypt its old conquests, and understanding that Babylonia was his hereditary enemy, asked the king of Judah, Josiah, to allow him to go through his country, but Josiah tried to oppose him, and was killed at Megiddo (2 Ch. xxxv. 20–36; 2 K. xxiii. 29–35). The land became tributary to Necho, who did not recognise the new king, Jehoahaz, son of Josiah, but replaced him by his brother Eliakim, to whom he gave the name of Jehoiakim. Necho seems at that time to have been master of a great part of the territory which had been conquered by Ramses II.: his kingdom extended as far as Mesopotamia; but he had hardly returned to Egypt when Nebuchadnezzar marched against him. The two armies met at Carchemish. Necho was thoroughly routed and fled to Egypt; he lost all his Syrian conquests, and was so much weakened that he did not stir in order to come to the rescue of Jehoiakim when the latter was attacked by Nebuchadnezzar. The Babylonian conqueror did not follow Necho into Egypt; he was recalled to Babylon by the death of his father. Necho died two years afterwards. His successor, Psammetik II., was chiefly engaged in wars against Ethiopia. After him Uahabra, Apries, Hophra (Jer. xliv. 30), began with great successes: he beat the fleets of Cyprus and the Phoenicians, and conquered the coast of Syria, where the Jews had revolted (Jer. xxxvii. 5–11). But hearing that Nebuchadnezzar drew near, he fell back without helping Zedekiah, king of Jerusalem. The city was finally taken by the Babylonians, and the people carried to Babylon in 588 B.C.; a considerable number of Jews migrated to Egypt, and settled not only in the Delta, but even in Upper Egypt. Nebuchadnezzar was detained by the siege of Tyre, but at the end of the reign of Apries the king of Babylon invaded Egypt; however, it was a mere plundering expedition: no trace of the Babylonian dominion remained in Egypt when Amasis filled the throne with distinction during thirty-eight years. During his time the Persian empire of Cyrus had put an end to the second Chaldaean empire, and Cyrus had begun his conquests, which were soon to extend as far as Egypt. The Greek tradition says that Amasis excited the animosity of Cambyses, who marched into Egypt and besieged the king, Psammetik III., in his citadel of Memphis. The city was taken, the king made prisoner, and, after an attempt at rebellion, cruelly put to death. From that time Egypt was a province of the Persian empire; her national history is only the narrative of her fruitless endeavours to free herself from the Persian rule.

Cambyses is described by the Greek authors as having been a cruel and unmerciful king to the Egyptians, *in spite of all* that he did for the goddess Neith at Saïs, which is related to us by one of his officers, called Uzahor en piris (Brugsch). No doubt, after his unsuccessful expeditions to the Oasis of Amon and to Ethiopia, his tyranny went beyond all bounds. *Darius* was a much milder sovereign: he re-established the worship of the gods, built some important temples, like that of the Oasis of El Khargeh, and worked at the canal of Necho. He came to Egypt himself, and put to death the satrap Aryandes, who by his cruelty had caused the Egyptians to revolt. But the spirit of independence was not extinct in the inhabitants, who, taking advantage of the defeat of Darius at Marathon, revolted under Khabbash, who reigned two years, as we know from the inscription on one of the bulls Apis. Xerxes reconquered the land easily before starting for his Greek campaign. When in 464, after the murder of Xerxes and his eldest son Darius, Artaxerxes ascended the throne, he had to put down a new rebellion headed by the Libyan king Inaros, who had secured the support of the Athenians. Inaros was at first victorious, and beat the satrap Achaemenes at Papremis, but next year a large army of Persians raised the siege of Memphis, destroyed the Athenian fleet, and brought Inaros to Persia, where he was put to death. His Egyptian ally, Amyrtaeos, fled to the marshes.

The 28th dynasty consisted of one single king, a Saïte, Amyrtaeos, who succeeded for a short time under Darius II. in conquering Egypt; but his own mercenaries put him aside and chose as their ruler a native of Mendes, called Nepherites, who was the first prince of the 29th dynasty. All the five princes who form this dynasty had but short reigns, except the second, Hakar, Acoris, who allied himself to Euagoras, king of Cyprus, and succeeded in beating the Persians. The last of them, Nepherites II., was killed by his soldiers, who made king *Nekhthorheb* or Nectanebo I., a Sebennyte, the head of the last dynasty. Under his rule there was a kind of resurrection of the power of Egypt. Nekhthorheb successfully resisted the attack of Pharnabazus and Iphicrates. During his reign of eighteen years not only did he constantly fight the Persians, but he built considerably in all parts of Egypt, at Thebes as well as at Bubastis, Pharbaethus, Sebennytus, and Pithom. His successor, Teos, tried to fight the Persians in Syria with the help of Agesilaos, but he was driven out of Egypt by the rebellion of the army. Nectanebo II. (Nekhtnebef) ascended the throne, but in spite of successes at the beginning he could not hold his ground against the energy of Artaxerxes Ochus, and he was compelled to fly to Ethiopia. He was the last Egyptian Pharaoh; after him Egypt again became a Persian satrapy, and, like the whole

empire, was conquered by Alexander. It is a striking commentary on the words of Ezekiel—"there shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt" (Ezek. xxx. 13)—that since Nectanebo II. no native ruler has ever reigned over the land of Egypt.

26. *Egyptology.*—It is not possible to give here a list of the works which have been published on ancient Egypt: since Champollion's discovery, Egyptian studies have largely developed, and the number of Egyptologists increases constantly. In France, after Champollion's death, Egyptology was represented only nominally by Charles Lenormant, until it revived with Vte Emmanuel de Rougé, who was soon followed by Mariette, Chabas, Maspero, Lefébure, Pierret, Révillout, Grébaut, Vte Jacques de Rougé, Robiou, Bouriant Guieysse, and Loret. In Germany the founder of Egyptology was Lepsius, and all the present scholars may be considered as his disciples: Brugsch, Duemichen, Ebers, Eisenlohr, Erman, Stern, Abel, Lauth, Lincke, Meyer, Pietschmann, and Wiedemann. In England Dr. Birch was for some years between Champollion and Lepsius the only representative of Egyptology, with the distinguished traveller, Sir Gardner Wilkinson; the other English scholars are Bonomi, Sharpe, Goodwin, Le Page Renouf, Reginald Stuart Poole, Lushington, Canon Cook, Rev. H. C. Tomkins, Miss Amelia B. Edwards, Flinders Petrie, and F. L. Griffith. Every country in Europe has now its Egyptologists: in Holland are Dr. Leemans and Dr. Pleyte; in Sweden, Dr. Lieblein and Dr. Piehl; in Austria, Dr. Reinisch, Dr. von Bergmann, and Dr. Krall; in Russia, Golenischeff; in Switzerland, Ed. Naville; in Italy, the country of Rosellini, the friend of Champollion, are now Rossi, Schiaparelli, and Lanzone. We must refer to the works of these authors, who have studied Egypt in all its aspects, as well as to the museums, of which the most important are the British Museum, the Louvre, the museums of Berlin, of Turin, of Leyden, of Florence, and of Geezeh. [E. N.]

EGYPTIAN (מִצְרִי, masc.; מִצְרִית, fem.; Αἰγύπτιος, Αἰγυπτία; *Aegyptius*), **EGYPTIANS** (מִצְרִים, masc.; מִצְרִיּוֹת, fem.; מִצְרִים: Αἰγύπτιοι, γυναῖκες Αἰγύπτου: *Aegyptii, Aegyptiae mulieres*). Natives of Egypt. The word most commonly rendered Egyptians (Mitzraim) is the name of the country, and might be appropriately so translated in many cases. [W. A. W.]

On the "Egyptian" leader of "murderers," with whom the chief captain confounded St. Paul (Acts xxi. 38), see Josephus (*B. J.* ii. 13, § 5; *Ant.* xx. 8, § 6; and note in *Speaker's Comm.* on Acts, *l. c.*). [F.]

E'HI (אֲחִי = *brother* or *brotherly*; BA. Ἀγχεῖς, *D.*-ειν; *Echi*), head of one of the Benjamite houses according to the list in Gen. xlvi. 21, and son of Belah according to the LXX. Version of that passage. He seems to be the same as Ahi-ram, אֲחִירָם, in the list in Num. xxvi. 38; and if so, *Ahiram* is probably the right name, as the family were called *Ahiramites*. In 1 Ch. viii. 1, the same person seems to be called אַחְרַח, Aharah, and perhaps also אַחוֹחַ, Ahoah, in *v.* 4, (B. Ἀχία, A. om.), אֲחִיָּה (B. Ἀχειά), Ahiah, *v.* 7, and אַחֹר (B. Ἀέρ, A. Ἀόρ), Aher, 1 Ch. vii. 12. These fluctuations in the orthography seem to indicate that the original copies were partly effaced by time or injury. [BECHER; CHRONICLES.] [A. C. H.]

E'HUD (אֵהוּד; Joseph. Ἠουδής; *Aod*), like Gera, an hereditary name among the Benjamites.

1. Ehud, the son of Bilhan, and great-grandson of Benjamin the Patriarch (1 Ch. vii. 10 [B. Ἀώθ, A. Ἀμείδ]; viii. 6 [B. Ἀώδ, A. Ἄωδ]).

2. Ehud (BA. Ἀώδ), the son of Gera (גֵּרָא; Γηρά; *Gera:* three others of the name, Gen. xlvi. 21; 2 Sam. xvi. 5; 1 Ch. viii. 3), of the tribe of Benjamin (Judg. iii. 15, marg. "son of Jemini," but *vid.* Gesen. *Lex.* s. v. בִּנְיָמִין; R. V. "the Benjamite"), the second Judge of the Israelites. In the Bible he is not called a Judge, but a "deliverer" (*l. c.*; R. V. "Saviour"): so Othniel (Judg. iii. 9) and all the Judges (Neh. ix. 27). As a Benjamite he was specially chosen to destroy Eglon, who had established himself in Jericho, which was included in the boundaries of that tribe. [EGLON.] In Josephus he appears as a young man (νεανίας). He was very strong, and left-handed (see *Comm.* in loco). This enabled him to draw unobserved the dagger from his right thigh (Judg. iii. 21). For Ehud's adventures see EGLON; and for the period of eighty years' rest which his valour procured for the Israelites, see JUDGES. [T. E. B.] [F.]

E'KER (עֶקֶר; Ἀκόρ; *Achar*), a descendant of Judah through the families of Hezron and Jerahmeel (1 Ch. ii. 27). [G.]

EK'REBEL (Ἐκρεβήλ; Pesh. ܥܩܪܒܐ, *Ecrubat;* Vulg. omits), a place named in Judith vii. 18 only, as "near unto Chusi, that is on the brook Mochmur;" apparently somewhere in the hill-country to the south-east of the Plain of Esdraelon and of Dothain. The Syriac reading of the word points to the Talmudic עקרבת and the place *Acrabbein*, mentioned by Eusebius in the *Onomasticon* (*OS.*[2] p. 214, 61) as the capital of a district called *Acrabattine*, and still standing as *'Akrabeh*, 8 miles from *Nâblus* (Shechem), at the mouth of a pass on the Roman road to the Jordan valley (*PEF. Mem.* ii. 386, 389). Though frequently mentioned by Josephus (*B. J.* ii. 20, § 4; iii. 3, § 5, &c.), neither the place nor the district is named in the O. T., and they must not be confounded with those of the same name in the south of Judah. [AKRABBIM; ARABATTINE; MAALEH-AKRABBIM.] [G.] [W.]

EK'RON (עֶקְרוֹן = *uprooting*, cp. Zeph. ii. 4, and note [b] next page; Ἀκκαρών; *Accaron* in Josh. xix. 43, *Acron*), one of the five towns belonging to the lords of the Philistines, and the most northerly of the five (Josh. xiii. 3). Like the other Philistine cities, its situation was in the *Shefelah*. It fell to the lot of Judah (Josh. xv. 11, 45, 46; Judg. i. 18), and indeed formed one of the landmarks on his north border, the boundary running from thence to the sea at JABNEEL (*Yebnah*). We afterwards, however, find it mentioned among the cities of Dan (Josh. xix. 43). But it mattered little to which tribe it nominally belonged, for before the monarchy it was again in full possession of the Philistines (1 Sam. v. 10). Ekron was the

last place to which the ark was carried before its return to Israel, and the mortality there in consequence seems to have been more deadly than at either Ashdod or Gath.[a] From Ekron to BETHSHEMESH was a straight highway. Henceforward Ekron appears to have remained uninterruptedly in the hands of the Philistines (1 Sam. xvii. 52; 2 K. i. 2, 16; Jer. xxv. 20). Except the casual mention of a sanctuary of Baal-zebub existing there (2 K. i. 2, 3, 6, 16), there is nothing to distinguish Ekron from any other town of this district—it was the scene of no occurrence, and the native place of no man of fame in any way. The following complete the references to it: 1 Sam. vi. 16, 17, vii. 14; Amos i. 8; Zeph. ii. 4[b]; Zech. ix. 5, 7.

According to the Assyrian inscriptions, when most of the towns in Palestine revolted, on the death of Sargon, Padi, king of Ekron, remained faithful. His subjects, however, rebelled and handed him over to king Hezekiah, at Jerusalem, who retained him a prisoner until he was released and reseated on the throne by Sennacherib. In the reign of Esarhaddon, the king was Ikanan or Ikasamsu (Schrader, *KAT.*[2] p. 164). Eusebius (*OS.*[2] p. 218, 57) calls it a large village inhabited by Jews. In the Middle Ages it was known by the same name (see the quotation in Rob. ii. 228, note).

'Akir, the modern representative of Ekron, lies at about 5 miles S.W. of *Ramleh*, and 4 due E. of *Yebnah*, on the northern side of the important valley *Wâdy Surâr*. "The village contains about fifty mud houses, without a remnant of antiquity except two large finely-built wells." The plain south is rich, but immediately round the village it has a dreary forsaken appearance, only relieved by a few scattered stunted trees (Van de Velde, ii. 169; Rob. ii. 228; Guérin, *Judée*, ii. 36–44). In proximity to Jabneh (*Yebnah*) and Bethshemesh (*'Ain Shems*), *'Akir* agrees with the requirements of Ekron in the O. T., and also with the indications of the *Onomasticon* (s. v. Accaron). Jerome (*OS.*[2] p. 91, 6) mentions a tradition that the Turris Stratonis, Caesarea, was Ekron.

In the Apocrypha it appears as ACCARON (1 Macc. x. 89, only), bestowed with its borders by Alexander Balas on Jonathan Maccabaeus as a reward for his services. [G.] [W.]

EKRONITES, THE (הָעֶקְרוֹנִי, -נִים; B. ὁ Ἀκκαρωνείτης, B[b]A. -νι- [Josh.]; B. οἱ Ἀσκαλωνεῖται, B[b]A. -νι- [Sam.]; *Accaronitae*), the inhabitants of Ekron (Josh. xiii. 3; 1 Sam. v. 10). On the LXX. reading in Sam. *l. c.*, cp. EKRON, note [a]. [W. A. W.] [F.]

E'LA (Ηλά; *Jolaman*), 1 Esd. ix. 27. [ELAM.]

ELA'DAH (אֶלְעָדָה = *God hath adorned*; B. Λααδά, A. Ἐλεάδ; *Elada*), a descendant of Ephraim through Shuthelah (1 Ch. vii. 20).

E'LAH. 1. (אֵלָה = *a terebinth*: Ηλά; Joseph. Ἤλανος; *Ela*), the son and successor of Baasha, king of Israel (1 K. xvi. 8–10); his reign lasted for little more than a year (cp. *v.* 8 with *v.* 10). He was killed, while drunk, by Zimri, in the house of his steward Arza, who was probably a confederate in the plot. This occurred, according to Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 12, § 4), while his army and officers were absent at the siege of Gibbethon.

2. Father of Hoshea, the last king of Israel (2 K. xv. 30; xvii. 1).

3. (אֵלָה; Ηλάς; *Ela*), one of the dukes of Edom (Gen. xxxvi. 41; 1 Ch. i. 52). On the supposition that this and other names in Gen. xxxvi. 40–43 represent district-names, Knobel, Dillmann,[5] and Delitzsch [1887] (in loco) compare the name with Elath (*Aila*) on the Red Sea (Gen. xiv. 6).

4. Shimei ben-Elah (accur. Ela, אֵלָא; Ηλά) was Solomon's commissariat officer in Benjamin (1 K. iv. 18).

5. (B. Ἀδά, A. Ἀλά), a son of Caleb the son of Jephunneh (1 Ch. iv. 15). His sons were called Kenaz (A. V.); but the words may be taken as if Kenaz was, with Elah, a son of Caleb (R. V. see *QPB.*[3]). The names of both Elah and Kenaz appear amongst the Edomite "dukes."

6. (B. om., A. Ηλά), son of Uzzi, a Benjamite (1 Ch. ix. 8), and one of the chiefs of the tribe at the settlement of the country. [G.] [F.]

E'LAH, THE VALLEY OF (עֵמֶק הָאֵלָה = *Valley of the Terebinth*; ἡ κοιλὰς Ηλά, or τῆς δρυός, once ἐν τῇ κοιλάδι; *Vallis Terebinthi*), a valley in (R. V.; not "by," as in A. V.) which the Israelites were encamped against the Philistines when David killed Goliath (1 Sam. xvii. 2, 19). It is once more mentioned in the same connexion (xxi. 9). It lay near SOCOH, *Shuweikeh*, and AZEKAH, *Zakariya*; and is now the *W. es-Sunt*, or "Valley of Acacias." The great valley of Elah rises near Hebron, and, running northwards past Keilah, *Kh. Kîla*, and Adullam, *'Aid el-Ma*, to Socoh, divides the low hills of the Shefelah from the mountains of Judah. At Socoh it turns westward, and passing Gath, *Tell-es-Sâfi*, runs to the sea N. of Ashdod, *Esdûd*. Above Socoh the valley is known as *W. es-Sûr*; below, first as *W. es-Sunt* and then as *Nahr Sukereir*. *W. es-Sunt* is one of the most fertile valleys in Palestine, about half a mile wide, and cultivated in fields of corn. In the centre is a torrent bed, apparently the גַּיְא ("valley;" cp. 1 Sam. xvii. 3), which has been cut by the winter torrents in the open valley (עֵמֶק, *v.* 2); it is thickly strewed with white water-rolled pebbles, and is about 10 ft. deep and 20 ft. to 30 ft. wide. On either side rise stony hills covered with brushwood. The origin of the name "Valley of the Terebinth" may still be traced in the number of large specimens of that tree along its course: one of them, the largest in Palestine, is near *Shuweikeh*, and in the ruin known as *Deir el-Butm*, "Convent of the Terebinth," near *Tell*

[a] The LXX. in both MSS. and Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 1, § 1) substitute Ascalon for Ekron throughout this passage (1 Sam. v. 10–12, vii. 16). In support of this it should be remarked that, according to the Hebrew text, the golden trespass offerings were given for Askelon, though it is omitted from the detailed narrative of the journeyings of the ark. There are other important differences between the LXX. and Hebrew texts of this transaction (see especially v. 6; consult Keil and Wellhausen in loco).

[b] There is a play on the meaning as well as on the sound of the name in this verse.

es-Sâfi. For the valley, see Rob. ii. 20, 21; Van de Velde, ii. 191; Porter, *Handb.*; *PEF. Mem.* iii. 298; *PEFQy. Stat.* 1875, pp. 147, 191; Geikie, *Holy Land and the Bible*, i. 105–113.

Through the valley of Elah passed one of the main lines of communication between Philistia and the hill-country of Judah. From Gath, which guarded the entrance to the valley, it ran to Socoh, at the approach to the mountains, and there branched off, on the one hand, to Hebron, and, on the other, to Bethlehem and Jerusalem. The Philistines, advancing from the plain, camped in Ephesdammim, "the boundary of blood," between Socoh and Azekah. Saul, coming down from the hill-country by the old road to Gaza, must have met the Philistines, near the great bend at Socoh, and pitched in the open valley or Emek. The armies would thus be in their natural position; that of Saul facing W., and that of the Philistines facing E., with the deep torrent bed, Gâi (*v.* 3), between them. The latter, when defeated, were pursued to Shaaraim, *Tell ez-Zakariya* (?), Gath, *T. es-Sâfi*, and Ekron, *'Akir*, respectively 4, 8½, and 16 miles from the field of battle. The "valley" (Gâi) of *v.* 52 is apparently the torrent bed of the lower course of the *W. es-Sunt*, or of the *W. es-Surâr* on the way to Ekron. There is no gorge, or ravine, as the usual interpretation of נַחַל supposes, between Socoh and the sea.

The traditional "Valley of the Terebinth" is the *Wâdy Beit Hannina*, which lies about four miles to the N.W. of Jerusalem, and is crossed by the road to *Nebi Samwil*. The scene of David's conflict is pointed out a little north of the "Tombs of the Judges," and close to the traces of the old paved road; but this spot is in the tribe of Benjamin, and also does not correspond with the narrative of the text. [G.] [W.]

E'LAM (עֵילָם; Ἐλάμ; Strabo, &c. Ἐλυμαῖς, Ἐλυμαία; *Aelam*: in Assyro-Babylonian, *Êlamtu*, *Êlammat*; Akkadian, *Nimma* or *Elamma*; in the neo-Susian version of the Behistun Inscription, *Apirti*). **1.** The name of a country to the E. of Babylonia, bounded on the north by Persia (of which it now forms part), and on the S. and S.W. by the Persian Gulf. It is a country of fertile and picturesque mountains, valleys, and ravines, the only flat tract (called Dustistan) being on the shores of the Persian Gulf; the climate of which, during the winter and spring, is very pleasant, but the heat of autumn is excessive. In the interior also, the heat is often intense. The two principal rivers are the Karun and the Karkhah: the latter, rising in the mountains south of Hamadan, runs southwards towards the Mesopotamian plain, mingles with the Karun, and flows ultimately into the Persian Gulf. The principal stream, the Karkhah, was called the Ûlai by the Hebrews, and is the Ulâa of the Assyrians, and the Eulaeus of classical writers. In ancient times Elam seems to have been divided into several districts, the part on the banks of the Tigris being called Râšu by the Assyrians and Babylonians; whilst the ancient name of the district in which Shushan was situated was probably Anzan, Anšan, or Aššan, the most eastern portion being Elam proper. The principal cities were Shushan or Susa, Mataḳtu, Bît-Burnaki, Bît-Imbî, Nagitu, Laḥiru, Til-ḥumba, Bubê, Pillatu, Ḥilimu, and Bâb-Dûri—the names of which, being taken from Assyrian sources, seem, in some cases, to have the Assyrian prefixes *bît*, "house of," *til*, "mound of," and *bâb*, "gate of," attached. Elam was evidently fairly well populated in ancient times, and is at present inhabited by Kurds, Lurs, and Arabs. Though, from Gen. x. 22 and 1 Ch. i. 17, the Elamites would seem to have been a Semitic people (Elam being in these passages given as son of Shem), their language is certainly unlike any of the Semitic tongues. Time can alone decide whether the Elamites are really to be regarded as the descendants of this Elam or not. The late-Susian name of the country, *Apirti*, may prove to have some bearing upon this question when more is known.

Language and Writing.—The language of Elam was agglutinative, and has been supposed to belong to the Finnish division of the Ugrian branch. It seems to have been similar to Kassite or Cossean, and, if so, may also have been allied to Akkadian and Sumerian. Two dialects are to be distinguished, the one earlier than the other ("Anzanian" and "neo-Susian"), one of the dialectic differences being, that where "Anzanian" had *w* (written, as is usual in the wedge-inscriptions, with the characters expressing *m*), the neo-Susian had *b*. Inscriptions are not over-plentiful in either dialect, so that they are, as yet, rather imperfectly known. The form of the character in use in Elam was a modification of archaic Babylonian cuneiform, it having been borrowed, probably, when Babylonia was under the dominion of the Elamite kings (about 2300 B.C.), and modified and simplified in later times. No clay tablets have been found in Elam, but numerous inscribed bricks, used in building the palaces and temples of Susa, have been discovered. Any other literature that the Elamites may have possessed has probably perished, though the discovery of inscribed tablets in Elamite at Nineveh indicates that the chance of finding native records is not utterly hopeless.

History.—The history of Elam is almost entirely from foreign—that is, Assyrian and Babylonian—sources. The first king of the country of whom we have record is Kudur-Nanḥundi, who, about 2280 B.C., invaded Akkad (northern Babylonia), and carried off an image of the goddess Nanâ from Erech [ERECH]. This king reigned about the time of Chedorlaomer, to whom he was probably related, the names being compounded with the same root; namely, Kudur or Chedor.* A probable successor of, or contemporary with, Chedor-Laomer, Kudur-Mabug (son of Simti-Šilḥak), and Eri-Aku, son of Kudur-Mabug, reigned at Larsa about this period [ARIOCH; ELLASAR].

It is not for several centuries that Elam again comes forth from its obscurity. About the year 1310 B.C. Ḥurba-tila, "king of Elammat" (see above for this form of the name), sent a challenge to Durri-galzu, king of Babylon, to fight with him at Dûr-Dungi. The challenge was accepted, and the Elamite king was defeated and taken prisoner.

About the year 885 B.C. Bêl-nadin, king of

* Chedor-Laomer is apparently the Hebrew form of Kudur-Lagamar.

Babylon, seems to have sent an embassy to the then king of Elam.

Ummanigaš or Humbanigaš reigned from 733 to 716 B.C. He made alliance with Merodach-baladan, king of Babylonia, against Sargon, king of Assyria; and in the 2nd year of the former (720 B.C.),[b] whilst Sargon was engaged in Palestine, he reconquered from the Assyrians the whole of Babylonia. Two years later, however, Sargon was able to lead his forces against the allied armies; and in a battle fought near Duran, Ḫumbanigaš was driven across the border into his own country. After this defeat, Ḫumbanigaš ruled for three years, and, when he died, was succeeded by Ištar-Ḫundu (a Babylonian corruption of the Elamite Šutruk-Naḫḫunte), his sister's son. This king seems to have been of a rather peaceful disposition, for he refused to fight against Sargon at the instigation of Merodach-baladan. In the year 697 B.C.[c] his brother Ḫallušu revolted against him and took him prisoner by shutting him up in his palace, whilst he himself mounted the throne. Šutruk-Naḫḫunte had reigned eighteen years.

In the year 692 B.C. Sennacherib, having set his son, Aššur-nadin-šum,[d] on the throne of Babylonia, marched to Nagitu, in Elam, where the relations of Merodach-baladan had taken refuge, and captured and spoiled several cities in the neighbourhood. Evidently in revenge for this inroad, Ḫallušu invaded Akkad (the north of Babylonia), and penetrated as far as Sippara, putting to death the inhabitants of the districts through which he passed. The Elamite king captured Aššur-nadin-šum, son of Sennacherib, and placed on the throne in his stead Nergal-ušêzib, a Babylonian. Ḫallušu also met with a violent death, and this at the hands of his own people, after having reigned only six years (B.C. 691). He was succeeded by Kudur-Nan-ḫundi (or Kudur-Naḫḫunte). This king was no sooner on the throne than Sennacherib, king of Assyria, invaded Elam and ravaged the country from *Râšu to Burnaku*; but in consequence of the state of the roads, it being rather late in the year, he was obliged to give up his attempt to subjugate the country. On account apparently of the new ruler's want of success, the Elamites revolted against and killed him, after a reign of only ten months.

Umman-mênanu was the next king of Elam, and he, on the invitation of Šûzub, a Babylonian pretender, invaded Akkad, and fought a battle near the city of Ḫalulê, with regard to which the Babylonians claim the victory for the Elamites, and Sennacherib, evidently with good reason, for his own army. A second battle was also fought near the city Ḫalulina, where the Assyrians were again victorious. Umman-mênanu, four years later, invaded for some reason the land of his former allies; and, taking Mušêzib-Marduk, king of Babylonia, prisoner, he sent him to Assyria. Umman-mênanu died three months later, having ruled over Elam for four years.

Ummanaldaš (or Ḫumbaḫaldaš) II. mounted the throne of Elam in 687 B.C. During his reign, Nabû-zêr-napišti-êšir, son of Merodach-baladan, having been defeated in battle by Esar-haddon, king of Assyria, took refuge in Elam. Ummanaldaš, however, wishing to be on good terms with the Assyrian king, put him to death. Ummanaldaš died in his palace (as the Babylonian Chronicle has it) "not sick"—an expression which would seem to imply that he was murdered. His brother Urtaku succeeded him in 682 B.C. During the reign of this ruler a famine took place in Elam, and the distressed people were aided by the Assyrians until the next harvest. Afterwards, however, Urtaku, forgetting the benefits he had received at the hands of the Assyrians, invaded Akkad, then under Assyrian rule. Being defeated by the Assyrian army, he fled back to his own land, where he died miserably.

Te-umman, a man regarded by the Assyrians as the very personification of evil, succeeded Urtaku. In order to have no rival, this new ruler tried to kill all the sons of Urtaku and his predecessor Ummanaldaš. These princes, five in number, fled for protection to the court of Aššur-banî-apli, king of Assyria. Te-umman sent messengers to the Assyrian king demanding their surrender, and, this being refused, war was declared. In a great battle fought by the Assyrians and the Elamites not far from Susa, the Elamite army was routed, and Te-umman and his son killed. Umman-igaš, one of the sons of Urtaku, was placed by the conqueror on the throne of Elam, whilst Tammaritu, a younger son, was raised to the under-kingdom of Ḫidalu, a mountainous part of Elam. In the battle above mentioned many Elamites fought on the side of the Assyrians against their own country.[e]

On the revolt of Saosduchinos, king of Babylon, against the over-lordship of his brother the king of Assyria, Umman-igaš turned traitor, and sent Undasi, son of Te-umman, to help the Babylonian king, telling him to go and revenge the death of his father. Retribution speedily followed this counsel, for Umman-igaš's own son, Tammaritu, revolted against and killed his father, with a part of his family, and took the throne.

The first act of the new king was also to side with Saosduchinos, but his plans were cut short by his being compelled to take to flight, with his principal adherents, in consequence of the successful rebellion of Indabigaš, one of his servants. Tammaritu, who took refuge in Assyria, was, notwithstanding his action against the power of Assyria, well received by Aššur-banî-apli. In a very short time, another revolution took place in Elam; Indabigaš, the usurper, was killed, and Ummanaldaš, son of Attametu, mounted the throne.

The new king had attracted the attention and enmity of the powerful monarch of Assyria, who, wishing to be suzerain of the country, marched with an army to set on the throne the man who had once already deceived him. Aššur-banî-apli relates the details of this campaign at great length. Among other cities, Bit-Imbi and Susa were captured, and Tammaritu, who had taken refuge with the Assyrian king, was restored. Aššur-banî-apli accuses him of treachery

[b] 722 B.C. according to Assyrian chronology.
[c] 695 B.C. according to Assyrian chronology.
[d] The Nadios of the Greeks.

[e] Aššur-banî-apli had the details of this battle sculptured on the walls of his palace at Kouyunjik. These bas-reliefs are now in the British Museum.

even at the moment when the former was working for his restoration. Tammaritu was again deposed, and the country came once more under the sway of Ummanaldaš.

Aššur-banî-apli, however, was determined to conquer the country, if he could, and sent therefore a second army, the pretext being, that the Elamites detained an image of the goddess Nanâ which had been carried off from Erech 1635 years before [ERECH]. An extensive district was overrun, and many cities captured, Susa, the capital, being one of them. An enormous amount of booty was carried off, including the most sacred images of the gods of the land, and thirty-two images of Elamite kings. A large number of captives also was sent to Assyria, and the goddess Nanâ was restored with rejoicings to her old place at Erech. The Elamite king, fearing the total ruin of his country, whose principal cities were already practically heaps of ruins, fled and made submission (so Aššur-banî-apli relates). Later on, the servants of Ummanaldaš revolted against him and he fled to the mountains, whither he was followed by the Assyrian army, captured, and taken to Assyria. There, with other captive princes, yoked to Aššur-banî-apli's chariot, he drew the Assyrian king to the temple called Ê-mašmaš in Nineveh, where the great king made obeisance to and praised the gods who had bowed down his enemies to his feet.

After the fall of the Assyrian Empire, which took place some thirty years after these events, Elam disappears, to all intents and purposes, from history. From what the Babylonian records tell us of the history of Anzan or Anšan (see above), with which that of Elam was probably practically identical, we may infer that the country, about the years 600–555 B.C., was under the dominion of Teispes, Cyrus I., Cambyses I., and Cyrus II., who were all kings of Anzan. As is well known, the last named defeated and captured Astyages, king of the Medes, spoiled Ecbatana, and captured Babylon [BABYLON; BELSHAZZAR; CYRUS]. This celebrated ruler not only became "king of Babylon, Šumer, Akkad, and the four regions," but also made himself master of the whole of Persia. Of this new empire, under Cambyses II., Darius Hystaspis, and his successors, Elam, with its famous province of Anzan, became a mere unit, having no special history. At the time of the revolt of the provinces after Darius ascended the throne, Elam revolted under the leadership, first of Ašina, and afterwards of Martia, who claimed to be "Imanîši, king of Elam." This latter pretender, however, was put to death by the Elamites themselves, whilst the former was captured and killed by Darius. Elam formed a distinct and not unimportant satrapy of the Persian Empire, for she furnished to the crown an annual tribute of 300 talents, and the language spoken by the people seems to have been used as one of the official tongues. Susa, her capital, became the favourite residence of the king, and the metropolis of the whole empire [SHUSHAN]. Daniel (viii. 2) speaks of "Shushan the palace (or castle) in the province of Elam."

Besides the references to Elam in Gen. x. 22, xiv. 1, and 1 Ch. i. 17, the country is also referred to in Is. ix. 11, where it is mentioned as one of the countries from which the Lord would bring His scattered people; again in xxi. 2, where the Prophet calls on Elam to go up, seemingly against Babylon. Cyrus, who captured Babylon, might, as we have seen, easily be called an Elamite. Jeremiah (xxv. 25) calls upon Elam, among a large number of other nations, to drink the cup of fury; to fall, and rise no more. Ezekiel (xxxii. 24) speaks of Elam with "all her multitude round about her grave, all fallen by the sword, which are gone down uncircumcised"—apparently referring to her as an idolatrous nation, like the other Gentiles. See G. Smith's *History of Sennacherib* and *History of Assurbanipal*; T. G. Pinches' *Capture of Babylon by Cyrus*, &c., in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. viii., and *The Babylonian Chronicle* in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xix.; Weisbach's *Achämenideninschriften Zweiter Art* (Leipzig, 1890) and *Anzanische Inschriften* (Leipzig, 1891); also Bezold's *Achämenideninschriften* (Leipzig, 1882). [T. G. P.]

2. B. Ἰωλάμ; A. joins Ἰ. with previous name. A Koshite Levite, fifth son of Meshelemiah; one of the Bene-Asaph in the time of David (1 Ch. xxvi. 3).

3. B. Αἰλάμ, A. Ἀηλάμ; *Aelam*. A chief man of the tribe of Benjamin, one of the sons of Shashak (1 Ch. viii. 24).

4. "Children of Elam," *Bene-Elam*, to the number of 1254, returned with Zerubbabel from Babylon (Ezra ii. 7 [B. Μαλάμ, A. Αἰλάμ]; Neh. vii. 12 [B. Αἰλαμ, ℵ. Ἐλάμ]; 1 Esd. v. 12 [B. Ἰωλάμος, A. Ἠλάμ]), and a further detachment of 71 men with Ezra in the second caravan (Ezra viii. 7 [B. Ἠλάδ, A. Ἠλάμ]; 1 Esd. viii. 33 [B. Λάμ, A. Ἐλάμ]). It was one of this family, Shechaniah, son of Jehiel, who encouraged Ezra in his efforts against the indiscriminate marriages of the people (x. 2, *Keri*, עֵילָם, Elam; *Ketib*, עוֹלָם, Olam), and six of the Bene-Elam accordingly put away their foreign wives (x. 26). Elam occurs amongst the names of those, the chief of the people, who signed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 14). The lists of Ezra ii. and Neh. vii. contain apparently an irregular mixture of the names of places and of persons. In the former, *vv.* 21–34, with one or two exceptions, are names of places; *vv.* 3–19, on the other hand, are not known as names of places, and are probably those of persons (see Bertheau-Ryssel in loco; Smend, *Die Listen d. BB. Esra u. Nehemia*, p. 15). No such place as Elam in Palestine is mentioned either in the Bible or in the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius, nor has any such been discovered as existing in the country. We may therefore conclude that Elam was a person.

5. In the same lists is a second Elam, whose sons, to the same number as in the former case, returned with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii. 31; Neh. vii. 34), and which for the sake of distinction is called "the other Elam" (עֵילָם אַחֵר; [BA. Ezra] Ἠλαμάρ, [BℵA. Neh.] Ἠλαμαάρ; *Aelam alter*). The coincidence of the numbers is curious, and also suspicious (cp. Bertheau-Ryssel; Smend, p. 19).

6. One of the priests who accompanied Nehemiah at the dedication of the new wall of Jerusalem (Neh. xii. 42. The name is omitted by Bℵ*A., and read Αἰλὰμ by ℵ*·ᵃ·ᵐᵍ). [G.] [F.]

E'LAMITES (עֵלָמִיא, plural of the Chald. עֵלָמַי, "an Elamite" [from עֵילָם, Elam]: Ἐλυμαῖοι, Strabo, Ptol., Josephus; Ἐλαμῖται, Is. xi. 11, &c., Acts ii. 9; Ἐλυμαίων, Judith i. 6: Assyr. *Êlamû*, *Êlamâa*). This word, used to designate the inhabitants of Elam, is found (in the Hebrew form) only in Ezra iv. 9, but is left out in that place by the Septuagint translators, probably as being superfluous, as "Elamites" might be regarded as coming under the head of "Susanchites," inhabitants of Susa or Shushan, the capital.

From Gen. x. 22 and 1 Ch. i. 17, the Elamites would seem to have been a Semitic people, Elam being there stated to be a son or descendant of Shem. Their language [see ELAM], however, hardly bears out this statement, though, as is well known, language is no real test of nationality. On the Assyrian bas-reliefs they are represented with faces of somewhat singular type, owing to their rather low and retreating foreheads, contrasting with the type of the Assyrians, which contrast, however, is greatly intensified by their shorter beards. It is not impossible that they were of a kindred race to a certain section of the Akkadians of Babylonia, which exhibit similar peculiarities of type.

Like most of the other nations of that part of the world in ancient times, the Elamites were polytheists. Their principal deity seems to have been called Tišḫu, god of libations, regarded by the Assyrians and Babylonians as the same as their god Ninip. He bore several names, among them being Adaene, Dagbak ("he of Dagab"?), and Šušinak, "he of Shushan" or Susa. Many of their kings' names are compounded with that of the god Umma or Ḫumba, a name given by the Babylonians to the star which they regarded as "lord of Susa and Elam." Other deities were Lagamaru, Naḫunda (Naḫundi, Naḫḫunte), "the sun," Sumudu, Partikira, Amman-kašimaš, Uduru, and Sapag, all but Naḫunda being worshipped only by kings. Aššur-banî-apli mentions also twelve other minor deities. The Lagamaru mentioned above was probably pronounced Lagawar, and seems also to have been called Lagamal or Lagawal. In Susian the name was pronounced Lagabarri (? Lagavarri). It forms the second element in the name Chedor-Laomer, the king of Elam mentioned in Genesis. The deities Dipti and Tirutur are supposed to have been the Elamites' gods of literature. There was a great deal of secrecy about their religion, for Aššur-banî-apli, in his account of the Assyrian wars in Elam, speaks, when referring to the spoiling of Shushan, of the god of their oracle, "who dwelt in secret places, the image of whose divinity nobody ever saw."

The Elamites must have been skilled in various arts, for they were fair builders, and the fact that the Assyrians carried off thirty-two images of kings covered (inlaid) with silver, gold, bronze, and white marble or limestone, testifies to their possessing a certain skill as sculptors, inlayers, and artificers in metals. They often traded with Assyria and Babylonia, especially (at least with regard to the latter country) during the Persian period; and many Elamites seem to have settled there at various periods.

The Elamites were a very warlike people, as may be judged from their constant invasions of Babylonia, and the difficulty which the Assyrian kings experienced in attempting to subdue them. They were also probably rather turbulent. Strabo (xv. 3, § 10) says that they were skilful archers, and with this agrees the incident of the battle in which king Te-umman lost his life, when Itunî, one of his generals (a eunuch), in despair destroyed his bow, "the defence of his body." Jeremiah also (xlix. 35) speaks of "the bow of Elam;" and Isaiah (xxii. 6) says that "Elam bare the quiver." From Isaiah we also gather that they fought both on horseback and from chariots, though their battle array was never equal to that of the Assyrians. They had the same kind of musical instruments, also, as the latter; namely, harps, pipes, and cymbals. Apparently they retained their nationality to a very late date, for, from the mention of them on the day of Pentecost (Acts ii. 9), it is clear that at that time they kept their own language, and Ptolemy's notice of them more than a century later seems to show that they still existed as a separate tribe or people. When, however, their language finally disappeared, and they themselves ceased to be distinguishable from the people among whom they lived, is unknown.

[T. G. P.]

EL-A'SAH (אֶלְעָשָׂה = *God hath made; Elasa*). **1.** (Ἠλασά.) One of the Bene-Pashur, a priest, in the time of Ezra, who had married a Gentile wife (Ezra x. 22). In the apocryphal Esdras, the name is corrupted to TALSAS.

2. (T.^{7} Ἐλεασάν, A. Ἐλεασάρ, B^{2} ℵ^{3}. Ἐλεαζάρ; Vulg. om.). Son of Shaphan; one of the two men who were sent on a mission by king Zedekiah to Nebuchadnezzar at Babylon after the first deportation from Jerusalem, and who at the same time took charge of the letter of Jeremiah the Prophet to the captives in Babylon (Jer. xxix. [LXX., xxxvi.] 3).

Elasah is the same name as ELEASAH. [G.] [F.]

E'LATH, E'LOTH (אֵילַת, אֵילוֹת, possibly = *trees* (palm); Αἰλών, Αἰλάθ, Αἰλώθ, Ἐλώθ, Αἰλάμ; Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 6, § 4, Αἰλανή; *Elath*, *Ailath*, *Aelath*, *Aila*), the name of a town of the land of Edom, commonly mentioned together with Ezion-geber, and situate at the head of the Arabian Gulf, which was called the Elanitic Gulf. It first occurs in the account of the wanderings (Deut. ii. 8), and in later times must have come under the rule of David in his conquest of the land of Edom, when "he put garrisons in Edom; throughout all Edom put he garrisons: and all they of Edom became David's servants" (2 Sam. viii. 14). We find the place named again in connexion with Solomon's navy, "in Ezion-geber, which is beside Eloth, on the shore of the Red Sea, in the land of Edom" (1 K. ix. 26; cp. 2 Ch. viii. 17). It was apparently included in the revolt of Edom against Joram recorded in 2 K. viii. 20; but it was taken by Azariah, who "built [*i.e.* "restored"] Elath, and restored it to Judah" (xiv. 22). After this, however, "Rezin king of Syria recovered Elath, and drave out the Jews from Elath, and the Syrians came to Elath and dwelt there to this day" (xvi. 6). From this time the place is not mentioned until the Roman period, during which it became a frontier town

of the south, and the residence of a Christian Bishop. The Arabic name is *Eyleh* (ايلة).

In the geography of Arabia, Eyleh forms the extreme northern limit of the province of the Hijâz (El-Makrîzy, *Khitaṭ*; and Yâkût, *Mo'jam*, s. v.; cp. ARABIA), and is connected with some points of the history of the country. According to several native writers, the district of Eyleh was, in very ancient times, peopled by the Sameyda', said to be a tribe of the Amalekites (the first Amalek). The town itself, however, is stated to have received its name from Eyleh, daughter of Midian (El-Makrîzy, *Khitat*, s. v.; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes*, i. 23). The Amalekites, if we may credit the writings of Arab historians, passed in the earliest times from the neighbourhood of the Persian Gulf through the peninsula (spreading over the greater part of it), and thence finally passed into Arabia Petraea.

By the Greeks and Romans, Elath was called Ἔλανα (Ptol. v. 17, § 1), Αἴλανα (Strabo, xvi. 768), *Aelana* (Plin. v. 12, vi. 32). Under their rule it lost its former importance with the transference of its trade to other ports, such as Berenice, Myos Hormos, and Arsinoë; but in Mohammadan times it again became a place of some note. A few mounds and some palm-groves alone remain now to mark the site or neighbourhood (Robinson, *Pal.* i. 280; Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 84). It lies on the route of the Egyptian pilgrim-caravan, and the mountain-road or 'Akabah named after it was reconstructed by Ahmad Ibn-Tûlûn, who ruled Egypt from *circ.* A.D. 868 to 883. [E. S. P.] [F.]

EL-BETH'EL (אֵל בֵּית־אֵל = *God of the house of God*; LXX. omits the "El," B. Βαιθήλ, D. Βεθήλ; and so also Vulg., *Domus Dei*, Syr. and Arab. Versions), the name which Jacob is said to have bestowed on the place at which God appeared to him when he was flying from Esau (Gen. xxxv. 7). [BETHEL.] [G.] [F.]

ELCI'A (Ἐλκία), one of the forefathers of Judith, and therefore belonging to the tribe of Simeon (Judith viii. 1); probably the same name as Hilkiah (1 K. xviii. 18). The Syriac Version has Elkana. The Vulgate *Elai* is possibly a corruption of Elkai, itself a contraction of Hilkiah (Neh. xii. 15). Cp. *Speaker's Comm. on Apocrypha*, Judith in loco. [F.]

EL-DA'AH (אֶלְדָּעָה, perhaps = *whom God called*; Gen. xxv. 4 [A. Θεργαμά, D. (Θ)εργαμ(α), rescr D^{b}. ργαμα, E*. Ἀραγά, E^{c}. Ἐαραγά]; 1 Ch. i. 33 [B. Ελλαδά, A. Ἐλδαά]; *Eldaa*), mentioned last, in order, among the sons of Midian. The name does not occur except in the two lists of Midian's offspring. The Himyaritic inscriptions record one similar to it, ידעאל (see Delitzsch, *Gen.* in loco [1887]). [E. S. P.] [F.]

EL'DAD and ME'DAD (אֶלְדָּד, ? = *whom God loves*; Ἐλδὰδ καὶ Μωδάδ; *Eldad et Medad*), two of the seventy elders to whom was communicated the prophetic power of Moses (Num. xi. 16, 26). Although their names were upon the list which Moses had drawn up (xi. 26), they did not repair with the rest of their brethren to the Tabernacle, but continued to prophesy in the camp. Moses being requested by Joshua to forbid this, refused to do so, and expressed a wish that the gift of prophecy might be diffused throughout the people. The great fact of the passage is the more general distribution of the spirit of prophecy, which had hitherto been concentrated in Moses; and the implied sanction of a tendency to separate the exercise of this gift from the service of the Tabernacle, and to make it more generally available for the enlightenment and instruction of the Israelites, a tendency which afterwards led to the establishment of "schools of the prophets." The circumstance is in strict accordance with the Jewish tradition that all prophetic inspiration emanated originally from Moses, and was transmitted from him by a legitimate successor down to the time of the Captivity. The *mode* of prophecy in the case of Eldad and Medad was probably the extempore production of hymns, chanted forth to the people (Hammond): cp. the case of Saul, 1 Sam. x. 11.

From Num. xi. 25, it appears that the gift was not merely intermittent, but a continuous energy, though only occasionally developed in action. [T. E. B.]

ELDER (זָקֵן; πρεσβύτερος; *senior*). The term *elder* or *old man*, as the Hebrew literally imports, was one of extensive use, as an official title, among the Hebrews and the surrounding nations. It applied to various offices: Eliezer, for instance, is described as the "old man of the house," *i.e.* the *majordomo* (Gen. xxiv. 2); the officers of Pharaoh's household (Gen. l. 7) and, at a later period, David's *head servants* (2 Sam. xii. 17) were so termed; while in Ezek. xxvii. 9 the "old men of Gebal" are the *master-workmen*. As betokening a political office, it applied not only to the Hebrews, but also to the Egyptians (Gen. l. 7), the Moabites, and Midianites (Num. xxii. 7). Wherever a patriarchal system is in force, the *office* of the *elder* will be found to be the keystone of the social and political fabric; it is so at the present day among the Arabs, where the Sheikh (=the *old man*) is the highest authority in the tribe. That the title originally had reference to age, is obvious; and age was naturally a concomitant of the office at all periods (Josh. xxiv. 31; 1 K. xii. 6), even when the term had acquired its secondary sense: coupled with age would probably be position due to birthright in tribes and families. At what period the transition occurred, in other words *when* the word *elder* acquired an official signification, it is impossible to say. The earliest notice of the *elders* acting in concert as a political body is at the time of the Exodus (iii. 16–18). We need not assume that the order was then called into existence, but rather that Moses availed himself of an institution already existing and recognised by his countrymen, and that, in short, "*the* elders of Israel" (Ex. iii. 16, iv. 29) had been the *senate* (γερουσία, LXX.) of the people, ever since they had become a people. The position which the elders held in the Mosaic constitution, and more particularly in relation to the people, is described under CONGREGATION; they were the representatives of the people, so much so that *elders* and *people* are occasionally used as equivalent terms (cp.

Josh. xxiv. 1 with *vv.* 2, 19, 21; 1 Sam. viii. 4 with *vv.* 7, 10, 19). Their authority was undefined, and extended to all matters concerning the public weal; nor did the people question the validity of their acts, even when they disapproved of them (Josh. ix. 18). When the tribes became settled, the elders were distinguished by different titles according as they were acting as national representatives ("elders of Israel," 1 Sam. iv. 3; 1 K. viii. 1, 3; "of the land," 1 K. xx. 7; "of Judah," 2 K. xxiii. 1; Ezek. viii. 1), as district governors over the several tribes (Deut. xxxi. 28; 2 Sam. xix. 11), or as local magistrates in the provincial towns, appointed in conformity with Deut. xvi. 18, whose duty it was to sit in the gate and administer justice (Deut. xix. 12, xxi. 3 sq., xxii. 15; Ruth iv. 9, 11; 1 K. xxi. 8; Judith x. 6); their number and influence may be inferred from 1 Sam. xxx. 26 sq. They retained their position under all the political changes which the Jews underwent: under the Judges (Judg. ii. 7, viii. 14, xi. 5; 1 Sam. iv. 3, viii. 4); under the kings (2 Sam. xvii. 4; 1 K. xii. 6, xx. 8, xxi. 11); during the Captivity (Jer. xxix. 1; Ezek. viii. 1, xiv. 1, xx. 1); subsequently to the Return (Ezra v. 5; vi. 7, 14; x. 8, 14); under the Maccabees,* when they were described sometimes as the *senate* (γερουσία; 1 Macc. xii. 6; 2 Macc. i. 10, iv. 44, xi. 27; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 3, § 3), sometimes by their ordinary title (1 Macc. vii. 33, xi. 23, xii. 35); and, lastly, at its commencement of the Christian era, when they are noticed as a distinct body from the Sanhedrin, but connected with it as one of the classes whence its members were selected, and always acting in conjunction with it and the other dominant classes [SANHEDRIN]. Thus they are associated sometimes with the chief priests (Matt. xxi. 23), sometimes with the chief priests and the scribes (Matt. xvi. 21), or the council (Matt. xxvi. 59), always taking an active part in the management of public affairs. St. Luke describes the whole order by the collective term πρεσβυτήριον (Luke xxii. 66; Acts xxii. 5). In Matt. xv. 2 and Heb. xi. 2 "elders" is expressive of time rather than office. For the position of the elders in the synagogue and the Christian Church, *see* SYNAGOGUE, BISHOP. Much interesting information on this subject is given in Hamburger, *RE.*[2] s. n. "Aelteste," and (for the time of our Lord) in Schürer, *Gesch. d. Jüd. Volkes*[2] (see Index s. n. "Aelteste").

[W. L. B.] [F.]

EL'EAD (אֶלְעָד; B. om., A. Ἐλεάδ; *Elad*), named with Ezer as a descendant of Ephraim (1 Ch. vii. 21). They were probably heads of families co-ordinate with that of the elder Shuthelah (Keil in loco), or possibly his brother (Oettli), the second Shuthelah being taken as a son of Zabad. [G.] [F.]

EL-EA'LEH (אֶלְעָלֵה, ? = *God is exalted* [Num. v. 3]; Ἐλεαλή [Num. v. 37], B. Λεαλήμ, B[ab] Ἐλεαλήμ, AF. Ἐλεαλή; *Eleale*), a place on the east of Jordan, in the pastoral country, taken possession of and rebuilt by the tribe of Reuben (Num. xxxii. 3, 37). We lose sight of it till the time of Isaiah and Jeremiah, by both of whom it is mentioned as a Moabite town, and, as before, in close connexion with Heshbon (Is. xv. 4, xvi. 9; Jer. xlviii. 34). The extensive ruins of the place are still to be seen, bearing very nearly their ancient name, *el-'Al*, though with a modern signification, "the lofty," a little more than a mile N. of Heshbon. It stands on the summit of a rounded hill commanding a very extended view of the plain and of the whole of the Southern *Belka* (Burckh. *Syr.* p. 365; Seetzen, i. 467, 1854). It is from this commanding situation that it doubtless derives its name, which, like many other names of modern Palestine, is as near an approach to the ancient sound as is consistent with an appropriate meaning. There are rock-hewn wine-presses (Is. xvi. 9; Jer. xlviii. 33, 34), the ruins of a church, and the remains of a Byzantine town (*PEF. Survey of E. Palestine*, i. 16). [G.] [W.]

ELEA'SA (Ἐλεασά, A. Ἀλασά; *Laisa*), a place at which Judas Maccabaeus encamped before the fatal battle with Bacchides, in which he lost his life (1 Macc. ix. 5). It was not far from Mount Azotus (cp. *v.* 15). Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 11, § 1) has Bethzetho, probably *Bir ez-Zeit*, by which he elsewhere renders Bezeth. But this may be but a corrupt reading of Berzetha or Bethzetha, which is found in some MSS. for Berea in 1 Macc. ix. 4. Reland and others propose to change the reading to Adasa, where Judas had encamped on a former memorable occasion (vii. 40); but no such reading is found. It is singular that Bezeth should be mentioned in this connexion also (see *v.* 19). It is now, apparently, *Khurbet Il'asa*, near Beth-horon (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 36, 115). [AZOTUS, MOUNT; BEREA, 3.]

The reading of the Vulgate suggests a possible identification with the Laishah (A. V. Laish) of Is. x. 30. [LAISH.] [G.] [W.]

EL-EA'SAH (אֶלְעָשָׂה = *God hath made*; *Elasa*). **1.** (B. Ἐμάς, A. Ἐλεασά), son of Helez, one of the descendants of Judah, of the family of Hezron (1 Ch. ii. 39).

2. (B. Ἐσὴλ or Ἐσαὴλ; A. Ἐλεασά), son of Rapha, or Rephaiah; a descendant of Saul through Jonathan and Merib-baal or Mephibosheth (1 Ch. viii. 37; ix. 43).

This name is elsewhere rendered in the A. V. ELASAH. [G.] [F.]

EL-EA'ZAR (אֶלְעָזָר = *God hath helped*; Ἐλεάζαρ; *Eleazar*). **1.** Third son of Aaron, by Elisheba, daughter of Amminadab, who was descended from Judah, through Pharez (Ex. vi. 23, 25; xxviii. 1: for his descent see Gen. xxxviii. 29, xlvi. 12; Ruth iv. 18, 20). After the death of Nadab and Abihu without children (Lev. x. 1; Num. iii. 4), Eleazar was appointed chief over the principal Levites, to have the oversight of those who had charge of the sanctuary (Num. iii. 32). With his brother Ithamar he ministered as a priest during their father's lifetime, and immediately before his death was invested on Mount Hor with the sacred gar-

* Some difficulty arises at this period from the notice in 1 Macc. xiv. 28 of a double body, ἄρχοντες ἔθνους, and πρεσβύτεροι τῆς χώρας; and again in 2 Macc. i. 8, γερουσία and πρεσβύτεροι: the second term may refer to the municipal authorities, as is perhaps implied in the term χώρα. The identity of the γερουσία and the πρεσβύτεροι in other passages is clear from 1 Macc. xii. 6 compared with *v.* 35.

ments, as the successor of Aaron in the office of high-priest (Num. xx. 28). One of his first duties was in conjunction with Moses to superintend the census of the people (Num. xxvi. 3). He also assisted at the inauguration of Joshua, and at the division of spoil taken from the Midianites (Num. xxvii. 22; xxxi. 21). After the conquest of Canaan by Joshua he took part in the distribution of the land (Josh. xiv. 1). The time of his death is not mentioned in Scripture; Josephus says it took place about the same time as Joshua's, twenty-five years after the death of Moses. He is said to have been buried in "the hill of Phinehas" his son (Ges. p. 260), where Josephus says his tomb existed (*Ant.* v. 1, § 29); or possibly in a town called Gibeath-Phinehas (Josh. xxiv. 33: cp. Dillmann[2]). The high-priesthood is said to have remained in the family of Eleazar until the time of Eli, a descendant of Ithamar, into whose family, for some reason unknown, it passed until it was restored to the family of Eleazar in the person of Zadok (1 Sam. ii. 27; 1 Ch. vi. 8, xxiv. 3; 1 K. ii. 27; Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 1, § 3), and continued in his family till the times of the Maccabees (see Schürer, *Gesch. d. Volkes Israel*,[2] Index s. n. "Hohepriester").

2. The son of Abinadab, of the "hill" (גִּבְעָה) of Kirjath-jearim, consecrated by the people of that place to take care of the Ark after its return from the Philistines (1 Sam. vii. 1).

3. The son of Dodo the Ahohite (בֶּן־אֲחֹחִי), *i.e.* possibly a descendant of Ahoah of the tribe of Benjamin (1 Ch. viii. 4); one of the three principal mighty men of David's army, whose exploits are recorded in 2 Sam. xxiii. 9, 1 Ch. xi. 12.

4. A Merarite Levite, son of Mahli, and grandson of Merari. He is mentioned as having had only daughters, who were married by their "brethren" (*i.e.* their cousins; 1 Ch. xxiii. 21, 22; xxiv. 28).

5. A priest who took part in the Feast of Dedication under Nehemiah (Neh. xii. 42).

6. One of the sons of Parosh; an Israelite (*i.e.* a layman) who had married a foreign wife, and had to put her away (Ezra x. 25; 1 Esd. ix. 26).

7. Son of Phinehas a Levite (Ezra viii. 33; 1 Esd. viii. 63).

8. ELEAZAR (Ἐλεάζαρ; Joseph. Ἐλεάζαρος), surnamed AVARAN (1 Macc. ii. 5, Αὐαράν, or Αὐράν, and so Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 6, § 1; 9, **4**. In 1 Macc. vi. 43, the common reading ὁ Σαυαράν arises either from the insertion of C by mistake after O, or from a false division of Ἐλεάζαρος Αὐαράν). The fourth son of Mattathias, who fell by a noble act of self-devotion in an engagement with Antiochus Eupator, B.C. 163 (1 Macc. vi. 43 sq.; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 19, § 4; *B. J.* i. 1, § 5; Ambr. *De offic. min.* 40). In a former battle with Nicanor, Eleazar was appointed by Judas to read "the holy book" before the attack, and the watchword in the fight—"the help of God"—was his own name (2 Macc. viii. 23).

The surname Avaran is of uncertain meaning. Some (see *Speaker's Comm.* in loco) have derived it from his exploit, others from his pale complexion (Zöckler, in Strack u. Zöckler's *Kyf. Komm. zu den Apokryphen*).

9. A distinguished scribe (Ἐλεάζαρος . . . τῶν πρωτευόντων γραμματέων, 2 Macc. vi. 18) of great age, who suffered martyrdom during the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes (2 Macc. vi. 18–31). His death was marked by singular constancy and heroism, and seems to have produced considerable effect. Later traditions embellished the narrative by representing Eleazar as a priest (*De Macc.* 5), or even high-priest (Grimm, *ad Macc.* l. c.). He was also distinguished by the nobler title of "the protomartyr of the old covenant," "the foundation of martyrdom" (Chrys. *Hom.* 3 *in Macc.* init. Cp. Ambr. *de Jacob.* ii. 10).

For the general credibility of the history cp. Grimm, *Excurs. über* 2 *Macc.* vi. 18–viii. in *Exeg. Handb.*; Ewald, *Gesch.* iv. 341, 532; *Speaker's Comm.* on the Apocrypha, 'Introd.' §§ 2, 4; Zöckler, *Einleit.* § 2. [MACCABEES.]

The name Eleazar in 3 Macc. vi. appears to have been borrowed from this Antiochian martyr, as belonging to one weighed down by age and suffering and yet "helped by God." For the name cp. LAZARUS, Luke xvi. 19–25.

10. The father of Jason, ambassador from Judas Maccabaeus to Rome (1 Macc. viii. 18).

11. The son of Eliud, three generations above Joseph, the husband of the Virgin Mary (Matt. i. 15). [B. F. W.] [F.]

ELEAZU'RUS (B. Ἐλιάσεβος, A. -σι-; *Eliasib*), 1 Esd. ix. 24. [ELIASHIB.] One of the "holy singers" who had taken to himself a "strange wife." Lupton (*Speaker's Comm.* in loco) conjectures that the E. V. got their form of this name from the Aldine Ἐλιάζουφος, reading ρ instead of φ. [G.] [F.]

EL ELOHE ISRAEL (אֵל אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל = *God* (Almighty), *the God of Israel*; καὶ ἐπεκαλέσατο τὸν θεὸν Ἰσραήλ; *Fortissimum Deum Israel*), the name bestowed by Jacob on the altar which he erected facing the city of Shechem, in the piece of cultivated land upon which he had pitched his tent, and which he afterwards purchased from the Bene-Hamor (Gen. xxxiii. 19, 20; see Delitzsch [1887] and Dillmann[5] in loco). [G.] [F.]

E'LEPH (הָאֵלֶף = *the ox*; B. om., A. Σελαλέφ; *Eleph*), one of the towns allotted to Benjamin, and named next to Jerusalem (Josh. xviii. 28). The signification of the name may be taken as an indication of the pastoral pursuits of its inhabitants. The LXX. A. reads Zelah and Eleph as one name, possibly owing to the "and" between them having been dropped; but if this is done, the number of fourteen cities cannot be made up. The Peshitto has ܓܒܥܘܪ, *Gebîro*, for Eleph; but what the origin of this can be is not obvious. Conder (*PEF. Mem.* iii. 47) identifies it with *Lifta*, to the right of the road from Jerusalem to *Jaffa*; the usual identification of this place with NEPHTOAH being unsatisfactory. [G.] [W.]

ELEPHANT. The word does not occur in A. V. excepting as a marginal reading for Behemoth in Job xl. 15, where the hippopotamus (R. V. marg.) is clearly intended. But the most valuable product of that animal, ivory, is

repeatedly mentioned under the name of שֵׁן, *shen*; and in two passages (1 K. x. 22, 2 Ch. ix. 21) we read שֶׁנְהַבִּים, *shenhabbim* (A. V. and R. V. "ivory," A. V. marg. *elephants' teeth*; LXX. ὀδόντες ἐλεφάντινοι), in the account of the imports brought to Solomon by the navy of Tarshish. *Habbim* is not a Hebrew word. The derivation of Gesenius from the Sanskrit *ibhas*, "an elephant," is now given up; but the word may have arisen out of הַלְּבִים (cp. the Assyrian *al-ab*, MV.[11]).

The Hebrew expression shows that the Jews, though at that time they do not appear to have had any further acquaintance with the elephant, knew that ivory was the tusk or tooth, not the horn of the animal. The term "horns of ivory" (Ezek. xxvii. 15) is merely applied to the shape of the tusk, not its growth, and is literally "horns of teeth."

Elephants (ἐλέφαντες) are frequently mentioned in the Books of the Maccabees. Antiochus Epiphanes had thirty-two elephants in his army when he went to attack Jerusalem, and one of them was killed by Eleazar, who crept under it and slew it, but was himself crushed to death by its fall (1 Macc. vi. 46). At the battle of Magnesia, Antiochus is stated to have had 120 elephants (do. viii. 6). That the Seleucian kings of Syria attached great importance to their elephants in warfare is shown by the fact that the tetradrachms of Seleucus I. bear four elephants in a row on the reverse. It is evident, from the various allusions to ivory, that it was obtained by the Jews and Phoenicians both from Ethiopia through Egypt, and also from India by the traders to Ophir and by the men of Dedan, in the Persian Gulf. But the elephants of the Syrian kings must have been the Asiatic species imported from India by way of Persia. [See IVORY.] [H. B. T.]

ELEUTHEROPOLIS (Ἐλευθεροπόλις, "free city"), a word not found in the Bible, but curiously connected in early Christian and Jewish Commentaries with the Horites and Mount Seir. Jerome (*ad Obad. v.* 1) says that Seir was "in the region of Eleutheropolis, where before dwelt the Horites, which is interpreted 'free,' whence perhaps the town was afterwards named." In *Bereshith Rabbi* (xlii.) we read, "The Horites (החורי), that is Eleutheropolis (אליותרופולים); and why was it called Eleutheropolis? Because they chose it and entered it free at the time of the division, since in Greek *eliutheru* (אליותרו, ἐλεύθερο) is 'free,' and *Phulis* (פולים, πόλις) 'town.'" Again in another passage the Midrash (*Yalkut*, Gen. xxxiii.) renders Seir by Beth Gubrin (בית גוברין), and this town was the same as Eleutheropolis, as appears below. The reason for this curious opinion is found in what is probably a false etymology for the word Horite, which means "cave man" (EDOMITES): the Jews, whose interpretations Jerome so often followed, seem to have rendered this word חֹרִי as though it were חוֹרִים, "free born," "nobles" (see Gesen. *Lex.* s. v.).

The identity of Eleutheropolis with Beth Gubrin was supposed by Robinson (*Bib. Res.* ii. p. 57), and is established by distances mentioned in the *Onomasticon* to towns near it as measured from the present village Beit Jibrîn (بيت جبرين).

			Roman Miles.		English Miles.
Jedna,	now	Idhnah	6	actually	5½
Nezib,	,,	Beit Nusîb	7	,,	6½
Adullam,	,,	'Aîd el Mâ	10	,,	7
Socoh,	,,	Shuweikeh	8	,,	7
Zoreah,	,,	Sur'ah	10	,,	12
Jarmuth,	,,	el Yermûk	10	,,	9
Gaza,	,,	Ghuzzeh	16 (Peutinger Tables.)	,,	20
Ascalon	,,	Askulân	24 (Antonine Itin.)	,,	21

The Greek name Eleutheropolis was perhaps a translation of the Hebrew Beth Gibborim (from גִּבּוֹר, "hero"), meaning "house of mighty ones," whence the Aramaic name of Beth Gubrin above noticed. The Horites are included among the old heroic aborigines of Palestine (see Deut. ii. 12). The Semitic name first appears in Ptolemy (iv. 16) as Baetogabra (Βαιτογαβρά, Reland, *Pal.* p. 641) in the 2nd century A.D., and again in the old Roman map of the Peutinger Tables as Betogabri. It is mentioned in other Jewish works (Midrash Koheleth, &c.; see Reland, p. 641), and in the 12th century by the Jewish traveller Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela (בית גברין). Reland also thinks it is the Begabris of some editions of Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* iv. 8, § 1, Βήγαβρις). In the 10th century the name appears corrupted by El Mukaddasy (985 A.D.) as Beit Jibrîl or "House of Gabriel," and a spot is still shown near the village sacred to Neby Jibrîl (*PEF. Mem.* iii. pp. 270, 271). William of Tyre calls this place "The House of Gabriel," but the commoner Crusading name was Gibelin. He states that the Arab name was then (in 1136 A.D.) Bethgebrim, and believes it to be the ancient Bersabe or Beersheba. So also Marino Sanuto speaks of Bersabre as Ziblin (vi. 15, 18), and says it was vulgarly called Gybelyn (1321 A.D.).

The Greek name of this place is mentioned on coins of the city with the name of Julia Domna in 202 A.D. Severus, her husband, bestowed privileges on Palestine cities in that year (see Robinson, *Bib. Res.* ii. p. 60). The earliest Bishop of Eleutheropolis attended the Nicene Council, 325 A.D., and the names of four others occur down to 536 A.D. In the mediaeval ecclesiastical lists (Bongar, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, p. 1044) the Latin Beit Gerbein seems to answer to the Eleutheropolis of a corresponding Greek list (Robinson, *Bib. Res.* ii. p. 62, note). This place was regarded by the Patristic writers as Ramath Lehi. Hence Jerome (*Ep.* 86, *Epitaph. Paulae*) says that Morasthim or Mareshah (*el Mer'ash*, close to Beit Jibrîn) was near Samson's Fountain, and the pilgrim Antoninus Martyr (*circa* 530 A.D.) calls Eleutheropolis (ch. xxxii.) the place where Samson slew a thousand men with the jaw-bone of an ass, whence water sprang forth (Judg. xv. 19). Marino Sanuto seems to mention the same site in the 14th century as the "fountain of the jaw." In the *Acta Sanctorum Martyrum* the Syriac reads

Beth Gubrin, the Greek and Latin Eleutheropolis (Robinson, *Bib. Res.* ii. p. 66; cp. Reland, *Pal.* pp. 749–754).

The place was important in Crusading times. William of Tyre records its fortification by King Fulke of Anjou in 1136 A.D. It was confided to the Knights Hospitallers as a bulwark against Ascalon. Geoffry de Vinsauf (v. 44) says that Yhelin of the Hospitallers by Hebron was near the valley where St. Anne was born. A great church of *Sanda Hannah* now lies in ruins near Beit Jibrîn.

The modern village, in a sheltered valley full of olive groves, has a population of about 1000 souls, living in mud and stone houses. It has four spring wells, the largest to the south (Bîr Umm Judeia') being regarded by Robinson as the traditional "Fountain of the Jaw-bone" above mentioned. It is perhaps worthy of note that this name may mean "Well, the mother of clamour" (جداع, Freytag, *Lex.*), comparable to the Hebrew En Hakkore, or "spring of the crier." The site, however, of Samson's exploit may have lain further north than Beit Jibrîn. Outside the village on the north the remains of the Crusading walls and castle extend for about a third of a mile east and west. The ditch remains and a cloister, which is clearly Norman work. The castle was, however, repaired in 958 A.H. (1551 A.D.) by Moslems, as evidenced by an Arab text on the wall. The church near the village must in Byzantine times have been one of the largest in the country. The length was 124 feet, with a nave 32 feet wide. The Crusading restoration was much smaller.

There are fourteen remarkable caverns near Beit Jibrîn, which have often been described and supposed to be very ancient. Some writers have called them "Horite caves," but they are like many others in this part of Palestine, apparently formed by quarrying in the first instance, and now used as stables for goats and cows. There is no evidence of their being very ancient. In one case a Jewish tomb has been destroyed in enlarging the cavern, showing that this at least is not as old as the tomb. There are a good many Arabic texts on the walls, one of which perhaps contains the name of Saladin. There are also crosses cut by Christians, but nothing more ancient than these remains is known. One cave has a finely-carved band of bas-relief arabesque work on the walls. El Mukaddasy speaks of "marble quarries" at Beit Jibrîl, which may account for these caverns.

There are several very fine specimens of ancient Jewish tombs near the village, and a very curious excavation at *Tell Sandahannah*, consisting of well-like chambers with staircases running down round the walls. There is also a large *columbarium*, perhaps of the Roman period, called *es Sûk*, "the market."

A curious legendary character called Sultan el Fenish is connected with the vicinity. He is said to have been a Christian king, and a cavern and garden called after him are shown at Beit Jibrîn: he is also known elsewhere in the lowlands west of Jerusalem.

The authorities on the ancient history have already been quoted. The fullest account of Beit Jibrîn and its antiquities will be found in the *PEF. Mem.* (iii. 257–8, 264–274, 275–278, 289–292, with the Fenish legends, p. 294).

[C. R. C.]

ELEUTHERUS (Ἐλεύθερος), a river in Phoenicia, where Jonathan the Hasmonaean met Ptolemy (1 Macc. xi. 7), and which appears to have been beyond the limits of Hasmonaean rule (xii. 30). Josephus makes it the limit of the country given to Cleopatra by Antony (*Ant.* xiii. 4, § 5; 5, § 10; xv. 4, § 1; *Bell. Jud.* i. 18, § 5). Strabo (xvi. 2, 12) makes it the northern limit of Phoenicia. Pliny (*H. N.* v. 17) places it north of Tripoli, and says that it swarmed with tortoises (ix. 10). Reland is inclined to connect the name with the Arabic العوث, "tortoise." Strabo clearly places the river north of Tripoli. In the Middle Ages it was incorrectly shown near Lydda (William of Tyre). The Sabbatic river (*Nahr es Sebta*, further north) has also been incorrectly identified with the Eleutherus.

The river in question is now called *Nahr el Kebîr* ("the great river"), and it divides the northern Lebanon (*Jebel Akkâr*) from the chain which joins Mount Amanus. It rises in a sort of natural crater or hollow plain, called *el Bukeia'*, in the pass between the two ranges, west of the lake of Homs. This crater is several miles across, marshy, and dotted with oaks. It is the camping-ground of the Turkoman tribes. On the south are the rugged and snowy ridges of Lebanon. On the north the old Crusading castle *Krak des Chevaliers* commands the pass. The soil is of hard black basalt round the crater. The river runs west for twenty miles into the sea, fifteen miles north of Tripoli. The bed near the shore is full of canes. It is easily fordable, except when swollen by the rains, when it is for a time a deep and rapid stream.

[C. R. C.]

ELEUZAI, the reading of the A. V. (A.D. 1611) in 1 Ch. xiv. 5 for ELUZAI (R. V.).

ELHA'NAN (אֶלְחָנָן = *God hath been gracious*, al. *whom God gave* [cp. חנניה, חנניאל, and Phoen. Hannibal. See Renan, *Des Noms Théophores apocopés*, p. 176 in *REJ.* 1882; Baethgen, *Beiträge z. Semit. Religionsgeschichte*, p. 302]; Ἐλεανάν; *Adeodatus*). **1.** A distinguished warrior in the time of king David, who performed a memorable exploit against the Philistines, though in what that exploit exactly consisted, and who the hero himself was, it is not easy to determine.

(*a.*) 2 Sam. xxi. 19 says that he was the "son of Jaare-Oregim the Bethlehemite," and that he "slew Goliath the Gittite, the staff of whose spear was like a weaver's beam." Here, in the A. V., the words "the brother of" (omitted in R. V.) are inserted, to bring the passage into agreement with

(*b.*) 1 Ch. xx. 5, which states that "Elhanan the son of Jair slew Lahmi the brother of Goliath the Gittite, the staff of whose spear," &c.

Driver (*Notes on the Hebrew Text of the B.D. of Samuel*, in loco) comes to the conclusion that the text of Samuel[a] (independent of questions

[a] Cp. Kennicott's *Dissertation*, p. 78. Deutsch (Kitto's *Cyclop. of Biblical Literature*,[3] s. n.) deals with the question as one of emendation of the text.

with reference to *Oregim*, which is generally allowed to have found its way to connexion with Jaare from the line below of the Hebrew text) is the more likely to be correct; the original writer of this article considers the text of Chron. as probably the more correct.[b]

1 Sam. xvii. declares that Goliath the Gittite was killed by David (see a. n. p. 723, n. °); but even if the reading of Samuel here be accepted as the original, it does not follow that Ewald's suggestion would be true (*Gesch.* iii. 91, 2), viz. that from the fact that David's antagonist is, with only three exceptions (one of them in the doubtful verses, xvii. 12–32), called "the Philistine," and for other linguistic reasons, Elhanan was the real victor of Goliath; and that, after David became king, the name of Goliath was attached to the nameless champion whom he killed in his youth. Against this is the fact that Goliath *is* named thrice in 1 Sam. xvii. and xxi.—thrice only though it be; and also that Elhanan's exploit, from its position both in Samuel and in Chronicles, and from other indications, took place late in David's reign, and when he had been so long king and so long renowned, that all the brilliant feats of his youth must have been brought to light, and well known to his people. It is recorded as the last but one in the series of encounters of what seems to have been the closing struggle with the Philistines. It was so late that David had acquired among his warriors the fond title of "the light of Israel" (2 Sam. xxi. 17), and that his nephew Jonathan was old enough to perform a feat rivalling that of his illustrious uncle years before. It was certainly after David was made king, for he goes down to the fight, not with his "young men" (נְעָרָיו),[c] as when he was leading his band during Saul's life, but with his "servants" (עבדיו), literally his "slaves," a term almost strictly reserved for the subjects of a king. The vow of his guard, on one of these occasions, that it should be his last appearance in the field, shows that it must have been after the great Ammonite war, in which David himself had led the host to the storming of Rabbah (2 Sam. xii. 29). It may have been between this last event and the battle with Absalom beyond Jordan, though there are other obvious reasons why David stayed within the walls of Mahanaim on that occasion.

On the whole, therefore, it seems best to conclude that the passages in 1 Sam. xvii. and in 2 Sam. xxi. do not refer to the same occurrence.

[b] Ewald has overcome the difficulty of the two discrepant passages by a curious eclectic process. From Chronicles he accepts the name "*Jair*," but rejects "Lahmi, the brother of." From Samuel he takes "the Bethlehemite," and rejects "Oregim." Cp. also Grätz, *Gesch.* i. 427.

[c] Nothing can be more marked than this distinction. *Na'ar* (נַעַר) is used almost invariably for David's followers up to the death of Saul, and then at once the term changes, and *Ebed* (עֶבֶד), a "slave," *is as* exclusively employed. Even Absalom's people go by the former name. This will be evident to any one who will look into the quotations under the two words in that most instructive book *The Englishman's Hebrew Concordance*.

Jerome, in his *Quaest. Heb.* on both passages —he does not state whether from ancient tradition or not—translates Elhanan into *Adeodatus*, and adds *filius saltûs Polymitarius Bethlehemites*—"a wood-man (?), a weaver, a Bethlehemite." Adeo-datus, he says, is David, which he proves not only by arguments drawn from the meaning of each of the above words, but also from the statement in the concluding verse of the record that all these giants "fell by the hand of David and by the hand of his servants;" and as Elhanan slew Goliath, Elhanan must be David.

2. The son of Dodo of Bethlehem, one of "the thirty" of David's guard, and named first on the list (2 Sam. xxiii. 24; 1 Ch. xi. 26). See Kennicott's *Dissertation*, p. 179

The same name is also found with Baal substituted for El,—BAAL-HANAN. (Cp. BEELIADA.) [G.] [F.]

ELI (עֵלִי, (?)=*elevation;* Ἠλί; Ἠλεί, Joseph.; *Heli*), high-priest and judge, was descended from Aaron through Ithamar, the younger of his two surviving sons (Lev. x. 1, 2, 12; 1 Ch. xxiv. 2), as appears from the fact that Abiathar, who was certainly a lineal descendant of Eli (1 K. ii. 27), had a son Ahimelech, who is expressly stated to have been "of the sons of Ithamar" (1 Ch. xxiv. 3; cp. 2 Sam. viii. 17). With this accords the circumstance that the names of Eli and his successors in the high-priesthood, up to and including Abiathar, are not found in the genealogy of Eleazar (1 Ch. vi. 4–15; cp. Ezra vii. 1–5). As the history makes no mention of any high-priest of the line of Ithamar, before Eli, he is generally supposed to have been the first of that line who held the office (Ἠλεὶ πρώτου ταύτην [τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην] παραλαβόντος, Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 1, § 3). From him, his sons having died before him, it appears to have passed to his grandson, Ahitub (1 Sam. xiv. 3; Josephus, however, says, Φινεέσης δὲ ἤδη καὶ ἱερᾶτο, τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῷ παρακεχωρηκότος διὰ τὸ γῆρας, *Ant.* v. 11, § 2), and it certainly remained in his family till Abiathar, the grandson of Ahitub, was "thrust out from being priest unto the Lord," by Solomon, for his share in Adonijah's rebellion (1 K. ii. 26, 27; cp. i. 7). The high-priesthood then passed back to the family of Eleazar in the person of Zadok (1 K. ii. 35), where it continued as long as the monarchy lasted (1 Ch. vi. 4–15), and still remained after the Captivity in Babylon (Ezra vii. 1–5). How the office ever came into the younger branch of the house of Aaron we are not informed, though we are expressly told that it did so, with the sanction of Almighty God (1 Sam. ii. 30, in which and the following verses, 31–36, as Ewald points out, Eli's "father's house" is evidently restricted to his particular branch of the sacerdotal line, though in the preceding verses, 27–29, it must be understood of the whole tribe of Levi, as is clear from the historical reference to Egypt, and the contrast with the other tribes of Israel. *Hist. of Isr.* ii. 410, Eng. trans.).

In addition to the office of high-priest, Eli held that of judge (1 Sam. iv. 18), being the immediate predecessor of his pupil Samuel, the last of the judges (1 Sam. vii. 6, 15–17). Of the circumstances which led to the combination of the two offices in one person we know

nothing. It has been suggested that "Eli in his youth was a great hero and deliverer of Israel, and that, like all the judges, he attained his position by extraordinary prowess." And support has been found for this suggestion, in the fact, which is thought to be deducible from the history, that "in the forty years ascribed to Eli's rule, the Philistines had no longer the same preponderance as in the forty years of their first ascendancy, within which Samson's isolated resistance is comprised" (Ewald, *Hist. of Isr.* ii. 411; Stanley, *Jewish Ch.* i. 333). The length of time during which he judged Israel is given as forty years in our present Hebrew copies, whereas the LXX. make it twenty years (εἴκοσιν ἔτη, 1 Sam. iv. 18). Some have thought that the discrepancy is to be accounted for by supposing that Eli was sole judge for twenty years, after having been co-judge with Samson for a like period (Judg. xvi. 31).

The figure of Eli stands out in bold relief on the sacred page. It is portrayed in few lines, but they are drawn by a master's hand. When first introduced to us, he is already an old man —sixty-eight, according to the received chronology. The Tabernacle, with the Ark of the Covenant, is still at Shiloh, where Joshua had placed it; but buildings have grown up around it, so that the name "Temple," or "palace" of Jehovah, is already given to it (הֵיכַל יְהוָה, 1 Sam. i. 9; iii. 3), and there are gates or "doors" to the court in which it stands (1 Sam. iii. 15). In the corresponding porch or gateway, fixed against one of the posts or pillars which support it, and commanding, it would seem, the outer court in which the worshippers assembled, and perhaps the road beyond, is a "seat" or "throne," on which Eli is accustomed to sit ("the seat," 1 Sam. i. 9; iv. 13). Here he is found when the sacred history first mentions him. His watchful survey of the multitudes who had come up to worship at the Feast, his dignified rebuke of the supposed delinquent, who, after the evil example of his own sons, was profaning, as he thought, the Temple of the Lord, his priestly blessing bestowed upon her when he discovered his mistake, set him before us as no unworthy occupant of the high offices which he held. His subsequent reception from the hands of Hannah, of the child which had been given to her prayer, together with his benediction of her and her husband (1 Sam. i. 25–28; ii. 20), are quite in keeping with this first description of him. His relations with Samuel, throughout the history, justify the conclusion that his heart found solace in the purity and piety of the child who was growing up under his care, uncontaminated by the wickedness which, springing from his own family and office, as from a corrupt fountain-head, was overflowing and polluting the whole nation. It is his weak toleration of this wickedness with which he had no sympathy whatever, but which he failed effectually to curb, that is the one great blot in the character of Eli: "His sons made themselves vile, and he restrained them not" (1 Sam. iii. 13). As a private person, it would have been his duty to "put away evil from among" his people, by bringing his *sons to punishment* (Deut. xxi. 18–21). As high-priest and judge, the power and the responsibility of dealing with them were alike his own. This he failed practically to recognise. He spoke when he should have acted. He remonstrated when he should have restrained. He allowed his sons by their rapacity and licentiousness to profane the office of the priesthood, and to bring the rites of religion into abhorrence among the people (1 Sam. ii. 12–17, 22; in which latter verse we ought probably to render "the women that served,"—"did service," R. V.—*i.e.* discharged various offices in connexion with the Tabernacle; cp. Driver, *Notes on the Heb. Text of the BB. of Sam.* in loco, Exod. xxxviii. 8, and Num. iv. 23, where the same Hebrew word is rendered, "perform the service"). The sin of which he was thus guilty was grievous and, in its temporal consequences, unpardonable. Neither bloody nor unbloody sacrifice could purge it away (1 Sam. iii. 14). His doom, which had been previously foretold by an unknown prophet sent to Shiloh (1 Sam. ii. 27–36), became the subject of the first prophetic revelation made to Samuel (iii. 11–14). The meek submission with which the aged high-priest received the terrible sentence from the lips of the reluctant child who was commissioned to deliver it, is another proof of his genuine piety, while it forms at the same time a touching episode in the history. The closing scene in the life of Eli is full of solemnity and pathos. The Israelites have again encountered and been defeated by their ancient enemies, the Philistines. They have left 4,000 men dead upon the field. To retrieve this disaster, they fetch from Shiloh the Ark of the covenant of the Lord, by which such mighty things had been done for them in times past. But the expedient is vain. Despite a transient enthusiasm in their own ranks and panic among their enemies, they are again defeated, and the Ark is taken, and the sons of Eli, Hophni and Phinehas, are slain. A swift runner bears the news to Shiloh. The city, which is first reached, sends up a wail of anguish as he proclaims it. Eli, anxious and expectant, is sitting on his throne or seat in the gateway of the temple, on the hill beyond. He is ninety-eight years old, and blind, but he hears the cry, and asks those around him what it means. Calamity after calamity in quick succession is poured upon him. "Israel is fled." "There hath been a great slaughter among the people." "Thy two sons, Hophni and Phinehas, are dead." And, to crown all, "The Ark is taken." It was this last intelligence which proved the death-blow of Eli, for his heart was still true to God and to His service. "It came to pass, when he made mention of the Ark of God, that he fell from off the seat backward, by the side of the gate, and his neck brake and he died, for he was an old man and heavy" (1 Sam. iv. 1–18; cp. Stanley, i. 338). Another part of his punishment, the return of the high-priesthood to the elder branch of the family, took effect, as we have seen, in the time of Solomon. The decay of his house, which had also been predicted (1 Sam. ii. 31–33), appears to have been in progress in the reign of David, when we read that "there were more chief men found of the sons of Eleazar, than of the sons of Ithamar," sixteen of the former, and only eight of the latter.

(1 Ch. xxiv. 4.) [ABIATHAR; ELEAZAR; ITHAMAR.] (See Lightfoot's *Works*, i. 53, 907, fol. Lond. 1684; Selden, *de Success. in Pontif. Hebr.* lib. i. cap. 4.) [T. T. P.]

ELI'AB (אֱלִיאָב = *my God is Father* [see Olshausen, *Lehrb. d. Heb. Sprache*, p. 615]; Ἐλιάβ; *Eliab*). **1.** Son of Helon and leader of the tribe of Zebulun at the time of the census in the wilderness of Sinai (Num. i. 9; ii. 7; vii. 24, 29; x. 16).

2. A Reubenite, son of Pallu or Phallu, whose family was one of the principal in the tribe; and father or progenitor of Dathan and Abiram, the leaders in the revolt against Moses (Num. xxvi. 8, 9, xvi. 1. 12; Deut. xi. 6). Eliab had another son named NEMUEL, and the record of Num. xxvi. is interrupted expressly to admit a statement regarding his sons.

3. One of David's brothers, the eldest of the family (1 Ch. ii. 13; 1 Sam. xvi. 6, xvii. 13, 28). His daughter Abihail married her second cousin Rehoboam, and bore him three children (2 Ch. xi. 18; B. Ἐλιάν, A. -αβ); although, taking into account the length of the reigns of David and Solomon, it is difficult not to suspect that the word "daughter" is here used in the less strict sense of granddaughter or descendant. In 1 Ch. xxvii. 18, we find mention of "Elihu, of the brethren of David," as "ruler" (נָגִיד), or "prince" (שַׂר) of the tribe of Judah. According to the ancient Hebrew tradition preserved by Jerome (*Quaest. Heb.* in loco), this Elihu was identical with Eliab (so LXX.). "Brethren" is however often used in the sense of kinsmen, *e.g.* in 1 Ch. xii. 2.

4. A Levite in the time of David, who was both a "porter" (שׁוֹעֵר, i.e. a doorkeeper) and a musican on the "psaltery" (1 Ch. xv. 18 [B^{1}. Ἐλιαβά, א*. Ἐλιβά, A. Ἐλιάβ], 20, xvi. 5).

5. One of the warlike Gadite leaders who came over to David when he was in the wilderness taking refuge from Saul (1 Ch. xii. 9; א. Ἐλειάβ).

6. An ancestor of Samuel the Prophet; a Kohathithe Levite, son of Nahath (1 Ch. vi. 27; Hebr. 12). In the other statements of the genealogy this name appears to be given as ELIHU (1 Sam. i. 1) and ELIEL (1 Ch. vi. 34; Hebr. 19).

7. Son of Nathanael, one of the forefathers of Judith, and therefore belonging to the tribe of Simeon (Judith viii. 1; B. Ἐλειάβ, A. Ἐλιάβ, א. Ἐνάβ). [G.] [F.]

EL-IA'DA (אֶלְיָדָע = *God hath known*; *Elioda*, *Eliada*). **1.** One of David's sons; according to the lists, the youngest but one of the family born to him after his establishment in Jerusalem (2 Sam. v. 16 [B. Ἐπιδαέ, A. Ἐλιδαέ]; 1 Ch. iii. 8 [B. Ἐλειδά, A. Ἐλιεδά]). From the latter passage it appears that he was the son of a wife and not of a concubine. In another list of David's family we find the name Eliada changed to Beeliada, the false god (Baal) for the true (1 Ch. xiv. 7 [Bא. Βαλεγδάε, A. Βαλλιαδά]). What significance there may be in this change it is impossible to say (see Driver, *Notes on the Heb. Text of the BB. of Sam.* on 2 Sam. v. 16); it is the only instance occurring, and even here Eliada is found in one Hebrew MS. [BEELIADA.] The name appears to be omitted by Josephus in his list of David's family (*Ant.* vii. 3, § 3).

2. A mighty man of war (גִּבּוֹר חַיִל), a Benjamite, who led 200,000 of his tribe to the army of Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. xvii. 17 [B. Ἐλειδά, A. Ἐλιαδά]). [G.] [F.]

EL-IA'DAH (אֶלְיָדָע = *God hath known*; B. om., A. Ἐλιαδαέ; *Eliadi*), apparently an Aramite of Zobah; father of Rezon the captain of a marauding band which annoyed Solomon (1 K. xi. 23). [G.] [F.]

EL-IA'DAS (Ἐλιαδάς; *Eliadas*), 1 Esd. ix. 28. [ELIOENAI.]

EL-IA'DUN (B. Εἰλιαδούν, A. Ἰα-; Vulg. omits), 1 Esd. v. 38. Possibly altered from HENADAD. [G.] [F.]

ELI'AH (אֵלִיָּה = *God* [*is*] *Jehovah*; *Elia*). **1.** (Ἠλία.) A Benjamite; one of the sons of Jeroham, and a chief man (רֹאשׁ, literally "head") of the tribe (1 Ch. viii. 27).

2. (Ἠλία.) One of the Bene-Elam; an Israelite (*i.e.* a layman) in the times of Ezra, who had married a foreign wife (Ezra x. 26).

This name is accurately Elijah, and the translators of the A. V. have so expressed it, not only in the name of the Prophet (most frequently spelt with a final *h*), but in another case (Ezra x. 21). [ELIJAH.] [G.] [F.]

EL-IAH'BA (אֶלְיַחְבָּא = *God hides* [or protects]; Ἐλιαβά, Ἐμασού, Ἐλιάβ; *Eliaba*), a Shaalbonite, *i.e.* probably from SHAALBIM; one of the thirty of David's guard (2 Sam. xxiii. 32 [B. Ἐμασοὺ ὁ Σαλαβωνείτης, A. Ἐλιάβ]; 1 Ch. xi. 33 [A. Ἐλιαβὰ ὁ Σαλαβωνί, א. Ἐαμαβὰ ὁ Σωμεί, B. Σαμαβὰ ὁ Ὀμεί]). [G.] [F.]

EL-IA'KIM (אֶלְיָקִים = *God establishes*; MV.[11] compares the Sabean יקמאל, הקמאל; Ἐλιακὶμ and Ἐλιακείμ; *Eliacim*). **1.** Son of Hilkiah; master of Hezekiah's household (עַל־הַבַּיִת = "over the house," as Is. xxxvi. 3), 2 K. xviii. 18, 26, 37. He succeeded Shebna in this office, after he had been ejected from it (Grotius thinks by reason of his leprosy) as a punishment for his pride (Is. xxii. 15–20). Eliakim was a good man, as appears by the title emphatically applied to him by God, "My servant Eliakim" (Is. xxii. 20), and as was evinced by his conduct on the occasion of Sennacherib's invasion (2 K. xviii. 37; xix. 1–5), and also in the discharge of the duties of his high station, in which he acted as a "father to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and to the house of Judah" (Is. xxii. 21). It was as a special mark of the Divine approbation of his character and conduct, of which however no further details have been preserved to us, that he was raised to the post of authority and dignity which he held at the time of the Assyrian invasion. What this office was has been a subject of some perplexity to commentators. The ancients, including the LXX. and Jerome, understood it of the priestly office, as appears by the rendering of סֹכֵן (Is. xxii. 15, A. V. and R. V. "treasurer;" R. V. marg. Or, *steward*) by παστοφόριον, the "priest's

chamber," by the former, and of עַל־הַבַּיִת by "*praepositus templi*" by the latter. Hence Nicephorus, as well as the author of the Alexandrian Chronicle, includes in the list of high-priests, Somnas or Sobnas (*i.e.* Shebna) and Eliakim, identifying the latter with Shallum or Meshullam. His twelfth high-priest is, *Somnas, ille impius et perditus, regnante Ezechiâ*; and his thirteenth, Eliakim Muselum. But it is certain from the description of the office in Is. xxii., and especially from the expression in v. 22, "the key of the house of David will I lay upon his shoulder," that it was the king's house, and not the House of God, of which Eliakim was praefect, as Ahishar had been in the reign of Solomon, 1 K. iv. 6, and Azrikam in that of Ahaz, 2 Ch. xxviii. 7. And with this agrees both all that is said, and all that is not said, of Eliakim's functions. The office seems to have been the highest under the king, as was the case in Egypt, when Pharaoh said to Joseph, "Thou shalt be over my house (עַל־בֵּיתִי) . . . only in the throne will I be greater than thou," Gen. xli. 40; cp. xxxix. 4. In 2 Ch. xxviii. 7, the officer is called "governor (נָגִיד) of the house." It is clear that the "Scribe" was inferior to him, for Shebna, when degraded from the praefecture of the house, acted as scribe under Eliakim[a] (2 K. xviii. 37). Further, the whole description of it by Isaiah implies a place of great eminence and power. This description is transferred in a mystical or spiritual sense to Christ the Son of David in Rev. iii. 7; thus making Eliakim in some sense typical of Christ. This it is perhaps which gave rise, to the interpretation of Eliakim's name mentioned by Origen, *ὁ Θεὸς μου ἀνέστη*· or as Jerome has it, *Dei resurrectio*, or *Resurgens Deus*; and also favoured the mystical interpretation of the passage in Isaiah given by Jerome in his commentary, based upon the interpretation of סֹכֵן as "*habitans in tabernaculo*," as if it imported the removal of the Jewish dispensation, and the setting up of the Gospel in its place. The meaning of סֹכֵן is probably "steward," in a high sense of the term (MV.[11] gives instances of its occurrence in the Carthaginian inscriptions). Eliakim's career was a most honourable and splendid one; if with Gesenius and Ewald (cp. Driver, *Isaiah, his Life and Times*, p. 103, n. 1; Riehm, *HWB.* s. n.; Dillmann[5] in loco) Is. xxii. 25 is taken to apply not to him, but to Shebna.[b] Eliakim's name also occurs 2 K. xix. 2; Is. xxxvi. 3, 11, 22; xxxvii. 2 (see further Jerome, *de nom. Hebr.* and *Comm. on Is.* xxii. 15 sq.; Rosenmüll. *ib.*; Bp. Lowth's *Notes on Is.*; Selden, *de Success. in Pontif. Hebr.*; Winer, *sub voc.*).

2. The original name of Jehoiakim king of Judah (2 K. xxiii. 34; 2 Ch. xxxvi. 4). [JEHOIAKIM.]

3. A priest in the days of Nehemiah, who assisted at the dedication of the new wall of Jerusalem (Neh. xii. 41; BN*A. om.).

4. Eldest son of Abiud, or Judah; brother of Joseph, and father of Azor (Matt. i. 13). [GENEALOGY OF CHRIST.]

5. Son of Melea, and father of Jonan (Luke iii. 30, 31). [IBID.] [A. C. H.]

EL-IA'LI (B. Ἐδιαλεὶς, A. Ἐλιαλεί; *Dielus*), 1 Esd. ix. 34. [BINNUI.]

ELI'AM (אֱלִיעָם; BA. Ἐλιάβ; *Eliam*), **1.** Father of Bathsheba, the wife of David (2 Sam. xi. 3). In the list of 1 Ch. iii. 5, the names of both father and daughter are altered, the former to AMMIEL and the latter to BATHSHUA[a]; and it may be noticed in passing, that both the latter names were also those of non-Israelite persons, while Uriah was a Hittite (cp. Gen. xxxviii. 12; 1 Ch. ii. 3; in both of which "the daughter of Shua" is בַּת שׁוּעַ, Bath-shua; also 2 Sam. xvii. 27). The transposition of the two parts of the name El-i-am in Am-mi-el does not alter its Hebrew signification, which may be "God is my people."

2. B. Ἐλιάβ; A. Οὐελιάφ. Son of Ahithophel the Gilonite; one of David's "thirty" warriors (2 Sam. xxiii. 34). The name is omitted in the list of 1 Ch. xi., but is now probably dimly discernible or mutilated (Driver) as "Ahijah the Pelonite" (*v.* 36; see Kennicott, *Dissertation*, p. 207). The ancient Jewish tradition preserved by Jerome (*Qu. Hebr.* on 2 Sam. xi. 3, and 1 Ch. iii. 5) is that the two Eliams are one and the same person. An argument has been founded on this to account for the hostility of Ahitophel to king David, as having dishonoured his house and caused the death of his son-in-law (Blunt, *Coincidences*, Pt. II. x.). [G.] [F.]

ELIAO'NIAS (B. Ἐλιαλωνίας, A. Ἐλιαωνίας; *Moabitionis*, including preceding name), 1 Esd. viii. 31. [ELIHOENAI.]

ELI'AS (Ἠλίας; in Maccabees, and in N. T. Ἠλίας [Lachm. and Treg.] or Ἠλείας [Westc. and Hort]; *Elias*, but in Cod. Amiat. *Helias*), the form in which the name of ELIJAH is given in the A. V. of the Apocrypha and N. T.: Ecclus. xlviii. 1, 4, 12 [א. *vv.* 1, 12, Ἠλείας]; 1 Macc. ii. 58; Matt. xi. 14, xvi. 14, xvii. 3, 4, 10, 11, 12, xxvii. 47, 49; Mark vi. 15, viii. 28, ix. 4, 5, 11, 12, 13, xv. 35, 36; Luke i. 17, iv. 25, 26, ix. 8, 19, 30, 33, 54; John i. 21, 25; Rom. xi. 2; James v. 17. In Rom. xi. 2 the reference is not to the prophet, but to the portion of Scripture designated by his name, the words being ἐν Ἠλίᾳ, "in Elias" (A. V. and R. V. marg.), not as in A. V. and R. V. text, "of Elias." [G.]

EL-IA'SAPH (אֶלְיָסָף = *God hath added*; B. Ἐλεισάφ, AF. -ι-; *Eliasaph*). **1.** Son of Deuel; head of the tribe of Dan at the time of the census in the Wilderness of Sinai (Num. i. 14; ii. 14; vii. 42, 47; x. 20).

2. BAF. Ἐλισάφ. Son of Lael; a Levite, and "chief of the house of the father of the Gershonite" at the same time (Num. iii. 24).

EL-IA'SHIB (אֶלְיָשִׁיב = *God will bring back*; cp. Nestle, *Die Israel. Eigennamen*, p. 194. MV.[11] compares the Sabean תבאל; *Eliasub*, *Eliasib*),

[a] Bp. Lowth thinks, but without sufficient reason, that this Shebna is a different person from the other.

[b] Others (Delitzsch,[4] G. A. Smith, &c. in loco) take this verse as referring to Eliakim, and consider that he fell through the nepotism of his family.

[a] Driver (*Notes on the Hebrew Text of the BB. of Samuel*, in loco) thinks that שׁוּעַ (in Ch.) was pronounced שֻׁוַע, and was merely an error for שֻׁבַע.

a common name at the later period of the O. T. history.

1. B. Ἐλιαβιέλ, A. Ἐλιασείβ. A priest in the time of king David, eleventh in the order of the "governors" (שָׂרֵי) of the sanctuary (1 Ch. xxiv. 12).

2. B. Ἀσείβ, B. Ἐλιασείβ. A son of Elioenai; one of the latest descendants of the royal family of Judah (1 Ch. iii. 24).

3. High-priest at Jerusalem at the time of the rebuilding of the walls under Nehemiah (Neh. iii. 1 [B. Ἐλεισούβ, ℵA. -ι-], 20, 21 [in these *vv.* B. Βηθελισουὺβ or -εισουβ, ℵ. Βηθαιλισουὺβ or -εισου or -εισουβ, A. Βηθελεὶ Ἀσσουὺβ or -ησουβας or -ιασουβ]). His genealogy is given in xii. 10 [B. Ἐλειασείβ or -ι-, ℵ. Ἐλιασίβ or -ειασείβ, A. Ἐλιασείβ], 22 [BA. Ἐλιασίβ, ℵ. Ἐλειασείβ], 23 [B. Ἐλεισοῦε, A. -ι-, ℵ*. Ἐλεισούβ]. Eliashib was in some way allied (קָרוֹב = near) to Tobiah the Ammonite, for whom he had prepared a room in the Temple, a desecration which excited the wrath of Nehemiah (Neh. xiii. 4, 7). One of the grandsons of Eliashib had also married the daughter of Sanballat the Horonite (xiii. 28). There seems no reason to doubt that the same Eliashib is referred to in Ezra x. 6 (B. Ἐλεισούβ, ℵA. -ι-).

4. A singer in the time of Ezra who had married a foreign wife (Ezra x. 24, B. Ἐλεισάφ, ℵA. -ι-). [ELEAZURUS.]

5. A son of Zattu (Ezra x. 27, B. Ἐλεισούβ, A. -ι-, ℵ. -σου) [ELISIMUS], and

6. A son of Bani (x. 36, B. Ἐλειασείφ, ℵ. -σειβ, A. Ἐλειασείβ) [ELIASIB], both of whom had transgressed in the same manner.

[G.] [F.]

ELI'ASIS (Ἐλιάσεις; *Eliasis*), 1 Esd. ix. 34. This name and Enasibus may be duplicate forms answering to Eliashib (see *Speaker's Comm.* in loco). [G.] [F.]

ELI'ATHAH (אֶלְיָתָה and אֵלְיָתָה = *God* or *my God hath come*; B. Ἠλιαθάθ, A. Ἐλιαθά; *Eliatha*), one of the sons of Heman, a musician in the Temple in the time of king David (1 Ch. xxv. 4), who with twelve of his sons and brethren had the twentieth division of the Temple-service (xxv. 27; B. Αἰμαθα, A. Ἐλιαθθ). In Jerome's *Quaest. Hebr.* on *v.* 27, the name is given as Eliaba and explained accordingly; but not so in the Vulgate. [G.] [F.]

ELI'DAD (אֶלְיָדָד = *God* or *my God loves*; Ἐλδάδ; *Elidad*), son of Chislon; the man chosen to represent the tribe of Benjamin in the division of the land of Canaan (Num. xxxiv. 21). [G.] [F.]

ELI'EL (אֶלִיאֵל = *God* or *my God is* [the true] *God*; B. Ἐλειήλ, A. -ι-; *Eliel*). **1.** One of the heads of the tribe of Manasseh—of that portion of the tribe which was on the east of Jordan (1 Ch. v. 24).

2. Son of Toah; a forefather of Samuel the prophet (1 Ch. vi. 34, Hebr. *v.* 19). Probably identical with ELIHU, 2, and ELIAB, 6.

3. (B. Ἐλιηλεί, A. -λι), one of the Bene-Shimhi; a chief man in the tribe of Benjamin (1 Ch. viii. 20).

4. (Ἐλεήλ), like the preceding, a Benjamite, but belonging to the Bene-Shashak (1 Ch. viii. 22).

5. (B. Λειήλ, ℵ. -ι-, A. Ἰελιήλ), "the Mahavite;" one of the heroes of David's guard in the extended list of 1 Ch. (xi. 46).

6. (BℵL. Δαλιήλ, A. Ἀλιήλ), another of the same guard, but without any express designation (xi. 47).

7. (BℵL. Ἐλιάβ, A. Ἐλιήλ), one of the Gadite heroes who came across Jordan to David when he was in the wilderness of Judah hiding from Saul (1 Ch. xii. 11).

8. A Kohathite Levite, "chief" (שַׂר) of the Bene-Chebron at the time of the transportation of the Ark from the house of Obed-edom to Jerusalem (1 Ch. xv. 9 [B. Ἐνήρ, ℵ. -ηλ, A. Ἐλιήλ], 11 [B. Ἐνήλ, ℵ. Ἀνελήμ, A. Ἐλιήλ]).

9. A Levite in the time of Hezekiah; one of the "overseers" (פְּקִידִים) of the offerings made in the Temple (2 Ch. xxxi. 13, B. Ἰεειήλ, A. Ἰειήλ). [G.] [F.]

ELI-E'NAI (אֶלְיְעֵינַי; B. Ἐλιωλιαά, A. Ἐλιωεναί; *Elioenai*), one of the Bene-Shimhi; a descendant of Benjamin, and a chief man in the tribe (1 Ch. viii. 20). [G.] [F.]

ELI-E'ZER (אֱלִיעֶזֶר; Ἐλιέζερ; *God* or *my God is help*. MV.[11] compares the Phoen. עזרבעל. בעלעזר. אשמנעזר). **1.** Abraham's chief servant, called by him, as the passage is translated in A. V., "Eliezer of Damascus," or by Chald. and Syriac, "the Damascene, Eliezer" (Gen. xv. 2. On the disputed points connected with this verse see Delitzsch [1887], Dillmann,[5] and the summary in *QPB.*[3]). It was, most likely, this same Eliezer who is described in Gen. xxiv. 2 (R. V.) as Abraham's *servant, the elder of his house, that ruled over all that he had*, and whom his master sent to Padan-Aram to take a wife for Isaac from among his own kindred. With what eminent zeal and faithfulness he executed his commission, and how entirely he found the truth of what his own name expressed, in the providential aid he met with on his errand, is most beautifully told in Gen. xxiv. The two passages, "*Jukueis origo Damascena, Syriae nobilissima civitas . . . Nomen urbi a Damasco rege inditum . . . Post Damascum Azelus, mox Adores et Abraham et Israhel reges fuere*" (Justin. lib. xxxvi. cap. 2): and Ἀβράμης ἐβασίλευσε Δαμασκοῦ . . . τοῦ δὲ Ἀβράμου ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν τῇ Δαμασκηνῇ τὸ ὄνομα δοξάζεται· καὶ κώμη ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δείκνυται Ἀβράμου οἴκησις λεγομένη (Joseph. *Ant.* i. 7, § 2, quoting Nicol. Damascen.) have probably some relation to the narrative in Gen. xv. (see Gesen. *Thes.* s. v. מֶשֶׁק; Rosenmüll. on Gen. xv.; Knobel, *Genesis*).

2. Second son of Moses and Zipporah, to whom his father gave this name, "because, said he, the God of my father was my help, that delivered me from the sword of Pharaoh" (Ex. xviii. 4; 1 Ch. xxiii. 15, 17). He remained with his mother and brother Gershom, in the care of Jethro his grandfather, when Moses returned to Egypt (Ex. iv. 18), she having been sent back to her father by Moses (Ex. xviii. 2), though she set off to accompany him, and went part of the way with him. Jethro brought back Zipporah and her two sons to Moses in the wilderness, after he heard of the departure of the Israelites from Egypt (ch. xviii.). Eliezer had one son, Rehabiah, from whom sprang a numerous posterity (1 Ch.

xxiii. 17, xxvi. 25, 26). Shelomith in the reigns of Saul and David (*v.* 28), who had the care of all the treasures of things dedicated to God, was descended from Eliezer in the sixth generation, if the genealogy in 1 Ch. xxvi. 25 is complete.

3. One of the sons of Becher, the son of Benjamin (1 Ch. vii. 8).

4. A priest in the reign of David, one of those appointed to sound with trumpets before the Ark on its passage from the house of Obed-edom to the city of David (1 Ch. xv. 24).

5. Son of Zichri, "ruler" (נָגִיד) of the Reubenites in the reign of David (1 Ch. xxvii. 16).

6. (B. Ἐλιαδά, A. Ἐλιεζέρ.) Son of Dodavah, of Mareshah in Judah (2 Ch. xx. 37), a prophet, who rebuked Jehoshaphat for joining himself with Ahaziah king of Israel, "who did very wickedly," in making a combined expedition of ships of Tarshish to go to Ophir for gold; and foretold the destruction of his fleet at Ezion-geber, which accordingly came to pass. When Ahaziah proposed a second expedition, Jehoshaphat refused (2 Ch. xx. 35–37; 1 K. xxii. 48, 49). The combination of the names Eliezer and Dodavah almost suggests that he may have been descended from David's mighty man Eleazar the son of Dodo (2 Sam. xxiii. 9).

7. (Ἐλεαζάρ.) A chief Israelite—a "man of understanding"—whom Ezra sent with others from Ahava to Casiphia, to induce some Levites and Nethinim to accompany him to Jerusalem (Ezra viii. 16). In 1 Esd. viii. 43, the name is given as ELEAZAR.

8, 9, 10. A priest, a Levite, and an Israelite of the sons of Harim, who, in the time of Ezra, had married foreign wives (Ezra x. 18, 23 [א. -ζαρ], 31 [BAA. Ἐλιέζερ]). The former is called ELEAZAR, the second ELEAZURUS, and the third ELIONAS, in 1 Esd. ix. 19, 23, 32.

11. Son of Jorim, thirteenth in descent from Nathan the son of David, in the genealogy of Christ (Luke ii. 29). [A. C. H.]

ELI-HA'BA the Shaalbonite (2 Sam. xxiii. 32; 1 Ch. xi. 33), one of David's "thirty," rendered ELIAHBA by R. V. in both passages.

ELIHO-E'NAI (אֶלְיְהוֹעֵינַי; B. Ἐλιανά, A. Ἐλιααναί; *Elioenai*), son of Zerahiah, one of the Bene-Pahath-moab, who with 200 men returned from the Captivity with Ezra (Ezra viii. 4). In the apocryphal Esdras the name is ELIAONIAS. [G.] [F.]

ELI-HO'REPH (אֱלִיחֹרֵף, (?) = *God* or *my God is* [*a*] *reward*; B. Ἐλιάφ, A. Ἐναρέφ; *Elihoreph*), son of Shisha. He and his brother Ahiah were scribes (סֹפְרִים) to Solomon at the commencement of his reign (1 K. iv. 3). [A. C. H.]

ELI'HU (אֱלִיהוּא = *God* or *my God is He*; Ἐλιούς; *Eliu*). **1.** One of the interlocutors in the Book of Job. He is described as the "son of Barachel the Buzite," and thus apparently referred to the family of Buz, the son of Nahor, and nephew of Abraham (Gen. xxii. 21). This supposition suits well with the description of the other personages [ELIPHAZ; BILDAD],[a] and the probable date to be assigned to the scenes recorded. In his speech (chs. xxxii.–xxxvii.) he describes himself as younger than the three friends, and accordingly his presence is not noticed in the first chapters. He expresses his desire to moderate between the disputants; and his words alone touch upon, although they do not thoroughly handle, that idea of the disciplinal nature of suffering, which is the key to Job's perplexity and doubt; but, as in the whole Book, the greater stress is laid on God's unsearchable wisdom, and the implicit faith which He demands. [JOB, BOOK OF.] [A. B.]

2. (B. Ἠλείου, A. Ε-). Son of Tohu; a forefather of Samuel the prophet (1 Sam. i. 1). In the statements of the genealogy of Samuel in 1 Ch. vi. the name ELIEL occurs in the same position—son of Toah and father of Jeroham (vi. 34, Heb. *v.* 19); and also ELIAB (vi. 27, Heb. *v.* 12), father of Jeroham and grandson of Zophai. The general opinion is that Elihu is the original name, and the two latter forms but copyists' variations thereof.

3. (B. and A. Ἐλιάβ.) A similar variation of the name of Eliab, the eldest son of Jesse, is probably found in 1 Ch. xxvii. 18, where Elihu "of the brethren of David" is mentioned as the chief of the tribe of Judah. But see 1 Ch. xii. 2, where, in a similar connexion, the word "brethren" is used in its widest sense. The LXX. retains Eliab. [ELIAB, 3.] In this place the name is without the final Aleph—אֱלִיהוּ.

4. (B. Ἐλιμούθ; A. Ἐλιούδ.) One of the "captains" (רָאשֵׁי, *i.e.* heads) of the "thousands of Manasseh" (1 Ch. xii. 20) who followed David to Ziklag after he had left the Philistine army on the eve of the battle of Gilboa, and who assisted him against the marauding band (גְּדוּד) of the Amalekites (cp. 1 Sam. xxx.).

5. (אֱלִיהוּ; B. Ἐννού, A. Ἐλιού.) A Korhite Levite in the time of David; one of the doorkeepers (A. V. "porters") of the house of Jehovah. He was a son of Shemaiah, and of the family of Obed-edom (1 Ch. xxvi. 7). Terms are applied to these doorkeepers which seem to indicate that they were not only "strong men," as in A. V., but also (R. V. "valiant") fighting men (see *vv.* 6, 7, 8, 12, in which occur the words חַיִל = army, and גִּבּוֹרֵי = warriors or heroes).

[G.] [F.]

ELI'JAH. **1.** (generally אֵלִיָּהוּ, *Eliyahu*, but sometimes אֵלִיָּה, *Eliyah* = *God is Jehovah*, or *Jehovah is my God*; B. Ἠλιού, A. -ι-, Luc. Ἠλίας; Aquila, Ἠλία;[a] N. T. Ἠλείας [Westcott and Hort]; *Elias*). ELIJAH THE TISHBITE has been well entitled "the grandest and the most romantic character that Israel ever produced."[b] Certainly there is no personage in the O. T. whose career is more vividly portrayed, or who exercises on us a more remarkable fascination. His rare, sudden, and brief appearances—his undaunted courage and fiery zeal—the brilliancy of his triumphs—the pathos of his despondency—the glory of his departure,

[a] The connexion of Dedan and Tema with Buz in Jer. xxv. 23 is also to be noticed.

[a] By Chrysostom and others the name is Grecised into Ἥλιος, as if signifying the brightness of the sun.

[b] Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 328. In the *Acta Sanctor.* he is called *Prodigiosus Thesbites.*

and the calm beauty of his reappearance on the Mount of Transfiguration—throw such a halo of brightness around him as is equalled by none of his compeers in the sacred story.[c] The ignorance in which we are left of the circumstances and antecedents of the man who did and who suffered so much, doubtless contributes to enhance our interest in the story and the character. "Elijah the Tishbite of the inhabitants (R. V. "sojourners") of Gilead," is literally all that is given us to know of his parentage and locality.[d] It is in remarkable contrast to the detail with which the genealogies of other prophets and leaders of Israel are stated. Where the place—if it was a place—lay, which gave him this appellation, we know not, nor are we likely to know. It is not again found in the Bible, nor has any name answering to it been discovered since.[e] [THISBE.]

The mention of Gilead, however, is the keynote to much that is most characteristic in the story of the prophet. Gilead was the country on the further side of the Jordan—a country of chase and pasture, of tent-villages and mountain-castles, inhabited by a people not settled and civilised like those who formed the communities of Ephraim and Judah, but of wandering, irregular habits, exposed to the attacks of the nomad tribes of the desert, and gradually conforming more and more to the habits of those tribes; making war with the Hagarites, and taking the countless thousands of their cattle and then dwelling in their stead (1 Ch. v. 10, 19–22). To an Israelite of the tribes west of Jordan the *title* "Gileadite" must have conveyed an impression similar, though in a far stronger degree, to that which the title "Celt" does to us. What the Highlands were a century ago to the towns in the Lowlands of Scotland, that, and more than that, must Gilead have been to Samaria or Jerusalem.[f] One of the most famous heroes in the early annals of Israel was "Jephthah the Gileadite," in whom all these characteristics were prominent; and Dean Stanley has well remarked how impossible it is rightly to estimate his character without recollecting this fact (*S. & P.* p. 327; *Hist. of the Jewish Church*, Lect. xxx.).

With Elijah, of whom so much is told, and whose part in the history was so much more important, this is still more necessary. It is seen at every turn. Of his appearance as he "stood before" Ahab—with the suddenness of motion to this day characteristic of the Bedouins from his native hills, we can perhaps realise something from the touches, few but strong, of the narrative. Of his height little is to be inferred—that little is in favour of its being beyond the ordinary size.[g] His chief characteristic was his hair, long and thick, and hanging down his back,[h] and which, if not betokening the immense strength of Samson, yet accompanied powers of endurance[i] no less remarkable. His ordinary clothing consisted of a girdle of skin[k] round his loins, which he tightened when about to move quickly (1 K. xviii. 46). But in addition to this he occasionally wore the "mantle," or cape,[l] of sheepskin, which has supplied us with one of our most familiar figures of speech.[m] In this mantle, in moments of emotion,[n] he would hide his face (1 K. xix. 13), or when excited would roll it up as into a kind of staff.[n] On one occasion we find him bending himself down upon the ground with his face between his knees.[o]

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[c] "Omnium suae aetatis Prophetarum facile princeps; et, si a Mose discesseris, nulli secundus" (Frischmuth, in *Crit. Sacri*, quoting from Abarbanel).

[d] The Hebrew text is אליהו התשבי מתשבי ג'. The third word may be pointed (1) as in the present Masoretic text, to mean "from the inhabitants of Gilead," or (2) "from Tishbi of Gilead;" which, with a slight change in form, is what the LXX. has. The latter is followed by Ewald (iii. 486, note). Renan (*Hist. du Peuple d'Israël*, ii. 284) considers "the Tishbite" a mere copyist's error. Lightfoot assumes, but without giving his authority, that Elijah was from Jabesh-gilead, and this conjecture is approved by Klostermann (Strack u. Zöckler's *Kgf. Komm.* on 1 K. xvii. 1). By Josephus he is said to have come from Thesbon—ἐκ πόλεως Θεσβώνης τῆς Γαλααδίτιδος χώρας (viii. 13, § 12). Perhaps this may have been read as Heshbon, a city of the priests, and have given rise to the statement of Epiphanius, that he was "of the tribe of Aaron," and grandson of Zadok. See also the *Chron. Pasch.* in Fabricius, *Cod. Pseudep. V. T.* 1070, &c.; and Quaresmius, *Elucid.* ii. 605. According to Jewish tradition—grounded on the similarity between the fiery zeal of the two—Phinehas the son of Eleazar the priest was typical of Elijah (Hamburger, *RE.* s. n.). Elijah was also the Angel of Jehovah who appeared in fire to Gideon (Lightfoot on John i. 21; Eisenmenger, i. 686). Arab tradition places his birth-place at *Gilhad Gilhood*, a few miles N. of *es-Salt* (Irby, p. 98), and his *tomb* near Damascus (Mislin, i. 490).

[e] The common assumption—perhaps originating with Hiller (*Onom.* p. 947) or Reland (*Pal.* p. 1035)—is that he was born in the town Thisbe mentioned in Tob. i. 2. But not to insist on the fact that this Thisbe was not in Gilead but in Naphtali, the name there disappears in the Heb. text, which reads, "he was of *the inhabitants* of a city in Naphtali" (see *Speaker's Comm.* in loco). [THISBE.]

[f] See a good passage illustrative of this in *Rob Roy*, ch. xix.

[g] From a comparison of 2 K. iv. 34 with 1 K. xvii. 21, it would seem as if Elisha approached nearer than Elijah to the stature of the child. But the inference is not to be relied on. Chrysostom applied the same epithet to him as to St. Paul, τριπηχυν ἄνθρωπον.

[h] 2 K. i. 8, "a hairy man;" literally, "a lord of hair." This might be doubtful, even with the support of the LXX. and Josephus—ἀνθρωπον δασύν—and of the Targum Jonathan—גְּבַר סַעְרָן—the same word used for Esau in Gen. xxvii. 11; but its application to the hair of his head is corroborated by the word used by the children of Bethel when mocking Elisha. "Baldhead" is a peculiar term (קֵרֵחַ) applied only to want of hair at the back of the head; and the taunt was called forth by the difference between the bare shoulders of the new prophet and the shaggy locks of the old one. [ELISHA.]

[i] Running before Ahab's chariot; the hardships of the Cherith; the forty days' fast.

[k] עוֹר (2 K. i. 8), rendered by A. V. and R. V. "leather" in this one place only. See Gen. iii. 21, &c.

[l] *Addereth*, אַדֶּרֶת; LXX. μηλωτής; always used for this garment of Elijah, but not for that of any prophet before him. It is perhaps a trace of the permanent impression which he left on some parts of the Jewish society, that a hairy cloak became afterwards the recognised garb of a prophet of Jehovah (Zech. xiii. 4; A. V. "rough garment;" where R. V. translates correctly "hairy mantle").

[m] Various relics of the mantle are said to exist. The list of claimants will be found in the *Acta Sanctorum* (July 20). One piece is shown at Oviedo in Spain.

[n] גְּלֹם (2 K. ii. 8); "wrapped" is a different word.

[o] This is generally taken as having been in prayer;

Such, as far as the scanty notices of the record will allow us to conceive it, was the general appearance of the great prophet, an appearance which there is no reason to think was other than uncommon even at that time.[p] "Vir qui curationem et cultum corporis despiceret; facie squallente, quae multitudine suorum crinium obumbraretur . . . . pelle caprinâ tantum de corpore tegentem quantum abscondi decorum erat, reliqua corporis ad aera perdurantem" (Gregory Nyss. quoted by Willemer, *de Pallio Eliae*, in *Crit. Sacri*).

The solitary life in which these external peculiarities had been assumed had also nurtured that fierceness of zeal and that directness of address which so distinguished him. It was in the wild loneliness of the hills and ravines of Gilead that the knowledge of Jehovah, the living God of Israel, had been impressed on his mind, which was to form the subject of his mission to the idolatrous court and country of Israel.

The northern kingdom had at this time forsaken almost entirely the faith in Jehovah. The worship of the calves had been a departure from Him, it was a violation of His command against material resemblances; but still it would appear that even in the presence of the calves Jehovah was acknowledged, and they were at any rate a national institution, not one imported from the idolatries of any of the surrounding countries. [CALF.] They were announced by Jeroboam as the preservers of the nation during the great crisis of its existence: "Behold thy gods, O Israel, that brought thee up out of the land of Egypt" (1 K. xii. 28). But the case was quite different when Ahab, not content with the calf-worship—"as if it had been a light thing to walk in the sins of Jeroboam, the son of Nebat"—married the daughter of the king of Sidon, and introduced on the most extensive scale (Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 6, § 6) the foreign religion of his wife's family, the worship of the Phoenician Baal. What this worship consisted of we are ignorant—doubtless it was of a gay, splendid, and festal character, and therefore very opposite to the grave, severe service of the Mosaic ritual. Attached to it and to the worship of Asherah (see Preface to the Revised Version) were licentious and impure rites, which in earlier times had brought the heaviest judgments on the nation (Num. xxv.; Judg. ii. 13, 14, iii. 7, 8). But the most obnoxious and evil characteristic of the Baal-religion was that it was the worship of power, of mere strength, as opposed to that of a God of righteousness and goodness—a foreign religion, imported from nations, the hatred of whom was inculcated in every page of the Law, as opposed to the religion of that God Who had delivered the nation from the bondage of Egypt, had "driven out the heathen with His hand, and planted them in;" and through Whom their forefathers had "trodden down their enemies, and destroyed those that rose up against them." It is as a witness against these two evils that Elijah comes forward.

1. What we may call the first Act in his life embraces between three and four years—three years and six months for the duration of the drought, according to the statements of the New Testament (Luke iv. 25; Jas. v. 17), and three or four months more for the journey to Horeb and the return to Gilead (1 K. xvii. 1–xix. 21). His introduction is of the most startling description: he suddenly appears before Ahab, as with the unrestrained freedom of Eastern manners he would have no difficulty in doing, and proclaims the vengeance of Jehovah for the apostasy of the king. This he does in the remarkable formula evidently characteristic of himself, and adopted after his departure by his follower Elisha—a formula which includes everything at issue between himself and the king—the name of Jehovah—His being the God of Israel—the Living God—Elijah being His messenger; and then—the special lesson of the event—that the god of power and of nature should be beaten at his own weapons. "As Jehovah, God of Israel, liveth, before Whom I stand," whose constant servant I am, "there shall not be dew nor rain these years, but according to my word." What immediate action followed on this we are not told; but it is plain that Elijah had to fly before some threatened vengeance either of the king, or more probably of the queen (cp. xix. 2). Perhaps it was at this juncture that Jezebel "cut off the prophets of Jehovah" (1 K. xviii. 4). He was directed to the brook Cherith, either one of the torrents which cleave the high table-lands of his native hills, or on the west of Jordan, more in the neighbourhood of Samaria. [CHERITH.] There in the hollow of the torrent-bed he remained, supported in the miraculous manner with which we are all familiar, till the failing of the brook obliged him to forsake it. How long he remained in the Cherith is uncertain. The Hebrew expression is simply "at the end of days," nor does Josephus afford us any more information. A vast deal of ingenuity has been devoted to explaining away Elijah's "ravens." The Hebrew word, עֹרְבִים, *Orebim*, has been interpreted as "Arabians," as "merchants," as inhabitants of some neighbouring town of *Orbo* or *Orbi*.[q] By others Elijah has been held to have plundered a raven's nest—and this twice a day regularly for several months! There is no escape from the plain meaning of the words—occurring as they do twice, in a passage otherwise displaying no tinge of the marvellous—or from the unanimity of all the Hebrew MSS., of all the ancient Versions, and of Josephus.[r]

His next refuge was at Zarephath, a Phoenician town lying between Tyre and Sidon, certainly the last place at which the enemy of Baal would be looked for.[s] The widow woman in whose house he lived[t] seems, however, to have been an Israelite, and no Baal-worshipper, if we may

but kneeling apparently was not (certainly *is* not) an attitude of prayer in the East. "When ye *stand* praying, forgive" (Mark xi. 25; and see Matt. vi. 5, &c.).

[p] This is to be inferred, as we shall see afterwards, from king Ahaziah's recognition of him by mere description.

[q] Jerome, quoted by Kennicott, p. 581. These hypotheses, long ago rejected by all competent critics, may be seen brought together in Keil ad loco.

[r] This subject is exhausted in a dissertation entitled *Elias corvorum convictor* in the *Critici Sacri*.

[s] Lightfoot quaintly remarks on this that Elijah was the first Apostle to the Gentiles.

[t] The traditional scene of his meeting with the widow was in a wood to the south of the town (Mislin, i. 532, who however does not give his authority). In the time of Jerome the spot was marked by a tower (Jerome,

take her adjuration by "Jehovah thy God" as an indication.[u] Here Elijah performed the miracles of prolonging the oil and the meal; and restored the son of the widow to life.[x]

Here the prophet is first addressed by the title which, although occasionally before used to others, is so frequently applied to Elijah as to become the distinguishing appellation of himself and his successor:—"O thou man of God"—"Now I know that thou art a man of God" (1 K. xvii. 18, 24).

In this, or some other retreat, an interval of more than two years must have elapsed. The drought continued, and at last the full horrors of famine, caused by the failure of the crops, descended on Samaria. The king and his chief domestic officer divided between them the mournful duty of ascertaining that neither round the springs, which are so frequent a feature of Central Palestine, nor in the nooks and crannies of the most shaded torrent-beds, was there any of the herbage left, which in those countries is so certain an indication of the presence of moisture. No one short of the two chief persons of the realm could be trusted with this quest for life or death—"Ahab went one way by himself, and Obadiah went another way by himself." It is the moment for the reappearance of the prophet. He shows himself first to the minister. There, suddenly planted in his path, is the man whom he and his master have been seeking for more than three years. "There is no nation or kingdom," says Obadiah with true Eastern hyperbole, "whither my lord hath not sent to seek thee;" and now here he stands when least expected. Before the sudden apparition of that wild figure, and that stern, unbroken countenance, Obadiah could not but fall on his face.[y] Elijah, however, soon calms his agitation—"As Jehovah of hosts liveth, before Whom I stand, I will surely show myself to Ahab;" and thus relieved of his fear that, as on a former occasion, Elijah would disappear before he could return with the king, Obadiah departs to inform Ahab that the man they seek is there. Ahab arrived, Elijah makes his charge—"Thou hast forsaken Jehovah and followed the Baals." He then commands that all Israel be collected to Mount Carmel with the four hundred and fifty prophets of Baal, and the four hundred of Asherah (Ashtaroth), the latter being under the especial protection of the queen. Why Mount Carmel, which we do not hear of until now, was chosen in preference to the nearer Ebal or Gerizim, is not evident. Possibly Elijah thought it wise to remove the place of the meeting to a distance from Samaria. Possibly in the existence of the altar of Jehovah (xviii. 30)—in ruins, and therefore of earlier erection—we have an indication of an ancient sanctity attaching to the spot. On the question of the particular part of the ridge of Carmel, which formed the site of the meeting, there cannot be much doubt. It is examined elsewhere. [CARMEL.]

There are few more sublime stories in history than this. On the one hand the solitary servant of Jehovah, accompanied by his one attendant; with his wild shaggy hair, his scanty garb, and sheepskin cloak, but with calm dignity of demeanour and the minutest regularity of procedure, repairing the ruined altar of Jehovah with twelve stones, according to the number of the twelve founders of the tribes, and recalling in his prayer the still greater names of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel—on the other hand, the 850 prophets of Baal and Ashtaroth, doubtless in all the splendour of their vestments (2 K. x. 22), with the wild din of their "vain repetitions" and the maddened fury of their disappointed hopes, and the silent people surrounding all—these things form a picture with which we are all acquainted, but which brightens into fresh distinctness every time we consider it. The conclusion of the long day need only be glanced at.[z] The fire of Jehovah consuming both sacrifice and altar—the prophets of Baal killed, it would seem, by Elijah's own hand (xviii. 40)—the king, with an apathy almost unintelligible, eating and drinking in the very midst of the carnage of his own adherents—the rising storm—the ride across the plain to Jezreel, a distance of at least sixteen miles; the prophet, with true Bedouin endurance, running before the chariot, but also with true Bedouin instinct stopping short of the city, and going no further than the "entrance of Jezreel."

So far the triumph had been complete; but the spirit of Jezebel was not to be so completely overcome, and her first act is a vow of vengeance against the author of this destruction. "God do so to me, and more also," so ran her exclamation, "if I do not make thy life as the life of one of them to-morrow about this time." It was no duty of Elijah to expose himself to unnecessary dangers, and, as at his first introduction, so now, he takes refuge in flight. The danger was great, and the refuge must be distant. The first stage on the journey was Beersheba—"Beersheba which belongeth to Judah," says the narrative, with a touch betraying its Israelitish origin. Here, at the ancient haunt of those fathers of his nation whose memory was so dear to him, and on the very confines of cultivated country, Elijah halted. His servant—according to Jewish tradition the boy of Zarephath—he left in the town; whilst he himself set out alone into the wilderness—the waste uninhabited region which

Ep. Paulae). At a later period a church dedicated to the prophet was erected over the house of the widow, in which his chamber and her kneading-trough were shown (Anton. Martyr. and Phocas, in Reland, p. 985). This church was called τὸ χηρεῖον (*Acta Sanctorum*).

[u] This must not be much relied on. Zedekiah, son of Chenaanah, one of Ahab's prophets, uses a similar form of words, "Thus saith Jehovah" (1 K. xxii. 11). The apparent inference however from Luke iv. 26 is that she was one of the widows of Israel. In the Jewish traditions her son was the Messiah (Eisenmenger, *Entd. Judenth.* ii. 725).

[x] Josephus's language (viii. 13, § 3) appears to show that he did not understand the child to have died. But that the death was real and not apparent is evident from the expressions used by the prophet (1 K. xvii. 20, 21). The Jewish tradition, quoted by Jerome, was that this boy was the servant who afterwards accompanied Elijah, and finally became the Prophet Jonah (Jerome, *Pref. to Jonah*; and see the citations from the Talmuds in Eisenmenger, *Entd. Jud.* ii. 725).

[y] The expressions of Obadiah, "lord" and "slave," show his fear of Elijah; they are those ordinarily used in addressing a potentate.

[z] The more so as the whole of this scene is admirably drawn out by Stanley (*S. & P.* pp. 355, 356), and especially in his *Lectures on the Jewish Church*, Lect. xxx.

surrounds the south of Palestine. The labours, anxieties, and excitement of the last few days had proved too much even for that iron frame and that stern resolution. His spirit is quite broken, and he wanders forth over the dreary sweeps of those rocky hills wishing for death—"It is enough! Lord, let me die, for I am not better than my fathers."[a] It is almost impossible not to conclude from the terms of the story that he was entirely without provisions for this or any journey. But God, Who had brought His servant into this difficulty, provided him with the means of escaping from it. Whether we are to take the expression of the story literally or not is comparatively of little consequence. In some way little short of miraculous—it might well seem to the narrator that it could be by nothing but an Angel[b]—the prophet was wakened from his dream of despondency beneath the solitary bush[c] of the wilderness, was fed with the bread and water which to this day are all a Bedouin's requirements,[d] and went forward, "in the strength of that food," a journey of forty days "to the mount of God, even to Horeb." Here in "the cave"[e]—one of the numerous caverns in those awful mountains, perhaps some traditional sanctuary of that hallowed region, at any rate well-known—he remained for certainly one[f] night. In the morning came the "word of Jehovah"—the question, "What doest thou here, Elijah? Driven by what hard necessity dost thou seek this spot on which the glory of Jehovah has in former times been so signally shown?" In answer to this invitation the prophet opens his griefs. He has been very zealous for Jehovah; but force has been vain: one cannot stand against a multitude; none follow him, and he is left alone, flying for his life from the sword which has slain his brethren. The reply comes in that ambiguous and indirect form in which it seems necessary that the deepest communications with the human mind should be couched, to be effectual. He is directed to leave the cavern and stand on the mountain in the open air (εἰς τὸ ὕπαιθρον, Josephus), face to face (לִפְנֵי) with Jehovah. Then, as before with Moses (Ex. xxxiv. 6), "The Lord passed by;" passed in all the terror of His most appalling manifestations. The fierce wind tore the solid mountains and shivered the granite cliffs of Sinai; the earthquake crash reverberated through the defiles of those naked valleys; the fire burnt in the incessant blaze of Eastern lightning. Like these, in their degree, had been Elijah's own modes of procedure, but the conviction is now forced upon him that in none of these is Jehovah to be known. Then, penetrating the dead silence which followed these manifestations, came the fourth mysterious symbol—the "still small voice." What sound this was—whether articulate voice or not, we cannot even conjecture; but, low and still as it was, it spoke in louder accents to the wounded heart of Elijah than the roar and blaze which had preceded it. To him no less unmistakably than to Moses, centuries before, it was proclaimed that Jehovah was "merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth." Elijah knew the call, and, at once stepping forward and hiding his face in his mantle, stood waiting for the Divine communication. It is in the same words as before, and so is his answer; but with what different force must the question have fallen on his ears, and the answer left his lips! "Before his entrance to the cave, he was comparatively a novice; when he left it, he was an initiated man. He had thought that the earthquake, the fire, the wind, must be the great witnesses of the Lord. But he was not in *them;* not they, but the still small voice had that awe in it which forced the prophet to cover his face with his mantle. What a conclusion of all the past history! What an interpretation of its meaning!" (Maurice, *Prophets and Kings*, p. 136.) Not in the persecutions of Ahab and Jezebel, nor in the slaughter of the prophets of Baal, but in the 7,000 unknown worshippers who had not bowed the knee to Baal, was the assurance that Elijah was not alone as he had seemed to be.

Three commands were laid on him—three changes were to be made. Instead of Ben-hadad, Hazael was to be king of Syria; instead of Ahab, Jehu the son of Nimshi was to be king of Israel; and Elisha the son of Shaphat was to be his own successor. Of these three commands the first two were reserved for Elisha to accomplish, the last only was executed by Elijah himself. It would almost seem as if his late trials had awakened in him a yearning for that affection and companionship which had hitherto been denied him. His first search was for Elisha. Apparently he soon found him; we must conclude at his native place, Abel-meholah, probably at *'Ain el-Helweh*, at the south end of the Bethshean

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[a] Although to some it may seem out of place in a work of this nature, yet the writer cannot resist referring to the Oratorio of *Elijah* by Mendelssohn, one of the most forcible commentaries existing on the history of the prophet. The scene in which the occurrences at Beersheba are embodied is perhaps the most dramatic and affecting in the whole work.

[b] מַלְאָךְ is both a "messenger" and an "Angel." LXX. *v. 5*, ἄγγελος; and so Josephus (viii. 13, § 7).

[c] "*One Rotem tree*," Hebrew, רֹתֶם אֶחָד. The indented rock opposite the gate of the Greek convent, *Deir Mâr Elias*, between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, which is now shown to travellers as the spot on which the prophet rested on this occasion (Bonar; Porter, *Handbook*, &c.), appears at an earlier date not to have been so restricted, but was believed to be the place on which he was "accustomed to sleep" (Sandys, lib. iii. p. 176; Maundrell, *Ear. Trav.* p. 456), and the site of the convent as that where he was born (Gaysforde, 1506, in Bonar, p. 117). Neither the older nor the later story can be believed; but it is possible that they may have originated in some more trustworthy tradition of his having rested here on his southward journey, in all probability taken along this very route. See a curious statement by Quaresmius of the extent to which the rock had been defaced in his own time "by the piety or impiety" of the Christian pilgrims (*Elucidatio*, ii. 605; cp. Doubdan, *Voyage*, &c., p. 114).

[d] The LXX. adds to the description the only touch wanting in the Hebrew text—"a cake of meal"—ὀλυρίτης.

[e] The Hebrew word has the article, הָרְתָּמָה; and so too the LXX., τὸ σπηλαῖον. The cave is now shown "in the secluded plain below the highest point of *Jebel Mûsa;*" "a hole just large enough for a man's body," beside the altar in the chapel of Elijah (Stanley, p. 49; Rob. i. 103).

[f] Hebrew, לִין. A. V. "lodge;" but in Gen. xix. 2, accurately, "tarry all night."

plain in the Jordan valley. [ABEL-MEHOLAH.] Elisha was ploughing at the time,[g] and Elijah "passed over to him"—possibly crossed the river[h]—and cast his mantle, the well-known sheepskin cloak, upon him, as if, by that familiar[i] action, claiming him for his son. A moment of hesitation—but the call was quickly accepted; and then commenced that long period of service and intercourse which continued till Elijah's removal, and which after that time procured for Elisha one of his best titles to esteem and reverence—"Elisha the son of Shaphat, who poured water on the hands of Elijah."

2. Ahab and Jezebel now probably believed that their threats had been effectual, and that they had seen the last of their tormentor. At any rate, this may be inferred from the events of chap. xxi. Foiled in the wish to acquire the ancestral plot of ground of Naboth by the refusal of that sturdy peasant to alienate the inheritance of his fathers, Ahab and Jezebel proceeded to possess themselves of it by main force, and by a degree of monstrous injustice which shows clearly enough how far the elders of Jezreel had forgotten the laws of Jehovah, and how abject was their submission to the will of their mistress. At her orders Naboth was falsely accused of blaspheming God and the king, was with his sons[k] stoned and killed, and his vineyard then—as having belonged to a criminal—became at once the property of the king. [NABOTH.]

Ahab lost no time in entering upon his new acquisition. Apparently the very next day after the execution he proceeded in his chariot to take possession of the coveted vineyard. Behind him—probably in the back part of the chariot—rode his two pages, Jehu and Bidkar (2 K. ix. 26). But the triumph was a short one. Elijah had received an intimation from Jehovah of what was taking place, and, rapidly as the accusation and death of Naboth had been hurried over, he was there to meet his ancient enemy, and as an enemy he does meet him—as David went out to meet[l] Goliath—on the very scene of his crime. Suddenly, when least expected and least wished for, he confronts the miserable king. And then follows the curse, in terms fearful to any Oriental—peculiarly terrible to a Jew—and most of all significant to a successor of the apostate princes of the northern kingdom—"I will take away thy posterity; I will cut off from thee even thy very dogs; I will make thy house like that of Jeroboam and Baasha; thy blood shall be shed in the same spot where the blood of thy victims was shed last night; *thy wife* and thy children shall be torn in this very garden by the wild dogs of the city, or as common carrion devoured by the birds of the sky"—the large vultures which in Eastern climes are always wheeling aloft under the clear blue sky, doubtless suggesting the expression to the prophet. How tremendous was this scene we may gather from the fact that after the lapse of at least twenty years Jehu was able to recall the very words of the prophet's burden, to which he and his companion had listened as they stood behind their master in the chariot. The whole of Elijah's denunciation may possibly be recovered by putting together the words recalled by Jehu, 2 K. ix. 26, 36, 37, and those given in 1 K. xxi. 19–25.

3. A space of three or four years now elapses (cp. 1 K. xxii. 1, 51; 2 K. i. 17), before we again catch a glimpse of Elijah. The denunciations uttered in the vineyard of Naboth have been partly fulfilled. Ahab is dead, and his son and successor, Ahaziah, has met with a fatal accident, and is on his death-bed, after a short and troubled reign of less than two years (2 K. i. 1, 2; 1 K. xxii. 51). In his extremity he sends to an oracle or shrine of Baal at the Philistine town of Ekron to ascertain the issue of his illness. But *the* oracle is nearer at hand than the distant Ekron. An intimation is conveyed to the prophet, probably at that time inhabiting one of the recesses of Carmel; and, as on the former occasions, he suddenly appears on the path of the messengers, without preface or inquiry utters his message of death, and as rapidly disappears. The tone of his words is as national on this as on any former occasion, and, as before, they are authenticated by the Name of Jehovah—"Thus saith Jehovah, Is it because there is no God in Israel that ye go to inquire of Baal-zebub, god of Ekron?" The messengers returned to the king too soon to have accomplished their mission. They were possibly strangers; at any rate they were ignorant of the name of the man who had thus interrupted their journey. But his appearance had fixed itself in their minds, and their description at once told Ahaziah, who must have seen the prophet about his father's court or have heard him described in the harem, who it was that had thus reversed the favourable oracle which he was hoping for from Ekron. The "hairy man"—the "lord of hair," so the Hebrew reading[m] runs—with a belt of rough skin round his loins, who came and went in this secret manner, and uttered his fierce words in the Name of the God of Israel, could be no other than the old enemy of his father and mother, Elijah the Tishbite. But, ill as he was, this check only roused the wrath of Ahaziah, and, with the spirit of his mother, he at once seized the opportunity of possessing himself of the person of the man who had been for so long the evil genius of his house. A captain was dispatched, with a party of fifty, to take Elijah prisoner. He was sitting on the top of "the mount,"[n] *i.e.* probably of Carmel. The officer approached and addressed the prophet by the title which, as before noticed, is most frequently

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[g] Eleven yoke of oxen, with their ploughs, were before him, and he was with the twelfth plough at the end. This mode of ploughing is still common in Palestine (Thomson, *Land and the Book*, p. 144).

[h] The word is that always employed for crossing the Jordan.

[i] See also Ruth iii. 4–14. Ewald, *Alterthümer*, p. 191, n. A trace of a similar custom survives in the German word *Mantelkind*.

[k] "The blood of Naboth and the blood of his sons" (2 K. ix. 26; cp. Josh. vii. 24). From another expression in this verse—yester*night* (אֶתְמוֹל, A. V. and R. V. "yesterday"), we may perhaps conclude that like a later trial on a similar charge, also supported by two false witnesses—the trial of our Lord—it was conducted at night. The same word—*yester*night—prompts the inference that Ahab's visit and encounter with Elijah happened on the very day following the murder.

[l] The Hebrew word is the same.

[m] See note [h], p. 906.

[n] הָהָר (2 K. i. 9; A. V., inaccurately, "an hill;" R. V. "the hill").

applied to him and Elisha—"O man of God, the king hath spoken: come down." "And Elijah answered and said, If I be a man of God, then let fire come down from heaven and consume thee and thy fifty! And there came down fire from heaven and consumed him and his fifty." A second party was sent, only to meet the same fate. The altered tone of the leader of a third party, and the assurance of God that His servant need not fear, brought Elijah down. But the king gained nothing. The message was delivered to his face in the same words as it had been to the messengers, and Elijah, so we must conclude, was allowed to go harmless. This was his last interview with the house of Ahab. It was also his last recorded appearance in person against the Baal-worshippers.

Following as it did on Elijah's previous course of action, this event must have been a severe blow to the enemies of Jehovah. But impressive as it doubtless was to the contemporaries of the prophet, the story possesses a far deeper significance for us than it could have had for them. While it is most characteristic of the terrors of the earlier dispensation under which men were then living, it is remarkable as having served to elicit from the mouth of a greater than even Elijah an exposition, no less characteristic, of the distinction between that severe rule and the gentler dispensation which He came to introduce. It was when our Lord and His disciples were on their journey, through this very district, from Galilee to Jerusalem, and when smarting from the churlish inhospitality of some Samaritan villagers, that—led to it by the distant view of the heights of Carmel, or, perhaps, by some traditional name on the road—the impetuous zeal of the two "sons of thunder" burst forth: "Lord, wilt Thou that we command fire to come down from heaven and consume them, even as Elijah did?" But they little knew the Master they addressed. "He turned and rebuked them, and said, Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of. For the Son of Man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them"[o] (Luke ix. 51–56). As if He had said, "Ye are mistaking and confounding the different standing points of the Old and New Covenants; taking your stand upon the Old—that of an avenging righteousness, when you should rejoice to take it upon the New—that of a forgiving love." (Trench, *Miracles*, ch. iv.)

4. It must have been shortly after the death of Ahaziah that Elijah made a communication with the southern kingdom. It is the only one of which any record remains, and its mention is the first and last time that the name of the prophet appears in the Books of Chronicles. Mainly devoted, as these Books are, to the affairs of Judah, this is not surprising. The alliance between his enemy Ahab and Jehoshaphat cannot have been unknown to the prophet, and it must have made him regard the proceedings of the kings of Judah with more than ordinary interest. When, therefore, Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat, who had married the daughter of Ahab, began "to walk in the ways of the kings of Israel, as did the house of Ahab, and to do that which was evil in the sight of Jehovah," Elijah sent him a letter[p] denouncing his evil doings, and predicting his death (2 Ch. xxi. 12–15). This letter has been considered as a great difficulty, on the ground that Elijah's removal must have taken place before the death of Jehoshaphat (from the terms of the mention of Elisha in 2 K. iii. 11), and therefore before the accession of Joram to the throne of Judah. But admitting that Elijah had been translated before the expedition of Jehoshaphat against Moab, it does not follow that Joram was not at that time, and before his father's death, king of Judah; Jehoshaphat occupying himself during the last six or seven years of his life in going about the kingdom (2 Ch. xix. 4–11), and in conducting some important wars, amongst others that in question against Moab, while Joram was concerned with the more central affairs of the government (2 K. iii. 7, &c.). That Joram began to reign during the lifetime of his father Jehoshaphat is stated in 2 K. viii. 16. According to one record (2 K. i. 17), which immediately precedes the account of Elijah's last acts on earth, Joram was actually on the throne of Judah at the time of Elijah's interview with Ahaziah; and though this is modified by the statements of other places[q] (2 K. iii. 1, viii. 16), yet it is not invalidated, and the conclusion is almost inevitable, as stated above, that Joram ascended the throne some years before the death of his father. [See JORAM; JEHOSHAPHAT; JUDAH.] In its contents the letter bears a strong resemblance to the speeches of Elijah,[r] while in the details of style it is very peculiar, and quite different from the narrative in which it is imbedded (Bertheau, *Chronik* in loco).

5. The closing transaction of Elijah's life introduces us to a locality heretofore unconnected with him. Hitherto we have found him in the neighbourhood of Samaria, Jezreel, and Carmel, only leaving these northern places on actual emergency, but we now find him on the frontier of the two kingdoms, at the holy city of Bethel, with the sons of the prophets of Jericho, and in the valley of the Jordan (2 K. ii. 1, &c.).

It was at GILGAL—probably not the ancient place of Joshua and Samuel, but another of the same name still surviving on the western edge

[o] R. V., following a majority of the most important MSS., omits the words "even as Elijah did," and from "and said" to "save them."

[p] מִכְתָּב "a writing," almost identical with the word used in Arabic at the present day. The ordinary Hebrew word for a letter is *Sepher*, סֵפֶר, a book.

[q] The second statement of Jehoram's accession to Israel (in 2 K. iii. 1) seems inserted there to make the subsequent narrative more complete. Its position there, subsequent to the story of Elijah's departure, has probably assisted the ordinary belief in the difficulty in question. [The student will find this "difficulty" diversely treated by Keil and the *Speaker's Comm.* on the one hand and by Bertheau[2] and Oettli (in Strack u. Zöckler's *Kgf. Komm.*) on the other, in their notes on 2 Ch. xxi. 12.—F.]

[r] The ancient Jewish commentators get over the apparent difficulty by saying that the letter was written and sent after Elijah's translation. Others believed that it was the production of Elisha, for whose name that of Elijah had been substituted by copyists. The first of these requires no answer. To the second, the severity of its tone, as above noticed, is a sufficient reply. Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 5, § 2) says that the letter was sent while Elijah was still on earth (see Lightfoot, *Chronicle*, &c. "Jehoram." Other theories will be found in Fabricius, *Cod. Pseudepig.* p. 1075, and Otho, *Lex. Rabb.* p. 167).

of the hills of Ephraim[s]—that the prophet received the Divine intimation that his departure was at hand. He was at the time with Elisha, who seems now to have become his constant companion. Perhaps his old love of solitude returned upon him, perhaps he wished to spare his friend the pain of a too sudden parting; in either case, he endeavours to persuade Elisha to remain behind while he goes on an errand of Jehovah. "Tarry here, I pray thee, for Jehovah hath sent me to Bethel." But Elisha will not so easily give up his master,—"As Jehovah liveth and as thy soul liveth, I will not leave thee." They went together to Bethel.[t] The event which was about to happen had apparently been communicated to the sons of the prophets at Bethel, and they inquire if Elisha knew of his impending loss. His answer shows how fully he was aware of it. "Yea," says he, with all the emphasis possible, "indeed *I do*[u] know it; hold ye your peace." But though impending, it was not to happen that day. Again Elijah attempts to escape to Jericho, and again Elisha protests that he will not be separated from him. Again, also, the sons of the prophets at Jericho make the same unnecessary inquiries, and again Elisha replies as emphatically as before. Elijah makes a final effort to avoid what they both so much dread. "Tarry here, I pray thee, for Jehovah hath sent me to the Jordan." But Elisha is not to be conquered, and the two set off across the undulating plain of burning sand, to the distant river,—Elijah in his mantle or cape of sheepskin, Elisha in ordinary clothes (בגד, *v.* 12). Fifty men of the sons of the prophets ascend the abrupt heights behind the town—the same to which a late tradition would attach the scene of our Lord's temptation—and which command the plain below, to watch with the clearness of Eastern vision what happens in the distance. Talking as they go, the two reach the river, and stand on the shelving bank beside its swift brown current. But they are not to stop even here. It is as if the aged Gileadite cannot rest until he again sets foot on his own side of the river. He rolls up[x] his mantle as into a staff, and with his old energy strikes the waters as Moses had done before him,—strikes them as if they were an enemy;[y] and they are divided hither and thither, and they two go over on dry ground. What follows is best told in the simple words of the narrative (R. V.): "And it came to pass when they were[z] gone over, that Elijah said unto Elisha, Ask what I shall do for thee, before I be taken from thee. And Elisha said, I pray thee let a double portion of thy spirit be upon me. And he said, Thou hast asked a hard thing: *nevertheless*, if thou see me when I am taken from thee, it shall be so unto thee; but if not, it shall not be so. And it came to pass, as they still went on, and talked, that, behold, *there appeared* a chariot of fire and horses of fire, which parted them both asunder, and Elijah went up by the whirlwind into heaven" (the skies).[a] Well might Elisha cry with bitterness,[b] "My father, my father." He was gone who, to the discerning eye and loving heart of his disciple, had been "the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof" for so many years; and Elisha was at last left alone to carry on a task to which he must often have looked forward, but to which in this moment of grief he may well have felt unequal. He saw him no more; but his mantle had fallen, and this he took up—at once a personal relic and a symbol of the double portion of the spirit of Elijah with which he was to be clothed. Little could he have realised, had it been then presented to him, that he whose greatest claim to notice was that he had "poured water on the hands of Elijah" should hereinafter possess an influence which had been denied to his master—should, instead of the terror of kings and people, be their benefactor, adviser, and friend, and that over his death-bed a king of Israel should be found to lament with the same words that had just burst from him on the departure of his stern and silent master, "My father, my father, the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof."

And here ends all the direct information which is vouchsafed to us of the life and work of this great prophet. Truly he "stood up as a fire, and his word burnt as a lamp" (Ecclus. xlviii. 1). How deep was the impression which he made on the mind of the nation may be judged from the fixed belief which many centuries after prevailed that Elijah would again appear for the relief and restoration of his country. The prophecy of Malachi (iv. 6)[c] was possibly at once a cause and an illustration of the strength of this belief. What it had grown to at the time of our Lord's birth, and how continually the great prophet

[s] The grounds for this inference are given under ELISHA (p. 920, col. 1). See also GILGAL.

[t] The Hebrew word "went down" is a serious difficulty, if Gilgal is taken to be the site of Joshua's camp and the resting-place of the Ark, since that is more than 3000 feet below Bethel. But this is avoided by adopting the other Gilgal to the N.W. of Bethel, and on still higher ground, which also preserves the sequence of the journey to Jordan (see Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 308, note). Some considerations in favour of this adoption will be found under ELISHA.

[u] גַּם־אֲנִי יָדַעְתִּי=Also I know it;" Κἀγὼ ἔγνωκα.

[x] גָּלַם. The above is quite the force of the word.

[y] The word is נָכָה, used of smiting in battle; generally with the sense of wounding (Ges. p. 883).

[z] LXX. "As they were going over," ἐν τῷ διαβῆναι.

[a] The statements of the text hardly give support to the usual conception of Elijah's departure as represented by painters and in popular discourses. It was not in the chariot of fire that he went up into the skies. The fire served to part the master from the disciple, to show that the severance had arrived, but Elijah was taken up by the fierce wind of the tempest. The word סַעַר involves no idea of *whirling*, and is frequently rendered in the A. V. "storm" or "tempest." The term "the skies" has been employed above to translate the Hebrew הַשָּׁמַיִם, because we attach an idea to the word "heaven" which does not appear to have been present to the mind of the ancient Hebrews. In the 4th century the site of Elijah's ascension was pointed out on a little hill, on the left bank of the Jordan, near the place of Christ's Baptism (*Itin. Hieros.*).

[b] צְעָקָה, the word used *e.g.* for the "great and bitter cry" when the first-born were killed in Egypt.

[c] The expression in Malachi is "Elijah the prophet." From this unusual title some have believed that another Elijah was intended. The LXX., however, either following a Hebrew text different from that which we possess, or falling in with the belief of their times, insert the usual designation, "the Tishbite." (See Lightfoot, *Exerc.* on Luke i. 17.)

was present to the expectations of the people, we do not need the evidence of the Talmud to assure us,[d] it is patent on every page of the Gospels. Each remarkable person, as he arrives on the scene, be his habits and characteristics what they may—the stern John equally with his gentle Successor—is proclaimed to be Elijah (Matt. xvi. 14; Mark vi. 15; John i. 21). His appearance in glory on the Mount of Transfiguration does not seem to have startled the disciples. They were "sore afraid," but not apparently surprised. On the contrary, St. Peter immediately proposes to erect a tent for the prophet whose arrival they had been so long expecting. Even the cry of our Lord from the Cross, containing as it did but a slight resemblance to the name of Elijah, immediately suggested him to the bystanders. "He calleth for Elijah." "Let be, let us see if Elijah will come to save Him."

How far this expectation was fulfilled in John, and the remarkable agreement in the characteristics of these two men, will be considered under JOHN THE BAPTIST.

But, on the other hand, the deep impression which Elijah had thus made on his nation only renders more remarkable the departure which the image conveyed by the later references to him evinces, from that so sharply presented in the records of his actual life. With the exception of the eulogiums contained in the catalogues of worthies in the Book of Jesus the son of Sirach (ch. xlviii.) and 1 Macc. ii. 58, and the questionable allusion in Luke ix. 54 (p. 911, n.°), none of these later references allude to his works of destruction or of portent. They all set forth a very different side of his character to that brought out in the historical narrative. They speak of his being a man of like passions with ourselves (Jas. v. 17); of his kindness to the widow of Sarepta (Luke iv. 25); of his "restoring all things" (Matt. xvii. 11); "turning the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just" (Mal. iv. 5, 6; Luke i. 17). The moral lessons to be derived from these facts must be expanded elsewhere than here; it will be sufficient in this place to call attention to the great differences which may exist between the popular and contemporary view of an eminent character, and the real settled judgment formed in the progress of time, when the excitement of his more brilliant but more evanescent deeds has passed away. Precious indeed are the scattered hints and faint touches which enable us thus to soften the harsh outlines or the discordant colouring of the earlier picture. In the present instance they are peculiarly so. That wild figure, that stern voice, those deeds of blood, which stand out in such startling relief from the pages of the old records of Elijah, are seen by us all silvered over with the "white and glistering" light of the Mountain of Transfiguration. When he last stood on the soil of his native Gilead, he was destitute, afflicted, tormented, wandering about "in sheep-skins and goat-skins, in deserts and mountains, and dens and caves of the earth." But these things have passed away into the distance, and with them has receded the fiery zeal, the destructive wrath, which accompanied them. Under that heavenly light they fall back into their proper proportions, and Ahab and Jezebel, Baal and Ashtaroth are forgotten, as we listen to the prophet talking to our Lord—talking of that event which was to be the consummation of all that He had suffered and striven for—"talking of His decease which He should accomplish at Jerusalem."

Elijah has been canonized in the Greek and Latin Churches. Among the Greeks *Mâr Eliâs* is the patron of elevated spots, and many a conspicuous summit in Greece is called by his name.[e] The service for his day—Ἠλίας μεγαλώνυμος—will be found in the *Menaion* on July 20, a date recognised by the Latin Church also.[f] The convent bearing his name, *Deir Mâr Eliâs*, between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, is well known to travellers in the Holy Land. It purports to be situated on the spot of his birth, as already observed. Other convents bearing his name once existed in Palestine: in *Jebel 'Ajlûn*, the ancient Gilead (Ritter, *Syrien*, pp. 1029, 1066, &c.); at *Ezr'a* in the *Haurân* (Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 59), and at the more famous establishment on Carmel.

It is as connected with the great Order of the barefooted Carmelites that Elijah is celebrated in the Latin Church (see "Carmeliten-Orden" in Wetzer u. Welte's *Kirchen Lex.*[2]). According to the statements of the Breviary (*Off. B. Mariae Virginis de Monte Carmelo, Julii* 16) the connexion arose from the dedication to the Virgin of a chapel on the spot from which Elijah saw the cloud (an accepted type of the Virgin Mary) rise out of the sea. But other legends trace the origin of the Order to the great prophet himself as the head of a society of anchorites inhabiting Carmel; and even as himself dedicating the chapel in which he worshipped to the Virgin.[g] These things are matters of controversy in the Roman Church, Baronius and others having proved that the Order was founded in 1181, a date which is repudiated by the Carmelites (see extracts in Fabricius, *Cod. Pseudepig.* p. 1077).

In the Muhammadan traditions *Ilyâs* is said to have drunk of the Fountain of Life, "by

[d] He is recorded as having often appeared to the wise and good Rabbis—at prayer in the wilderness, or on their journeys—generally in the form of an Arabian merchant (Eisenmenger, i. 11; ii. 402–7). At the circumcision of a child a seat was always placed for him, that as the zealous champion and messenger of the "covenant" of circumcision (1 K. xix. 14; Mal. iii. 1) he might watch over the due performance of the rite. During certain prayers the door of the house was set open that Elijah might enter and announce the Messiah (Eisenmenger, i. 685). His coming will be three days before that of the Messiah, and on each of the three he will proclaim, in a voice which shall be heard all over the earth, peace, happiness, salvation, respectively (Eisenmenger, p. 696). So firm was the conviction of his speedy arrival, that when goods were found and no owner appeared to claim them, the common saying was, "Put them by till Elijah comes" (Lightfoot, *Exercit.* Matt. xvii. 10; John i. 21). The same customs and expressions are still in use among the stricter Jews of this and other countries (see *Revue des deux Mondes*, xxiv. 131, &c.; Hamburger, *RE.*[2] s. n. *Messias*).

[e] See this fact noticed in Clark's *Peloponnesus and Morea*, p. 190.

[f] See the *Acta Sanctorum*, July 20. By Cornelius a Lapide it is maintained that his ascent happened on that day, in the 19th year of Jehoshaphat (Keil, p. 331).

[g] S. John of Jerusalem, as quoted by Mislin, *Lieux Saints*, ii. 49; and the Bulls of various Popes enumerated by Quaresmius, vol. ii.

virtue of which he still lives, and will live to the day of Judgment." He is by some confounded with St. George and with the mysterious *el-Khidr*, one of the most remarkable of the Moslem saints (see Lane's *Arabian Nights*, Introd. note 2; also *Selections from the Kuran*, pp. 221, 222). The Persian *Súfis* are said to trace themselves back to Elijah (Fabricius, p. 1077).

Among other traditions it must not be omitted that the words "Eye hath not seen," &c. (1 Cor. ii. 9), which are most probably quoted by the Apostle from Is. lxiv. 4, were, according to an ancient belief, from "the Apocalypse, or mysteries of Elijah," τὰ Ἠλία ἀπόκρυφα. The first mention of this appears to be by Origen (*Hom.* on Matt. xxvii. 9), and it is noticed with disapproval by Jerome, *ad Pammachium* (see Fabricius, p. 1072).

By Epiphanius, the words "Awake, thou that sleepest," &c. (Ephes. v. 14), are inaccurately alleged to be quoted "from Elijah," *i.e.* the portion of the O. T. containing his history—παρὰ τῷ Ἠλίᾳ (cp. Rom. xi. 2).

Monographs on Elijah are (*inter alia*):—Frischmuth, *De Eliae Prophetae Nom.* &c., in the *Critici Sacri*; *Elias Thesbites*, by Aegidius Camartus, 4to, Paris, 1631; Milligan, *Elijah, his Life and Times* ("Men of the Bible" series). There are also dissertations of great interest on the ravens, the mantle, and Naboth, in the *Critici Sacri*.[h] [G.]

ELI'KA (אֶלִיקָא; B. om., A. Ἐνακά; *Elica*), a Harodite, *i.e.* from some place called Charod; one of David's guard (2 Sam. xxiii. 25). The name is omitted in the corresponding list of 1 Ch. xi.—to account for which see Kennicott's conjecture (*Dissertation*, &c., p. 182)—and not recognised in 1 Ch. xxvii. (Driver). [G.] [F.]

E'LIM (אֵילִם*; Αἰλείμ), mentioned Ex. xv. 27, Num. xxxiii. 9, as the second station where the Israelites encamped after crossing the Red Sea. It is distinguished as having had "twelve wells (rather "fountains," עֲיָנֹת) of water, and threescore and ten palm trees." Laborde (*Geographical Commentary* on Exod. xv. 27) supposed *Wâdy Useit* to be Elim, the second of four wâdys lying between 29° 7′ and 29° 20′,[b] which descend from the range of et-Tih (here nearly parallel to the shore), towards the sea, and which the Israelites, going from N.W. to S.E. along the coast, would come upon in the following order:—*W. Ghurundel* (where the "low hills begin," Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 35), *W. Useit*, *W. Thâl*, and *W. Shubeikeh*; the last being in its lower part called also *W. Taiyibeh*, or having a junction with one of that name. Between *Uscit* and *Taiyibeh*, the coast-range of these hills rises into the *Gebel Hummam*, "lofty and precipitous, extending in several peaks along the shore, apparently of chalky limestone, mostly covered with flints; . . . its precipices . . . cut off all passage alongshore from the hot springs (lying a little W. of S. from the mouth of *Wâdy Useit*, along the coast) to the mouth of *W. Taiyibeh*" (Rob. i. 102; cp. Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 35). Hence, between the courses of these wâdys the track of the Israelites must have been inland. Dean Stanley says, "Elim must be *Ghurundel*, *Useit*, or *Taiyibeh*" (p. 35); elsewhere (p. 66) that "one of *two* valleys, or perhaps *both*, must be Elim;" these appear from the sequel to be *Ghurundel* and *Useit*, "fringed with trees and shrubs, the first vegetation he had met with in the desert;" among these are "wild palms," not stately trees, but dwarf or savage, "tamarisks," and the "wild acacia." Modern opinion is now almost unanimous in finding Elim in *Wâdy Ghurundel* (see Knobel-Dillmann in loco; *Ord. Survey of Sinai*, i. 151; Harper, *The Bible and Modern Discoveries*, p. 118). [WILDERNESS OF THE WANDERING.] [H. H.]

ELI-MELECH (אֱלִימֶלֶךְ = *God* or *my God is King*; Ἐλιμέλεκ), a man of the tribe of Judah, and of the family of the Hezronites and the kinsman of Boaz, who dwelt in Bethlehem-Ephratah in the days of the Judges. In consequence of a great dearth in the land he went with his wife Naomi, and his two sons, Mahlon and Chilion, to dwell in Moab, where he and his sons died without posterity. Naomi returned to Bethlehem with Ruth, her daughter-in-law, whose marriage with Boaz, "a mighty man of wealth, of the family of Elimelech," "her husband's kinsman," forms the subject of the Book of Ruth (Ruth i. 2, 3; ii. 1, 3; iv. 3, 9). [A. C. H.]

EL-IO-E'NAI (אֶלְיוֹעֵנַי; B. Ἐλειθαινάν, A. Ἐλιωηναί; *Elioenai*). **1.** Head of one of the families of the sons of Becher, the son of Benjamin (1 Ch. vii. 8).

2. Head of a family of the Simeonites (1 Ch. iv. 36; B. Ἐλιωναί, A. -νηι).

3. (accur. EL-IHO-E'NAI, אֶלְיְהוֹעֵינַי). Seventh son of Meshelemiah, the son of Kore, of the sons of Asaph, a Korhite Levite, and one of the door-keepers of the "house of Jehovah" (1 Ch. xxvi. 3; B. Ἐλιωναΐς, A. -ηναι). It appears from *v.* 14 that the lot fell to Meshelemiah (Shelemiah) to have the east gate; and as we learn from *v.* 9 that he had eighteen strong men of his sons and brethren under him, we may conclude that all his sons except Zechariah the first-born (*v.* 14) served with him, and therefore Elioenai likewise. There were six Levites daily on guard at the east gate, whose turn would therefore come every third day.

4. Eldest son of Neariah, the son of Shemaiah, 1 Ch. iii. 23, 24 [B. Ἐλειθανὰ or -αν, A. Ἐλιωηναί or -ωνναι]. According to the present Heb. text he is in the seventh generation from Zerubbabel, or about contemporary with Alexander the Great; but there are strong grounds for believing that Shemaiah is identical with Shimei (*v.* 19).

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[h] The above article remains substantially as written for the first edition of this work. Another view of Elijah, which allows to him a real personality and activity, but rejects most of his history as legendary, may be seen in Wellhausen (*Hist. of Israel*, p. 287 sq. [ed. 1885]), Stade (*Gesch. d. Volk. Isr.* i. 524, &c.), and Renan (*op. cit.* ii. ch. vii.).—[F.]

* Root אוּל, or אַיִל, "to be strong," hence "a strong tree," properly either an "oak" or "terebinth," but also generally "tree;" here in plur. as "*the* trees of the desert" (Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 515). Eloth or Elath is another plur. form of same.

[b] Seetzen (*Reisen*, 1854, iii. 114–117) traversed them all, and reached Howara in about a six hours' ride. He was going in the direction opposite to the routes of Robinson and Stanley; and it is interesting to compare his notes of the local features, caught in the inverse order, with theirs.

Zerubbabel's brother (see *Geneal. of our Lord*, pp. 107–109, and ch. vii.).

5. A priest of the *sons* of Pashur, in the days of Ezra, one of those who had married foreign wives, but who, at Ezra's instigation, put them away with the children born of them, and offered a ram for a trespass offering (Ezra x. 22, B. Ἐλιωνά, A. -ηναι). He is possibly the same person as is mentioned in Neh. xii. 41 (B. om. A. Ἐλιωηναί), as one of the priests who accompanied Nehemiah with trumpets at the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem. He is called ELIONAS, 1 Esd. ix. 22.

6. (אֶלְיוֹעֵנַי). An Israelite, of the sons of Zattu, who had also married a strange wife (Ezra x. 27; B. Ἐλιωνά, א. -ναν, A^1. -ηναι). From the position of Zattu in the lists (Ezra ii. 8; Neh. vii. 13, x. 14) it was probably a family of high rank. ELIOENAI is corrupted to ELIADAS, 1 Esd. ix. 28. [A. C. H.]

EL-IO'NAS. **1.** (B. Ἐλιωναΐς, A. Ἐλιωνάς; Vulg. omits), 1 Esd. ix. 22. [ELIOENAI.]

2. (B. Ἐλιωδάς, A. -νας; *Noneas*), 1 Esd. ix. 32. [ELIEZER.] [G.] [F.]

ELI'PHAL (אֶלִיפָל = *God* or *my God hath judged*; B. Ἐλφάτ, A. Ἐλιφαάλ; *Eliphal*), son of Ur; one of the members of David's guard (1 Ch. xi. 35). In the parallel list in 2 Sam. xxiii. the name is given as ELIPHELET, and the names in connexion with it are much altered. [UR.]

ELI-PHA'LAT (Ἐλειφαλάτ; *Eliphalach*), 1 Esd. ix. 33. [ELIPHELET.] [G.] [F.]

ELI-PHA'LET (אֱלִיפָלֶט = *God* or *my God is deliverance*; Ἐλιφαλά; *Eliphaleth*). **1.** The last of the thirteen sons born to David, by his wives, after his establishment in Jerusalem (2 Sam. v. 16, B. Ἐλειφάαθ, A. -ι-; 1 Ch. xiv. 7, B. Ἐμφάλετ, א. Ἐν-, A. Ἐλιφάλετ). Elsewhere, when it does not occur at a pause, the name is given with the shorter vowel—ELIPHELET (1 Ch. iii. 8). Equivalent to Eliphalet are the names ELPALET and PHALTIEL.

2. 1 Esd. viii. 49. [ELIPHELET, 5.] [G.] [F.]

ELI'PHAZ (אֱלִיפַז, of uncertain meaning; Ἐλιφάς; *Eliphaz*). **1.** The son of Esau and Adah, and father of Teman (Gen. xxxvi. 4; 1 Ch. i. 35, 36).

2. The chief of the "three friends" of Job. He is called "the Temanite;" hence it is naturally inferred that he was a descendant of Teman (the son of the first Eliphaz), from whom a portion of Arabia Petraea took its name, and whose name is used as a poetical parallel to Edom in Jer. xlix. 20. On him falls the main burden of the argument, that God's retribution in this world is perfect and certain, and that consequently suffering must be a proof of previous sin (Job iv. v. xv. xxii.). His words are distinguished from those of Bildad and Zophar by greater calmness and elaboration, and in the first instance by greater gentleness towards Job, although he ventures afterwards, apparently from conjecture, to impute to him special sins. The great truth brought out by him is the unapproachable majesty and purity of God (iv. 12–21, xv. 12-16). [JOB, BOOK OF.] But still, with the other two friends, he is condemned for having, in defence of God's providence, spoken of Him "the thing that was not right," *i.e.* by refusing to recognise the facts of human life, and by contenting himself with an imperfect retribution as worthy to set forth the righteousness of God. On sacrifice and the intercession of Job, all three are pardoned. [A. B.]

ELI-PHELE'H (אֱלִיפְלֵהוּ = *God* or *my God distinguish* (him); *Eliphalu*), a Merarite Levite; one of the gatekeepers (שֹׁעֲרִים, A. V. "porters") appointed by David to play on the harp "on the Sheminith" on the occasion of bringing up the Ark to the city of David (1 Ch. xv. 18 [B. Ἐλειφενά, A. Ἐλιφαλά], 21 [B. Ἐνφαναίας, א. -νι-, A. Ἐλιφαλαίας]). [G.] [F.]

ELI-PHELE'T (אֱלִיפֶלֶט = *God* or *my God is deliverance*; *Eliphaleth*, *Eliphelet*).

1. (B. Ἐλειφαλήθ, A. Ἐλιφαλέτ.) The name of a son of David, one of the children born to him, by his wives, after his establishment in Jerusalem (1 Ch. iii. 6). In the list in 2 Sam. v. 15, 16, this name and another are omitted; while in another list in 1 Ch. xiv. 5, 6, it is given as ELPALET.

2. (B. Ἐλειφαλά), another son of David, belonging also to the Jerusalem family, and apparently the last of his sons (1 Ch. iii. 8). In the other list, occurring at the pause, the vowel is lengthened and the name becomes ELIPHALET.

It is believed by some that there were not two sons of this name; but that, like Nogah, one is merely a transcriber's repetition. The two are certainly omitted in Samuel, but on the other hand they are inserted in two separate lists in Chronicles, and in both cases the number of sons is summed up at the close of the list.

3. (B. Ἀλειφαλέθ, A. Ἐλιφαλέτ), son of Ahasbai, son of the Maachathite. One of the thirty warriors of David's guard (2 Sam. xxiii. 34). In the list in 1 Ch. xi. the name is abbreviated into ELIPHAL.

4. Son of Eshek, a descendant of king Saul through Jonathan (1 Ch. viii. 39, B. Ἐλιφάλεις, A. -ετ).

5. One of the leaders of the Bene-Adonikam, who returned from Babylon with Ezra (Ezra viii. 13, B. Ἀλειφάτ, A. corrupt). [ELIPHALET, 2.]

6. One of the Bene-Hashum in the time of Ezra who had married a foreign wife and relinquished her (Ezra x. 33; B. Ἐλειφάνεθ, B^{ab}א. -λεθ, A. Ἐλιφαλέτ). [ELIPHALAT.] [G.] [F.]

ELISABETH (Ἐλισάβετ; B. everywhere Ἐλεισάβετ; *Elisabet*; *Elisabeth*). The name occurs in the O. T. as that of the wife of Aaron (Ex. vi. 23). The Hebrew form is אֱלִישֶׁבַע (Elisheba), and probably means "God of the oath," on the analogy of Beersheba (Gen. xxi. 31). The MSS. of the LXX. in Ex. vi. 23 represent the word variously as Ἐλεισάβετ, Ἐλισάβεθ, Ἐλισάβετ. The LXX. addition of τ (*t*) or θ (*th*) is illustrated by comparing the two forms Jehosheba (2 K. xi. 2) and Jehoshabeath (2 Ch. xxii. 11), both used of the wife of Jehoiada. It is remarkable that two wives of high-priests should have borne names so near in signification as Elisheba and Jehosheba [JEHOSHEBA], and that this name should occur again in the N. T.

as that of a priest's wife. An allusion to the meaning of his wife's name may probably be traced in the mention by Zacharias of the oath of God to Abraham (Luke i. 73). Elisabeth was of the family of Aaron, and, like her husband Zacharias, is described as "righteous before God, walking in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless" (*v.* 6). A comment of Ambrose on these words led to the citation of both persons in the Pelagian controversy as instances of sinlessness (see Aug. *de Gratia Christi*, xlviii.). They dwelt in a city of Judah in the hill-country, supposed by some to have been Hebron, which was a priests' city (cp. Josh. xxi. 11). Mary the mother of the Lord was her kinswoman (Luke i. 36): hence the relationship between Jesus and the Baptist so prominent in Christian art. She takes rank as a prophetess in virtue of her acknowledgment of the yet unborn Messiah: "Whence is this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come unto me?" (Luke i. 43.) [E. R. B.]

ELISE'US (Ἐλισαιέ; N. T. Rec. Text with B C, Ἐλισσαίου; Lachm., Westc. and Hort, with A D, Ἐλισαίου; *Eliseus*, but in Cod. Amiat. *Helisaeus*): the form in which the name ELISHA appears in the E. V. of the Apocrypha and the R. V. of the N. T. (Ecclus. xlviii. 12; Luke iv. 27, R. V. "Elisha"). [F.]

ELI'SHA (אֱלִישָׁע = *God* or *my God is salvation*; B. Ἐλεισαιέ, A. Ἐλισσαιέ; Joseph. Ἐλισσαῖος; *Elisaeus*), son of Shaphat of Abel-meholah.[a] The attendant and disciple (καὶ μαθητὴς καὶ διάκονος, Jos. *Ant.* viii. 13, § 7) of Elijah, and subsequently his successor as prophet of the kingdom of Israel.

The earliest mention of his name is in the command to Elijah in the cave at Horeb (1 K. xix. 16, 17). But our first introduction to the future prophet is in the fields of his native place. Abel-meholah—the "meadow of the dance"—was probably at *'Ain el-Helweh* in the valley of the Jordan, and, as its name would seem to indicate, in a moist or watered situation. [ABEL.] Elijah, on his way from Sinai to Damascus by the Jordan valley, lighted on his successor engaged in the labours of the field, twelve yoke before him, and he with the last, *i.e.* eleven yoke of oxen with their ploughs were before him, and he with the twelfth plough at the end. To cross to him, to throw over his shoulders the rough mantle—a token at once of investiture with the prophet's office, and of adoption as a son—was to Elijah but the work of an instant, and the prophet strode on as if what he had done were nothing[b]—"Go back again, for what have I done unto thee?"

So sudden and weighty a call, involving the relinquishment of a position so substantial and family ties so dear, might well have caused hesitation. But the parley was only momentary. To use a figure which we may almost believe to have been suggested by this very occurrence, Elisha was not a man who, having put his hand to the plough, was likely to look back;[c] he delayed merely to give the farewell kiss to his father and mother, and preside at a parting feast with his people, and then followed the great prophet on his northward road, to become to him what in the earlier times of his nation Joshua[d] had been to Moses.

Of the nature of this connexion we know hardly anything. "Elisha the son of Shaphat, who poured water on the hands of Elijah," is all that is told us. The characters of the two men were thoroughly dissimilar; but how far the lion-like daring and courage of the one had infused itself into the other, we can judge from the few occasions on which it blazed forth, while every line of the narrative of Elijah's last hours on earth bears evidence how deep was the personal affection which the stern, rough, reserved master had engendered in his gentle and pliant disciple.

Seven or eight years must have passed between the call of Elisha and the removal of his master, and during the whole of that time we hear nothing of him. But when that period had elapsed, he reappears, to become the most prominent figure in the history of his country during the rest of his long life. In almost every respect Elisha presents the most complete contrast to Elijah. The copious collection of his sayings and doings which are preserved in the 3rd to the 9th chapters of the 2nd Book of Kings, though in many respects deficient in that remarkable vividness which we have noticed in the records of Elijah, is yet full of testimonies to this contrast. Elijah was a true Bedawîn child of the desert. The clefts of the Cherith, the wild shrubs of the desert, the cave at Horeb, the top of Carmel, were his haunts and his resting-places. If he entered a city, it was only to deliver his message of fire and be gone. Elisha, on the other hand, was a civilised man, an inhabitant of cities. He passed from the translation of his master to dwell (יֵשֵׁב, A. V. "tarry") at Jericho (2 K. ii. 18); from thence he "returned" to Samaria (*v.* 25). At Samaria (v. 3, vi. 32, cp. *v.* 24) and at Dothan (vi. 13) he seems regularly to have resided in a house (v. 9, 24, vi. 32, xiii. 17) with "doors" and "windows," in familiar intercourse with the sons of the prophets, with the elders (vi. 32), with the lady of Shunem, the general of Damascus, the king of Israel. Over the king and the "captain of the host" he seems to have possessed some special influence, capable of being turned to material advantage if desired (2 K. iv. 13). And as with his manners, so with his appearance. The touches of the narrative are very slight, but we can gather that his dress was the ordinary garment of an Israelite, the *beged*, probably similar in form to the long *abbeyeh* of the modern Syrians (2 K. ii. 12); that his hair was worn trimmed behind, in contrast to the disordered locks of Elijah (ii. 23, as explained below); and that he used a walking-staff (iv. 29)

[a] The story in the *Chron. Paschale* and Epiphanius is that when Elisha first saw the light the golden calf at Gilgal roared, so loud as to be heard at Jerusalem. "He shall destroy their graven and their molten images" (Fabricius, p. 1071).

[b] So our translation, and so the Jewish rendering (Zunz). Other Versions interpret the passage differently.

[c] According to Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 13, § 7), he began to prophesy immediately.

[d] The word יְשָׁרְתֵהוּ (A. V. "ministered to him") is the same that is employed of Joshua. Gehazi's relation to Elisha, except once, is designated by a different word, נַעַר = "lad" or "youth."

of the kind ordinarily carried by grave or aged citizens (Zech. viii. 4). What use he made of the rough mantle of Elijah, which came into his possession at their parting, does not anywhere appear, but there is no hint of his ever having worn it.

If from these external peculiarities we turn to the internal characteristics of the two, and to the results which they produced on their contemporaries, the differences which they present are highly instructive. Elijah was emphatically a destroyer. His mission was to slay and to demolish whatever opposed or interfered with the rights of Jehovah, the Lord of Hosts. The nation had adopted a god of power and force, and they were shown that he was feebleness itself compared with the God Whom they had forsaken. But after Elijah the destroyer comes Elisha the healer. "There shall not be dew nor rain these years" is the proclamation of the one. "There shall not be from thence any dearth or barren land" is the first miracle of the other. What may have been the disposition of Elijah when not engaged in the actual service of his mission we have unhappily no means of knowing. Like most men of strong stern character, he had probably affections not less strong. But it is impossible to conceive that he was accustomed to the practice of that beneficence which is so strikingly characteristic of Elisha, and which comes out at almost every step of his career. Still more impossible is it to conceive him exercising the tolerance towards the person and the religion of foreigners for which Elisha is remarkable,—in communication, for example, with Naaman or Hazael; in the one case calming with a word of peace the scruples of the new proselyte, anxious to reconcile the due homage to Rimmon with his allegiance to Jehovah; in the other case contemplating with tears, but still with tears only, the evil which the future king of Syria was to bring on his country. That Baal-worship was prevalent in Israel even after the efforts of Elijah, and that Samaria was its chief seat, we have the evidence of the narrative of Jehu to assure us (2 K. x. 18-27), but yet not one act or word in disapproval of it is recorded of Elisha. True, he could be as zealous in his feelings and as cutting in his words as Elijah. "What have I to do with thee?" says he to the son of Ahab—"this son of a murderer," as on another occasion he called him—"What have I to do with thee? get thee to the prophets of thy father and to the prophets of thy mother. As the Lord of Hosts liveth before Whom I stand"—the very formula of Elijah—"surely were it not that I regard the presence of Jehoshaphat king of Judah, I would not look toward thee nor see thee!" But after this expression of wrath, he allows himself to be calmed by the music of the minstrel, and ends by giving the three kings the counsel which frees them from their difficulty. So also he smites the host of the Syrians with blindness, but it is merely for a temporary purpose; and the adventure concludes by his preparing great provision for them, and sending these enemies of Israel and worshippers of false gods back unharmed to their master.

In considering these differences the fact must not be lost sight of that, notwithstanding their greater extent and greater detail, the notices of Elisha really convey a much more imperfect idea of the man than those of Elijah. The prophets of the nation of Israel—both the predecessors of Elisha, like Samuel and Elijah, and his successors, like Isaiah and Jeremiah—are represented to us as preachers of righteousness, or champions of Jehovah against false gods, or judges and deliverers of their country, or counsellors of their sovereign in times of peril and difficulty. Their miracles and wonderful acts are introduced as means towards these ends, and are kept in the most complete subordination thereto. But with Elisha, as he is pictured in these narratives, the case is completely reversed. With him the miracles are everything, the prophet's work nothing. The man who was for years the intimate companion of Elijah, on whom Elijah's mantle descended, and who was gifted with a double portion of his spirit,[e] appears in these records chiefly as a worker of prodigies, a predicter of future events, a revealer of secrets and of things happening out of sight or at a distance. The working of wonders seems to be a mutual accompaniment of false religions, and we may be sure that the Baal-worship of Samaria and Jezreel was not free from such arts. The story of 1 K. xxii. shows that even before Elisha's time the prophets had come to be looked upon as diviners, and were consulted, not on questions of truth and justice, nor even as depositaries of the purposes and will of the Deity, but as able to foretell how an adventure or a project was likely to turn out, whether it might be embarked in without personal danger or loss. But if this degradation is inherent in false worship, it is no less a principle in true religion to accommodate itself to a state of things already existing, and out of the forms of the alien or the false to produce the power of the true.[f] And thus Elisha appears to have fallen in with the habits of his fellow-countrymen. He wrought, without reward and without ceremonial, the cures and restorations for which the soothsayers of Baal-zebub at Ekron were consulted in vain: he warned his sovereign of dangers from the Syrians which the whole four hundred of his prophets had not succeeded in predicting to Ahab, and thus in one sense we may say that not less signally than Elijah he vanquished the false gods on their own field. But still even with this allowance it is difficult to help believing that the

[e] The ordinary meaning put upon this phrase (see, for example, J. H. Newman, *Subj. of the Day*, p. 191) is that Elisha possessed double the power of Elijah. This, though sanctioned by the renderings of the Vulgate and Luther, and adopted by a long series of commentators from S. Ephraem Syrus to Pastor Krummacher, would appear not to be the real force of the words. פִּי שְׁנַיִם, literally "a mouth of two"—a double mouthful—is the phrase employed in Deut. xxi. 17 to denote the amount of a father's goods which were the right and token of a firstborn son. Thus the gift of the "double portion" of Elijah's spirit was but the legitimate conclusion of the act of adoption which began with the casting of the mantle at Abel-meholah years before. This explanation is given by Grotius and others (see Keil ad loco). Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. 507) gives it as *nur Zweidrittel, und auch diese kaum*—two-thirds, and hardly that. For a curious calculation by S. Peter Damianus, that Elijah performed 12 miracles and Elisha 24, see the *Acta Sanctorum*, July 20.

[f] See Stanley's *Canterbury Sermons*, p. 320.

anecdotes of his life (if the word may be permitted, for we cannot be said to possess his biography) were thrown into their present shape at a later period, when the idea of a prophet had been lowered from its ancient elevation to the level of a mere worker of wonders. A biographer who held this lower idea of a prophet's function would regard the higher duties above alluded to as comparatively unworthy of notice, and would omit all mention of them accordingly. In the eulogium of Elisha contained in the catalogue of worthies of Ecclus. xlviii. 12-14—the only later mention of him save the passing allusion of Luke iv. 27—this view is more strongly brought out than in the earlier narrative:—"Whilst he lived, he was not moved by the presence of any prince, neither could any bring him into subjection. No word could overcome him, and after his death his body prophesied. He did wonders in his life, and at his death were his works marvellous."

But there are other considerations from which the incompleteness of these records of Elisha may be inferred:—(1.) The absence of marks by which to determine the dates of the various occurrences. The "king of Israel" is continually mentioned, but we are left to infer what king is intended (2 K. v. 5, 6, 7, &c.; vi. 8, 9, 21, 26; vii. 2; viii. 3, 5, 6, &c.). This is the case even in the story of the important events of Naaman's cure, and the capture of the Syrian host at Dothan. The only exceptions are iii. 12 (cp. *v.* 6), and the narrative of the visit of Jehoash (xiii. 14, &c.), but this latter story is itself a proof of the disarrangement of these records, occurring as it does after the mention of the death of Jehoash (*v.* 13), and being followed by an account of occurrences in the reign of Jehoahaz his father (*vv.* 22, 23). (2.) The absence of chronological sequence in the narratives. The story of the Shunammite embraces a lengthened period, from before the birth of the child till he was some years old. Gehazi's familiar communication with the king, and therefore the story which precedes it (viii. 1, 2), occurred before he was struck with leprosy, though placed long after the relation of that event (v. 27). (3.) The different stories are not connected by the form of words usually employed in the consecutive narrative of these Books (see Keil, *Kings*, p. 348, where other indications will be found).

With this preface we pass to the consideration of the several occurrences preserved to us in the life of the Prophet.

The call of Elisha seems to have taken place about four years before the death of Ahab. He died in the reign of Joash, the grandson of Jehu. This embraces a period of not less than 65 years, for certainly 55 of which he held the office of "prophet in Israel" (2 K. v. 8).[g]

[g] The figures given above are arrived at as follows:—

Ahab's reign after Elisha's call, say	4 years.
Ahaziah's do.	2 ,,
Joram's do.	12 ,,
Jehu's do.	28 ,,
Jehoahaz's do.	17 ,,
Joash, before Elisha's death, say ..	2 ,,
	65

Out of the above Elijah lived probably 9 years; the 4 of Ahab, the 2 of Ahaziah, and say 3 of Joram: which leaves 56 years from the ascent of Elijah to the death of Elisha.

1. After the departure of his master, Elisha returned to dwell[h] at Jericho (2 K. ii. 18). The town had been lately rebuilt (1 K. xvi. 34), and was the residence of a body of the "sons of the prophets" (2 K. ii. 5, 15). No one who has visited the site of Jericho can forget how prominent a feature in the scene are the two perennial springs which send their streams across the plain towards the Jordan, scattering, even at the hottest season, the richest and most grateful vegetation over what would otherwise be a bare tract of sandy soil. At the time in question part at least of this charm was wanting. One of the springs was noxious—had some properties which rendered it unfit for drinking, and also prejudicial to the land (ii. 19, רָעִים=bad, A. V. and R. V. "naught"). At the request of the men of Jericho Elisha remedied this evil. He took salt in a new vessel, and cast it into the water at its source in the name of Jehovah. From the time of Josephus (*B. J.* iv. 8, § 3) to the present (Saewulf, *Mod. Trav.* p. 17; Mandeville; Maundrell; Rob. i. 554–5), the tradition of the cure has been attached to the large spring N.W. of the present town, and which now bears, probably in reference to some later event, the name of *'Ain es-Sultân*.[i]

2. We next meet with Elisha at Bethel, in the heart of the country, on his way from Jericho to Mount Carmel (2 K. ii. 23). His last visit had been made in company with Elijah on their way down to the Jordan (ii. 2). Sons of the prophets resided there, but still it was the seat of the calf-worship, and therefore a prophet of Jehovah might expect to meet with insult, especially if not so well known and so formidable as Elijah. The road to the town winds up the defile of the *Wâdy Suweinît*, under the hill which still bears what in all probability are the ruins of Ai, and which, even now retaining some trees, was at that date shaded by a forest, thick and the haunt of savage animals.[k] Here the boys of the town were clustered, waiting, as they still wait at the entrance of the villages of Palestine, for the chance passer-by. In the short-trimmed locks of Elisha, how were they to recognise the successor of the prophet, with whose shaggy hair streaming over his shoulders they were all familiar? So with the licence of the Eastern children they scoff at the new comer as he walks by—"Go up,[l] roundhead! go up, roundhead!"

[h] Heb. יֵשֶׁב; A. V. generally "dwelt," but here "tarried" (so R. V.).

[i] This, or *'Ain Hajlah*, in the same neighbourhood, is probably the spring intended by Scott in the opening chapter of the *Talisman*, under the name of the "Diamond of the Desert." But his knowledge of the topography is evidently most imperfect.

[k] The "lion" and the "bear" are mentioned as not uncommon by Amos (v. 19), who resided certainly for some time in the neighbourhood of Bethel (see vii. 10; also iv. 4; v. 5, 6). The word used for the "forest" is יַעַר, *ya'ar*, implying a denser growth than *choresh*, more properly a "wood" (Stanley, *S. & P.* App. § 73).

[l] עֲלֵה, "go up," can hardly, as Abarbanel would have it, be a scoff at the recent ascent of Elijah. The word rendered above by "roundhead" (קָרֵחַ), A. V. and R. V. "bald-head," is a peculiar Hebrew term for shortness of hair at the back of the head, as distinguished from גַּבֵּחַ, bald in front; A. V. "forehead-bald." This is noticed by Ewald (iii. 512).

For once Elisha assumed the sternness of his master. He turned upon them and cursed them in the Name of Jehovah, and we all know the catastrophe which followed. The destruction of these children has been always felt to be a difficulty. It is so entirely different from anything elsewhere recorded of Elisha—the one exception of severity in a life of mildness and beneficence—that it is perhaps allowable to conclude that some circumstances have been omitted in the narrative, or that some expression has lost its special force, which would have explained and justified the apparent disproportion of the punishment to the offence.

3. Elisha extricated Jehoram king of Israel, and the kings of Judah and Edom, from their difficulty in the campaign against Moab, arising from want of water (iii. 4–27). The revolt of Moab occurred very shortly after the death of Ahab (iii. 5, cp. i. 1), and the campaign followed immediately—"the same day" (iii. 6; A. V. and R. V. "time"). Th. prophet was with the army; according to Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 3, § 1), he "happened to be in a tent (ἔτυχε κατεσκηνωσκὼς) outside the camp of Israel." Joram he refuses to hear except out of respect for Jehoshaphat, the servant of the true God; but a minstrel is brought, and at the sound of music the hand of Jehovah comes upon him, and he predicts a fall of rain, and advises a mode of procedure in connexion therewith which results in the complete discomfiture of Moab. This incident probably took place at the S.E. end of the Dead Sea.

4. The widow of one of the sons of the prophets—according to Josephus, of Obadiah, the Steward of Ahab—is in debt, and her two sons are about to be taken from her and sold as slaves. She has no property but a pot of oil. This Elisha causes (in his absence, iv. 5) to multiply, until the widow has filled with it all the vessels which she could borrow. No invocation of Jehovah is mentioned, nor any place or date of the miracle.

5. The next occurrence is at Shunem and Mount Carmel (iv. 8–37). The story divides itself into two parts, separated from each other by several years. (*a.*) Elisha, probably on his way between Carmel and the Jordan Valley, calls accidentally at Shunem, now *Sôlam*, a village on the southern slopes of *Jebel el-Duhy*, the Little Hermon of modern travellers. Here he is hospitably entertained by a woman of substance, apparently at that time ignorant of the character of her guest. There is no occasion here to quote the details of this charming narrative, or the manner in which, as a recompense for her care of the prophet, she was saved from that childless condition which was esteemed so great a calamity by every Jewish wife, and permitted to "embrace a son."

(*b.*) An interval elapsed of several years. The boy was then old enough to accompany his father to the corn-field, where the harvest was proceeding. The fierce rays of the morning sun were too powerful for him, and he was carried home to his mother only to die at noon. She said nothing of their loss to her husband, but depositing her child on the bed of the man of God, at once started in quest of him to Mount Carmel. The distance is fifteen or sixteen miles, at least four hours' ride; but she was mounted on the best ass[m] in the stable, and she did not slacken rein. Elisha was on one of the heights of Carmel commanding the road to Shunem, and from his position opposite to her (כְּנֶגְדּוֹ) he recognises in the distance the figure of the regular attendant at the services which he holds here at "new moon and sabbath" (cp. *v.* 23). He sent Gehazi down to meet her, and inquire the reason of her unexpected visit. But her distress was for the ear of the master, and not of the servant, and she pressed on till she came up to the place where Elisha himself was stationed,[n] then throwing herself down in her emotion she clasped him by the feet. Misinterpreting this action, or perhaps with an ascetic feeling of the unholiness of a woman, Gehazi attempted to thrust her away. But the prophet was too profound a student of human nature to allow this—"Let her alone, for her soul is vexed within her, and Jehovah hath hid it from me, and hath not told me." "And she said"—with the enigmatical form of Oriental speech—"did I desire a son of my lord? did I not say, do not deceive me?" No explanation was needed to tell Elisha the exact state of the case. The heat of the season would allow of no delay in taking the necessary steps, and Gehazi was at once despatched to run back to Shunem with the utmost speed.[o] He took the prophet's walking-staff in his hand, which he was to lay on the face of the child. The mother and Elisha followed in haste. Before they reached the village the sun of that long, anxious summer afternoon must have set. Gehazi met them on the road, but he had no reassuring report to give, the placing of the staff on the face of the dead boy had called forth no sign of life. Then Elisha entered the house, went up to his own chambers, "and he shut the door on them twain, and prayed unto Jehovah." It was what Elijah had done on a similar occasion, and in this and his subsequent proceedings Elisha was probably following a method which he had heard of from his master. The child was restored to life, the mother was called in, and again fell at the feet of the prophet, though with what different emotions—"and she took up her son and went out."

There is nothing in the narrative to fix its date with reference to other events. We here first encounter Gehazi the "servant" of the man of God.[p] It must of course have occurred before the events of viii. 1–6, and therefore before the cure of Naaman, when Gehazi became a leper.

6. The scene now changes to Gilgal, apparently at a time when Elisha was residing there (iv. 38–41). The sons of the prophets were sitting round him. It was a time of famine, possibly the same seven years' scarcity which is mentioned in viii. 1, 2, and during which the Shunammite woman of the preceding story migrated to the

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[m] הָאָתוֹן = "the she-ass." She-asses were, and still are, most esteemed in the East.

[n] The A. V. and R. V. in iv. 27 render הָהָר, "the mount," by "the hill," thus obscuring the connexion with *v.* 25, "Mount Carmel."

[o] "Gird up thy loins and go."

[p] נַעַר, *i.e.* the lad or youth, a totally different term to that by which the relation of Elisha to Elijah is designated—see p. 916, n. [d]; though the latter is also occasionally applied to Gehazi.

Philistine country. The food of the party would consist of any herbs that could be found. The great caldron was put on at the command of Elisha, and one of the company brought his blanket (בֶּגֶד; not "lap" as in A. V. and R. V.) full of such wild vegetables as he had collected, and emptied it into the pottage. But no sooner had they begun their meal than the taste betrayed the presence of some noxious herb,[q] and they cried out, "There is death in the pot, O man of God!" In this case the cure was effected by meal which Elisha cast into the stew, in the caldron. Here again there is no invocation of the Name of Jehovah.

7. (iv. 42–44.) This in all probability belongs to the same time, and also to the same place, as the preceding. A man from Baal-shalisha brings the man of God a present of the first-fruits, which under the Law (Num. xviii. 8, 12; Deut. xviii. 3, 4) were the perquisite of the ministers of the sanctuary—20 loaves of the new barley, and some delicacy, the exact nature of which is disputed, but which seems most likely to have been roasted ears of corn not fully ripe,[r] brought with care in a sack or bag.[s] This moderate provision is by the word of Jehovah rendered more than sufficient for a hundred men.

This is one of the instances in which Elisha is the first to anticipate in some measure the miracles of Christ.

The mention of Baal-shalisha gives great support to the supposition that the Gilgal mentioned here (*v.* 38) as being frequented by the sons of the prophets, and therefore the same place as that in ii. 1, was not that near Jericho; since Baal-shalisha or Beth-shalisha is fixed by Eusebius at 15 Roman miles north of Lydda, the very position in which we still find the name of Gilgal lingering as *Jiljûlieh*. [GILGAL.]

8. The simple records of these domestic incidents amongst the sons of the prophets are now interrupted by an occurrence of a more important character (v. 1–27).

The chief captain of the army of Syria, to whom his country was indebted for some signal success,[t] was afflicted with leprosy, and that in its most malignant form, the white variety (v. 27). In Israel this would have disqualified him from all employment and all intercourse (2 K. xv. 5; 2 Ch. xxvi. 20, 21). But in Syria no such practice appears to have prevailed; Naaman was still a "great man with his master," "a man of countenance." One of the members of his establishment was an Israelite girl, kidnapped by the marauders[u] of Syria in one of their forays over the border, and she brought into that Syrian household the fame of the name and skill of Elisha. "The prophet in Samaria," who had raised the dead, would, if brought "face to face"[x] with the patient, have no difficulty in curing even this dreadful leprosy. The news was communicated by Naaman himself[y] to the king. Benhadad had yet to learn the position and character of Elisha. He wrote to the king of Israel a letter very characteristic of a military prince, and curiously recalling words uttered by another military man in reference to the cure of his sick servant many centuries later—"I say to this one, Go, and he goeth; and to my servant, Do this, and he doeth it." "And now"—so ran Benhadad's letter after the usual complimentary introduction had probably opened the communication—"and now, when this letter is come unto thee, behold I have sent Naaman, my slave, to thee, that thou mayest recover him of his leprosy." With this letter, and with a present, in which the rich fabrics,[z] for which Damascus has been always in modern times so famous, formed a conspicuous feature, and with a full retinue of attendants (*vv.* 13, 15, 23), Naaman proceeded to Samaria. The king of Israel—his name is not given, but it was probably Joram—was dismayed at the communication. He had but one idea, doubtless the result of too frequent experience—"Consider how this man seeketh a quarrel against me!" The occurrence soon reached the ear of the prophet, and with a certain dignity he "sent" to the king—"Let him come to me, and he shall know that there is a prophet in Israel." To the house of Elisha Naaman went with his whole cavalcade, the "horses and chariot" of the Syrian general fixing themselves particularly in the mind of the chronicler. Elisha still kept in the background, and, while Naaman stood at the doorway, contented himself with sending out a messenger with the simple direction to bathe seven times in the Jordan. The independent behaviour of the prophet, and the simplicity of the prescription—not only devoid of any ceremonial, but absolutely insulting to the native of a city which boasted, as it still boasts, of the finest water-supply of any city of the East—all combined to enrage Naaman. His slaves, however, knew how to deal with the quick but not ungenerous temper of their master, and the result was that he went down to the Jordan and dipped himself seven times, "and his flesh came again like the flesh of a little child, and he was clean." His first business after his cure was to thank his benefactor. He returned with his whole following (מַחֲנֶה, *i.e.* "host," or

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[q] For a full discussion of the nature of this herb see the article "Pakyoth" by the late Dr. Forbes Royle in *Kitto's Cyclop.* One kind of small gourd has received the name *Cucumis prophetarum* in allusion to this circumstance; but Dr. R. inclines to favour *C. colocynthis*, the colocynth, or *Momordica elaterium*, the squirting cucumber. *This* is surely impossible.

[r] The Hebrew expression כַּרְמֶל seems to be elliptical for גֶּרֶשׂ בָּ (Lev. ii. 14; A. V. "green ears of corn," R. V. "corn in the ear"). The same ellipsis occurs in Lev. xxiii. 14 (A. V. "green ears," R. V. "fresh ears"). The old Hebrew interpretation is "tender and fresh ears." Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 713) makes it out to be grains or grits. The passage in Lev. ii. 14, compared with the common practice of the East in the present day, suggests the meaning given above.

[s] צְקְלוֹן; LXX. πήρα. The word occurs only here. The meaning given above is recognised by the majority of the Versions and by Gesenius, and is adopted in the text ("sack") of the R. V.

[t] The tradition of the Jews is that it was Naaman who killed Ahab (*Midrash Tehillim*, p. 29 *b*, on Ps. xxviii.).

[u] Heb. גְּדוּדִים, *i.e.* plunderers, always for irregular parties of marauders.

[x] So the Hebrew. A. V. and R. V. "with."

[y] A. V. and R. V. (text), "*one* went in" is quite gratuitous.

[z] The word used is לְבוּשׁ = a dress of ceremony.

"camp"), and this time he would not be denied the presence of Elisha, but making his way in, and standing before him, he gratefully acknowledged the power of the God of Israel, and entreated him to accept the present which he had brought from Damascus. But Elisha was firm, and refused the offer, though repeated with the strongest adjuration. Naaman, having adopted Jehovah as his God, begged to be allowed to take away some of the earth of His favoured country, of which to make an altar. He then consulted Elisha on a difficulty which he foresaw. How was he, a servant of Jehovah, to act when he accompanied the king to the temple of the Syrian god Rimmon? He must bow before the god; would Jehovah pardon this disloyalty? Elisha's answer was "Go in peace," and with this farewell the caravan moved off. But Gehazi, the attendant of Elisha, could not allow such treasures thus to escape him. "As Jehovah liveth"—an expression, in the lips of this vulgar Israelite, exactly equivalent to the oft-repeated *Wallah* ("by God") of the modern Arabs—"I will run after this Syrian and take somewhat of him." So he framed a story by which the generous Naaman was made to send back with him to Elisha's house a considerable present in money and clothes. He then went in and stood before his master as if nothing had happened. But the prophet was not to be so deceived. His heart had gone after his servant through the whole transaction, even to its minutest details, and he visited Gehazi with the tremendous punishment of the leprosy from which he has just relieved Naaman.

This cure of leprosy—the only one which he effected (Luke iv. 27)—is a second miracle in which Elisha, and Elisha only, anticipated our Lord.[a]

The date of the transaction must have been at least seven years after the raising of the Shunammite's son. This is evident from a comparison of viii. 4 with *vv.* 1, 2, 3. Gehazi's familiar conversation with the king must have taken place before he was a leper.

9. (vi. 1–7.) We now return to the sons of the prophets, but this time the scene appears to be changed, and is probably at Jericho, and during the residence of Elisha there. Whether from the increase of the scholars consequent on the estimation in which the master was held, or from some other cause, their habitation had become too small—"the place in which we sit before thee is too narrow for us." They would therefore move to the close neighbourhood of the Jordan, and cutting down beams—each man one, as with curious minuteness the text relates—make there a new dwelling-place. Why Jordan was selected is not apparent. Possibly for its distance from the distractions of Jericho—possibly the spot was one sanctified by the crossing of Israel with the Ark, or of Elijah, only a few years before. Urged by his disciples, the man of God consented to accompany them. When they reached the Jordan, descending to the level of the stream, they commenced felling the trees[b] of the dense belt of wood in immediate contact with the water. [JORDAN.] As one of them was cutting at a tree overhanging the stream, the iron of his axe (a borrowed tool) flew off and sank into the water. His cry soon brought the man of God to his aid. The stream of the Jordan is deep up to the very bank, especially when the water is so low as to leave the wood dry, and is moreover so turbid that search would be useless. But the place at which the lost axe entered the water was shown to Elisha; he broke off[c] a stick and cast it into the stream, and the iron appeared on the surface, and was recovered by its possessor. No appeal to Jehovah is recorded here.

10. (vi. 8–23.) Elisha was now residing at Dothan, halfway on the road between Samaria and Jezreel. The incursions of the Syrian marauding bands[d] (cp. v. 2) still continued: but apparently with greater boldness, and pushed even into places which the king of Israel was accustomed to frequent.[e] But their manœuvres are not hid from the man of God, and by his warnings he saves the king "not once nor twice." So baffled were the Syrians by these repeated failures, as to make their king suspect treachery in his own camp. But the true explanation was given by one of his own people—possibly one of those who had witnessed the cure wrought on Naaman, and could conceive no power too great to ascribe to so gifted a person: "Elisha, the prophet in Israel, telleth the king of Israel the words that thou speakest in thy bed-chamber." So powerful a magician must be seized without delay, and a strong party with chariots was despatched to effect his capture. They marched by night, and before morning took up their station round the base of the eminence on which the ruins of Dothan still stand. Elisha's servant—not Gehazi, but apparently a new comer, unacquainted with the powers of his master—was the first to discover the danger. But Elisha remained unmoved by his fears; and at his request the eyes of the youth were opened to behold the spiritual guards which were protecting them, horses and chariots of fire filling the whole of the mountain. But this was not enough. Elisha again prayed to Jehovah, and the whole of the Syrian warriors were struck blind. He then descended, and offered to lead them to the person and the place which they sought. He conducted them to Samaria. There, at the prayer of the prophet, their sight was restored, and they found themselves not in a retired country village, but in the midst of the capital of Israel, and in the presence of the king and his troops. His enemies thus completely in his grasp, the king of Israel was eager to destroy them. "Shall I slay? shall I slay, my father?" But the end of Elisha had been answered when he had shown the Syrians how futile were all their attempts against his superior power. "Thou shalt not slay. Thou

[a] The case of Miriam (Num. xii. 10–15) is different. Human agency appears to have done nothing towards her cure.

[b] So the Hebrew, הָעֵצִים.

[c] The Hebrew word קָצַב occurs only once besides this place. Its exact force is not clear, but the LXX. render it ἀπέκνισε, "he pinched off."

[d] גְּדוּדִים, always with the force of irregular ravaging. See *v.* 23.

[e] The expression is peculiar—"beware thou pass not by such a place." Josephus (ix. 4, § 3) says that the king was obliged to give up hunting in consequence.

mayest[f] slay those whom thou hast taken captive in lawful fight, but not these: feed them, and send them away to their master." After such a repulse it is not surprising that the marauding forays of the Syrian troops ceased.

11. (vi. 24—vii. 2.) But the king of Syria could not rest under such dishonour. He abandoned his marauding system, and gathered a regular army, with which he laid siege to SAMARIA. The awful extremities to which the inhabitants of the place were driven need not here be recalled. Roused by an encounter with an incident more ghastly than all, and which remained without parallel in Jewish records till the unspeakable horrors of the last days of Jerusalem (Joseph. *B. J.* v. 10, § 3; 13, § 7, &c.), the king vented his wrath on the prophet, probably as having by his share in the last transaction,[g] or in some other way not recorded, provoked the invasion; possibly actuated by the spite with which a weak bad man in difficulty often regards one better and stronger than himself. The king's name is not stated in the Bible, but there can be no doubt that Josephus is correct in giving it as Joram; and in keeping with this is his employment of the same oath which his mother Jezebel used on an occasion not dissimilar (1 K. xix. 2), "God do so to me and more also, if the head of Elisha the son of Shaphat shall stand on him this day." No sooner was the word out of the king's mouth than his emissary started to execute the sentence. Elisha was in his house, and round him were seated the elders of Samaria, doubtless receiving some word of comfort or guidance in their sore calamity. He received a miraculous intimation of the danger. Ere the messenger could reach the house, he said to his companions, "See how this son of a murderer[h] hath sent to take away my head! . . . Shut the door, and keep him from entering: even now I hear the sound of his master's feet behind him, hastening to stay the result of his rash exclamation!"[i] As he said the words the messenger arrived at the door, followed immediately, as the prophet had predicted, by the king and by one of his officers, the lord on whose hand he leaned. What follows is very graphic. The king's hereditary love of Baal bursts forth, and he cries, "This evil is from Jehovah," the ancient enemy of my house; "why should I wait for Jehovah any longer?" To this Elisha answers: "Hear the word of Jehovah"—He Who has sent famine can also send plenty—"to-morrow at this time shall a measure of flour be sold for a shekel, and two measures of barley for a shekel, in the gate of this very city." "This is folly," says the officer: "even if Jehovah were to make windows in heaven and pour down the provisions, it could not be." "It can, it shall," replies Elisha; "and you, you shall see it all, but shall not live even to taste it."

12. (viii. 1–6.) We now go back several years to an incident connected with the lady of Shunem, at a period antecedent to the cure of Naaman and the transfer of his leprosy to Gehazi (v. 1, 27).

Elisha had been made aware of a famine which Jehovah was about to bring upon the land for seven years; and he had warned his friend the Shunammite thereof that she might provide for her safety. Accordingly she had left Shunem with her family, and had taken refuge in the land of the Philistines—that is, in the rich corn-growing plain on the sea-coast of Judah—where secure from want she remained during the dearth. At the end of the seven years she returned to her native place, to find that during her absence her house with the field-land attached to it—the corn-fields of the former story—had been appropriated by some other person. In Eastern countries kings are (or were) accessible to the complaints of the meanest of their subjects to a degree inconceivable to the inhabitants of the Western world.[k] To the king therefore the Shunammite had recourse, as the widow of Tekoah on a former occasion to king David (2 Sam. xiv. 4). And now occurred one of those rare coincidences which it is impossible not to ascribe to something more than mere chance. At the very moment of the entrance of the woman and her son—clamouring, as Oriental suppliants alone clamour,[l] for her home and her land—the king was listening to a recital by Gehazi of "all the great things which Elisha had done," the crowning feat of all being that which he was then actually relating—the restoration to life of the boy of Shunem. The woman was instantly recognised by Gehazi. "My lord, O king, this is the woman, and this is her son whom Elisha restored to life." From her own mouth the king heard the repetition of the wonderful tale, and, whether from regard to Elisha, or struck by the extraordinary coincidence, ordered her land to be restored, with the value of all its produce during her absence.

13. (viii. 7–15.) Hitherto we have met with the prophet only in his own country. We now find him at Damascus.[m] He is there to carry out the command given to Elijah on Horeb to "anoint Hazael to be king over Syria." At the time of his arrival Benhadad was prostrate with his last illness. This marks the time of the visit as after the siege of Samaria, which was conducted by Benhadad in person (*ep.* vi. 24). The memory of the cure of Naaman, and of the subsequent disinterestedness of the prophet, were no doubt still fresh in Damascus; and no sooner did he enter the city than the intelligence was carried to the king—"the man of God is come hither." The king's first desire was naturally to ascertain his own fate; and Hazael, who appeared to have succeeded Naaman, was commissioned to be the bearer of a present to the prophet, and to

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[f] This interpretation is that of the Targum, De Wette, and others, and gives a better sense than that of the A. V. and R. V. The original will perhaps bear either.

[g] Josephus, *Ant.* ix. 4, § 4.

[h] Surely an allusion to Ahab (Joram's father) and Naboth.

[i] Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 4, § 4).

[k] Instances of this are frequent in the *Arabian Nights*. Ibrahim Pacha, the famous son of Muhammad Ali, used to hold an open court in the garden of his palace at *Akka* (Acre), for complaints of all kinds and from all classes.

[l] צָעַק (A. V. "cry"); a word denoting great vehemence.

[m] The traditional spot of his residence on this occasion is shown in the synagogue at *Jobar* (? Hobah), a village about 2 miles E. of Damascus. The same village, if not the same building, also contains the cave in which Elijah was fed by ravens and the tomb of Gehazi (Stanley, p. 412; Quaresmius, ii. 881—"*vana et mendacia Hebraeorum*").

ask the question on the part of his master, "Shall I recover of this disease?" The present is one of royal dimensions; a caravan of forty camels,[n] laden with the riches and luxuries which that wealthy city could alone furnish. The terms of Hazael's address show the respect in which the prophet was held even in this foreign and hostile country. They are identical with those in which Naaman was addressed by his slaves, and in which the king of Israel in a moment of the deepest gratitude and reverence had addressed Elisha himself. "*Thy son* Benhadad hath sent me to thee, saying, Shall I recover of this disease?" The reply, probably originally ambiguous, is doubly uncertain in the present doubtful state of the Hebrew text (cp. A. V. and R. V.); but the general conclusion was unmistakable: "Jehovah hath showed me that he shall surely die." But this was not all that had been revealed to the prophet. If Benhadad died, who would be king in his stead but the man who now stood before him? The prospect was one which drew forth the tears of the man of God. This man was no rash and imprudent leader, who could be baffled and deceived as Benhadad had so often been. Behind that "steadfast" impenetrable countenance was a steady courage and a persistent resolution, in which Elisha could not but foresee the greatest danger to his country. Here was a man who, give him but the power, would "oppress" and "cut Israel short," would "thresh Gilead with *threshing* instruments of iron," and "make them like the dust by threshing" as no former king of Syria had done, and that at a time when the prophet would be no longer alive to warn and to advise. At Hazael's request Elisha confessed the reason of his tears. But the prospect was one which had no sorrow for Hazael. How such a career presented itself to him may be inferred from his answer. His only doubt was the possibility of such good fortune for one so mean. "But what is thy slave, dog that he is, that he should do this great thing?"[o] To which Elisha replies, "Jehovah hath showed me that thou wilt be king over Syria."

Returning to the king, Hazael told him only half the dark saying of the man of God—"He told me that thou shouldest surely recover." But that was the last day of Benhadad's life. From whose hand he received his death, or what were the circumstances attending it, whether in the bath as has been suggested, we cannot tell.[p] The general inference, in accordance with the account of Josephus, is that Hazael himself was the murderer, but the statement in the text does not necessarily bear that interpretation; and, indeed, from the mention of Hazael's name at the end of the passage, the conclusion is rather the reverse.

14. (ix. 1–10.) Two of the injunctions laid on Elijah had now been carried out; the third still remained. Hazael had begun his attacks on Israel by an attempt to recover the stronghold of Ramoth-Gilead (viii. 28), or Ramah, among the mountains on the east of Jordan. But the fortress was held by the kings of Israel and Judah in alliance; and though the Syrians had wounded the king of Israel, they had not succeeded in capturing the place (viii. 28; ix. 15). One of the captains of the Israelite army in the garrison was Jehu, the son of Jehoshaphat, the son of Nimshi. At the time his name was mentioned to Elijah on Horeb he must have been but a youth; now he is one of the boldest and best known of all the warriors of Israel. He had seen the great prophet once, when with his companion Bidkar he attended Ahab to take possession of the field of Naboth, and the scene of that day and the words of the curse then pronounced no subsequent adventure had been able to efface (ix. 25, 36). The time was now come for the fulfilment of that curse by his being anointed king over Israel. Elisha's personal share in the transaction was confined to giving directions to one of the sons of the prophets, and the detailed consideration of the story will therefore be more fitly deferred to another place.[q] [JEHU.]

15. Beyond this we have no record of Elisha's having taken any part in the revolution of Jehu, or the events which followed it. He does not again appear till we find him on his deathbed in his own house (xiii. 14–19). Joash, the grandson of Jehu, is now king, and he is come to weep over the approaching departure of the great and good prophet. His words are the same as those of Elisha when Elijah was taken away—"My father! my father! the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof!" But it is not a time for weeping. One thought fills the mind of both king and prophet. Syria is the fierce enemy who is gradually destroying the country, and against Syria one final effort must be made before the aid of Elisha becomes unobtainable. What was the exact significance of the ceremonial employed, our ignorance of Jewish customs does not permit us to know, but it was evidently symbolic. The window is opened towards the hated country, the bow is pointed in the same direction, and the prophet laying his hands on the string as if to convey force to the shot, "the arrow of Jehovah's deliverance, the arrow of deliverance from Syria," is discharged. This done, the king takes up the bundle of arrows, and at the command of Elisha beats them on the ground. But he does it with no energy, and the successes of Israel, which might have been so

[n] Josephus, *Ant.* ix. 4, § 6.

[o] Cp. R. V. The A. V. hardly represents the very characteristic turn of the original—given above—and also differs from all the Versions. In the Hebrew the word "dog" has the force of *meanness*, in the A. V. of *cruelty*. For a long comment founded on the reading of the A. V., see H. Blunt, *Lectures on Elisha*, p. 222, &c.

[p] The word הַמַּכְבֵּר, A. V. "a thick cloth," R. V. "the coverlet," has been variously conjectured to be a carpet, a mosquito-net (Michaelis), and a bath-mattress. The last is Ewald's suggestion (iii. 523, note), and, taken in connexion with the "water," and with the inference to be drawn from the article attached to the Hebrew word, is more probable than the others. Abbas Pacha is said to have been murdered in the same manner. As to the person who committed the murder, Ewald justly remarks that as a high officer of state Hazael would have no business in the king's bath. Some suppose that Benhadad killed himself by accident, having laid a wet towel over his face while sleeping. See Keil in loco.

[q] The connexion and the contrast between Elisha and Jehu are well brought out by Maurice (*Prophets and Kings*, Serm. ix.).

prolonged as completely to destroy the foe, are limited to three victories.

16. (xiii. 20–22.) The power of the prophet, however, does not terminate with his death. Even in the tomb[r] he restores the dead to life. Moab had recovered from the tremendous reverse inflicted on her by the three kings at the opening of Elisha's career (2 K. iii.), and her marauding bands had begun again the work of depredation which Syria so long pursued (2 K. v. 2; vi. 23). The text perhaps infers that the spring—that is, when the early crops were ripening—was the usual period for these attacks; but, be this as it may, on the present occasion they invaded the land "at the coming in of the year." A man was being buried in the cemetery which contained the sepulchre of Elisha. Seeing the Moabite spoilers in the distance, the friends of the dead man hastened to conceal his corpse in the nearest hiding-place. They chose—whether by design or by accident is not said—the tomb of the prophet; and as the body was cast[s] into the sepulchre, it came in contact with his bones. The mere touch of those hallowed remains was enough to effect that which in his lifetime had cost Elisha both prayers and exertions—the man "revived and stood up on his feet." It is the only instance in the whole Bible—Old Testament, New Testament, and Apocrypha—of restoration wrought by the inanimate remains of prophet or saint. It is to this miracle that the Fathers of the 5th century and the divines of the Roman Catholic Church have appealed as a parallel to the numerous alleged cures at the tombs of saints, such as those at the graves of SS. Gervasius and Protasius.[t]

Before closing this account of Elisha we must not omit to notice the parallel which he presents to our Lord—the more necessary because, unlike the resemblance between Elijah and John the Baptist, no attention is called to it in the New Testament. Some features of this likeness have already been spoken of.[u] But it is not merely because he healed a leper, raised a dead man, or increased the loaves, that Elisha resembled Christ, but rather because of that loving gentle temper and kindness of disposition—characteristic of him above all the saints of the Old Testament—ever ready to soothe, to heal, and to conciliate, which attracted to him women and simple people, and made him the universal friend and "father," not only consulted by kings and generals, but resorted to by widows and poor prophets in their little troubles and perplexities. We have spoken above of the fragmentary nature of the records of Elisha, and of the partial conception of his work as a prophet which they evince. Be it so. For that very reason we should the more gladly welcome those engaging traits of personal goodness which are so often to be found even in those fragments, and which give us a reflection, feeble it is true, but still a reflection, in the midst of the sternness of the Old Dispensation, of the love and mercy of the New.[v]

Elisha is canonized in the Greek Church; his day is the 14th of June. Under that date his life, and a collection of the few traditions concerning him—few indeed when compared with those of Elijah—will be found in the *Acta Sanctorum*. In the time of Jerome a "mausoleum" containing his remains was shown at Samaria (Reland, p. 980). Under Julian the bones of Elisha were taken from their receptacle and burnt. But notwithstanding this, his relics are heard of subsequently, and the church of S. Apollinaris at Ravenna still boasts of possessing his head. The Carmelites have a special service in honour of Elisha. [G.]

ELI'SHAH (אֱלִישָׁה; Ἐλισά, Ἐλεισαί; Joseph. Ἐλισᾶς; *Elisa*), the eldest son of Javan (Gen. x. 4). The residence of his descendants is described in Ezek. xxvii. 7 as the "isles of Elishah" (אִיִּים = *maritime regions*), whence the Phoenicians obtained their purple and blue dyes. Josephus identified the race of Elishah with the Aeolians (Ἐλισᾶς μὲν Ἐλισαίους ἐκάλεσεν, ὧν ἦρχεν, Αἰολεῖς δὲ νῦν εἰσί, *Ant.* i. 6, § 1). His view, followed by St. Jerome, is adopted by many (cp. Delitzsch, *Genesis* [1887] in loco) in preference to the opinion that Elishá = Elis, and in a more extended sense Peloponnesus, or even Hellas (cp. Orelli in Strack u. Zöckler's *Kyf. Komm.* on Ezek. *l. c.*). It certainly appears correct to treat it as the designation of a *race* rather than of a locality; and if Javan represents the Ionians, then Elishah represents the Aeolians, whose predilection for maritime situations quite accords with the expression in Ezekiel. In early times the Aeolians were settled in various parts of Greece, Thessaly, Boeotia, Aetolia, Locris, Elis, and Messenia: from Greece they emigrated to Asia Minor, and in Ezekiel's age occupied the maritime district in the N.W. of that country, named after them Aeolis, together with the islands Lesbos and Tenedos. The purple shell-fish was found on this coast,[w] especially at Abydus (Virg. *Georg.* i. 207), Phocaea (Ovid, *Metam.* vi. 9), Sigeum and Lectum (Athen. iii. p. 88). Not much, however, can be deduced from this as to the position of the "isles of Elishah," as that shell-fish was found in many parts of the Mediterranean, especially on the coast of Laconia (Pausan. iii. 21, § 6). Dillmann[5] (Gen. *l.c.*) would identify Elishah with Southern Italy (Silicia), and Movers and Fried. Delitzsch (*Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 250) with Carthage. [W. L. B.] [F.]

ELI-SHA'MA (אֱלִישָׁמָע = *God* or *my God hath heard*. Cp. ישמאל and the Sabaean

[r] Josephus says that Elisha had a magnificent funeral (ταφῆς μεγαλοπρεποῦς, *Ant.* ix. 8, § 6). Is this implied in the expression (xiii. 20), "they buried him"? The rich man in the Gospel is also particularly said to have been "buried" (Luke xvi. 22), *i.e.* probably in a style befitting his rank.

[s] If the Hebrew word וַיֵּרֶד, translated "let down" in A. V. and "went" in the margin, implies "descent," the tomb was probably one of those reached by a shaft from above, like the Phoenician and Egyptian tombs, and not the ordinary Hebrew sepulchre entered from the face of the rock. There is some reason to suppose that such tombs were occasionally made by the Jews under the Monarchy.

[t] Augustine's *Confessions* (ix. § 16).

[u] These resemblances are drawn out, with great beauty, but in some instances rather fancifully, by J. H. Newman (*Sermons on Subj. of the Day*, Elisha a Type of Christ, &c.). See also Rev. Isaac Williams (*Old Test. Characters*).

[v] The attitude of Wellhausen, Stade, and Renan towards the history of Elisha is similar to that noted on p. 914, n. [b], with regard to Elijah.—[F.]

אלסמע and יסמאל in MV.[11]; B. [usually] Ἐλεισαμά, A. Ἐλισαμά), the name of several men.

1. Son of Ammihud, the "prince" or "captain" (both נָשִׂיא) of the tribe of Ephraim in the Wilderness of Sinai (Num. i. 10; ii. 18; vii. 48; x. 22). From the genealogy preserved in 1 Ch. vii. 26 [B. Ἐλειμασαί], we find that he was grandfather to the great Joshua.

2. A son of king David. One of the thirteen, or, according to the record of Samuel, of the eleven, sons born to him of his wives after his establishment in Jerusalem (2 Sam. v. 16; 1 Ch. iii. 8, xiv. 7 [B. Ἐλεισαμάε]).

3. (B. Ἐλεισά; A. Ἐλισαμά). By this name is also given (in the Hebrew text) in 1 Ch. iii. 6, another son of the same family, who in the other lists is called ELISHUA.

4. A descendant of Judah; the son of Jekamiah (1 Ch. ii. 41). In the Jewish traditions preserved by Jerome (*Qu. Hebr.* on 1 Ch. ii. 41), he appears to be identified with

5. The father of Nethaniah and grandfather of Ishmael "of the seed royal," who lived at the time of the great Captivity (2 K. xxv. 25; Jer. xli. 1).

6. Scribe to king Jehoiakim (Jer. xxxvi. 12, 20, 21).

7. A priest in the time of Jehoshaphat, one of the party sent by that king through the cities of Judah, with the Book of the Law, to teach the people (2 Ch. xvii. 8). [G.] [F.]

ELI-SHA'PHAT (אֱלִישָׁפָט = *God* or *my God hath judged*; B. ὁ Ἐλεισαφάν, A. Ἐλισαφάτ; *Elisaphat*), son of Zichri; one of the "captains of hundreds," whom Jehoiada the priest employed to collect the Levites and other principal people to Jerusalem before bringing forward Joash (2 Ch. xxiii. 1). [G.] [F.]

ELI-SHE'BA (אֱלִישֶׁבַע, ? = *God* or *my God is the oath*, i.e. one who swears by, or is a worshipper of, God; B. Ἐλεισαβέθ, A[1]. Ἐλισαβέτ, A*. -βε; *Elisabeth*), the wife of Aaron (Ex. vi. 23). She was the daughter of Amminadab, and sister of Nahshon the captain of the host of Judah (Num. ii. 3), and her marriage to Aaron thus united the royal and priestly tribes. The name in the Gk. and Lat. Versions corresponds to that of Elisabeth, the wife of Zecharias and the mother of St. John the Baptist (Luke i. 7). [W. A. W.] [F.]

ELI-SHU'A (אֱלִישׁוּעַ = *God* or *my God is salvation*; in Sam. B. Ἐλισοῦς, A. -ι-; *Elisua*), one of David's family by his later wives; born after his settlement in Jerusalem (2 Sam. v. 15; 1 Ch. xiv. 5 [B. Ἐκτᾶε, A. Ἐλισαύ]). In the list of 1 Ch. iii. 6, the name is given with a slight difference as ELISHAMA. [G.] [F.]

ELI-SI'MUS (B. Ἐλειάσειμος, A. -ι-ι-; *Liasumus*), 1 Esd. ix. 28. [ELIASHIB.]

ELI'U (BNA. Ἠλειού, B[c]. -ι- = Hebr. *Elihu*), one of the forefathers of Judith (Judith viii. 1), and therefore of the tribe of Simeon. [G.]

ELI'UD (Ἐλιούδ, from the Heb. אֶלִיהוּד, which however does not occur, *God of the Jews*), son of Achim in the genealogy of Christ (Matt. i. 15), four generations above Joseph. His name is of the same formation as Abiud, and is probably indicative of descent from him. [A. C. H.]

ELI-ZA'PHAN (אֱלִיצָפָן = *God* or *my God hath protected*. Cp. Phoen. צפנבעל in MV.[11]; B. Ἐλεισαφάν, AF. -ι-; *Elisaphan*). **1.** A Levite, son of Uzziel, chief of the house of the Kohathites at the time of the census in the Wilderness of Sinai (Num. iii. 30). His family was known and represented in the days of king David (1 Ch. xv. 8 [B. Ἐλεισαφάτ]), and took part in the revivals of Hezekiah (2 Ch. xxix. 13). His name is also found in the contracted form of ELZAPHAN.

2. Son of Parnach; "prince" (נָשִׂיא) of the tribe of Zebulun, one of the men appointed to assist Moses in apportioning the land of Canaan (Num. xxxiv. 25). [G.] [F.]

ELIZEUS, A. V. 1611 in Luke iv. 27 (R. V. "Elisha") and Ecclus. xlviii. 12. [ELISEUS.]

ELI'ZUR (אֱלִיצוּר = *God* or *my God is* (the) *rock*; B(usually)AF. Ἐλισούρ; *Elisur*), son of Shedeur; "prince" (נָשִׂיא) of the tribe, and over the host of Reuben, at the time of the census in the Wilderness of Sinai (Num. i. 5; ii. 10; vii. 30, 35; x. 18). [G.] [F.]

EL-KA'NAH (אֶלְקָנָה = *God hath created* or *possessed*; Ἐλκανά; *Elcana*). **1.** Son of Korah, the son of Izhar, the son of Kohath, the son of Levi, according to Ex. vi. 24, where his brothers are represented as being Assir and Abiasaph. But in 1 Ch. vi. 22, 23 (Hebr. *vv.* 7, 8) Assir, Elkanah, and Ebiasaph are mentioned in the same order, not as the three sons of Korah, but as son, grandson, and great-grandson, respectively; and this seems to be correct, though Keil (on 1 Ch. *l. c.*) prefers to consider them brothers. If so, the passage in Exodus must be understood as merely giving the families of the Korhites existing at the time the passage was penned, which must, in this case, have been long subsequent to Moses. In Num. xxvi. 58, "the family of the Korhites" (A. V. "Korathites") is mentioned as one family. As regards the fact of Korah's descendants continuing, it may be noticed that we are expressly told in Num. xxvi. 11, that when Korah and his company died, "the children of Korah died not."

2. A descendant of the above in the line of Ahimoth, otherwise Mahath, 1 Ch. vi. 26, 35 (Hebr. *vv.* 11, 20; see Hervey, *Geneal.* pp. 210, 214, note.)

3. Another Kohathite Levite, in the line of Heman the singer. He was son of Jeroham, and father of Samuel, the illustrious Judge and Prophet (1 Ch. vi. 27, 34). All that is known of him is contained in the above notices and in 1 Sam. i. 1, 4, 8, 19, 21, 23, and ii. 2, 20, where we learn that he lived at Ramathaim-Zophim in Mount Ephraim, otherwise called Ramah; that he had two wives, Hannah and Peninnah, but had no children by the former, till the birth of Samuel in answer to Hannah's prayer. We learn also that he lived in the time of Eli the high-priest, and of his sons Hophni and Phinehas; that he was a pious man who went up yearly from Ramathaim-Zophim to Shiloh, in the tribe

of Ephraim, to worship and sacrifice at the Tabernacle there; but it does not appear that he performed any sacred functions as a Levite, —a circumstance quite in accordance with the account which ascribes to David the establishment of the priestly and Levitical courses for the Temple service. He seems to have been a man of some wealth from the nature of his yearly sacrifice, which enabled him to give portions out of it to all his family, and from the costly offering of three bullocks made when Samuel was brought to the House of the Lord at Shiloh. After the birth of Samuel, Elkanah and Hannah continued to live at Ramah (where Samuel afterwards had his house, 1 Sam. vii. 7), and had three sons and two daughters. This closes all that we know about Elkanah.

4. A Levite (1 Ch. ix. 16; B. Ἠλκανά, A. Ἐλ-).

5. Another man of the family of the Korhites who joined David while he was at Ziklag (1 Ch. xii. 6; BA. Ἠλκανά). From the terms of *v.* 2 it is doubtful whether this can be the well-known Levitical family of Korhites. Perhaps it was the same who was afterwards one of the doorkeepers of the Ark (xv. 23).

6. An officer in the household of Ahaz, king of Judah, who was slain by Zichri the Ephraimite, when Pekah invaded Judah. He seems to have been the second in command under the praefect of the palace (2 Ch. xxviii. 7; B. Ἐλκανά, A. Ἐλ-). [A. C. H.]

EL'KOSH (אֶלְקוֹשִׁ), the birthplace of the Prophet Nahum, hence called "the Elkoshite," Nah. i. 1 (ὁ Ἐλκεσαῖος; *Elcesaeus*). Two widely differing Jewish traditions assign as widely different localities to this place. In the time of Jerome it was believed to exist in a small village of Galilee. The ruins of some old buildings were pointed out to this Father by his guide as the remains of the ancient Elkosh (Jerome on Nah. i. 1—possibly El-Kozâh in the map of the *PEF.*, not far from Ramah in Naphtali). Cyril of Alexandria (*Comm. on Nahum*) says that the village of Elkosh was somewhere or other in the country of the Jews. Pseudo-Epiphanius (*de Vitis prophetarum*, Op. ii. 247) places Elkosh on the east of the Jordan, at Bethabara (εἰς Βηγαβάρ, *Chron. Pasch.* p. 150; Cod. B. has εἰς βηταβαρήν), where he says the Prophet died in peace (but this is due to an error: see Nestle, *Zeitsch. d. Deutsch. Paläst.-Vereins*, i. 222 sq.). According to Schwartz (*Descr. of Palestine*, p. 188), the grave of Nahum is shown at *Kefr Tanchum*, a village 2½ English miles north of Tiberias; and Knobel and Hitzig have considered it an earlier name of Capernaum (כְּפַר נַחוּם). But mediaeval tradition, perhaps for the convenience of the Babylonian Jews, attached the fame of the Prophet's burial-place to Alkush, a village on the east bank of the Tigris, near the monastery of Rabban Hormuzd, and about 2 miles north of Mosul. Benjamin of Tudela (p. 53, ed. Asher) speaks of the synagogues of Nahum, Obadiah, and Jonah at Asshur, the modern *Mosul*. R. Petachia (p. 35, ed. Benisch) was shown the prophet's grave, at a distance of 4 parasangs from that of Baruch, the son of Neriah, which was itself distant a mile from the tomb of Ezekiel. It is mentioned in a letter of Masius, quoted by Asseman (*Bibl. Orient.* i. 525). Jews from the surrounding districts make a pilgrimage to it at certain seasons. The synagogue which is built over the tomb is described by Colonel Shiel, who visited it in his journey through Kurdistan (*Journ. Geog. Soc.* viii. 93). Rich evidently believed the tradition correct, considering the pilgrimage of the Jews as almost sufficient test (*Kurdistan*, i. 101). The tradition which assigns Elkosh to Galilee is, however, more in accordance with the internal evidence afforded by the prophecy, which gives no sign of having been written in Assyria. [NAHUM.] [W. A. W.] [F.]

ELKOSHITE. [ELKOSH.]

EL-LA'SAR (אֶלַּסָר; Ἐλλασάρ; *Pontus*), which has been considered by some to be the Telassar (תַּלְאַשּׁוּר or תַּלְשַׁר) of 2 Kings xix. 12 and Is. xxxvii. 12 (so the Targ. of Jerus.), is now regarded as being more probably the Mesopotamian town called by the Akkadians *Ararma*, and by the Semitic inhabitants of that tract *Larrisu*, *Larsa*, or *Larsam*, the Larissa (Λάρισσα) of the Greeks. It must be confessed that this identification, though defensible, is not quite satisfactory from a philological point of view. The first syllable, *El*, may be regarded as the same as the Bab.-Assyr. *âl*, "city," in which case the remainder of the word, *lasar*, would stand for the *Larsa* of the native records, by interchange of *r* and *s*. On the other hand this identification would be thoroughly satisfactory from a historical point of view. Larsa was a town in Lower Babylonia or Chaldea, about halfway between Ur (*Mukeyyer*) and Erech (*Warka*), on the left bank of the Euphrates, now represented by the ruins called Senkereh. Important for the early history of Larsa is the fact that one of the kings of Mesopotamia bears the Elamite name Kudur-Mabug (compare the Chedor-Laomer of Gen. xiv. 1, 9). This ruler had a son, to whom was given the Akkadian name of *Eri-Aku*, identified with the *Arioch* of Gen. xiv. 1 (cp. Judith i. 6). Eri-Aku was king of Larsa under his father, and this is just the position which Arioch, king of Ellasar, seems to have occupied with regard to Chedor-Laomer.*

The Mesopotamian Larsa was a city where the sun-god (Šamaš or Shamas) was worshipped, and had many renowned temples. The principal one, called Ê-bara (or Ê-babbara), was built by Ur-Bau, about 2500 B.C., rebuilt anew by Hammurabi, and restored by Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonidus. Cylinders, small clay bas-reliefs, and various tablets (including one giving square and cube roots) have been found among the ruins. See Loftus's *Chaldea*; Oppert's *Expédition*, &c. [T. G. P.]

ELM (Heb. אֵלָה, *elah*; ἡ τερέβινθος; *terebinthus*) occurs only once in A. V. in Hos. iv. 13, where R. V. rightly reads "terebinth." In

* It is probable, indeed, that Chedor-Laomer was the successor of Kudur-Mabug, as, in Elam, according to G. Smith, the right of succession passed to the brother of the reigning king. Arioch (Eri-Aku) may, therefore, have been in succession vassal to his father and to his uncle. If, however, Chedor-Laomer was also son of Kudur Mabug, Eri-Aku was probably his younger brother.

Is. vi. 13, A. V. renders *elah* "teil tree," and R. V. "terebinth." אֵלָה in all other passages is in A. V. rendered "oak;" and in R. V. generally "oak," with marg. *terebinth*. There can be no doubt that this latter rendering, which follows the LXX., is correct. The elm (*Ulmus campestris*, L.) is scarcely to be called a Palestine tree, being only rarely found in the higher parts of Lebanon, where it has most probably been introduced. It is essentially a native of colder climates. The compilers of the LXX. could scarcely fail to be familiar with the terebinth and its Hebrew equivalent, for no tree is more conspicuous throughout the land than the lonely and isolated terebinth (*Pistachia terebinthus*, L.), which from the days of Jacob to the present has been selected that its branches might overshadow the graves of holy or distinguished persons. [H. B. T.]

EL-MO'DAM (Ἐλμαδάμ, Westc. and Hort, apparently the same as the Heb. אֶלְמוֹדָד, Gen. x. 26; A. Ἐλμωδάδ, E. -δαμ), son of Er, six generations above Zerubbabel, in the genealogy of Joseph (Luke iii. 28). [ALMODAD.] [A. C. H.]

EL-NA'AM (אֶלְנַעַם, ? = *God is grace*; B. Ἐλλάαμ, א[vid]. Ἐλλάμ, A. Ἐλναάμ; *Elnaëm*), the father of Jeribai and Joshaviah, two of David's guard, according to the extended list in 1 Ch. xi. 46. In the LXX. the second warrior is said to be the son of the first, and Elnaam is himself a member of the guard. [G.] [F.]

EL-NA'THAN (אֶלְנָתָן = *God hath given*. Cp. Adeodatus, Theodorus, and the Phoenician, Palmyrene, Nabatean, and Sabean parallels collected in MV.[11]; *Elnathan*). **1.** The maternal grandfather of Jehoiachin, distinguished as "Elnathan of Jerusalem" (2 K. xxiv. 8; B. Ἐλλαναθάμ, A. -μ-). He is doubtless the same man as "Elnathan the son of Achbor," one of the leading men in Jerusalem in Jehoiakim's reign (Jer. xxxvi. 12, T'. Ἰωνάθαν, א. Νάθαν [xliii. 12]). Two incidents are recorded of him:—(*a*) He was one of those commissioned by Jehoiakim to go into Egypt and "fetch forth" Uriah of Kiriath-jearim, who had prophesied against Jerusalem. Jeremiah was saved, but Uriah was slain with the sword (Jer. xxvi. 22–4. The name is omitted by the LXX. [xxxiii. 22–3]). (*b*) He and two others "made intercession to the king" Jehoiakim that he should not burn Jeremiah's "roll," but without success (Jer. xxxvi. 25; T'. Ἐλνάθαν, A. Νάθαν [xliii. 25]). The variations in the LXX. arise from the names Elnathan, Jonathan, and Nathan having the same sense. **2.** The name of three persons, apparently Levites, in the time of Ezra (Ezra viii. 16; B. Ἐλναθάμ, Ναθάν, Ἐαναθάν, A. for the last Ἐλ-). In 1 Esd. they are corrupted to ALNATHAN and EUNATAN. [W. L. B.] [F.]

E'LON. **1.** (אֵילֹן = *an oak*; *Elon*), a Hittite, whose daughter was one of Esau's wives (Gen. xxvi. 34 [AE. Αἰλώμ, D. Αἰδώμ], xxxvi. 2 [A. Ἐλώμ, E. Αἰλών, *D.* Αἰδώμ]). For the variation in the name of his daughter, see BASHEMATH.

2. (אֵלוֹן; *Elon*), the second of the three sons attributed to Zebulun (Gen. xlvi. 14, A. Ἀσρών, *D.*[sil] Ἀλλών; Num. xxvi. 26, BAF. Ἀλλών), and the founder of the family (מִשְׁפַּחַת) of the ELONITES (הָאֵלֹנִי). From this tribe came

3. Elon the (not "a") Zebulonite (אֵילוֹן; B. Αἰλώμ, A. -ν; Joseph. Ἤλων; *Ahialon*), who judged Israel for ten years, and was buried in Aijalon in Zebulun (Judg. xii. 11, 12). The names "Elon" and "Aijalon" in Hebrew have in common four letters, and differ principally in the vowel-points, so that the place of Elon's burial may have been originally called after him. It will be remarked that the Vulgate does assimilate the two. [G.] [F.]

E'LON (אֵילוֹן; B. Αἰλών, A. Ἰαλών; *Elon*), one of the towns in the border of the tribe of Dan (Josh. xix. 43). It is mentioned between Ajalon (*Yâlô*) and Timnah (A. V. Thimnathah, *Tibneh*), and was apparently near the E. border of Dan. The identification is uncertain. Conder (*PEF. Mem.* ii. 293) suggests *Beit Ello*, in the hills 6 miles N. of Upper Beth-horon; but this place must have been in Ephraim. The name in Hebrew signifies a great oak or other strong tree, and may therefore be a testimony to the wooded character of the district. It is possibly the same place as

E'LON-BETH-HANAN (אֵלוֹן בֵּית־חָנָן = *oak of the house of grace*; B. Ἐλὼμ ἕως Βηθλαμάν, A. Αἰαλὼμ ἕ. Βηθανάν), which is named with Shaalbim and Bethshemesh (*'Ain Shems*), two Danite towns, as forming one of Solomon's commissariat districts (1 K. iv. 9). For "Beth-hanan" some Hebrew MSS. have "Ben-hanan," and some "and Beth-hanan;" the latter is followed by the Vulgate, *et in Elon, et in Bethhanan*. Conder (*Hbk. to Bible*, p. 410) suggests *Beit 'Anân*, in the mountains 4 miles W.N.W. of *Neby Samwil*, and within the limits of the tribe of Benjamin. [G.] [W.]

ELONITES, THE. Num. xxvi. 26. [ELON, 2.]

ELOTH. 1 K. ix. 26; 2 Ch. viii. 17, xxvi. 2. [ELATH.]

EL-PA'AL (אֶלְפַּעַל, ? = *God hath rewarded*. Cp. the Phoen. name פעלאבסת, *Bast* being an Egyptian god [MV.[11]]; B. Ἀλφάαδ, A. -λ; *Elphaal*), a Benjamite, son of Hushim and brother of Abitub (1 Ch. viii. 11). He was the founder of a numerous family. The Bene-Elpaal appear to have lived in the neighbourhood of Lydda (Lod), and on the outposts of the Benjamite hills as far as Ajalon (*Yâlô*; viii. 12–18), near the Danite frontier. Hushim was the name of the principal Danite family. If the forefather of Elpaal was the same person, his mention in a Benjamite genealogy is an evidence of an intermarriage of the two tribes. [G.] [W.]

EL-PA'LET (אֶלְפָּלֶט; B. Ἐλειφάλεθ, א. -ετ, A. -ι-ετ; *Eliphalet*), one of David's sons born in Jerusalem (1 Ch. xiv. 5). In the parallel list, 1 Ch. iii. 6, the name is given more fully as ELIPHELET. [G.]

EL-PA'RAN. [PARAN.]

EL-TEKE'H (אֶלְתְּקֵה; B. Αλκαθά, and ἡ Ελκωθαίμ, A. Ελθεκώ; *Elthece*, R. V. *Elteke* in Josh. xxi. 23), one of the cities in the border of Dan (Josh. xix. 44), which with its "suburbs" (מִגְרָשׁ) was allotted to the Kohathite Levites (xxi. 23). It is however omitted from the parallel list of 1 Ch. vi. Conder (*Hbk. to Bible*, p. 410) and Tristram (*Bible Places*, p. 51) identify it with *Beit Likia*, near the mouth of *W. Selmân*, but this place is too far to the north. It is mentioned in the list immediately after Timnah (A. V. Thimnathah, *Tibneh*) and Ekron (*'Akir*), and it is apparently the same place as Altaku, near which Sennacherib defeated an Egyptian army that was advancing to the relief of Ekron, which he was then besieging. The victory was followed by the surrender of Altaku and the neighbouring town of Tamna (*Tibneh*. Schrader, *KAT.*² pp. 171 sq., 289 sq.; G. Smith, *Hist. of Assyria*, p. 114). It was near the S. border of Dan, but no trace of the name has yet been discovered. [G.] [W.]

EL-TEKO'N (אֶלְתְּקֹן; B. Θέκουμ, A. Ελθεκέν; *Eltecon*), one of the towns of the tribe of Judah, in the mountains (Josh. xv. 59). From its mention in company with HALHUL and BETHZUR, it was probably about the middle of the country of Judah, a few miles north of Hebron; but it has not yet been identified. It is possibly TEKOA, which is not mentioned in the list of the towns of Judah in Josh. xv. [G.] [W.]

EL-TO'LAD (אֶלְתּוֹלָד; B. Ελβωνδάδ and Ελθουλά, A. Ελθωδάδ and Ελθουδάδ; *Eltholad*), one of the cities in the south of Judah (Josh. xv. 30) allotted to Simeon (Josh. xix. 4), and in possession of that tribe until the time of David (1 Ch. iv. 29). It is named with Beersheba and other places which we know to have been in the extreme south, on the border of the country; but it has not yet been identified. In 1 Ch. iv. 29 the name is given as TOLAD (B. Θουλάεμ. A. Θωλάδ). [G.] [W.]

ELU'L (אֱלוּל; ὁ Ελούλ; *Elul*), the name of the sixth month of the Hebrew year, and corresponding to our mid-August to mid-September. The name is *Ulûlu* in Assyrian. In Neh. vi. 13 it is commemorated as the month in which Nehemiah finished the wall of Jerusalem, and in 1 Macc. xiv. 27 as the month in which the tablets of brass, recording the deeds of Simon Maccabaeus and his brethren, were set upon pillars in Mount Sion. [MONTHS.] [F.]

ELU'ZAI (אֶלְעוּזַי; Αζαΐ, A. Ελιωζί; *Eluzai*), one of the warriors of Benjamin, who joined David at Ziklag while he was being pursued by Saul (1 Ch. xii. 5). [G.] [F.]

ELYMAEANS (Ελυμαῖοι), Judith i. 6. [ELAMITES.]

ELYMA'IS. In the E. V. of 1 Macc. vi. 1 this is given as "a city in the country of Persia, and attacked by Antiochus Epiphanes." The E. V. followed the rendering of T. אֵ, but such a rendering seems to be a mistake. No such city is known to any writer, and Josephus (*Antiq.* xii. 9, § 1) in mentioning it simply follows the author of 1 Macc. The truer rendering is given in A. ἐστὶν ἐν Ἐλυμαῖς . . . πόλις, and is adopted by Fritzsche, Rawlinson, and Zöckler. Elymais is therefore the name of a district of Susiana. What city "greatly renowned for riches," and its splendid temple, is meant, is not known. It cannot be Persepolis, a city also attacked by Antiochus (2 Macc. ix. 2), for Persepolis was never reckoned as belonging to Elymais. Cp. *Speaker's Comm.* in loco; and Zöckler in "Die Apokryphen d. A. T." in Strack u. Zöckler's *Kgf. Komm. z. d. heil. Schriften A. u. N. Ts.* [F.]

EL'YMAS (Ελύμας; *Elymas*) represents either Arabic عليم, "learned" (cp. plural *Ulema*, the learned in the law of the Koran), or Aramaic אֵלִימָא, "the strong." His name was Bar-jesus, and Elymas appears to have been a title assumed by him in virtue of his profession. He is described as "a magian, a false prophet, a Jew." (Acts xiii. 6). The word "magian" has a long and obscure history, traceable from the pre-Semitic religions of the East, through the "magi" of the Chaldaeans, Medes, Persians, and Parthians (see the admirable art. *Magier* in Herzog, *RE.*² s. n.). In N. T. times it had come to mean little more than "sorcerer," and its use in Acts is much more normal than its occurrence in an honourable sense in Matt. ii. 1. By adding the designation "false prophet" St. Luke draws the spiritual ancestry of the sorcerer from the false prophets of the O. T. who withstood Micaiah and Jeremiah before rulers, exactly as Bar-jesus withstood St. Paul. Elymas was a Jew, and it was probably not only as a sorcerer but as a Jew that he had gained influence with Sergius Paulus, whose interest in religious questions is proved by his "calling unto him Barnabas and Saul." If Bar-jesus was "perverting the right ways of the Lord," he must already have been in some fashion expounding them. The influence which he had with the Roman official is exactly paralleled by the position which another Jewish magian occupied with Felix (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 7, § 2). The blinding of Elymas, with the death of Ananias and Sapphira, occupy an almost unique position in the N. T. as miracles of punishment. On the one hand, we are reminded of "the spirit of Elias," and of the fatal prediction of Jeremiah against his opponent (Jer. xxviii. 15–17). On the other hand, this miracle has been made the type for countless fabulous miracles of vengeance upon persecutors and heretics. St. Paul met with "many adversaries" in his subsequent career, but, so far as we know, miraculous aid was never again employed to confound them. The nearest approach is in 1 Tim. ii. 20 and 2 Tim. iv. 14. [E. R. B.]

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